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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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## The Berlin Crisis

### COMMUNIQUÉ BY U.S., U.K., AND FRANCE

[Released to the press September 26]

*Text of the joint communiqué issued by the three Foreign Ministers in Paris on September 26*

Mr. Schuman, Mr. Bevin and Mr. Marshall met shortly after noon at the Quai d'Orsay to consider the Soviet note of September 25, 1948, relating to the situation in Berlin, caused by the imposition and continuance of the Soviet blockade of rail, road and water communications between Berlin and the Western Zones of occupation in Germany.

In view of the fact that the Soviet Government in violation of the understanding between the Four Powers has chosen to make public unilaterally its version of these negotiations, the three Ministers, authorized the following statement:

"The Governments of France, the United States and the United Kingdom are in agreement that the Soviet note of September 25 is unsatisfactory. The Soviet Government fails to provide the assur-

ance requested in the notes from the three governments of September 22, 1948, that the illegal blockade measures be removed. In addition it demands that commercial and passenger traffic between the Western Zones and Berlin, by air as well as by rail, water and road be controlled by the Soviet Command in Germany. This demand of the Soviet Government is restated with emphasis in the official communiqué issued in Moscow. Moreover, in regard to currency, the Soviet note is evasive and does not answer the clear position stated by the three governments.

"Accordingly, the three governments are transmitting a note to the Soviet Government fully setting out their position and informing it that in view of the insistence of the Soviet Government upon maintaining the blockade and upon the institution of restrictions on air communications they are compelled in compliance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refer the matter to the Security Council."

### U.S. NOTE DELIVERED TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

[Released to the press September 27]

The Acting Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,<sup>1</sup> and has the honor to transmit the following communication:

1. The Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom, conscious of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations to settle disputes by peaceful means, took the initiative on July 30, 1948 in approaching the Soviet Government for informal discussions in Moscow in order to explore every possibility of adjusting a dangerous situation which had arisen by reason of measures taken by the Soviet Government directly challenging the rights of the other occupying powers in Berlin. These measures, persistently pursued, amounted to a blockade of land and water transport and communication between the Western zones of Germany and Berlin which not only endangered the maintenance of the forces of occupation of the United States, France and the United Kingdom in that city but also

jeopardized the discharge by those Governments of their duties as occupying powers through the threat of starvation, disease and economic ruin for the population of Berlin.

2. The Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom have explicitly maintained the position that they could accept no arrangement which would deny or impair the rights in Berlin acquired by them through the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany and by Four-Power agreements. They were, however, willing to work out in good faith any practical arrangements, consistent with their rights and duties, for restoring to normal the situation in Berlin, including the problems presented by the existence of two currencies in that city.

3. After long and patient discussion, agreement was arrived at in Moscow on a directive to the four Military Governors under which the restrictive measures placed by the Soviet Military Government upon transport and communications

<sup>1</sup> Alexander S. Panyushkin.

between the Western zones and Berlin would be lifted simultaneously with the introduction of the German mark of the Soviet zone as the sole currency for Berlin under Four-Power control of its issue and continued use in Berlin.

4. In connection with the lifting of restrictions and the maintenance of freedom of communication and the transport of persons and goods between Berlin and the Western zones, the agreed directive provided that restrictions recently imposed should be lifted. Generalissimo Stalin during the discussions personally confirmed that this meant the removal also of any restrictions imposed prior to June 18, 1948.

In connection with the currency situation in Berlin, the Soviet authorities insisted that the German mark of the Soviet zone be accepted as the sole currency for Berlin. The three Western occupying powers declared that they were ready to withdraw from circulation in Berlin the Western mark "B" issued in that city and to accept the German mark of the Soviet zone subject to Four-Power control over its issuance, circulation and continued use in Berlin (i.e. in Berlin only and not in the Soviet zone). After long discussions Generalissimo Stalin, on August 23, 1948, personally agreed to this Four-Power control and himself proposed the establishment of a Four-Power Financial Commission which would control the practical implementation of the financial arrangements involved in the introduction and continued circulation of a single currency in Berlin and which, Generalissimo Stalin specifically stated, would have the power to control the German Bank of Emission of the Soviet zone insofar as its operations with respect to Berlin were concerned.

5. It was with these understandings, personally confirmed by Generalissimo Stalin, that the agreed directive was sent to the four Military Governors in Berlin to work out the technical arrangements necessary to put it into effect.

6. Despite these clear understandings, the Soviet Military Governor soon made it plain in the discussions held by the four Military Governors that he was not prepared to abide by the agreed directive.

Although the directive called for the unqualified lifting of the restrictions on transport and communications between the Western zones and Berlin, the Soviet Military Governor failed to comply. What is more he demanded that restrictions should be imposed on air traffic. He endeavored to support his demand by a false interpretation of a decision of the Control Council of November 30, 1945. Actually during the discussions leading up to the decision of the Control Council of November, 1945, to establish air corridors the Soviet military authorities in Berlin had suggested that the traffic in the corridors should be limited to the needs of the military forces. Neither the Control Council,

however, nor any other Four-Power body accepted this proposal and the traffic in the corridors has since been subject only to those safety regulations which were agreed on a Four-Power basis. Other than these agreed safety regulations, no restrictions whatsoever have been or are in existence on the use by aircraft of the occupying powers of air communications in the corridors between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany.

In regard to Four-Power control of the German mark of the Soviet zone in Berlin, the Soviet Military Governor refused to admit, despite the agreement in Moscow, that the Financial Commission should exercise control over the operations with respect to Berlin of the German Bank of Emission of the Soviet zone.

Furthermore, with respect to the question of the control of the trade of Berlin, the position of the Soviet Military Governor amounted to a claim for exclusive Soviet authority over the trade of Berlin with the Western zones of occupation and with foreign countries. This claim was a contradiction of the clear meaning of the agreed directive to the Four Military Governors.

7. Even while discussions were in progress, the Soviet authorities in Berlin tolerated attempts on the part of minority groups sympathetic to their political aims forcibly to overthrow the legal government of the city of Berlin, constituted by democratic elections held under Four-Power supervision. On August 30 the representatives of the three Western occupying powers in Moscow had drawn Mr. Molotov's attention to the disturbed situation in Berlin. They suggested that instructions be sent to the Four Military Governors that they should do all in their power to preserve a favorable atmosphere in Berlin, but Mr. Molotov claimed that such instructions to the Soviet Military Governor were unnecessary. Nevertheless, after that date these attempts to overthrow the city government increased in violence.

8. On September 14, 1948 the representatives of the Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom, acting on specific instructions, called the attention of the Soviet Government to the Soviet Military Governor's disregard of the agreements reached during the Moscow discussions and requested that he be instructed to give effect to them.

9. The Soviet Government's reply of September 18, however, upheld the Soviet Military Governor's position. The Soviet Government further confirmed its intention to disregard its commitment to lift the restrictions imposed on transport and communications by seeking to impose restrictions which had not before been in effect.

With respect to trade, the Soviet requirement that the licensing of trade with Berlin be placed in the hands of the Soviet military authorities made plain the Soviet Government's intention to obtain exclusive control over the trade of Berlin.

As regards the powers of the Four-Power Financial Commission, the Soviet reply asserted that the Western occupying powers desired to establish control over all operations of the German Bank of Emission. In fact the United States, the United Kingdom and French Military Governors sought only to secure the Soviet Military Governor's acceptance of the agreed principle that the Four-Power Financial Commission should control the operations of the Bank with respect to the financial arrangements relating to the currency changeover and to the continued provision and use of the German mark of the Soviet zone in the city of Berlin, (i.e. in Berlin only and not in the Soviet zone). In the light of Mr. Molotov's statements during the discussion of the Soviet reply, it became clear that no assurance was given that the Soviet Military Governor would be prepared to proceed on the previously agreed basis. Thus in this matter, as in others, the intention of the Soviet Government was manifestly to impose conditions nullifying the authority of the Western occupying powers and to acquire complete control over the city of Berlin.

10. For the Governments of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom to continue discussions when fundamental agreements previously reached had been disregarded by the Soviet Government would have been futile. It would have been equally fruitless to continue such discussions in the face of the unmistakable intention of the Soviet Government to undermine, and indeed to destroy, the rights of the three Governments as occupying powers in Berlin as a price for lifting the blockade, illegally imposed in the first instance and still unlawfully maintained. The Three Governments therefore despatched identical notes on September 22nd to the Soviet Government. In those notes after restating their position on the specific points at issue they asked the Soviet Government whether it was prepared to remove the blockade measures which it had imposed and thereby to establish conditions which would permit a continuation of discussions.

11. The reply of the Soviet Government in its notes to the three Governments of September 25, 1948 is unsatisfactory.

As regards the introduction and continued circulation and use in Berlin of the German mark of the Soviet zone, the Soviet Government misrepresents the position of the three Western occupying powers. The latter have made it clear from the outset that they do not desire to exercise any control over the financial arrangements in the Soviet zone of occupation, but are insisting on those conditions only which would provide adequate Four-Power control over the financial arrangements for the introduction and continued circulation and use of the German mark of the Soviet zone as the sole currency in Berlin.

As regards control of the trade of Berlin the

Soviet Government contrary to its previous attitude now states its willingness to agree to the establishment of Four-Power control over the issuance of licenses for the import and export of goods provided that agreement is reached on all other questions. It is clear, after more than six weeks of discussions, from the Soviet Government's persistent refusal to remove the blockade measures and its continued insistence on other conditions which would enable it to destroy the authority and rights of the United States, France and the United Kingdom as occupying powers in Berlin that this conditional concession is illusory.

As regards air traffic between Berlin and the Western zones of occupation, the Soviet Government, while neither affirming nor withdrawing the demand for the particular restrictions put forward by the Soviet Military Governor during the discussions in Berlin and confirmed in its reply of September 18th, introduces another requirement to the effect that transport by air of commercial freight and passengers must be placed under the control of the Soviet command.

The Soviet Government's note of September 25 therefore not only ignores the request of the three Governments that the blockade measures should be removed in order that conditions may be established which would permit the continuation of discussions; it also seeks to impose restrictions on transport and communications between Berlin and the Western zones which would place the maintenance of the forces of occupation of the three Western occupying powers and the whole life of the Berlin population within the arbitrary power of the Soviet command, thus enabling the Soviet military authorities to reimpose the blockade at any moment in the future if they so desired.

12. Accordingly, it is apparent that the Soviet Government had no intention of carrying out the undertakings to which it had subscribed during the Moscow discussions in August. In the face of the expressed readiness of the Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom to negotiate with the Soviet Government all outstanding questions regarding Berlin and Germany as a whole in an atmosphere free from duress, the Soviet Government has, in fact, persisted in using duress. It has resorted to acts of force rather than to the processes of peaceful settlement. It has imposed and maintained illegal restrictions amounting to a blockade of Berlin. It has failed to work out in good faith Four-Power arrangements for the control of the currency of that city. Even while the Western occupying powers were seeking agreement on measures to implement the understandings reached in Moscow the Soviet military authorities condoned and encouraged attempts to overthrow the legally constituted municipal government of Berlin. These actions are plainly attempts to nullify unilaterally the rights of the Western occupying powers in Berlin, which are

co-equal with those of the Soviet Union and like them are derived from the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany and from Four-Power agreements to which the Soviet Government is a party. Moreover, the use of coercive pressure against the Western occupying powers is a clear violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

13. The issue between the Soviet Government and the Western occupying powers is therefore not that of technical difficulties in communications nor that of reaching agreement upon the conditions for the regulation of the currency for Berlin. The issue is that the Soviet Government has clearly shown by its actions that it is attempting by illegal and coercive measures in disregard of its obligations to secure political objectives to which it is not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means. It has resorted to blockade measures; it has threatened the Berlin population with starvation, disease and economic ruin; it has tolerated disorders and attempted to overthrow the duly elected municipal government of Berlin. The attitude and conduct of the Soviet Government reveal sharply its purpose to continue its illegal and coercive blockade and its unlawful ac-

tions designed to reduce the status of the United States, France and the United Kingdom as occupying powers in Berlin to one of complete subordination to Soviet rule, and thus to obtain absolute authority over the economic, political and social life of the people of Berlin, and to incorporate the city in the Soviet zone.

14. The Soviet Government has thereby taken upon itself sole responsibility for creating a situation, in which further recourse to the means of settlement prescribed in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations is not, in existing circumstances, possible, and which constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In order that international peace and security may not be further endangered the Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom, therefore, while reserving to themselves full rights to take such measures as may be necessary to maintain in these circumstances their position in Berlin, find themselves obliged to refer the action of the Soviet Government to the Security Council of the United Nations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON  
*September 26, 1948.*

#### SOVIET NOTE DELIVERED TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

[Released to the press September 27]

*On September 25 the Soviet Ambassador in Washington delivered to the Acting Secretary of State the following reply of the Soviet Government to the third-person note of September 22, 1948*

[Translation]

1. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has acquainted itself with the note of the Government of the USA of September 22, 1948 concerning the negotiations of the four powers which have taken place in Moscow and Berlin on the question of the introduction of the German mark of the Soviet zone as the sole currency in Berlin and concerning the removal of the restrictions on communications, transport and trade between Berlin and the western zones of Germany.

In connection with this the Soviet Government considers it necessary to declare that the position taken by the Government of the USA not only does not facilitate but on the contrary complicates the reaching of agreement concerning the settlement of the situation which has arisen in Berlin as a result of carrying out of a separate currency reform and the introduction of a separate currency in the western zones of Germany and in the western sectors of Berlin, which constituted an extreme and most far reaching measure in execution of the

policy of partitioning Germany being carried out by the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France.

2. In its note the Government of the USA refers to three disputed questions which were mentioned by the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France in the aide memoire of September 14 and by the Government of the USSR in the aide memoire of September 18, 1948.

The Government of the United States of America states that the continuation of the negotiations on the above-mentioned questions on the present basis would be useless and considers that in order to create the conditions which would permit a continuation of the negotiations, there would have to be a removal of the temporary transport restrictions between Berlin and the western zones which were introduced by the Soviet Command for the purpose of protecting the interests of the German population as well as the economy of the Soviet zone of occupation and of Berlin itself.

Such a statement of the Government of the USA is in direct conflict with the agreement reached on August 30 in Moscow between the four governments (the directive to the Military Governors), in which it was stated:

"The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the USSR have decided that, subject to agreement being reached

among the four military governors in Berlin for their practical implementation, the following steps shall be taken simultaneously:

“(a) Restrictions on communications, transport and commerce between Berlin and the western zones, and also on the movement of cargoes to and from the Soviet zone of Germany, which have recently been imposed, shall be lifted;

“(b) The German mark of the Soviet zone shall be introduced as the sole currency for Berlin, and the Western mark B shall be withdrawn from circulation in Berlin.”

From the text of the agreement cited above it is evident that the four governments agreed during the negotiations in Moscow on the simultaneous lifting of restrictions on trade and communications between Berlin and the western zones and introduction of the German mark of the Soviet zone as the sole currency in Berlin. The Soviet Government insists on this, since the situation created by the separate measures of the western powers means that the three governments are not limiting themselves to their sovereign administration of the western zones of Germany but wish at the same time to administer in currency and financial matters the Soviet zone of occupation as well, by means of introducing into Berlin, which is in the center of the Soviet zone, their separate currency and thus disrupting the economy of the eastern zone of Germany and in the last analysis forcing the USSR to withdraw therefrom.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary that the agreement reached in Moscow be carried out and considers that further negotiations can be successful only in the event that the other three governments likewise observe that agreement. If the Government of the USA repudiates the agreement reached on August 30, only one conclusion can be drawn therefrom: namely, that the Government of the USA does not wish any agreement between the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France for the settlement of the situation in Berlin.

3. Inasmuch as the position of the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France on the three

disputed points was set forth in the note of September 22, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to do likewise:

A) As regards air communication between Berlin and the western zones, the establishment by the Soviet Command of a control over the transport of commercial cargoes and passengers is just as necessary in this case as in the case of railway, water and highway transport. The air routes cannot remain uncontrolled, since an understanding has been reached between the four governments to the effect that the agreement must envisage the establishment of a corresponding control over currency circulation in Berlin and the trade of Berlin with the western zones.

B) In the directive to the Military Governors adopted by the four governments on August 30th the functions of control by the four power financial commission of the execution of financial measures connected with the introduction and circulation of a single currency in Berlin were explicitly provided for.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary that this agreement be carried out, including the maximum reduction of occupation costs in Berlin and the establishment of a balanced budget in Berlin (not considered up to this time in the Berlin conversations), which were provided for in that agreement.

C) The Soviet Government has already expressed its agreement that trade between Berlin, third countries and the western zones of Germany should be placed under the control of the four power financial commission. The Soviet Government now declares its readiness to agree to the establishment of four power control likewise over the issuance of import and export licenses, provided agreement is reached on all other questions.

4. Thus the reaching of agreement about the situation in Berlin now depends above all on whether the Governments of Great Britain, the United States of America and France are seeking such agreement.

### TRI-PARTITE AIDE-MÉMOIRE TO SOVIET GOVERNMENT

“1. The Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States having received and studied reports from their Military Governors of the discussions in Berlin find it necessary to draw the attention of the Soviet Government to the fact that the position adopted by the Soviet Military Governor during the meetings in Berlin on a number of points deviate from the principles agreed at Moscow between the four Governments and contained in the agreed directive to the four Military Governors. As the Soviet Government is aware, the terms of this directive were finally

agreed after long and careful consideration, and after clarifications as to interpretation had been received from the Soviet Government.

“2. The specific issues on which in the opinion of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, the Soviet Military Governor has departed from the understandings reached at Moscow relate to: (1) restrictions on communications, transport and commerce between Berlin and the western zones; (2) the authority and functions of the financial commission, and in particular its relation to the German bank of

emission; and (3) the control of the trade of Berlin.

"3. As to the first, the Soviet Military Governor has presented a proposal which falls outside the agreed principle that the restrictions which have recently been imposed on communications, transport and commerce be lifted. He has proposed that restrictions upon air traffic, not heretofore existing, should now be imposed, and in particular that air traffic to Berlin should be strictly limited to that necessary to meet the needs of the military forces of occupation.

"4. As the Soviet Government is aware, the directive makes no mention of air transport and this question was not discussed at Moscow. The directive reads: 'Restrictions on communications, transport and commerce between Berlin and the western zones and to and from the Soviet zone of Germany which have recently been imposed shall be lifted.' There have been and are no such restrictions on air traffic. The purpose of the directive is to lift restrictions and not to impose new ones. The proposal of the Soviet Commander-in-Chief, therefore, falls outside the scope of the present discussions and is unacceptable.

"5. Secondly, on the question of the authority and functions of the financial commission there should be not the slightest grounds for any misunderstanding. At the meeting on August 23 attended by Premier Stalin and Mr. Molotov and the representatives of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, the intention of the directive in regard to the powers of the financial commission including its power to control the operations in Berlin of the German bank of emission was clearly and specifically confirmed by Premier Stalin. The Soviet Military Governor has refused to accept both the meaning of the directive and the clear understanding of the Four Powers reached at Moscow.

"6. Thirdly, there is the question of the control of the trade of Berlin. The position of the Soviet Military Governor during the discussions in Berlin in regard to matters relating to the control of trade between Berlin and the western zones of Germany amounts to a claim for exclusive Soviet authority over such matters. Such a claim is a contradiction of the spirit and meaning of the directive to the four Military Governors to which the four Governments gave their approval and is therefore unacceptable.

"7. In bringing these major points of difference to the notice of the Soviet Government, the Governments of United States, the United Kingdom and France do not wish to imply that these are the only points of difference which have arisen during the conversations in Berlin.

"8. The Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States have understood clearly the principles agreed to in Moscow and the

assurances given by Premier Stalin. Their Military Governors in Berlin have acted in accordance with these principles and assurances. The position taken by the Soviet Military Governor, on the contrary, has constituted a departure from what was agreed in Moscow and strikes at the very foundation upon which these discussions were undertaken. The divergencies which have accordingly arisen on these questions are so serious that the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States feel compelled to inquire whether the Soviet Government is prepared to affirm the understandings outlined herein and to issue the necessary instructions to the Soviet Military Governor, confirming the agreed intention of the directive in regard to

"(1) the lifting of all restrictions on communications, transport and commerce imposed after March 30, 1948, without imposition of any new air or other restrictions; and

"(2) the control by the financial commission of the financial arrangements contemplated in the agreed directive, including control of the operations of the Bank of emission with respect to Berlin as specifically confirmed by Premier Stalin; and

"(3) a satisfactory basis for trade between Berlin and third countries and the western zones of Germany in accordance with an agreement to be reached between the four Military Governors which does not involve the unilateral control of such trade by the Soviet Trade Administration and which recognizes the rights of the occupying powers to import in fulfillment of their responsibilities, and to control the proceeds from, food and fuel for the use of the Berlin population and industry.

"9. They believe that only if the steps proposed in the aide memoire are taken would it be possible for the Military Governors to continue their discussions."

Stalin being out of town and unavailable, this *aide-memoire* was delivered to Mr. Molotov by the three Western envoys on September 14.

Molotov expressed the view that progress could be facilitated if, instead of an immediate exchange of communications at the government level, the Military Governors were first to prepare an agreed report of their discussions; and he proposed that they be given two days to do this. The Western envoys pointed out that the Military Governor had already found it impossible to agree on such a joint report. Molotov then reluctantly agreed to submit the *aide-memoire* to his Government for study and reply.

On September 18, Mr. Molotov invited the Western envoys to the Kremlin and handed them the Soviet Government's reply, which was likewise in the form of an *aide-memoire*. The text was as follows:

"1. The Government of the USSR has acquainted itself with the aide memoire dated September 14 last of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the US, which gives a unilateral account of the course of discussions between the four Military Governors in Berlin and which presents incorrectly the position adopted by the Soviet Military Government during those discussions.

"The Soviet Government believes that consideration of the difference referred to in the said aide memoire, which arose during the Berlin discussions in regard to the interpretation of the directive to the Military Governors would have been facilitated and expedited had the four Military Governors submitted to their governments a joint report with an account of the course of discussions. In that event the discussions in Moscow would not have been based on any unilateral communications but on an accurate statement of the positions adopted by all four Military Governors both on points already agreed between them and on points left outstanding. Since, however, the representatives of the three Governments have refused to follow that method of discussion, the Soviet Government finds it necessary to reply to the question raised in the aide memoire.

"The aide memoire of September 14 refers to the following 3 questions: (1) Restrictions on communications, transport and commerce between Berlin and the Western zones; (2) the authority and functions of the financial commission, and in particular its relation to the German Bank of Emission; (3) the control of the trade of Berlin. At the same time it is asserted that the Soviet Military Governor allegedly deviated from the understanding reached on these questions in Moscow.

"The Soviet Government believes this assertion to be without foundation because during the Berlin discussions the Soviet Military Governor strictly followed the agreed directive and the clarifications which had been given by Soviet Government when it was being drawn up in Moscow. Study by the Soviet Government of all materials relating to the Berlin discussions has shown that the reason for the differences which arose during the Berlin discussions lies in the desire of the US, the UK and the French Military Governors to interpret the directive agreed upon in Moscow in a unilateral manner and to give it an interpretation which had not been implied when it was being drawn up and which constitutes a violation of the directive, and with this the Soviet Government is unable to agree.

"2. The directive to the four Military Governors states the following in regard to the first question referred to in the aide memoire of September 14: 'restrictions on communications, transport and commerce between Berlin and the Western zones

and on the traffic of goods to and from the Soviet zone of Germany which have recently been imposed shall be lifted.'

"The concrete proposals submitted by the Soviet Military Governor on this point are in full conformity with the directive and have for their purpose the lifting of all restrictions on communications, transport and commerce, which have been imposed after March 30, 1948, as was stipulated when the directive was drawn up. During consideration of this question the Soviet Military Governor pointed to the necessity of the other three Military Governors complying strictly with the regulations imposed by the Control Council's decision of November 30, 1945 on air traffic for the needs of the occupation forces and this had never been disputed by any of the Military Governors since the adoption of these regulations three years ago. There is no foundation whatsoever for regarding this justified demand of the Soviet Military Governor as an imposition of new restrictions on air traffic, because these regulations had been imposed as far back as 1945 and not after March 30, 1948. Nevertheless, the USA has attempted to deny the necessity of observing the regulations which had been imposed by the Control Council on air traffic of the occupation forces and which remain in force to this very day.

"In view of the above, the Soviet Government believes that the position of the Soviet Military Governor on this question is absolutely correct, while the position of the USA Military Governor, far from being based on the agreed directive, is in contradiction with it. An interpretation to the contrary might lead to an arbitrary denial of any decision previously agreed upon by the Control Council, and to this the Soviet Government cannot give its assent.<sup>2</sup>

"3. The directive to the Military Governors also contains a clear statement regarding the authority and functions of the Financial Commission and regarding the German Bank of Emission.

"This directive was drawn up in full conformity with the preliminary clarifications on this matter

<sup>2</sup> The facts with respect to the Control Council's Nov. 30, 1945, decision are as follows:

During the discussions prior to the establishment of air corridors in 1945 the Soviet Military Authorities in Berlin had in fact suggested that the traffic in the corridors should be limited to the needs of the military forces. The Allied Control Authority (Allied Control Council) did not accept this Soviet proposal and the traffic in the corridors has since then been subject only to agreed safety regulations. No restrictions whatever were in existence on the use by aircraft of the occupying powers of air communications in the corridors between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany on or before Mar. 30, 1948.

This fact was specifically pointed out to Mr. Molotov by the British envoy, Mr. Roberts, immediately upon the receipt and reading of the *aide-memoire* handed to the Western representatives by Mr. Molotov on Sept. 18, 1948.

made by Premier J. V. Stalin on August 23, and referred to in the above-mentioned aide memoire.

"It will be seen from the above text that the authority and functions of the financial commission and of the German Bank of Emission are precisely laid down in the directive, and it was by this that the Soviet Military Governor was guided. According to that directive and to the understanding reached in Moscow by the four powers, the financial commission should not exercise control over all operations of the Bank of Emission in regard to Berlin, but only over those operations of the Bank of Emission in Berlin which are specifically provided for in paragraphs (A), (B), (C), and (D) of the directive. The proposal to establish control of the financial commission over the whole activity of the German Bank of Emission in Berlin was not accepted during the discussion of this question in Moscow because this would have led to such interference on the part of the financial commission in matters of the regulation of currency circulation as is incompatible with the Soviet Administration's responsibility for the regulation of currency circulation in the Soviet zone of occupation.

"Accordingly, the Soviet Government cannot agree to the incorrect interpretation of the agreed directive given in the aide memoire of the Government of France, the UK and the USA, and believes it necessary that the directive should be strictly followed.

"4. As to trade, the previously agreed directive is confined to an instruction to the Military Governors to work out a satisfactory basis for trade between Berlin and third countries and the Western zones of Germany. It will be recalled that on August 23 during the discussions in Moscow, the Soviet Government submitted a definite proposal on this subject, but the question was not considered in detail and was referred to the Military Governors for discussion.

"The proposals on this subject made by the Soviet Military Governor give no reason to assert that they are a contradiction of the spirit and meaning of the agreed directive. On the contrary, the intention of those proposals is to have the directive fulfilled in accordance with the agreements reached in Moscow.

"However, for the purpose of expediting the drawing up of practical arrangements in Berlin the Soviet Government proposes that the Military Governors be given more detailed instructions on this matter than those contained in the agreed directive. The Soviet Government agrees to have trade between Berlin and third countries and the Western zones of Germany placed under the con-

trol of the quadripartite financial commission, which control should provide at the same time for the maintenance of the existing procedure regarding the traffic of goods in and out of Berlin under license of the Soviet Military Administration. The Soviet Government believes that such an instruction would be of help in the drawing up of a concrete agreement on matters of trade with Berlin.

"5. The Soviet Government believes that discussions between the Military Governors in Berlin can yield positive results only in the event that all the Military Governors follow strictly the directives and instructions agreed between the Governments of France, the UK, the US and the USSR."

The Western envoys, after reading this document, stated that they would submit it to their governments for consideration but warned that it would scarcely be acceptable.

After studying the reply just quoted, the three governments delivered to the Soviet Embassies in Washington, London and Paris on September 22, 1948, identical third person notes in the following text:

"(1) The Government of the United States, together with the Governments of France and the United Kingdom, has now reviewed the discussions which have taken place on the Berlin situation and which have culminated in the Soviet reply of September 18 to the aide-memoire of the three Governments of September 14, 1948.

"(2) The three Governments find that the Soviet unwillingness to accept previous agreements, to which reference is made in their aide-memoire of September 14, is still preventing a settlement. The reply of the Soviet Government in its aide-memoire of September 18 is unsatisfactory.

"(3) The final position of the three Governments on the specific points at issue is as follows:

"(A) They cannot accept the imposition of any restrictions on air traffic between Berlin and the Western zones.

"(B) They insist that the Finance Commission must control the activities of the German Bank of Emission of the Soviet Zone in so far as they relate to the financial arrangements for the introduction and continued use of the Soviet zone mark as the sole currency in the city of Berlin.

"(C) They insist that trade between Berlin and the Western zones and other countries must be under quadripartite control, including the issuance of licenses.

"(4) After more than six weeks of discussion, the Governments of the United States, France and

the United Kingdom feel that the Soviet Government is now fully acquainted with the position of the three Governments, and that further discussions on the present basis would be useless.

“(5) It is clear that the difficulties that have arisen in the attempts to arrive at practical arrangements which would restore normal conditions in Berlin derive not from technical matters but from a fundamental difference of views between the Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Government as to the rights and obligations of the occupying powers in Berlin, their right to have access by air, rail, water and road to Berlin and to participate in the administration of the affairs of the city of Berlin. The blockade imposed by the Soviet authorities together with other of their acts in Berlin are in violation of the rights of the three Western occupying powers.

“(6) Accordingly the Government of the United States, in agreement with the Governments of France and the United Kingdom, asks the Soviet Government whether, in order to create conditions which would permit a continuance of discussions, it is now prepared to remove the blockade measures, thus restoring the right of the three Western occupying powers to free communications by rail, water, and road, and to specify the date on which this will be done.

“(7) The Foreign Ministers of the three Governments will be meeting shortly in Paris, and they will be glad to have the reply of the Soviet Government as soon as possible.”

*September 22, 1948*

#### **Publication of the Report on the Moscow Discussions**

In view of the breakdown of the discussions at Moscow between the representatives of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, centering upon the Berlin crisis, the Department of State on September 27 released a report on the Moscow discussions that reviews the events leading to the breakdown and records the documents in the case.

Section I of the report recalls that the Soviet Government has maintained first that its measures restricting communications, transport, and commerce between Berlin and Western Germany were necessitated by “technical difficulties” and then that they were “defensive” against conditions created by the currency reform in Western Germany and Western Berlin. The chronological record of events, however, from March 30 to September 26, 1948, reveals that many of the Soviet restrictive measures were imposed months before

the currency reform and that they have been systematic products of a deliberate coercive purpose rather than the results of “technical difficulties”.

Section II records the Moscow discussions that started on July 30, when the three Western Powers, unable to see either Molotov or Vishinsky, held a meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Zorin. The first meeting with Foreign Minister Molotov and Generalissimo Stalin took place on August 2. In the course of events, from the original request by the Western Powers for discussions on the Berlin crisis to the ultimate breakdown of negotiations, the following statements, notes, and proposals are reproduced either in part or in full in the report: The American note of July 6 and the Soviet reply of July 14; the Western request for discussion with Stalin and Molotov and the U.S. *aide-mémoire* of July 30; accounts of the meetings with Zorin on July 30 and with Molotov on July 31; the record of the first meeting with Stalin, including his proposals. In the drafting meetings with Foreign Minister Molotov, the initial Western draft of August 6 is printed together with Mr. Molotov's counter-draft; also printed are Ambassador Smith's statement on behalf of the Western Powers of August 12, Mr. Molotov's reaction, the Western draft text of August 17, and Mr. Molotov's counter-draft of August 17.

The following documents relating to the second meeting with Stalin on August 23 are reproduced: his statements on August 23; U.S. views telegraphed to Ambassador Smith; draft communiqué and directive of August 27 worked out with Molotov and Vishinsky; and the directive of August 30 sent to Military Governors in Berlin. The technical discussions in Berlin from August 31 to September 7 are commented on briefly. The text of the new *aide-mémoire* of the Western Powers delivered in Moscow on September 14 is printed together with Mr. Molotov's *aide-mémoire* of September 18 in reply, and the notes delivered by the three Governments to the Soviet Embassies in Washington, London, and Paris on September 22. The last documents included in the report include the Soviet note of September 25, the communiqué issued in Paris on September 26 by the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and the note delivered on September 26 by the Acting Secretary of State in Washington to the Soviet Ambassador.

Copies of *The Berlin Crisis: A Report on the Moscow Discussions, 1948*, Department of State publication 3298, may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 20 cents each.

# THE THIRD REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PARIS

## No Compromise on Essential Freedoms

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY MARSHALL ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1948

Chairman, U.S. Delegation

[Released to the press September 23]

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES: We are particularly happy to meet here in Paris. France has, through the centuries, nourished the arts and sciences for the enrichment of all mankind and its citizens have striven persistently for expanding freedom for the individual. It is entirely fitting that this General Assembly, meeting in France which fired the hearts of men with the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, should consider in 1948 the approval of a new declaration of human rights for free men in a free world.

### U.N. Charter as Protection for Free Men

Not only is it appropriate that we should have reaffirmed our respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms but that we should renew our determination to develop and protect those rights and freedoms. Freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention; the right of a people to choose their own government, to take part in its work, and, if they become dissatisfied with it, to change it; the obligation of government to act through law—these are some of the elements that combine to give dignity and worth to the individual.

The Charter of the United Nations reflects these concepts and expressly provides for the promotion and protection of the rights of man, as well as for the rights of nations. This is no accident. For in the modern world, the association of free men within a free state is based upon the obligation of citizens to respect the rights of their fellow citizens. And the association of free nations in a free world is based upon the obligation of all states to respect the rights of other nations.

Systematic and deliberate denials of basic human rights lie at the root of most of our troubles and threaten the work of the United Nations. It is not only fundamentally wrong that millions of men and women live in daily terror of secret police, subject to seizure, imprisonment, or forced labor without just cause and without fair trial, but these wrongs have repercussions in the community of nations. Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not

likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field.

The maintenance of these rights and freedoms depends upon adherence to the abiding principles of justice and morality embodied in the rule of law. It will, therefore, always be true that those Members of the United Nations which strive with sincerity of purpose to live by the Charter and to conform to the principles of justice and law proclaimed by it, will be those states which are genuinely dedicated to the preservation of the dignity and integrity of the individual.

Let this third regular session of the General Assembly approve by an overwhelming majority the Declaration of Human Rights as a standard of conduct for all; and let us, as Members of the United Nations, conscious of our own shortcomings and imperfections, join our effort in good faith to live up to this high standard.

### Recent Economic and Social Progress

Our aspirations must take into account men's practical needs—improved living and working conditions, better health, economic and social advancement for all, and the social responsibilities which these entail. The United Nations is pledged in the Charter to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development".

The Secretary-General has devoted a considerable part of his annual report to the nature of the progress thus far made in this field. It is evident from the record that we can be encouraged by what is being done. The United Nations is directly engaged in efforts to alleviate the social and economic disorder and destruction resulting from the war. The International Refugee Organization is giving assistance to displaced persons. The International Children's Emergency Fund is providing emergency aid to children and mothers over wide areas. As part of the United Nations efforts to increase productivity by applying new and advanced techniques, the Food and Agriculture Organization is broadening the use of improved seeds and fertilizers. The tuberculosis

project jointly sponsored by the World Health Organization and the International Children's Emergency Fund represents another example of the constructive work of our organization.

Through the United Nations we are seeking to combine our efforts to promote international trade, to solve the difficulties of foreign exchange, to facilitate the voluntary migration of peoples, and to increase the flow of information and ideas across national boundaries. The International Trade Organization charter would establish procedures for expanding multilateral trade, with the goal of raising living standards and maintaining full employment. The Conference on Freedom of Information was responsible for the conventions made before this Assembly which embody principles and procedures for expanding the exchange of information. It is our hope that the Assembly will give these conventions thoughtful and favorable consideration. While the United Nations and its related agencies are increasingly helpful in the economic and social field, primary responsibility for improving standards of living will continue to rest with the governments of the peoples themselves. International organizations cannot take the place of national and personal effort, or local initiative and individual imagination. International action cannot replace self-help, nor can we move toward general cooperation without maximum mutual help among close neighbors.

#### **Deep Rift Among Nations Must Be Checked**

The United Nations was not intended to preclude cooperative action among groups of states for common purposes consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. It has been disappointing that efforts at economic recovery consistent with this concept have been actively opposed by some who seem to fear the return of stability and confidence. We must not be misled by those who, in the name of revolutionary slogans, would prevent reconstruction and recovery to hold out illusions of future well-being at the price of starvation and disorder today.

A year ago I expressed the view to the General Assembly that "a supreme effort is required from us all if we are to succeed in breaking through the vicious circles of deepening political and economic crisis". I believe that most of us in this organization have sought to make such an effort—and that this is beginning to bring results.

Despite the cooperative action of most nations to rebuild peace and well-being, tension during the past year has increased. The leaders of the other nations are creating a deep rift between their countries and the rest of the world community. We must not allow that rift to widen any further, and we must redouble our efforts to find a common ground. Let us go back to the Charter, to words that were solemnly written by the peoples of the

United Nations while the tragedy of war was vividly stamped on their minds.

"We the peoples of the United Nations", says the Charter, are "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors". Three years later, we are confronted with the need to save not only succeeding generations, but also our own.

The first purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to that end all members are pledged to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

We are pledged to seek an accommodation by which different cultures, different laws, different social and economic structures, and different political systems can exist side by side without violence, subversion, or intimidation. An elementary requirement is that international obligations be respected and that relations among states be based on mutual confidence, respect, and tolerance.

How can we establish among governments and peoples the confidence which is necessary to a just and stable peace and is basic to the work of the United Nations? The need at this session of the General Assembly and in subsequent months is to achieve, or at least to move nearer, a settlement of the major issues which now confront us. For its part, the United States is prepared to seek in every possible way, in any appropriate forum, a constructive and peaceful settlement of the political controversies which contribute to the present tension and uncertainty.

I do not wish to deal at this time with the details of any particular issue, but there are broad lines along which a just and equitable settlement of each of these questions might be reached. Some of these matters are on the agenda of the United Nations, others, such as those dealing with the peace settlements, are to be dealt with in other forums. Nevertheless, whatever the forum, as members of the United Nations, we are all subject to the principles of the Charter.

If we want to have peace we must settle the issues arising out of the last war. The Charter was written with the expectation that the solution of the problems before the United Nations would not be made more difficult by long delay in completing the peace settlements.

#### **Goals Toward Peace**

*Germany, Japan, and Austria.* We should, therefore, make every effort to achieve an early and just peace settlement so that Japan and Germany may exist as democratic and peaceful nations, subject to safeguards against the revival of

military or economic means of aggression, and so that they may in due course demonstrate their qualification for admission to membership in the United Nations. In Austria our aim is the restoration of its political and economic freedom within its 1937 frontiers and its immediate admission as a Member of the United Nations.

Other questions affecting world peace are now before the United Nations, some of them before this Assembly. We believe that the ends to be sought on these matters may be briefly summarized as follows:

*Palestine.* A Palestine free from strife and the threat of strife, with both the Jews and Arabs assured the peaceful development envisaged by the actions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; an early demobilization of armed forces to permit the return to conditions of peace and normal living in Palestine; the repatriation of refugees who wish to return and live in peace with their neighbors; economic aid to Jews and Arabs to restore and strengthen their economic well-being; the admission of Transjordan and Israel to membership in the United Nations.

*Korea.* A unified and independent Korea, accepted as a member of the United Nations, acting under a constitution and a government selected by the Koreans themselves through free elections, and receiving the economic and political encouragement which it will need as it embarks upon its new life as a Korean Nation.

*Greece.* A Greece made secure from aggressive and unlawful interference from without, ordering its political life by the democratic process and by respect for law, enabled to rebuild its economy and to provide its people the essentials of a decent life which they have been without for so long.

*Indonesia.* A negotiated settlement without further bloodshed in Indonesia, along the broad lines of the Renville agreement, providing within a brief period both the sovereign independence sought by the peoples of Indonesia and continued cooperation between them and the people of the Netherlands.

*India and Pakistan.* Continuation of the mediation and negotiation between the great nations of India and Pakistan with respect to Kashmir, in order that the processes of peaceful settlement may bring to a conclusion an issue which has been charged with great dangers.

*Atomic Energy.* The early adoption of an international system for the control of atomic energy, providing for the elimination of atomic weapons from national armaments, for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, and for safeguards to insure compliance by all nations with the necessary international measures of control.

*Armaments.* Under adequate and dependable

guaranty against violation, a progressive reduction in armaments as rapidly as the restoration of political confidence permits.

### Other Problems

Other situations or problems might be mentioned, but if constructive steps are taken toward the settlement of those which have been indicated, new hope would arise among men and new confidence among the nations of the world. It will be readily seen that the above pattern is toward peace. No governments or peoples who work toward such ends can be held to be seeking war, or imperialist expansion, or disorder and strife.

*Trusteeship.* We have noted with particular interest the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the nations relating to the millions of people who are not yet fully self-governing. We are mindful of the obligations undertaken in the Charter for the political, economic, and social development of these peoples. We believe that all possible assistance and encouragement should be given to them, to the end that they may play their full part in the family of nations—either as independent states or in freely chosen association with other states.

*Membership.* In our efforts toward political settlement we must continue working to improve the functioning of the machinery of the United Nations. We hope that the Security Council will proceed to recommend during this session of the General Assembly the admission of additional new members. There are a number of fully qualified states, now awaiting admission, whose elevation has been supported by the United States but has been blocked for reasons not consistent with the Charter. The most recent application, Ceylon, one of the few states to emerge in southern Asia, has been denied the membership to which it properly aspires.

*Interim Committee.* The report of the Interim Committee on the problem of voting in the Security Council represents the first comprehensive study on this vital problem since San Francisco and contains the views of an overwhelming majority of the members. The work of the Security Council would be greatly facilitated if the recommendations of the Interim Committee could be accepted by the members of the Council.

The Interim Committee itself has worked usefully and effectively during the past year and can continue to render an important service to the General Assembly. We hope that the Assembly will agree to its continuation for another year in order to give us more experience before deciding whether it should become a permanent part of our Organization.

*Need for U.N. Guard.* The United States joins in expressing great appreciation to those individuals who have served on United Nations missions

during the past year, either as members of national delegations or of the Secretariat. These representatives in the field have served with courage and devotion to duty. Their service has been given a particularly solemn reminder of these conditions by the tragic death of Count Folke Bernadotte and Colonel Serot at the hands of assassins. The people of the United States join in tribute to the man who worked brilliantly and courageously as the United Nations mediator in Palestine. We pay tribute also to those others who have lost their lives in the service of peace.

We believe that the Assembly should give sympathetic consideration to the suggestions of the Secretary-General for the establishment of a small United Nations guard force to assist United Nations missions engaged in the pacific settlement of disputes. The fate of the Mediator in Palestine and the experience of the several commissions already working in the field have already demonstrated the need for such a group. This great world organization should not send its servants on missions of peace without reasonable protection. The guards would be entirely distinct from the armed forces envisaged under article 43 and would not carry out military operations. They could, however, perform important services in connection with United Nations missions abroad not only as guards but also as observers and as communications and transportation personnel.

#### **Minority Position Self-Imposed**

Mr. President, one of the principal purposes of the United Nations, according to article 1, is "to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common ends" set forth in the Charter. The problem of making and keeping the peace involves many governments and many peoples. On the issues which call for settlement, the large powers as well as the small must submit their policies to the judgment of the world community. For this purpose appropriate forums have been established for the adjustment of differences through the impartial opinions of the international society. This process has been seriously hampered by the refusal of a group of nations to

participate in certain of the important commissions established by this Assembly, such as the Balkan Commission, the Korean Commission, and the Interim Committee.

More important than this boycott, however, is the disturbing lack of cooperation which the United Nations has received in its efforts to resolve such questions as Korea and Greece and to bring about the international control of atomic energy. This persistent refusal of a small minority to contribute to the accomplishment of our agreed purposes is a matter of profound concern.

There is no plot among Members of this Organization to keep any nation or group of nations in a minority. The minority position is self-imposed. The record shows that there are no mechanical majorities at the disposal of any nation or group of nations. Majorities form quickly in support of the principles of the Charter. Nations consistently in the minority would be welcomed among the ranks of the majority—but not at the price of compromise of basic principle.

#### **Patience in Understanding**

The United Nations has sought to promote the free exchange of ideas on a basis of full reciprocity. The effort is of the greatest political importance. Any government which by deliberate action cuts itself and its people off from the rest of the world becomes incapable of understanding the problems and policies of other governments and other peoples. It would be a tragic error, if, because of such misunderstanding, the patience of others should be mistaken for weakness.

The United States does not wish to increase the existing tension. It is its wholehearted desire to alleviate that tension. But we will not compromise essential principles. We will under no circumstances barter away the rights and freedoms of other peoples. We earnestly hope that all Members will find ways of contributing to the lessening of tensions and the promotion of peace with justice. The peoples of the earth are anxiously watching our efforts here. We must not disappoint them.

# Conclusions From Progress Report of the U.N. Mediator on Palestine <sup>1</sup>

## MEDIATION EFFORT

### VIII. Conclusions

1. Since I presented my written Suggestions to the Arab and Jewish authorities on 27 June, I have made no formal submission to either party of further suggestions or proposals for a definitive settlement.<sup>2</sup> Since that date, however, I have held many oral discussions in the Arab capitals and Tel Aviv, in the course of which various ideas on settlement have been freely exchanged. As regards my original Suggestions, I hold to the opinion that they offered a general framework within which a reasonable and workable settlement might have been reached, had the two parties concerned been willing to discuss them. They were flatly rejected, however, by both parties. Since they were put forth on the explicit condition that they were purely tentative, were designed primarily to elicit views and counter-suggestions from each party, and, in any event, could be implemented only if agreed upon by both parties, I have never since pressed them. With respect to one basic concept in my Suggestions, it has become increasingly clear to me that however desirable a political and economic union might be in Palestine, the time is certainly not now propitious for the effectuation of any such scheme.

2. I do not consider it to be within my province to recommend to the Members of the United Nations a proposed course of action on the Palestine question. That is a responsibility of the Members acting through the appropriate organs. In my role as United Nations Mediator, however, it was inevitable that I should accumulate information and draw conclusions from my experience which might well be of assistance to Members of the United Nations in charting the future course of United Nations action on Palestine. I consider it my duty, therefore, to acquaint the Members of the United Nations, through the medium of this report, with certain of the conclusions on means of peaceful adjustment which have evolved from my frequent consultations with Arab and Jewish authorities over the past three and one-half months and from my personal appraisal of the present Palestinian scene. I do not suggest that these conclusions would provide the basis for a proposal which would readily win the willing approval of both parties. I have not, in the course of my intensive

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from U.N. doc. A/648 (part one, p. 29; part two, p. 23; and part three, p. 11), Sept. 18, 1948. The report was signed by Folke Bernadotte in Rhodes on Sept. 16, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of July 25, 1948, p. 105.

### Statement by Secretary Marshall

[Released to the press September 21]

The United States considers that the conclusions contained in the final report of Count Bernadotte offer a generally fair basis for settlement of the Palestine question. My Government is of the opinion that the conclusions are sound and strongly urges the parties and the General Assembly to accept them in their entirety as the best possible basis for bringing peace to a distracted land.

No plan could be proposed which would be entirely satisfactory in all respects to every interested party. The United Nations has endeavored to achieve a solution by peaceful adjustment and entrusted the task to its mediator, Count Bernadotte. He energetically, courageously, and with a spirit of complete fairness, we feel, canvassed all the possibilities and proposed as his last contribution toward a world of peace a sound basis for settlement. He gave his life to this effort.

The complexities of the problem and the violent emotions which have been engendered are such that the details of any plan could be debated endlessly. As a matter of fact, the debate on this question has been carried on for years in almost every kind of public forum. It is our sincere hope that the parties concerned will realize that their best interests and the interests of the world community will be served by accepting in a spirit of fair compromise the judgment of Count Bernadotte.

efforts to achieve agreement between Arabs and Jews, been able to devise any such formula. I am convinced, however, that it is possible at this stage to formulate a proposal which, if firmly approved and strongly backed by the General Assembly, would not be forcibly resisted by either side, confident as I am, of course, that the Security Council stands firm in its resolution of 15 July that military action shall not be employed by either party in the Palestine dispute. It cannot be ignored that the vast difference between now and last November is that a war has been started and stopped and that in the intervening months decisive events have occurred.

#### SEVEN BASIC PREMISES

3. The following seven basic premises form the basis for my conclusions:

#### *Return to peace*

(a) Peace must return to Palestine and every feasible measure should be taken to ensure that hostilities will not be resumed and that harmonious relations between Arab and Jew will ultimately be restored.

*The Jewish State*

(b) A Jewish State called Israel exists in Palestine and there are no sound reasons for assuming that it will not continue to do so.

*Boundary determination*

(c) The boundaries of this new State must finally be fixed either by formal agreement between the parties concerned or failing that, by the United Nations.

*Continuous frontiers*

(d) Adherence to the principle of geographical homogeneity and integration, which should be the major objective of the boundary arrangements, should apply equally to Arab and Jewish territories, whose frontiers should not therefore, be rigidly controlled by the territorial arrangements envisaged in the resolution of 29 November.

*Right of repatriation*

(e) The right of innocent people, uprooted from their homes by the present terror and ravages of war, to return to their homes, should be affirmed and made effective, with assurance of adequate compensation for the property of those who may choose not to return.

*Jerusalem*

(f) The City of Jerusalem, because of its religious and international significance and the complexity of interest involved, should be accorded special and separate treatment.

*International responsibility*

(g) International responsibility should be expressed where desirable and necessary in the form of international guarantees, as a means of allaying existing fears, and particularly with regard to boundaries and human rights.

## SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS

4. The following conclusions, broadly outlined, would, in my view, considering all the circumstances, provide a reasonable, equitable and workable basis for settlement:

(a) Since the Security Council, under pain of Chapter VIII sanctions, has forbidden further employment of military action in Palestine as a means of settling the dispute, hostilities should be pronounced formally ended either by mutual agreement of the parties or, failing that, by the United Nations. The existing indefinite truce should be superseded by a formal peace, or at the minimum, an armistice which would involve either complete withdrawal and demobilization of armed forces or their wide separation by creation of broad demilitarized zones under United Nations supervision.

(b) The frontiers between the Arab and Jewish

territories, in the absence of agreement between Arabs and Jews, should be established by the United Nations and delimited by a technical boundaries commission appointed by and responsible to the United Nations, with the following revisions in the boundaries broadly defined in the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November in order to make them more equitable, workable and consistent with existing realities in Palestine.

- (i) The area known as the Negev, south of a line running from the sea near Majdal east southeast to Faluja (both of which places would be in Arab territory), should be defined as Arab territory;
- (ii) The frontier should run from Faluja north northeast to Ramleh and Lydda (both of which places would be in Arab territory), the frontier at Lydda then following the line established in the General Assembly resolution of 29 November;
- (iii) Galilee should be defined as Jewish territory.

(c) The disposition of the territory of Palestine not included within the boundaries of the Jewish State should be left to the Governments of the Arab States in full consultation with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, with the recommendation, however, that in view of the historical connection and common interests of Transjordan and Palestine, there would be compelling reasons for merging the Arab territory of Palestine with the territory of Transjordan, subject to such frontier rectifications regarding other Arab States as may be found practicable and desirable.

(d) The United Nations, by declaration or other appropriate means, should undertake to provide special assurance that the boundaries between the Arab and Jewish territories shall be respected and maintained, subject only to such modifications as may be mutually agreed upon by the parties concerned.

(e) The port of Haifa, including the oil refineries and terminals, and without prejudice to their inclusion in the sovereign territory of the Jewish State or the administration of the city of Haifa, should be declared a free port, with assurances of free access for interested Arab countries and an undertaking on their part to place no obstacle in the way of oil deliveries by pipeline to the Haifa refineries, whose distribution would continue on the basis of the historical pattern.

(f) The airport of Lydda should be declared a free airport with assurance of access to it and employment of its facilities for Jerusalem and interested Arab countries.

(g) The City of Jerusalem, which should be understood as covering the area defined in the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November,

should be treated separately and should be placed under effective United Nations control with maximum feasible local autonomy for its Arab and Jewish communities, with full safeguards for the protection of the Holy Places and sites and free access to them, and for religious freedom.

(h) The right of unimpeded access to Jerusalem, by road, rail or air, should be fully respected by all parties.

(i) The right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes in Jewish-controlled territory at the earliest possible date should be affirmed by the United Nations, and their repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation, and payment of adequate compensation for the property of those choosing not to return, should be supervised and assisted by the United Nations conciliation commission described in paragraph (k) below.

(j) The political, economic, social and religious rights of all Arabs in the Jewish territory of Palestine and of all Jews in the Arab territory of Palestine should be fully guaranteed and respected by the authorities. The conciliation commission provided for in the following paragraph should supervise the observance of this guarantee. It should also lend its good offices, on the invitation of the parties, to any efforts toward exchanges of populations with a view to eliminating troublesome minority problems, and on the basis of adequate compensation for property owned.

(k) In view of the special nature of the Palestine problem and the dangerous complexities of Arab-Jewish relationships, the United Nations should establish a Palestine conciliation commission. This commission, which should be appointed for a limited period, should be responsible to the United Nations and act under its authority. The commission, assisted by such United Nations personnel as may prove necessary, should undertake

- (i) To employ its good offices to make such recommendations to the parties or to the United Nations, and to take such other steps as may be appropriate, with a view to ensuring the continuation of the peaceful adjustment of the situation in Palestine;
- (ii) Such measures as it might consider appropriate in fostering the cultivation of friendly relations between Arabs and Jews;
- (iii) To supervise the observance of such boundary, road, railroad, free port, free airport, minority rights and other arrangements as may be decided upon by the United Nations;

- (iv) To report promptly to the United Nations any development in Palestine likely to alter the arrangements approved by the United Nations in the Palestine settlement or to threaten the peace of the area.

## SUPERVISION OF THE TWO TRUCES

### V. Some Conclusions Regarding the Truce Operation

1. The supervision of the truce is a continuing responsibility and it is neither necessary nor desirable at this stage to formulate any definitive views concerning the operation. The experience thus far gained in the supervision of two truces extending over a total period of more than three months has been very valuable, however, and on the basis of this experience certain analyses and conclusions may even now be usefully set forth.

2. In assessing in general terms the entire period of truce, my dual role of Mediator and of supervisor of truce observation is an important factor. Conditions of truce, even though subject to frequent minor and occasional major infractions by both parties, provide a peaceful basis indispensable to the task of mediation. At the same time, organizing and supervising truce observance make imperative demands on time and staff. I am inevitably drawn into the settlement of disputes arising solely out of the truce, and it may be readily appreciated that my position and decisions as truce supervisor cannot, in the minds of the disputants, be easily dissociated from my role in the more fundamental task of mediation.

3. The situation in Jerusalem has been considerably more tense and difficult during the second truce than during the first. This fact is due to a complex of reasons among which are the change in military dispositions between truces, and the increased concentration of manpower which appears to have taken place there in the interval between the truces. The special importance which each side attaches to the status of Jerusalem in a general settlement of the Palestine problem is, in the circumstances, a constant influence tending to heighten the tension there.

4. However, the situation in Jerusalem has shown recent improvement. The decision of the Security Council on 19 August fixing the responsibility of the parties under the cease-fire order, a considerable increase in the number of United Nations Observers stationed there, and intensive efforts to achieve localized demilitarization agreements, have produced beneficial results. Nevertheless, the conditions in Jerusalem are such that not even the increased number of Observers now there could for long maintain the truce in the City

if it should appear likely that a settlement would be indefinitely deferred.

5. United Nations supervision of the regular food convoys of Jerusalem has been an important feature of both truces. The movement of these convoys involved difficult negotiation and constant supervision and escort. Apart from some sniping activity during the early days of each truce, the convoy system has worked remarkably well. On the other hand, persistent efforts to ensure the flow of water to Jerusalem through the main pipe-lines have met with failure during both truces, the destruction of the Latrun pumping station having so far nullified all efforts to solve the problem during the second truce.

6. The period of the first truce coincided with the ripening of cereal crops in Palestine. Since the front lines ran almost entirely through land belonging to Arab cultivators, a great number of fields bearing crops was in no-man's land or behind Jewish positions. Attempts by Arabs to harvest crops in no-man's land and in the vicinity of and sometimes behind Jewish positions often led the Jews to react by firing on the harvesters. This was a major complication during the first truce, both before and after my ruling of 16 June, and explains many of the breaches of truce and the difficulties of truce observation over a wide area. During the second truce, incidents of this nature have been relatively few, since the harvest season for cereal crops is over. The efforts of Observers in securing local agreements regarding harvesting of crops undoubtedly saved many crops that would otherwise have been lost.

7. The fact that in the Negev there is no continuous front line has been, during both truces, a special cause of difficulty as a result of the need for each side to by-pass the other's positions in order to supply some of its own positions. Convoys under United Nations supervision largely solved the problem, though not without friction, during the first truce. During the second truce a similar system was proposed, but agreement on conditions could not be reached with the parties. Consequently, on 14 September I laid down the terms governing future convoys in the Negev.

8. In considering the effectiveness of the truce supervision, attention must be paid to two distinct, though related, aspects of the problem. On the one hand, there is the problem of observing the actual fighting fronts, of dealing with incidents which may arise there and preventing, if possible, any further outbreak of hostilities. On the other hand, there is the observation which is necessary over a vast area to check whether or not materials and men are being moved in a manner to confer a military advantage contrary to the terms of the

truce. As regards the second aspect of this problem, an important consideration is that the area under observation covers a very large part of the Middle East and that the necessity to concentrate a majority of the limited number of Observers at my disposal near the fighting fronts restricts the number available for duties elsewhere. The availability of an increased number of Observers has enabled me to ensure a more extensive supervision, especially in territories outside Palestine.

9. Experience has shown that the more quickly action can be taken to deal with a local violation, the more easily incidents are controlled or prevented. It must be admitted that, on occasion, slowness to act, often because of circumstances beyond control, has hampered the operation of the truce supervision. Although the Secretary-General of the United Nations has given me the fullest co-operation and every assistance available to him, it is apparent that the United Nations was not in position as regards Observer personnel, armed guards, communications and transportation equipment or budgetary provision to set up rapidly the elaborate machinery of truce observation required.

10. The second truce differed from the first principally in the fact that it was ordered by the Security Council under threat of further action under Chapter VII of the Charter, and that no time limit was set. This introduced a new element into the situation as compared with the first truce, in that the second truce involved compliance with a Security Council order. There is a tendency on each side to regard alleged breaches by the other side of a truce which has been ordered by the Security Council as calling for prompt action by that Council. Both sides now evidence a sense of grievance and complain that the compulsory prolongation of the truce is contrary to their interests. This feeling is inevitably reflected in their attitudes toward the Observers and truce obligations in general. The truce undoubtedly imposes a heavy burden on both sides, but even so, the burden of war would be heavier.

11. The truce is not an end in itself. Its purpose is to prepare the way for a peaceful settlement. There is a period during which the potentiality for constructive action, which flows from the fact that a truce has been achieved by international intervention, is at a maximum. If, however, there appears no prospect of relieving the existing tension by some arrangement which holds concrete promise of peace, the machinery of truce supervision will in time lose its effectiveness and become an object of cynicism. If this period of maximum tendency to forego military action as a means of achieving a desired settlement is not seized, the advantage gained by international intervention may well be lost.

## ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES

## VI. Conclusions

1. Conclusions which may be derived from the experience to date are summarized as follows:

(a) As a result of the conflict in Palestine there are approximately 360,000 Arab refugees and 7,000 Jewish refugees requiring aid in that country and adjacent States.

(b) Large numbers of these are infants, children, pregnant women and nursing mothers. Their condition is one of destitution and they are "vulnerable groups" in the medical and social sense.

(c) The destruction of their property and the loss of their assets will render most of them a charge upon the communities in which they have sought refuge for a minimum period of one year (through this winter and until the end of the 1949 harvest).

(d) The Arab inhabitants of Palestine are not citizens or subjects of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan, the States which are at present providing them with a refuge and the basic necessities of life. As residents of Palestine, a former mandated territory for which the international community has a continuing responsibility until a final settlement is achieved, these Arab refugees understandably look to the United Nations for effective assistance.

(e) The temporary alleviation of their condition, which is all that my disaster relief programme can promise them now, is quite inadequate to meet any continuing need, unless the resources in supplies and personnel available are greatly increased. Such increased resources might indirectly be of permanent value in establishing social services in the countries concerned, or improving greatly existing services. This applies particularly to general social administrative organizations, maternal and child care services, the training of social workers, and the improvement of food economies.

(f) The refugees, on return to their homes, are entitled to adequate safeguards for their personal security, normal facilities for employment, and adequate opportunities to develop within the community without racial, religious or social discrimination.

(g) So long as large numbers of the refugees remain in distress, I believe that responsibility for their relief should be assumed by the United Na-

tions in conjunction with the neighbouring Arab States, the Provisional Government of Israel, the specialized agencies, and also all the voluntary bodies or organizations of a humanitarian and non-political character.

2. In concluding this part of my report, I must emphasize again the desperate urgency of this problem. The choice is between saving the lives of many thousands of people now or permitting them to die. The situation of the majority of these hapless refugees is already tragic, and to prevent them from being overwhelmed by further disaster and to make possible their ultimate rehabilitation, it is my earnest hope that the international community will give all necessary support to make the measures I have outlined fully effective. I believe that for the international community to accept its share of responsibility for the refugees of Palestine is one of the minimum conditions for the success of its efforts to bring peace to that land.

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### Position on Withdrawing Occupying Forces From Korea

[Released to the press September 20]

It has been the consistent view of this Government that the best interests of the Korean people would be served by the withdrawal of all occupying forces from Korea at the earliest practicable date. This same view was embodied in the United Nations General Assembly resolution of November 14, 1947, in which provision was made for such withdrawal as soon as practicable after the establishment of the Korean Government which it was the intention of that resolution to bring into being. Had the Soviet Union cooperated in carrying out the provisions of the resolution of November 14, 1947, the question of troop withdrawal from Korea would doubtless have been already resolved.

The United States Government regards the question of the withdrawal of occupying forces as but one facet of the entire question of the unity and independence of Korea. The General Assembly of the United Nations has taken cognizance of this larger question, as evidenced by the resolution referred to above, and may be expected to give further consideration to the matter at its forthcoming meeting.

# The United States in the United Nations

## THIRD REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Third Regular Session of the General Assembly opened in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot on September 21. At its first plenary session the Assembly elected Dr. Herbert V. Evatt (Australia) as its President and Paul-Henri Spaak (Belgium) as Chairman of the Political and Security Committee (Committee I).

### Secretary Marshall's Address

In his address before the General Assembly on September 23, Secretary of State George C. Marshall, Chairman of the U.S. Delegation, stated that the United States does not want to increase existing tension in the United Nations but "we will not compromise essential principles" and "we will under no circumstances barter away the rights and freedoms of other peoples. We earnestly hope that all Members will find ways of contributing to the lessening of tensions and the promotion of peace with justice." The Secretary warned that those nations who are creating a deep rift between our countries and the rest of the world community must not be permitted to widen that rift any further.

### Agenda

General debate got under way at the second meeting of the Assembly on September 23, when 70 agenda items were allocated among the appropriate committees. New items approved for the agenda included the question of extending the U.N. Appeal for Children through next year; future of former Italian colonies; Mediator's report on Palestine; creation of U.N. Guard force; and reparation for those injured in U.N. service.

Andrei Vyshinsky (U.S.S.R.) on September 25 introduced a resolution calling upon the major powers to reduce all their armaments by one third within a year. The resolution would have the Assembly recommend that an international control body be established by the Security Council, where the veto prevails, "for the supervision and control over implementation of measures for reduction of armaments and armed forces and for prohibition of atomic weapons."

A member of the U.S. Delegation pointed out that the United States welcomes the emphasis that the Soviet Union places upon the importance of the regulation and reduction of armaments. The development of a necessary basis for a system for control of atomic energy is the crucial aspect of the problem of armaments regulation. The Soviet Union in former discussions in the Atomic Energy Commission had rejected such a plan. The U.S. spokesman continued that the position of the United States on this question has been repeatedly stated and has been recently confirmed by a vote of the United States Senate.

On September 28 the General Assembly agreed

to add to its agenda the Soviet proposal, and the item was referred to Committee I.

The United States on September 29 charged the Soviet Union with action in the Berlin situation constituting a threat to the peace under the meaning of the U.N. Charter, and it requested the Security Council to consider the case as soon as possible. Ambassador Austin signed the U.S. request and sent it to the Secretary-General at the same time that identical notifications from Great Britain and France were delivered. In this request the three Governments draw attention to "the serious situation which has arisen as the result of the unilateral imposition by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of restrictions on transport and communications between the Western zones of occupation in Germany and Berlin."

On September 30, Ambassador Austin told Committee I that only international control of atomic energy could assure long-time security. Mr. Austin renewed the U.S. offer to share its atomic knowledge with the world under an international control system which would provide safeguards against "destructive rivalry in atomic weapons." The vast U.S. atomic-development plant, Mr. Austin said, would be placed under an international agency after that agency is deemed to be in effective operation. This procedure, according to the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, is vital to assure against what would amount to unilateral disarmament by the United States under a proposal such as that of the Soviet Union whereby discussion of control plans must await prohibition and destruction of existing atomic weapons. Mr. Austin recalled that the Soviet proposal was studied at length by the Commission whose majority "reached conclusions which are briefly described by these words from the Commission reports: 'completely unrealistic', 'feeble', and 'fundamentally inadequate'."

The Soviet proposal, Mr. Austin explained, "would allow any nation to carry on scientific research regardless of dangerous materials or facilities involved. The U.N. Commission in its third report declares that in the Soviet proposal 'there appears to be no limit to the clandestine activities that may take place in laboratories ostensibly devoted to peaceful work.'

"Should a violation of security be discovered the international agency must be empowered to prevent its fruition and correct the damage done to the cause of peace. The Commission provided for this by holding that judicial or other processes for the determination of violations and punishments must be certain and swift. And there must, the Commission said, be no legal right by veto or otherwise whereby a wilful violator could thwart punishment and evade the consequences of violation."

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## Calendar of Meetings <sup>1</sup>

### Adjourned during September

Council of Foreign Ministers: Deputies for Italian Colonial Problems . . . . .	London . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1947–Sept. 1, 1948
<b>1948</b>		
18th International Geological Congress . . . . .	London . . . . .	Aug. 25–Sept. 1
Ito (International Trade Organization): Meeting of Interim Commission.	Geneva . . . . .	Aug. 25–Sept. 15
United Nations: Economic and Social Council, Subcommission on Statistical Sampling.	Geneva . . . . .	Aug. 30–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union): Meeting of Administrative Council.	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 1–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization): Expert Conference for High Altitude Stations.	Interlaken, Switzerland . . . . .	Sept. 1–4
Sixth International Congress and Exposition of Photogrammetry . . . . .	The Hague . . . . .	Sept. 1–10
XXXVII General Assembly of the Interparliamentary Union . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Sept. 6–14
Royal Netherlands Industries Fair . . . . .	Utrecht . . . . .	Sept. 7–16
Inter-American Conference on the Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources.	Denver . . . . .	Sept. 7–20
IRO (International Refugee Organization): Seventh Part of First Session of Preparatory Commission.	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 10–
Council of Foreign Ministers: Discussions on the Disposition of Italian Pre-war Colonies.	Paris . . . . .	Sept. 13–15
Fifth International Conference of Directors of Mine Safety Research Stations.	Pittsburgh . . . . .	Sept. 20–24
ILO (International Labor Organization): Joint Maritime Commission.	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 20–25

### In Session as of October 1, 1948

Far Eastern Commission . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Feb. 26–
United Nations:		
Security Council . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 25–
Military Staff Committee . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 25–
<b>1947</b>		
Security Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question.	Lake Success . . . . .	Oct. 20–
General Assembly Special Committee on the Balkans . . . . .	Salonika and Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 21–
<b>1948</b>		
Temporary Commission on Korea . . . . .	Seoul . . . . .	Jan. 12–
Security Council's Kashmir Commission . . . . .	Geneva and Kashmir . . . . .	June 15–
General Assembly: Third Session . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Sept. 21–
<b>1946</b>		
German External Property Negotiations with Portugal (Safehaven) . . . . .	Lisbon . . . . .	Sept. 3–
<b>1948</b>		
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Provisional Frequency Board . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 15–
Planning Committee for High Frequency Broadcasting Conference . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Sept. 13–
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington . . . . .	Sept. 27–
International Monetary Fund: Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington . . . . .	Sept. 27–
ILO (International Labor Organization): Technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Factories.	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 27–
WHO (World Health Organization): Expert Committee on Tuberculosis.	Paris . . . . .	Sept. 30–
Conference for the Establishment of the International Union for the Protection of Nature.	Fontainebleau . . . . .	Sept. 30–
<b>Scheduled October 1–31, 1948</b>		
Pan American Sanitary Organization:		
Meeting of Executive Committee . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 2–3
Second Meeting of Directing Council . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 4–16
Second Meeting of Wool Study Group . . . . .	London . . . . .	Oct. 4–6

<sup>1</sup> Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

## Calendar of Meetings—Continued

International Council for the Exploration of the Sea . . . . .	Copenhagen . . . . .	Oct. 4-11
Second Inter-American Conference on Indian Life . . . . .	Cuzco, Peru . . . . .	Oct. 10-20
Universal Postal Union: Meeting of the Provisional Executive and Liaison Committee.	Bern . . . . .	Oct. 11-
Ninth General Conference on Weights and Measures . . . . .	Paris and Sèvres . . . . .	Oct. 12-21
Bolivian International Fair . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Oct. 20-
Fourth Pan American Consultation on Cartography . . . . .	Buenos Aires . . . . .	Oct. 15-
Who (World Health Organization):		
Expert Committee on Venereal Disease . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 15-19
Second Session of Executive Board . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 25-
Fifth Inter-American Congress of Surgery . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Oct. 17-21
ITU (International Telecommunication Union): International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting.	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 22-
Second Meeting of South Pacific Commission . . . . .	Sydney . . . . .	Oct. 25-
International Tin Study Group: Third Meeting . . . . .	The Hague . . . . .	Oct. 25-
ILO (International Labor Organization): Industrial Committee on Textiles: Second Session.	Cairo . . . . .	Oct. 26-

## U.S. Delegations to International Meetings

### Protection of Nature

The Department of State announced September 22 that Ira Noel Gabrielson, President, Wildlife Management Institute, Washington, has been designated Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Conference for the Establishment of the International Union for the Protection of Nature, scheduled to be held at Fontainebleau, France, September 30-October 7, 1948. Harold Jefferson Coolidge, Executive Secretary, Pacific Science Board, National Research Council, has been appointed to serve as delegate.

This Conference has been called by the French Government in conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to adopt a final constitution for the International Union for the Protection of Nature which was created provisionally by an international conference convened by the Swiss League for the Protection of Nature at Brunnen, Switzerland, in 1947.

### Wool

The Department of State announced on September 24 the United States Delegation to the Second Meeting of the International Wool Study Group, scheduled to be held at London, England, October 4-6, 1948. The Delegation is as follows:

#### Chairman

Donald D. Kennedy, Chief, International Resources Division, Department of State

#### Advisers

Rene Lutz, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

Floyd E. Davis, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, London

The purpose of the meeting is to exchange information and views regarding the present general wool situation, to consider any specific problems that may have arisen since the last meeting held at London in March and April, 1947, and to discuss improvements in the organization and activities of the Study Group.

The establishment of the Wool Study Group was proposed at the International Wool Talks at London in 1946 when representatives from 13 countries substantially interested in the production, consumption, and trade of wool reviewed the world situation of apparel wool. The desirability of keeping the world position of wool under inter-governmental review was unanimously agreed upon at that meeting.

### Cartography

The Department of State announced on September 22 the United States Delegation to the Fourth Pan American Consultation on Cartography, scheduled to be held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, October 15-November 14, 1948. The Delegation is as follows:

#### Chairman

Robert H. Randall, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President; U.S. Member and Chairman, Commission on Cartography, Pan American Institute of Geography and History

#### Delegates

Lt. Col. Albert G. Foote, Commanding Officer, Aeronautical Chart Service, Department of the Air Force

Capt. Clement L. Garner (Retired), Former Chief, Division of Geodesy, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce

Charles B. Hitchcock, Assistant Director, American Geographical Society

Capt. Allen Hobbs, Hydrographer of the Navy, Department of the Navy

## ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPMENTS

- Col. John G. Ladd, Office of Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army  
Col. Freemont S. Tandy, Chief, Inter-American Geodetic Survey, Caribbean Defense Command, C.Z.  
Marshall S. Wright, Technical Assistant to the Chief, Office of Plans and Operations, Department of Agriculture

### *Advisers*

- Capt. K. T. Adams, Chief, Division of Photogrammetry, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce  
Brig. Gen. Paul T. Cullen, Commanding General, 311th Air Division Reconnaissance, Topeka Air Force Base, Topeka, Kans.  
Harry T. Kelsh, Head, Methods and Standards Unit, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior  
Guillermo Medina, Chief Engineer, Hydrographic Office, Department of the Navy  
Col. William H. Mills, Commanding Officer, Army Map Service, Department of the Army  
Comdr. Elliott B. Roberts, Chief, Division of Geomagnetism and Seismology, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce

### *Adviser and Secretary*

- Andre C. Simonpietri, Special Adviser, Department of State

The Fourth Pan American Consultation on Cartography will be a meeting of the Commission on Cartography, one of several technical commissions of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. The Cartography Commission, established by the Institute's Assembly held at Lima, Peru, in 1941 to further the surveying and mapping activities of the member governments of the Institute, provides the medium for the interchange of knowledge and techniques among the officials of

the American governments working in these fields.

At the Fourth Consultation on Cartography new developments and techniques in the field will be considered and the establishment of uniform standards of accuracy will be furthered. The meeting will be divided into the following committees: geodesy, including gravity and geomagnetism; topographic maps and aerial photogrammetry; aeronautical charts; hydrography, including tides and special maps; and urban surveys.

In addition to the committee sessions there will be an exhibit of instruments and equipment used in the production of all types of cartographic documents. This will be the first time that an exhibit of this nature has been held in connection with the Consultation. United States manufacturers of cartographic instruments have been invited by the Argentine Government to participate in the display. There will also be the regular exhibit of map products by member governments which is always a part of the Consultation.

The Third Pan American Consultation on Cartography was held concurrently with the Fourth General Assembly of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History at Caracas, Venezuela, August-September 1946. Invitations to participate in the forthcoming Consultation have been extended by the Argentine Government to all the American republics and Canada, to the members of the Commission on Cartography, and to interested international organizations.

## Executive Committee Achievements of ITO Interim Commission

[Released to the press September 20]

The Department of State announced on September 20 that a number of organizational and procedural agreements were reached at the recent second session of the Executive Committee of the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization, held at Geneva.

The agenda of the second session consisted of a number of procedural and organizational matters. Several recommendations were considered and agreed upon by the Committee with respect to such items as the relationship of the ITO, when established, to other international organizations and bodies, such as the International Court of Justice, the International Monetary Fund, and the Food and Agriculture Organization; the expenses incurred during preparatory meetings which drafted the Havana ITO charter; and the preparation of an authentic Spanish text of the Havana charter for submission to those Spanish-speaking governments which are members of the Interim Commission.

The Commission was decided upon last winter when the charter for an International Trade Or-

ganization, known as the Havana charter, was drawn up at Havana by a conference at which some 57 countries participated and which lasted four and a half months. It was realized at Havana that it might take a considerable length of time for the charter to be ratified by the required number of governments. Therefore the Havana conference, by resolution, established an Interim Commission to deal with certain administrative and procedural matters which should be provided for before the Trade Organization itself would be established. The 53 member countries of the Interim Commission selected 18 of the members as an Executive Committee to perform these tasks. The use of the Interim Commission technique has also been adopted by the other specialized agencies set up by the United Nations, such as the health and refugee organizations.

The 18 countries selected are Australia, the Benelux countries (acting as a unit), Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, India, Italy, Mexico, Norway, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This Executive Commit-

tee held its first, purely organizational meeting in Havana directly after the Havana conference and elected Dana Wilgress, Canadian Minister in Bern, as Chairman. The second meeting of the Committee began in Geneva on August 25 and

ended on September 15. All the 18 member countries were represented. The United States Delegation was headed by Leroy D. Stinebower, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs.

## Plans To Increase Value of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

[Released to the press September 22]

The second session of the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which opened in Geneva on August 16, completed its work on September 14. It has laid plans designed to increase further the value of the agreement to the countries already parties, including the United States, and to enable more countries to become parties.

Under the general agreement itself, negotiated in 1947 by the United States and 22 other countries, each country agrees to certain general rules for the conduct of its international trade and grants to all the others a schedule of specific concessions in its tariff treatment of imports, including reductions in tariffs, bindings of moderate rates or of free treatment, reductions or eliminations of preferences, and the like. These concessions cover about one half of total world trade.

### Accession of New Countries

The major accomplishment of the meeting just ended is adoption of procedures for bringing additional countries into the agreement as rapidly as possible through tariff negotiations with them. On inquiry by the contracting parties it was found that several countries not yet parties are definitely interested in early accession. A timetable was accordingly adopted for negotiations with them. Requests for concessions are to be exchanged between the present parties and the new countries and also among the new countries by January 15, 1949. Definitive negotiations are scheduled to open at Geneva on April 11, 1949. The new countries which will negotiate are Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay.

So far as the United States is concerned, negotiations will be conducted under the usual trade-agreement procedure as recently amended by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948. The customary notice of intention to negotiate, accompanied by announcement of products to be considered for possible concession by this country, will be made as soon as the necessary preparatory work is completed by the interdepartmental trade-agreements organization.

### Other Tariff Negotiations

Except in certain special cases there will be no reopening of negotiations among the countries which are already parties to the agreement. Brazil, however, was granted temporary permission to establish rates on three items which are higher than otherwise permitted under the general agreement, in consideration of the fact that the Brazilian Congress has applied rates on a number of other items which are lower than the maximum permitted by the agreement. Within 60 days the interested countries are to negotiate a definitive adjustment of the concessions involved. Ceylon and Pakistan were also authorized to renegotiate certain concessions which each had granted to other countries. Cuba was granted permission to renegotiate with the United States the rates of duty on six items which Cuba is finding it difficult to apply as originally negotiated, the understanding being that the United States is to receive full compensation for any modifications agreed to. These adjustments are to be worked out bilaterally subject to final action at the time of the negotiations next spring. Any other negotiations among countries already parties to the agreement are likely to be in the nature of completion of work which it was not possible to finish at the 1947 conference, none of it involving the United States.

### Most-Favored-Nation Treatment for Western Germany

One of the most important achievements of the conference was agreement by a substantial number of countries to extend to Western Germany most-favored-nation treatment with respect to merchandise trade on a reciprocal basis. This undertaking is incorporated in a separate document, not a part of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and was opened for signature on September 14. So far nine countries have signed, and it is expected that most of the remaining countries represented at the meeting will sign in the near future.

### Modification of General Agreement

Some changes were also made in the agreement which, it was felt by the contracting parties, were an improvement over the original text. These changes were based largely on work done at the Havana trade conference subsequent to the conclusion of the general agreement.

In addition, Chile was accorded an extension of time, to February 17, 1949, in which to become a contracting party to the agreement, even though after negotiating concessions at Geneva Chile did not put the agreement provisionally into effect by June 30, 1948, the time originally set.

Arrangements were made under which the United States will be free to accord preferences to imports from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Though technically this constitutes establishment of a new preference, it will permit the working out of a trading arrangement which will promote the advancement of the peoples of the Trust Territory consistent with United States obligations under this country's trusteeship agreement with the Security Council of the United Nations.

### **Cuban-American Trade**

During the session just ended, the United States submitted to the contracting parties under article XXIII of the general agreement a problem arising out of an import licensing system applied by Cuba with respect to a wide range of products, including raw cotton and cotton, rayon and wool fabrics, and wearing apparel. Cuba's action had the effect of preventing the importation of these products from the United States and other countries, thus nullifying in considerable part the benefits granted by Cuba in the general agreement. The contracting parties recommended that Cuba promptly take steps to relieve the immediate difficulties and to consult with representatives of the United States Government at Habana with a view to finding a mutually satisfactory solution of the problems that have arisen in connection with the Cuban import controls under Cuban Resolution 530. On September 14 the Cuban Government issued a resolution removing restrictions on the importation of all products except piece-goods remnants and waste other than industrial. The restrictions on the importation of these products will be discussed by the Cuban Government and the United States Embassy at Habana.

### **Discussions on Convention for Foreign Motor Travel**

[Released to the press September 20]

To prepare for a new international convention designed to permit motorists to drive their cars in foreign countries, the Department of State is holding informal discussions with interested groups.

The American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, composed of State officials responsible for issuing drivers' licenses and registration plates, endorsed the Department's plans at their annual meeting in Detroit September 10. On September 21 a meeting of private agencies, including motoring associations, bus and truck associations, and other highway-user groups, was held

in Washington to discuss the matter. In October representatives of all Federal Government agencies interested in highway and touring problems will meet in Washington for the same purpose. Out of these informal discussions is expected to develop a list of the main points which the United States will desire to have included in the proposed world-wide convention in order to make possible the adherence of this Government, for the benefit of American motorists.

Final action on the convention will be taken under the auspices of the United Nations, whose Economic and Social Council recently authorized the holding of an international conference for this purpose before the end of August 1949.

### **South Pacific Commission Meeting**

The Department of State announced on September 15 that the three United States Commissioners in the South Pacific Commission had arrived at Washington for a three-day period of consultation.

Those attending the series of meetings are:

*Senior Commissioner:* Felix M. Kessing, Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University.

*Commissioner:* Milton Shalleck, lawyer of New York City.

*Alternate Commissioner:* Karl C. Leebrick, Acting President of the University of Hawaii.

This will be the first meeting at Washington of the United States Commissioners, who were appointed by the President on April 28, 1948. It has been arranged in order that the Commissioners may confer with officers of this Government on matters relating to the South Pacific Commission. Among problems which the Commissioners will discuss are items on the agenda of the Second Session of the Commission to be convened at Sydney, Australia, on October 25.

The South Pacific Commission was established May 1948 as a regional advisory and consultative body on social and economic matters to the Governments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The territorial scope of the Commission comprises all those non-self-governing territories in the Pacific Ocean which are administered by these participating Governments and which lie wholly or in part south of the Equator and east from and including Netherlands New Guinea.

The Commission will be concerned primarily with subjects which are of every-day concern in the lives of the people, particularly agriculture (including animal husbandry), communications, transport, fisheries, forestry, industry, labor, marketing, production, trade and finance, public works, education, health, housing, and social welfare.

**Bulgaria's Disregard for Obligations Under Peace Treaty and U. N. Charter**

[Released to the press September 24]

*Text of an aide-mémoire delivered September 23, 1948, to Bulgarian Foreign Minister Kolarov by the American Minister in Sofia, Donald R. Heath*

The United States Government has noted that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a speech in the Sobranje on September 4, is reported to have stated that Bulgaria has been scrupulous in fulfilling its obligations under the Peace Treaty, and to have attributed to the United States the rejection of Bulgaria's application for membership in the United Nations.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs is quoted as saying that "during the past year Bulgaria carried out and continues to carry out all she contracted under the Peace Treaty". On the contrary, from the very moment it signed the Treaty the Bulgarian Government has prosecuted a systematic and ruthless campaign to obliterate democratic opposition, in direct disregard of the fundamental principles of freedom which it undertook by Article 2 to secure. Through abuse of the instrumentalities of police power and subversion of judicial process, the Bulgarian Government has subjected substantial numbers of the Bulgarian people whose only crime was a belief in the rights of man, to involuntary servitude, banishment, concentration camps, imprisonment, torture and execution. It has obliterated the opposition press and by means of terror stifled free expression. On the day after it ratified the Peace Treaty the National Assembly adopted legislation declaring any attempt to reestablish under any form a political party which in the last elections, despite fraud and intimidation, was admitted by the Bulgarian Government to have polled over one-fourth of the total vote, to be a crime punishable by life imprisonment or death. The United States Government and the world was shocked when, one week after the Treaty came into effect, the Bulgarian

Government performed the judicial murder of Nikola Petkov.

As regards the reported claim of the Minister for Foreign Affairs that Bulgaria is abiding by the provisions of the military clauses of the Treaty, the United States Government refers to its requests to observe the execution of the military provisions of the Treaty, such as Article 12, and to obtain officially information concerning the size of Bulgaria's military establishment, which have been rejected.

The United States Government would be happy to welcome Bulgaria into the United Nations. However, the Bulgarian Government has not shown itself qualified for membership in that organization under the provisions of the Charter. Aside from non-fulfillment of its international obligations under the Peace Treaty as noted above, a majority of the Security Council Balkan Commission of the United Nations in which Bulgaria seeks membership determined that the Bulgarian Government has supported on its territory guerilla activity directed against Greece, a member of the United Nations, of which further confirmation, tantamount to an admission of guilt, is apparent in the effort Bulgaria has made to obstruct the work of that Commission and of the subsequent Special Balkan Committee of the General Assembly. In its Supplementary Report of September 10, 1948 to its Annual Report to the General Assembly, the Special Balkan Committee, in confirming its finding that such Bulgarian support is continuing, has declared that the conduct of Bulgaria "has been inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations". In the circumstances, Bulgaria's application has failed of support not only of the United States but also of the overwhelming majority of other members of the Security Council.

THE AMERICAN LEGATION,  
*Sofia, September 23, 1948.*

**Efforts To Assist Near Eastern Refugees**

**STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY LOVETT**

[Released to the press September 22]

It will be recalled that the late Count Bernadotte, United Nations mediator for Palestine, recently directed an appeal to the United States for aid to Near Eastern refugees. In response to the critical nature of this emergency, the Department's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid is

mobilizing American voluntary resources, and substantial assistance has already been rendered by church and lay groups. In order to expedite delivery in the Near East of urgently needed supplies, the Department has authorized the American Mission for Aid to Greece to release certain foodstuffs and DDT, which will be replenished through

monetary contributions from American voluntary sources.

In Count Bernadotte's last report to the United Nations he laid particular emphasis on the fact

that aid provided to date is inadequate to meet any continuing need. It is hoped that the American people will respond with generosity and sympathy to this urgent need.

#### PLANNING COMMITTEE APPOINTED

William L. Batt, Acting Chairman of the Advisory Committee, has appointed a planning committee composed of representatives of church, educational, industrial, and lay interests under the chairmanship of A. L. Warnshuis, in collaboration with the American Red Cross. The planning committee, which reports to all interested organizations and groups, is serving as a focal point for American relief activities. It is now engaged in the procurement of food supplies and is collaborating with the Christian Rural Overseas Program in obtaining wheat. It is also stimulating collections of clothing and blankets through the church organizations. The Near East Foundation is providing the planning committee with facilities for its operations and is serving as a repository for contributions. To insure its most effective use, American aid will be coordinated with the efforts of Sir Rafael Cilento, the mediator's Director of Relief Operations.

In response to the appeal for voluntary support a number of gifts in the form of monetary con-

tributions, supplies, and services are being made available from church and industrial sources. Additional assistance is being rendered. The American Red Cross is providing the services of expert personnel to assist in refugee activities and has donated two ambulances to the Syrian Red Crescent. It has also made available medical supplies valued at \$50,000 in addition to its earlier contributions estimated at \$450,000.

These efforts to alleviate the critical situation of the Near Eastern refugees are being pursued with the unqualified support of the Department of State. The major portion of these refugees, of whom 75 percent are women and children, are now destitute. Thousands are without funds, shelter, or adequate supplies of food, water, and clothing. Medical and sanitary facilities are too limited to meet the needs of the present situation. The Department is hopeful that this great humanitarian problem will meet with the sympathetic response of the American people.

## Incident Involving Seating of Ethiopian Minister at Science Meeting

### EXCHANGE OF MEMORANDA BETWEEN DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN LEGATION

[Released to the press September 23]

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN LEGATION  
Washington, D.C.

September 20, 1948

The Imperial Ethiopian Legation acknowledges the receipt of the memorandum from the Department of State dated September 17th, expressing regret for the incident involving His Excellency Ras Imru, Minister of Ethiopia, on September 13, 1948.

The Legation, while very much appreciative for the endeavor of the Department to investigate into the circumstances of the case with a view toward taking appropriate action, regrets to state that the information given to the Department of State by the Organizations and individuals mentioned in the memorandum, alleging that the Minister was seated first in the box by mistake and was subsequently requested to move to the orchestra, which was assigned to him is incorrect. The explanation in the memorandum of the Department, therefore, which was based on such information and tending to justify the indignity and injury suffered by the Minister, is unacceptable to the Legation.

The Minister had in his hands tickets bearing Box Nos. E-2, 4, 6, and 8, issued to him and the other members of the Legation by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of which corresponding numbers were clearly shown on the Boxes. His Excellency went direct to the Boxes marked with the same numbers of the tickets in his hand and presented his tickets to an usher who was standing by and who checked the corresponding numbers of the tickets and the boxes and invited the Minister to choose one of the four seats mentioned hereinabove. His Excellency took Box No. 8, and it was from that same Box that he was told to leave.

For the verification of the fact stated above, and to enable the Department in its investigation of the case toward taking appropriate action as demanded in the previous note of this Legation, herewith is enclosed one of the tickets which the American Association for the Advancement of Science issued to His Excellency and members of his Legation for attending the ceremony on 13th September and which the Minister had in his hand on that date when the incident occurred.

The Department of State acknowledges the receipt of the note from the Imperial Ethiopian Legation, dated September 20, 1948, making further reference to the incident involving the Honorable Ras Imru, Minister of Ethiopia, at Constitution Hall on September 13, 1948.<sup>1</sup>

The Department, while reiterating its regret for the embarrassment caused the Minister, wishes to inform the Imperial Ethiopian Legation that its further investigations into the case, based on the information contained in the Legation's note under reference, confirm that the incident was solely the result of a series of misunderstandings.

The Department has examined the ticket enclosed with the Legation's note and finds that it bears the following inscription, the first two lines of which are printed and the third line type-written:

GUEST ADMISSION

Box No.

---

Reserved Seats E-2, 4, 6, 8.

It is apparent that the American Association for the Advancement of Science used a form guest ticket for the meeting on September 13. In the case of those Chiefs of Mission who were assigned box seats, the box number was inserted in the proper place by the Association. In the case, however, of those Chiefs of Mission who were assigned orchestra seats, the location of the reserved seats was typed in below the box reference. Owing to the Association's failure to delete the reference to the box, it is quite understandable that the Minister concluded that the seats reserved to him were in a box rather than on the floor of the auditorium. Furthermore, this impression was apparently confirmed when the usher, after examining the ticket, unfortunately made the mistake of directing the Minister to a box seat instead of to the orchestra seat assigned to him.

The Department's examination of the seating arrangement employed by the Association confirms this explanation. The boxes at Constitution Hall are numbered and bear no letter designation. E-2, 4, 6, 8, identify seat locations in the orchestra, rather than box locations.

The Department hopes that the foregoing satisfactorily explains the cause of the embarrassment to which the Minister was so regrettably subjected.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

*Washington, September 22, 1948*

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1948, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 15, 1948, p. 211.

## Radiotelegraph Service With Saudi Arabia

*Telegram from Secretary Marshall to the American Minister at Jidda, J. Rives Childs*

[Released to the press September 17]

*September 16, 1948*

Please convey to the Minister of Foreign Affairs my felicitations on the opening of direct radiotelegraph service between the United States and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and express to him the satisfaction this Government takes in the establishment of this channel of communications between our two countries.

In this, the first message to be sent over this circuit, I wish also to express appreciation for the assistance rendered by the Legation for the past several years in bringing this circuit into existence.

## Letter of Credence

*Egypt*

The newly appointed Ambassador of Egypt, Mohamed Kamel Abdul Rahim Bey, presented his letters of credence to the President on September 14, 1948. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 731 of September 14.

## Attackers of Stephen Haas Apprehended

[Released to the press September 10]

The American Embassy in Cairo has received a note dated August 22 from the Egyptian Foreign Office in reply to the Embassy's notes of July 19 and July 24 regarding the death of Stephen Haas.<sup>2</sup> After renewing the Egyptian Government's expression of deep regret for this unfortunate occurrence, the note states that three persons believed responsible for the attack have been apprehended and charged with the crime before the appropriate court and that they will receive the punishment they merit.

## Ceylon Appoints First Ambassador to U.S.

In pursuance of an agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Ceylon to exchange diplomatic representatives at the Embassy level, Felix Cole was accredited recently as Ambassador of the United States of America to Ceylon.

The Ceylon Government has now decided, in consultation with the Government of the United States, to appoint G. C. S. Corea, presently the Ceylon Government representative in London as Ceylon's first Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Corea is expected to assume the duties of his new post early in October 1948.

**Italy Expresses Gratitude for Economic Assistance**

[Released to the press by the White House September 17]

*Letter from Alcide de Gasperi, President of the Council of Ministers of Italy, to President Truman, after the signing of the economic-cooperation agreement by Italy and the United States*

Rome, July 6, 1948

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

In signing the Economic Cooperation Agreement with the Government of the United States, the Italian Government and people are fully aware of the gravity and importance of their undertaking. The number and range of recent debates in political circles and in the press are an indication of how thoroughly the commitment is appreciated in this country. We are likewise aware that the decision taken by Congress is the result of much consideration and debate by the public opinion of the United States, and that genuine concern is felt for the wise administration and best employment of American aid so generously tendered for the recovery of Europe.

My Government is fully appreciative of these considerations, and it is our resolve that our obligations under the Economic Cooperation Agreement be discharged in their spirit and in full.

I wish to reassure you that I will devote my personal attention to the execution of the Agreement, and will be in close and constant touch with those of my colleagues and advisers, in and outside the Cabinet, who are in charge of the Administration of the Plan. I shall therefore be most grateful, in the event of general or particular problems arising which, in your opinion or in that of your advisers, require special consideration or re-examination, if you will cause me to be personally informed.

Four years have now elapsed since from this newly released Capital we set about the mighty task of rebuilding the country. With the unstinted help of the people of America, we then repaired the wrecked fabric of our administration. More recently we have succeeded in establishing the democratic method. Now we go forward—again with your aid—to achieve full recovery both as a Nation and as a component and complementary part of world economy.

I feel confident that the concerted effort of so many wills to work effectively, and the firm desire to collaborate in the joint interests of peace and the economic welfare of so many millions of

men cannot fail, Mr. President, to carry us through successfully to our end.

I am, my dear Mr. President,  
respectfully yours,  
DE GASPERI

*Letter from President Truman to Premier De Gasperi*

September 16, 1948

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Thank you for the letter you wrote to me after signing the Economic Cooperation Agreement.

Men everywhere participate in and contribute more effectively to an undertaking when the terms and purposes are clearly understood and the commitments are freely undertaken. The great amount of discussion in our respective countries and the large consensus in favor of the Agreement augurs well for its success.

The American people support this program wholeheartedly both for humanitarian and for practical reasons. In a world growing smaller day by day, no nation can profit by isolating itself. Mutual dependence means that your welfare affects our welfare and vice versa. Therefore, for our sake, for your sake, and for the sake of all other like-minded countries, it is our hope that the program in Italy and elsewhere will be crowned with success.

I express my admiration for the will to work shown by the Italian people in their most difficult moments. I admire also the sense of moderation and political maturity shown by your people who have regained so recently the privileges and responsibilities inherent in a liberal democracy.

I am certain that with the broad participation in the Recovery Program of all elements in the Italian nation, with your demonstrated will to work, and with your political maturity, Italy will play a significant constructive part in the European Recovery Program.

With cordial greetings, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
HARRY S. TRUMAN

**No Time Limit on Filing Claims for Property Loss in Italy**

[Released to the press September 9]

The attention of the Department of State has been called to statements in the press which have been interpreted by residents of the United States as indicating that claims of American citizens for compensation on account of damage to, or removal or destruction of, property in Italy during the war, must be filed by September 15, 1948.<sup>1</sup> The Department points out that no time limit has as yet been fixed for the filing of claims of that character.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of May 2, 1948, p. 584.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Facts Relating to Withdrawal of Donald F. Ewing From Legation at Sofia

[Released to the press September 5]

With reference to the report of the Bulgarian radio concerning the withdrawal from the American Legation in Sofia of Vice Consul Donald F. Ewing, the following are the facts in the matter.

On July 16, 1948, in response to their request, Vice Consul Ewing agreed to meet, outside the Legation, two Bulgarian acquaintances whom he had previously known in connection with the visa work of the Legation to which he was assigned but had not seen in several months. The Bulgarian secret police arrested the two Bulgarians in Mr. Ewing's company, and on the basis of a document of which the contents are unknown allegedly "found" in the pocket of one of them and of alleged subsequent "confessions" on their part to the effect that they had been engaging in "espionage" for the United States through Ewing, the Bulgarian Government declared Ewing *persona non grata* and requested his recall.

The American Minister protested to the Bulgarian Government the arbitrary nature of that Government's action on the basis of a transparently fabricated maneuver on the part of Bulgarian authorities.

Mr. Ewing has left Bulgaria.

### Consular Offices at Matamoros and Agua Prieta To Remain Open

[Released to the press September 21]

The American Consulates at Matamoros and Agua Prieta, Mexico, will not be closed September 30, as previously announced. These two important Foreign Service posts on the United States-Mexican border will be kept open for at least four more months, when the question will be re-examined.

The decision to continue to maintain the posts at Matamoros and Agua Prieta was reached at a conference of Department of State and Foreign Service officials in Washington, where communications protesting the closing of the posts were considered. Among those asking that the posts be maintained were Senators Tom Connally and W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas; Senators Ernest W. McFarland and Carl Hayden of Arizona; Congressmen Milton H. West and Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas; Congressman-elect Lloyd Benson of Texas; the chambers of commerce of Brownsville, San Benito, Corpus Christi, and Welasco, Tex., and Bisbee and Douglas, Ariz.; the Brownsville Rotary

Club; and a considerable number of prominent citizens, including Curtis Vinson of the Brownsville *Herald*, Salvador Loya of the Brownsville Palm-Hat Factory, S. A. Albert Mendelsohn of the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company, and Frank Greene of the Greene Cananea Cattle Company.

Following the conference John E. Peurifoy, Assistant Secretary of State for administration, announced that the Mexican border posts would be kept open at least temporarily. He said:

"It is never pleasant to consider the closing of one of our posts abroad, particularly ones so long in existence and in areas so thriving as Matamoros and Agua Prieta, but it is our clear duty on the other hand constantly to review all our posts and maintain only as many as, under available appropriations, can be properly supported in the performance of their functions as required by law.

"The decision against continuing to maintain Matamoros and Agua Prieta seemed unavoidable. It was taken only after long and serious consideration, and with the greatest reluctance.

"As a result of the earnest solicitations offered by the representatives of Congress and others interested, however, we have reconsidered the matter in the hope that these posts may be maintained without break. At considerable sacrifice elsewhere we have succeeded in finding ways and means of keeping these offices open for at least the next four months. By that time we should know more about the future and it will then be appropriate to reexamine the situation."

Located across the Rio Grande River from Brownsville, Tex., Matamoros is an important center of inter-American commerce. It is joined to the United States by the connection of the National Railroad Lines of Mexico to two American railroads, by a recently completed link of the Inter-American Highway, and by airlines operating out of a nearby international airport. Through Matamoros is funneled bus, truck, and automobile traffic serving the commercial and tourist trade between two nations.

Agua Prieta, located opposite Douglas, Ariz., is in the midst of a rapidly developing minerals area and is thus the center of increasing trade between the United States and Mexico.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officer

Arthur B. Berthold, as Chief of the Bibliography Branch, Division of Libraries and Reference Services, effective September 17, 1948.

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\* 9353, 1A30

*The Department of State*

# bulletin

*Vol. XIX, No. 484*

*October 10, 1948*

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U. S. SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS

OCT 25 1948



# *The Department of State* bulletin

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## The Berlin Crisis

### U.S. NOTIFIES U.N. OF SERIOUS SITUATION<sup>1</sup>

*29 September 1948*

I have the honor, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, in agreement with the Governments of the French Republic and the United Kingdom, to draw your attention to the serious situation which has arisen as the result of the unilateral imposition by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of restrictions on transport and communications between the Western Zones of Occupation in Germany and Berlin. Quite apart from the fact that it is in conflict with the rights of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of France and the United Kingdom with regard to the occupation and administration of Berlin, this action by the Soviet Government is contrary to its obligations under Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and creates a threat to the peace within the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter.

2. It is clear from the protracted exchange of notes and the conversations which have taken place on the initiative of the three governments between them and the Soviet Government that the three governments, conscious of their obligation under the Charter to settle their disputes by peaceful means, have made every effort to resolve their differences directly with the Soviet Government. Copies of the relevant documents are submitted separately. In particular, attention is drawn to the summary of the situation which is contained in the notes of the United States Government and the Governments of France and the United Kingdom, dated September 26/27, 1948, as follows:

“The issue between the Soviet Government and the Western Occupying Powers is, therefore, not that of technical difficulties in communications nor that of reaching agreement upon the conditions for the regulation of the currency for Berlin. The issue is that the Soviet Government has clearly shown by its actions that it is attempting by illegal and coercive measures in disregard of its obligations to secure political objectives to which it is

not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means. It has resorted to blockade measures; it has threatened the Berlin population with starvation, disease and economic ruin; it has tolerated disorders and attempted to overthrow the duly elected municipal government of Berlin. The attitude and conduct of the Soviet Government reveal sharply its purpose to continue its illegal and coercive blockade and its unlawful actions designed to reduce the status of the United States, the United Kingdom and France as occupying powers in Berlin to one of complete subordination to Soviet rule, and thus to obtain absolute authority over the economic, political and social life of the people of Berlin, and to incorporate the city in the Soviet zone.

“The Soviet Government has thereby taken upon itself sole responsibility for creating a situation, in which further recourse to the means of settlement prescribed in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations is not, in existing circumstances, possible, and which constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In order that international peace and security may not be further endangered the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, therefore, while reserving to themselves full rights to take such measures as may be necessary to maintain in these circumstances their position in Berlin, find themselves obliged to refer the action of the Soviet Government to the Security Council of the United Nations.”

3. Accordingly, the Government of the United States requests that the Security Council consider this question at the earliest opportunity.

WARREN R. AUSTIN

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<sup>1</sup> Note addressed to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations. The notifications of the Governments of the French Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States are contained in U.N. doc. S/1020, Sept. 29, 1948; the annexed documents were distributed separately. The U.S. notification was also released to the press in Washington on Sept. 29, 1948.

## LIST OF RELATED DOCUMENTS

The documents being submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Government of the United States, the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the United Kingdom are as follows:

- I A. Identic notes from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom addressed to the Government of the U.S.S.R., dated July 6, 1948.
- I B. Note from the Government of the French Republic addressed to the Government of the U.S.S.R., dated July 6, 1948.
- II A. Identic notes of the Government of the U.S.S.R., dated July 14, 1948, addressed to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom.
- II B. Note of the Government of the U.S.S.R., dated July 14, 1948, addressed to the Government of the French Republic.
- III. *Aide-mémoire* delivered to Mr. Zorin on July 30, 1948, by the representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the French Republic.
- IV. Oral statement to Premier Stalin made on August 3, 1948, by the United States Ambassador on behalf of the representatives of the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and the French Republic.
- V. The directive to the four Military Governors in Berlin agreed to on August 30, 1948, by the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the United States, United Kingdom and the French Republic.
- VI. Joint report of the conversations of the four Military Governors in Berlin by the United States, United Kingdom and French Military Governors in Germany, dated September 7, 1948.
- VII. *Aide-mémoire* delivered to Mr. Molotov on September 14, 1948, by the representatives of the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and the French Republic.
- VIII. *Aide-mémoire* of the Government of the U.S.S.R., delivered to the representatives of the United States, United Kingdom and the French Republic on September 18, 1948.
- IX. Identic notes from the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and the French Republic addressed to the Government of the U.S.S.R., dated September 22, 1948.
- X. Identic notes of the Government of the U.S.S.R., dated September 25, 1948, addressed to the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and France.
- XI. Identic notes to the Government of the U.S.S.R., from the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, dated September 26-27, 1948.

## Position on Withdrawal of Troops From Korea

### EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS

No. 155 [Translation] [Released to the press September 30]

*September 18, 1948*

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents his compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America and requests the following be communicated to the Government of the United States of America.

The Supreme National Assembly of Korea on September 10, 1948 addressed itself to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to the Government of the United States of America with a request for the simultaneous and immediate withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from Korea.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having considered this appeal of the Supreme National Assembly of Korea, have recognized as possible meeting the wish expressed in this appeal and have given appropriate instructions to the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the evacuation of Soviet troops from northern Korea so that the evacuation would be concluded at the end of December, 1948.

At the same time the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet expressed the hope that the Government of the United States of America will also agree to evacuate American troops from southern Korea within this period.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on September 18 informed the President of the Presidium of the Supreme National Assembly of Korea, Mr. Kim Doo Bong, of the above decision.

*September 28, 1948*

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to acknowledge receipt of the Ministry's note no. 155 of September 18, 1948, in connection with the withdrawal of occupation forces from Korea. The text of the Ministry's note was immediately communicated to the United States Government which has now instructed the Embassy to state that the United States Government has taken note of the decision of the Soviet Government to evacuate its occupation forces from Korea by the end of December, 1948.

The Embassy has been further instructed to state that the United States Government regards the question of troop withdrawal as part of the larger question of Korean unity and independence, concerning which its views will be presented at the appropriate time by the United States Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

# The Struggle for Human Rights

BY MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT<sup>1</sup>

U.S. Representative to the Commission on Human Rights

I have come this evening to talk with you on one of the greatest issues of our time—that is the preservation of human freedom. I have chosen to discuss it here in France, at the Sorbonne, because here in this soil the roots of human freedom have long ago struck deep and here they have been richly nourished. It was here the Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed, and the great slogans of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—fired the imagination of men. I have chosen to discuss this issue in Europe because this has been the scene of the greatest historic battles between freedom and tyranny. I have chosen to discuss it in the early days of the General Assembly because the issue of human liberty is decisive for the settlement of outstanding political differences and for the future of the United Nations.

The decisive importance of this issue was fully recognized by the founders of the United Nations at San Francisco. Concern for the preservation and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms stands at the heart of the United Nations. Its Charter is distinguished by its preoccupation with the rights and welfare of individual men and women. The United Nations has made it clear that it intends to uphold human rights and to protect the dignity of the human personality. In the preamble to the Charter the keynote is set when it declares: "We the people of the United Nations determined . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." This reflects the basic premise of the Charter that the peace and security of mankind are dependent on mutual respect for the rights and freedoms of all.

One of the purposes of the United Nations is declared in article 1 to be: "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 for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

This thought is repeated at several points and notably in articles 55 and 56 the Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations for the promotion of "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

The Human Rights Commission was given as its first and most important task the preparation of an International Bill of Rights. The General Assembly which opened its third session here in Paris a few days ago will have before it the first fruit of the Commission's labors in this task, that is the International Declaration of Human Rights.

This Declaration was finally completed after much work during the last session of the Human Rights Commission in New York in the spring of 1948. The Economic and Social Council has sent it without recommendation to the General Assembly, together with other documents transmitted by the Human Rights Commission.

It was decided in our Commission that a Bill of Rights should contain two parts:

1. A Declaration which could be approved through action of the Member States of the United Nations in the General Assembly. This Declaration would have great moral force, and would say to the peoples of the world "this is what we hope human rights may mean to all people in the years to come." We have put down here the rights that we consider basic for individual human beings the world over to have. Without them, we feel that the full development of individual personality is impossible.

2. The second part of the bill, which the Human Rights Commission has not yet completed because of the lack of time, is a covenant which would be in the form of a treaty to be presented to the nations of the world. Each nation, as it is prepared to do so, would ratify this covenant and the covenant would then become binding on the nations which adhere to it. Each nation ratifying would then be obligated to change its laws wherever they did not conform to the points contained in the covenant.

This covenant, of course, would have to be a simpler document. It could not state aspirations, which we feel to be permissible in the Declaration. It could only state rights which could be assured by law and it must contain methods of imple-

<sup>1</sup>Address delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, Sept. 28, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

mentation, and no state ratifying the covenant could be allowed to disregard it. The methods of implementation have not yet been agreed upon, nor have they been given adequate consideration by the Commission at any of its meetings. There certainly should be discussion on the entire question of this world Bill of Human Rights and there may be acceptance by this Assembly of the Declaration if they come to agreement on it. The acceptance of the Declaration, I think, should encourage every nation in the coming months to discuss its meaning with its people so that they will be better prepared to accept the covenant with a deeper understanding of the problems involved when that is presented, we hope, a year from now and, we hope, accepted.

The Declaration has come from the Human Rights Commission with unanimous acceptance except for four abstentions—the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. The reason for this is a fundamental difference in the conception of human rights as they exist in these states and in certain other Member States in the United Nations.

In the discussion before the Assembly, I think it should be made crystal clear what these differences are and tonight I want to spend a little time making them clear to you. It seems to me there is a valid reason for taking the time today to think carefully and clearly on the subject of human rights, because in the acceptance and observance of these rights lies the root, I believe, of our chance for peace in the future, and for the strengthening of the United Nations organization to the point where it can maintain peace in the future.

We must not be confused about what freedom is. Basic human rights are simple and easily understood: freedom of speech and a free press; freedom of religion and worship; freedom of assembly and the right of petition; the right of men to be secure in their homes and free from unreasonable search and seizure and from arbitrary arrest and punishment.

We must not be deluded by the efforts of the forces of reaction to prostitute the great words of our free tradition and thereby to confuse the struggle. Democracy, freedom, human rights have come to have a definite meaning to the people of the world which we must not allow any nation to so change that they are made synonymous with suppression and dictatorship.

There are basic differences that show up even in the use of words between a democratic and a totalitarian country. For instance "democracy" means one thing to the U.S.S.R. and another to the U.S.A. and, I know, in France. I have served since the first meeting of the nuclear commission on the Human Rights Commission, and I think this point stands out clearly.

The U.S.S.R. Representatives assert that they already have achieved many things which we, in

what they call the "bourgeois democracies" cannot achieve because their government controls the accomplishment of these things. Our government seems powerless to them because, in the last analysis, it is controlled by the people. They would not put it that way—they would say that the people in the U.S.S.R. control their government by allowing their government to have certain absolute rights. We, on the other hand, feel that certain rights can never be granted to the government, but must be kept in the hands of the people.

For instance, the U.S.S.R. will assert that their press is free because the state makes it free by providing the machinery, the paper, and even the money for salaries for the people who work on the paper. They state that there is no control over what is printed in the various papers that they subsidize in this manner, such, for instance, as a trade-union paper. But what would happen if a paper were to print ideas which were critical of the basic policies and beliefs of the Communist government? I am sure some good reason would be found for abolishing the paper.

It is true that there have been many cases where newspapers in the U.S.S.R. have criticized officials and their actions and have been responsible for the removal of those officials, but in doing so they did not criticize anything which was fundamental to Communist beliefs. They simply criticized methods of doing things, so one must differentiate between things which are permissible, such as criticism of any individual or of the manner of doing things, and the criticism of a belief which would be considered vital to the acceptance of Communism.

What are the differences, for instance, between trade-unions in the totalitarian states and in the democracies? In the totalitarian state a trade-union is an instrument used by the government to enforce duties, not to assert rights. Propaganda material which the government desires the workers to have is furnished to the trade-unions to be circulated to their members.

Our trade-unions, on the other hand, are solely the instrument of the workers themselves. They represent the workers in their relations with the government and with management and they are free to develop their own opinions without government help or interference. The concepts of our trade-unions and those in totalitarian countries are drastically different. There is little mutual understanding.

I think the best example one can give of this basic difference of the use of terms is "the right to work". The Soviet Union insists that this is a basic right which it alone can guarantee because it alone provides full employment by the government. But the right to work in the Soviet Union means the assignment of workers to do whatever task is given to them by the government without

an opportunity for the people to participate in the decision that the government should do this. A society in which everyone works is not necessarily a free society and may indeed be a slave society; on the other hand, a society in which there is widespread economic insecurity can turn freedom into a barren and vapid right for millions of people. We in the United States have come to realize it means freedom to choose one's job, to work or not to work as one desires. We, in the United States, have come to realize, however, that people have a right to demand that their government will not allow them to starve because as individuals they cannot find work of the kind they are accustomed to doing and this is a decision brought about by public opinion which came as a result of the great depression in which many people were out of work, but we would not consider in the United States that we had gained any freedom if we were compelled to follow a dictatorial assignment to work where and when we were told. The right of choice would seem to us an important, fundamental freedom.

I have great sympathy with the Russian people. They love their country and have always defended it valiantly against invaders. They have been through a period of revolution, as a result of which they were for a time cut off from outside contact. They have not lost their resulting suspicion of other countries and the great difficulty is today that their government encourages this suspicion and seems to believe that force alone will bring them respect.

We, in the democracies, believe in a kind of international respect and action which is reciprocal. We do not think others should treat us differently from the way they wish to be treated. It is interference in other countries that especially stirs up antagonism against the Soviet Government. If it wishes to feel secure in developing its economic and political theories within its territory, then it should grant to others that same security. We believe in the freedom of people to make their own mistakes. We do not interfere with them and they should not interfere with others.

The basic problem confronting the world today, as I said in the beginning, is the preservation of human freedom for the individual and consequently for the society of which he is a part. We are fighting this battle again today as it was fought at the time of the French Revolution and at the time of the American Revolution. The issue of human liberty is as decisive now as it was then. I want to give you my conception of what is meant in my country by freedom of the individual.

Long ago in London during a discussion with Mr. Vyshinsky, he told me there was no such thing as freedom for the individual in the world. All freedom of the individual was conditioned by the

rights of other individuals. That, of course, I granted. I said: "We approach the question from a different point of view; we here in the United Nations are trying to develop ideals which will be broader in outlook, which will consider first the rights of man, which will consider what makes man more free: not governments, but man."

The totalitarian state typically places the will of the people second to decrees promulgated by a few men at the top.

Naturally there must always be consideration of the rights of others; but in a democracy this is not a restriction. Indeed, in our democracies we make our freedoms secure because each of us is expected to respect the rights of others and we are free to make our own laws.

Freedom for our peoples is not only a right, but also a tool. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of information, freedom of assembly—these are not just abstract ideals to us; they are tools with which we create a way of life, a way of life in which we can enjoy freedom.

Sometimes the processes of democracy are slow, and I have known some of our leaders to say that a benevolent dictatorship would accomplish the ends desired in a much shorter time than it takes to go through the democratic processes of discussion and the slow formation of public opinion. But there is no way of insuring that a dictatorship will remain benevolent or that power once in the hands of a few will be returned to the people without struggle or revolution. This we have learned by experience and we accept the slow processes of democracy because we know that short-cuts compromise principles on which no compromise is possible.

The final expression of the opinion of the people with us is through free and honest elections, with valid choices on basic issues and candidates. The secret ballot is an essential to free elections but you must have a choice before you. I have heard my husband say many times that a people need never lose their freedom if they kept their right to a secret ballot and if they used that secret ballot to the full.

Basic decisions of our society are made through the expressed will of the people. That is why when we see these liberties threatened, instead of falling apart, our nation becomes unified and our democracies come together as a unified group in spite of our varied backgrounds and many racial strains.

In the United States we have a capitalistic economy. That is because public opinion favors that type of economy under the conditions in which we live. But we have imposed certain restraints; for instance, we have anti-trust laws. These are the legal evidence of the determination of the American people to maintain an economy of free com-

petition and not to allow monopolies to take away the people's freedom.

Our trade-unions grow stronger because the people come to believe that this is the proper way to guarantee the rights of the workers and that the right to organize and to bargain collectively keeps the balance between the actual producer and the investor of money and the manager in industry who watches over the man who works with his hands and who produces the materials which are our tangible wealth.

In the United States we are old enough not to claim perfection. We recognize that we have some problems of discrimination but we find steady progress being made in the solution of these problems. Through normal democratic processes we are coming to understand our needs and how we can attain full equality for all our people. Free discussion on the subject is permitted. Our Supreme Court has recently rendered decisions to clarify a number of our laws to guarantee the rights of all.

The U.S.S.R. claims it has reached a point where all races within her borders are officially considered equal and have equal rights and they insist they have no discrimination where minorities are concerned.

This is a laudable objective but there are other aspects of the development of freedom for the individual which are essential before the mere absence of discrimination is worth much, and these are lacking in the Soviet Union. Unless they are being denied freedoms which they want and which they see other people have, people do not usually complain of discrimination. It is these other freedoms—the basic freedoms of speech, of the press, of religion and conscience, of assembly, of fair trial and freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment, which a totalitarian government cannot safely give its people and which give meaning to freedom from discrimination.

It is my belief, and I am sure it is also yours, that the struggle for democracy and freedom is a critical struggle, for their preservation is essential to the great objective of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

Among free men the end cannot justify the means. We know the patterns of totalitarianism—the single political party, the control of schools, press, radio, the arts, the sciences, and the church to support autocratic authority; these are the age-old patterns against which men have struggled for three thousand years. These are the signs of reaction, retreat, and retrogression.

The United Nations must hold fast to the heritage of freedom won by the struggle of its peoples; it must help us to pass it on to generations to come.

The development of the ideal of freedom and its translation into the everyday life of the people in great areas of the earth is the product of the ef-

forts of many peoples. It is the fruit of a long tradition of vigorous thinking and courageous action. No one race and no one people can claim to have done all the work to achieve greater dignity for human beings and greater freedom to develop human personality. In each generation and in each country there must be a continuation of the struggle and new steps forward must be taken since this is preeminently a field in which to stand still is to retreat.

The field of human rights is not one in which compromise on fundamental principles are possible. The work of the Commission on Human Rights is illustrative. The Declaration of Human Rights provides: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own." The Soviet Representative said he would agree to this right if a single phrase was added to it—"in accordance with the procedure laid down in the laws of that country." It is obvious that to accept this would be not only to compromise but to nullify the right stated. This case forcefully illustrates the importance of the proposition that we must ever be alert not to compromise fundamental human rights merely for the sake of reaching unanimity and thus lose them.

As I see it, it is not going to be easy to attain unanimity with respect to our different concepts of government and human rights. The struggle is bound to be difficult and one in which we must be firm but patient. If we adhere faithfully to our principles I think it is possible for us to maintain freedom and to do so peacefully and without recourse to force.

The future must see the broadening of human rights throughout the world. People who have glimpsed freedom will never be content until they have secured it for themselves. In a true sense, human rights are a fundamental object of law and government in a just society. Human rights exist to the degree that they are respected by people in relations with each other and by governments in relations with their citizens.

The world at large is aware of the tragic consequences for human beings ruled by totalitarian systems. If we examine Hitler's rise to power, we see how the chains are forged which keep the individual a slave and we can see many similarities in the way things are accomplished in other countries. Politically men must be free to discuss and to arrive at as many facts as possible and there must be at least a two-party system in a country because when there is only one political party, too many things can be subordinated to the interests of that one party and it becomes a tyrant and not an instrument of democratic government.

The propaganda we have witnessed in the recent past, like that we perceive in these days, seeks

*(Continued on page 466)*

# Albania and Bulgaria Continue To Reject UNSCOB

## U.S.-BULGARIAN CORRESPONDENCE

[Released to the press September 27]

During the period August-September, there was an exchange of notes between the Bulgarian Foreign Office and the U.S. Legation, Sofia, on the subject of Bulgarian charges that Greek forces were violating the Bulgarian frontier or taking up threatening positions in its vicinity. The Bulgarian note contained statements and allegations which the Sofia government also forwarded to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The correspondence between the Bulgarian Government and the Secretary-General of the United Nations on this matter has already been published.<sup>1</sup>

The following is the text of the latest exchange of notes between this Government and the Bulgarian Government. This exchange has been communicated by the United States to the body immediately concerned with relations between Greece and the Balkan States, the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans.

*Note of August 28, 1948, delivered by the U.S. Legation at Sofia to the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, replying to its note of August 18*

The Legation of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to acknowledge receipt of the latter's note no. 36014-20-1 of August 18, bringing to the attention of the Legation certain allegations as to violations of the Greco-Bulgarian border by Greek groups, which information has been submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations by the Bulgarian Government together with an energetic protest and request that the Security Council of the United Nations take steps to effect the retirement of Greek troops from the frontier to the interior of Greece in order to avoid any incidents.

While the Legation is appreciative of the action of the Ministry in bringing this information to its attention, it ventures to point out that the appro-

priate agency for the investigation of charges made against Greece by the Bulgarian Government would appear to be the United Nations Special Commission on the Balkans, members of which are presently in Greece, and who would be available for an investigation in connection therewith.

Should this suggestion be not agreeable to the Bulgarian Government the Legation would be pleased to make available one or more of its Service Attachés, perhaps in conjunction with similar officers of other diplomatic missions here, to carry out an impartial investigation of the areas named in the Ministry's note, such investigation naturally to be in cooperation with the competent Bulgarian authorities.

The Legation would appreciate being advised as to whether either or both of the suggestions made above prove of interest to the Ministry.

The Legation of the United States of America avails itself [etc.]

*Note of September 11, 1948, from the Bulgarian Foreign Office to the U.S. Legation at Sofia*

In reply to *note verbale* 498 of August 28, the Foreign Office has the honor to advise as follows:

Communication made to Legation by circular note of August 18 was purely informative in nature in view of fact that concentration of important Greek troops along Greco-Bulgarian frontier could have provoked serious incidents and difficulties. It is for this reason reply of American Legation somewhat surprised Ministry of Foreign Affairs and more so because Honorable Mission knows perfectly point of view of Bulgarian Government in regard to UNSCOB and knows equally well that Bulgarian Government has declined all demands for investigation along Greco-Bulgarian frontier by military attachés of U.S. and Great Britain in connection with peace treaty considering such investigations as reflection of sovereignty of state.

## ALBANIA'S REPLY TO TRIPARTITE APPEAL

[Released to the press October 1]

The Department has received from the French Government the text of the remarks made on September 20 by Mr. Hysni Kapo, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania, in reply to the *démarche* made at Tirana on September 13 by the French Minister on behalf of the United States,

the United Kingdom and French Governments concerning Albanian aid to the Greek guerrillas.<sup>2</sup>

The reply rejects the French Minister's appeal that the competent agency of the United Nations, the U.N. Special Committee on the Balkans, be

<sup>1</sup> U.N. press release BAL/376, Sept. 2, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents and State Papers*, September 1948.

permitted to operate in Albanian territory, while at the same time, in defiance of logic, it accuses the United States, Great Britain, and France of usurping the peacemaking functions of the United Nations. Equally unsatisfactory is the fact that the reply rejects as well any other type of neutral observation of Albanian conduct towards the Greek guerrillas. The language is evasive but the meaning is clear, being underlined by the statement that Albania "has designated forbidden zones in its territory."

In effect, Albania asks acceptance, without demur or inquiry, of its own allegations of good behavior despite the evidence in the hands of the U.N. Special Committee of extensive and illegal Albanian support of guerrilla operations against the people and Government of Greece, evidence based in considerable part on eyewitness observation by U.N. officials.

Following is an unofficial translation of the Albanian reply:

"1. The Albanian Government is not aware that France, the United States, and Great Britain have the right to represent themselves as powers guaranteeing peace as stated by the Minister of France. The Albanian Government considers not only that such a claim has no foundation in itself but also that such a claim on the part of France, the United States and Great Britain is in direct contradiction with the existence of the United Nations organization and with its goals and principles. In its opinion, such intervention by the three states in Albano-Greek relations, because of its unilateral character, can only serve to create or aggravate friction and misunderstandings between the Al-

banians and Greece, or at least to encourage the move of the aggressors.

"2. The creation of a new International Control Commission or of any other Commission would not facilitate the settling of these relations as experience has already shown that the Balkan Commission not only does not contribute to peace but on the contrary, as we know, it has served to worsen the relations between Greece and Albania and Greece's other northern neighbors.

"3. It is necessary to emphasize again that in the abnormal conditions existing between Greece and Albania, it is the Greek Government which is guilty, although it always tries to shake off the responsibility for this state of affairs, and that the Albanian Government has more than once shown itself ready for the settlement of relations with its Greek neighbors. With good will on the part of the Greek Government, the border conflicts could have been avoided and the situation at the border would be normal.

"4. The Albanian Government's conduct in regard to the interning and disarming of Partisans crossing the Albano-Greek border is entirely in conformity with the rules of international law; in addition, the Albanian Government categorically rejects as absolutely at variance with the facts the Greek statement that interned Partisans were armed in Albanian territory and returned to Greece. The action of the Albanian Government in giving protection and assistance to Greek women, children and old people also conforms exactly to international law. As to movement in the frontier zone, it is necessary to point out that Albania, as do also other states, has designated forbidden zones in its territory, which is an undisputable right of a sovereign state."

## Documents and State Papers

September 1948

The September issue of *Documents and State Papers*, which will be released shortly, will contain the following items:

U.N. Special Committee on the Balkans:

Comment on Report to the 3rd Session of the General Assembly

The First and Second Interim Reports

The Annual Report to the U.N. and a Supplementary Report

Restitution of Looted Property by Japan

Designation of Successor Organization to Claim Jewish Property

Calendar of International Meetings with Annotations

Copies of this publication are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. at 30 cents a copy; subscription price for 12 issues is \$3.00 a year.

## The United States in the United Nations

### The Berlin Crisis

At the Palais de Chaillot in Paris on October 4, the Security Council debated whether it was competent to take up the Berlin question. Mr. Vyshinsky (U.S.S.R.) opened the discussion by denying the Council's competence in the matter as an overt violation of article 107 of the Charter as well as of the Potsdam and Yalta agreements. He denied that the situation in Berlin was a threat to the peace. He further maintained that Berlin was part of the entire question of Germany, for which the Council of Foreign Ministers was responsible. He further declared that in reality there was no blockade of Berlin and that the Soviet authorities had repeatedly stated that they were ready to assume responsibility for feeding the population of Berlin.

Philip C. Jessup, Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council, emphasized that the actions of the Soviet Union demonstrated that the Soviet Union was attempting by illegal and coercive measures to achieve political objectives to which it was not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means. The real issue, Mr. Jessup maintained, was whether the only existing international machinery for the preservation of the peace can be used to remove a threat to the peace. In accordance with article 33 of the Charter the United States, in agreement with the United Kingdom and France, had made every effort through direct discussion with the U.S.S.R. to settle the matter. The Soviet Union's repudiation of its promises made further discussion futile, and the three Governments brought the matter to the attention of the Security Council.

Sir Alexander Cadogan (United Kingdom) followed Mr. Jessup and supported the United States Representative.

Warren Austin called the October 4 session to order but relinquished the presidency for the duration of the discussion of the Berlin question. Juan A. Bramuglia (Argentina) presided over the meeting.

The Security Council voted 9 to 2 to hear the complaint of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France against the actions of the Soviet Union in the Berlin blockade as constituting a threat to world peace and security.

The position of the United States Government was outlined by Mr. Jessup on October 6, when he reviewed the development of the Berlin situation.

"The salient feature of the case before the Security Council", he said, "is that the Soviet blockade is still maintained and thus continues in existence a threat to the peace which it created." He concluded by stating that "we do not bring this case to the Security Council with any cut-and-dried

formula for its solution. It is our hope the Security Council can assist in removing the threat to peace. Nothing which has happened has changed our position on that point. The moment that the blockade is lifted, the United States is ready to have an immediate meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to discuss with the Soviet Union any questions relating to Germany."

### Atomic Energy

Mr. Tsiang (China) opened the October 1 meeting of Committee I by calling attention to the Atomic Energy Commission's majority proposals, which were a process of evolution, while the Soviet Union had not responded to the repeated requests of the Atomic Energy Commission to furnish concrete evidence in support of its proposals. Mr. Tsiang stated that China stood "solidly behind the majority plan" and supported the Canadian resolution. Mr. El Khouri (Syria) introduced an amendment to the Canadian resolution which was similar to the U.S. June 22 resolution previously vetoed in the Security Council. Colombia and Belgium supported the Syrian version.

On October 4 Warren Austin again called for action for effective international control of atomic energy and questioned whether the Soviet Union in its new proposal on the question would accept the international control plan already approved by a majority of the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Austin pointed out that without effective and enforceable international control of atomic energy in the beginning and all the time the world would have no security from atomic destruction.

In an analysis of the new Soviet proposal . . . made by Mr. Vyshinsky on October 2 for two conventions—one on prohibition of atomic weapons and the other on "effective" international control—which would be signed and put into force simultaneously, Mr. Austin said that if this meant the Soviets approved really effective control, then a long step had been taken, but he noted that Mr. Vyshinsky and Mr. Manuilsky (Ukrainian S.S.R.) had indicated they still adhere to the narrow nationalist stand they have maintained and would seek to retain veto right over any control agency which might be established. If that is the true interpretation of the language, Mr. Austin said, "there is a chasm that has yet to be bridged."

Mr. Austin reiterated the U.S. support for the majority control plan of the Atomic Energy Commission and for the Canadian resolution now before Committee I. That draft resolution would have the General Assembly approve the Commission reports, recommending the international control system and telling of Soviet opposition to the inspection and regulation powers the Commission would accord to a world control agency.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## Toward Revision of the Geneva Convention

BY WILLIAM H. McCAHON

The United States has actively supported the initiative taken in the fall of 1945 by the International Committee of the Red Cross to revise existing international treaties applicable to prisoners of war<sup>1</sup> and to bring into being a new convention establishing humane standards of treatment for civilians in time of war. In the light of experiences of World War II those in the Government charged with the responsibility of the practical application of the existing conventions were convinced of the necessity for rather extensive revisions of those conventions for the purpose of (1) bringing them up to date, (2) making them easier to apply uniformly and less susceptible to different interpretations, and (3) providing more effective protection for the categories of persons covered. It was considered equally important to obtain through international treaty similar legal protection for civilians in belligerent and occupied territories. The generally unsatisfactory stop-gap measure of attempting to apply the prisoners-of-war convention to certain categories of civilians during World War II had pointed up the need for a separate convention formally defining the treatment to be accorded such persons in wartime.

The United States participated in preliminary informal discussions of this subject at a meeting of government experts convened at Geneva under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, April 14-26, 1947.<sup>2</sup> At that meeting 14 Allied governments were represented, and considerable progress was made in the formulation of revised and new draft conventions. The Seventeenth International Red Cross Conference which took place at Stockholm August 20-30, 1948, and in which 49 governments and 51 national Red Cross societies participated, offered an opportunity for continuance of these discussions on a somewhat broader scale, and represented another stepping-stone toward the ultimate objective—the formal signing by governments of new conventions.

The United States sent a Delegation to the Stockholm conference which included Government representatives from the Department of State, the three military services, the Department of Justice,

and the Post Office Department. In addition, members of the American Red Cross delegation to the conference participated in the convention revision discussions. Basil O'Connor, president of the American Red Cross, served as chairman of both delegations. While there were many other matters of interest to the Red Cross world before the conference, the United States Government Delegation confined its activities almost entirely to the work of the Legal Commission, which was charged with the responsibility for reviewing and making recommendations with respect to the several draft conventions under consideration. The working drafts submitted to the conference had been prepared by the International Committee of the Red Cross on the basis of the recommendations coming out of the earlier meeting at Geneva.

Thirty governments and 32 Red Cross societies took part in the work of the Legal Commission, the first meeting of which took place the morning of Saturday August 21. On the motion of the United States, it was agreed to set up immediately three technical subcommissions to make possible a detailed study of each of the draft conventions. The election of subcommission chairmen and other organizational details were completed at this morning session so that the subcommissions were able to start their deliberations the afternoon of the same day to consider respectively (I) the treatment of the sick and wounded and the establishments devoted to their care including hospital ships; (II) the treatment of prisoners of war; and (III) the treatment of civilians.

With the exception of Sunday, these subcommissions met daily through Friday, August 27, and then returned the following day to a plenary session of the Legal Commission for reporting and obtaining approval of their findings and recommendations. Finally, the accomplishments of the Legal Commission were formally approved at a plenary session of the conference on August 30, the last day of the conference.

In view of the volume of the work entailed in reviewing article by article each of the draft conventions, it became obvious early in the discussions that if the task before the Legal Commission were to be accomplished within the time allotted, emphasis must be placed on obtaining in the subcommissions agreement on the substantive text of each article. This procedure was generally followed. Considering the large number of governments and Red Cross societies represented and their varying

<sup>1</sup> The two Geneva conventions of 1929 relative to the treatment of prisoners of war and the wounded and sick, and the Hague convention of 1907 relative to maritime warfare (commonly referred to as the hospital ships convention).

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this meeting by Albert E. Clattenburg, Jr., see BULLETIN of June 22, 1947, p. 1205.

interests, the degree of agreement reached was remarkable.

Substantial portions of the United States draft position on all four of the conventions were accepted as presented. This position had been formulated by the Interdepartmental Prisoners of War Committee in whose work the representatives of the Departments of State, Army, Navy, Air Force, Justice, Treasury, Post Office, and the American Red Cross had participated in preparation for this meeting. The only major point on which the United States recommendation did not prevail was in connection with the discussion in Subcommittee I concerning the status to be accorded doctors, chaplains, and medical corps men attached to the armed forces, if they fall into the hands of the enemy. Opposition was encountered to the United States position that such personnel be treated as prisoners of war. The opposition based its stand primarily on traditional grounds, holding that the language of the present convention which states that if captured such personnel "shall not be treated as prisoners of war", should be retained; that to do otherwise would be a step backward and would have the effect of placing a stigma on medical personnel. Additionally the fear was expressed that the proposed change might adversely affect recruitment of doctors for the armed forces. In supporting its position the United States Delegation stressed the following considerations: (1) that practical experience has shown it to be administratively impossible to exempt such personnel from prisoners-of-war status, and consequently, to endeavor to do so would only invite violations; (2) that by giving such personnel the status of prisoners of war they are thereby accorded fuller protection under the conventions than they might otherwise receive; and (3) that medical and spiritual services rendered by such personnel are more than ever necessary in circumstances of captivity in ministering to the need of their comrades, and if they were to share the same lot it would serve as a morale builder for their own men. In addition, the United States Delegation made it clear that it was not recommending the detention of such personnel as prisoners of war indefinitely or in numbers greater than the situation warranted, but on the other hand it strongly believed that a detaining power should have the right for practical as well as humanitarian reasons to detain a sufficient number of captured doctors, chaplains, and medical corps men to insure adequate care for wounded and sick prisoners of war. The United States Delegation maintained that all such personnel not being used for this purpose should be repatriated promptly, that the professional status of those detained should be recognized and respected, and that the detaining power under the convention should provide adequate

facilities, supplies, and equipment for their use in caring for the wounded and sick.

Although it is unfortunate that agreement on this point could not be reached at this conference, it is apparent that the objective of the proponents of both views is basically the same, that is, to obtain the maximum amount of protection for this category of personnel while at the same time providing for the adequate care of the wounded and sick. Consequently, it is confidently hoped that a satisfactory formula acceptable to both sides can be found without too much difficulty in subsequent discussions of representatives of the interested governments.

Foremost among the revisions supported by the United States which were concurred in by the conference were the following: (1) a complete rewording of the article concerning food which, in essence, provides that the food ration of prisoners of war shall be sufficient in quantity, quality, and variety to keep prisoners in good health, and prevent loss of weight or the development of nutritional deficiencies; (2) a new and simplified formula regarding the employment of prisoners of war which among other things prohibits their use for mine clearance and disposal work; (3) prompt repatriation of prisoners of war after the cessation of hostilities; (4) a provision permitting transfers of prisoners of war among allies provided the receiving government is a party to the convention, and placing on both governments involved in the transfer equal responsibility in seeing that the treatment received by prisoners of war following their transfer is in accordance with the terms of the convention; (5) the extension of the application of the prisoners of war and civilian conventions to civil wars provided the dissident party agrees for its part reciprocally to apply the terms of those conventions; (6) definition of the conditions which must be met by partisan forces if they are to be accorded treatment as prisoners of war and entitled to protection of that convention; and (7) improved identification markings for hospital ships including night lighting.

While none of the decisions reached at this conference are formally binding upon the participating governments, the degree of agreement reached through open discussion on certain of the more contentious articles augers well for the future. It is recognized that much additional work lies ahead, but it is now believed by those in the Government who have been closest to the problem that, as a result of the progress made to date, further preparatory meetings on the subject are unnecessary and would serve only to delay matters. It is hoped therefore that the next step will be the convocation early next year of a formal diplomatic conference of governments for the purpose of final drafting and the signing of new conventions.

## Representatives to Weights and Measures Conference

[Released to the press September 30]

The Department of State announced on September 30 that the United States will be represented at the Ninth General Conference of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures scheduled to be held at Paris and Sèvres, France, October 12-21, 1948, by Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director of the National Bureau of Standards, U.S. Department of Commerce, and Dr. Eugene C. Crittenden, Associate Director of the National Bureau of Standards.

This Conference is being held under the provisions of the treaty known as "the convention of the meter" which was signed at Paris on May 20, 1875, and to which the United States Government is a party. This treaty provided for an organization of three parts: the International Committee, the General Conference, and the International Bureau of Weights and Measures. This organization is responsible for all joint work of adhering countries on the problems of metrology.

The meetings of the General Conference are held at six-year intervals, for the purpose of dealing with matters of international agreement affecting measures of length and weight, electrical measurements, temperature measurements, and units of photometric measurement. The meeting scheduled for October 1939 was postponed owing to the outbreak of war; consequently, since the last meeting was held in 1933, the conference has an unusually important agenda of topics to consider.

The National Bureau of Standards has been in charge of important technical preparatory work of the Conference in earlier meetings of specialized committees meeting in advance of the General Conference.

Reports to be considered at the Conference include the results of recent international comparisons of the national prototype meter bars and the national prototype kilograms, standardization of the use of wave lengths of light as a means of precision length measurement, problems concerned with the adoption of the absolute system of electrical units for general use, adoption of a new definition of the unit of light intensity, revision of the international temperature scale, and other matters related to the fundamental basis of precise measurements as used in science and industry.

## Struggle for Human Rights—Continued from page 460

to impugn, to undermine, and to destroy the liberty and independence of peoples. Such propaganda poses to all peoples the issue whether to doubt their heritage of rights and therefore to compromise the principles by which they live, or try to accept the challenge, redouble their vigilance, and stand steadfast in the struggle to maintain and enlarge human freedoms.

People who continue to be denied the respect to which they are entitled as human beings will not acquiesce forever in such denial.

The Charter of the United Nations is a guiding beacon along the way to the achievement of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. The immediate test is not only the extent to which human rights and freedoms have already been achieved, but the direction in which the world is moving. Is there a faithful compliance with the objectives of the Charter if some countries continue to curtail human rights and freedoms instead of to promote the universal respect for an observance of human rights and freedoms for all as called for by the Charter?

The place to discuss the issue of human rights is in the forum of the United Nations. The United Nations has been set up as the common meeting ground for nations, where we can consider together our mutual problems and take advantage of our differences in experience. It is inherent in our firm attachment to democracy and freedom that we stand always ready to use the fundamental democratic procedures of honest discussion and negotiation. It is now as always our hope that despite the wide differences in approach we face in the world today, we can with mutual good faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter, arrive at a common basis of understanding.

We are here to join the meetings of this great international Assembly which meets in your beautiful capital city of Paris. Freedom for the individual is an inseparable part of the cherished traditions of France. As one of the Delegates from the United States I pray Almighty God that we may win another victory here for the rights and freedoms of all men.

## Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom Proposing International Committee on Scrap

[Released to the press October 11]

Announcement was made on October 1 by the Department of State of the signing in Washington of an agreement with the United Kingdom proposing the establishment of an international committee to recommend allocations of iron and steel scrap available for export from European countries including the Bizonal Area of Germany. The agreement also provides for the immediate allocation from the Bizonal Area of 500,000 tons of scrap each to the United States and to the United Kingdom and 225,000 tons for distribution to other deficit countries at uniform prices to be established by the U.S.-U.K. military governors. It is hoped that the total quantity to be shipped from the Bizonal Area in the next 12

months will be about 2,000,000 tons or more. All scrap shipped from Germany will be in excess of the legitimate requirements of the Bizone steel industry. Much of the scrap available in the Bizonal Area consists of rubble material from wrecked industrial plants, railway installations, abandoned ships, etc.

Since the end of the war little commercial scrap has been imported to the United States from Germany. As a result of the recent currency reform and the signing of this agreement, it is expected that Germany will now make a substantial contribution toward relieving the serious scrap shortage existing in this country as well as in Europe.

The text of the agreement which follows was embodied in an exchange of notes on September 30, 1948, between the two Governments.

### AGREEMENT ON FERROUS SCRAP

#### I. Proposal to OEEC Countries on Allocation Machinery

A proposal will be put before the members of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation that an *ad hoc* Committee be established in Paris consisting of representatives of OEEC members and the United States as a full member. It is proposed that this Committee, although outside the jurisdiction of the OEEC Council, should work in close cooperation with it and its committees. The functions of the Committee shall be to make recommendations to the Governments of the countries participating in the OEEC, including the Bizonal Area of Germany and the French Zone, on the distribution of scrap exports from those countries. Final decisions with respect to exports will be made, however, by the Governments of the exporting countries. In the Bizonal Area decisions will be made by the US and UK Military Governors subject to the provisions of Article III of this Agreement.

#### II. Instructions to Military Governors

Identical instructions shall be sent to the US and UK Military Governors in Germany as follows:

1. It is the desire of the Governments of the United States and United Kingdom that the total collection and export of scrap from the Bizonal Area, after providing for the legitimate requirements of the German steel industry, be maximized.

##### *Initial Authorizations Outside of Future Allocations*

2. The existing authorization (approved May 13, 1948) of 600,000 tons (namely 200,000 tons to the United States, 300,000 tons to the United Kingdom and 100,000 tons to other countries) is confirmed.

3. In addition there will be the following supplementary authorizations:

(a) 100,000 tons to the United States, to bring the United States share to parity with the above-mentioned United Kingdom share of 300,000 tons;

(b) 75,000 tons to the United Kingdom as a final shipment of booty scrap without payment;

(c) 75,000 tons to the United States, to correspond to (b) above, but not free of payment.

4. The above total authorizations of 375,000 tons to the United States, 375,000 tons to the United Kingdom and 100,000 tons to other countries shall not be charged to future allocations, and the two Military Governors shall implement these authorizations immediately.

##### *Export Availabilities from Bizonal Area*

5. The US and UK Military Governors shall inform the *ad hoc* Committee, promptly after its establishment and from time to time thereafter, of the anticipated volume of scrap exports from the Bizonal Area. It is hoped that this figure for the year ending October 1, 1949, will be 1,000,000 tons or more, over and above the 850,000 tons authorized above outside of future allocations.

##### *Interim Authorizations Chargeable Against Future Allocations*

6. As an advance against contemplated early allocations within the framework of the regular allocating procedure, there shall also be authorized a further 125,000 tons to the United States, 125,000 tons to the United Kingdom and 125,000 tons to other countries, such quantities to be charged against future allocations. The two Military Governors shall also implement these authorizations immediately.

7. In the event that no recommendation is made by the *ad hoc* Committee before October 31, 1948, further interim authorizations shall be made on that date and on the last

day of each month thereafter in the ratio of 2-2-1 for the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries, respectively, until such time as the regular allocation procedure is in operation.

*Implementation of Allocations*

8. In implementing this Agreement, the US and UK Military Governors shall determine among other matters:

(a) whether to implement allocations by control over contracts or control over exports or both;

(b) whether, if control over exports is adopted, the Joint Export-Import Agency may approve contracts within agreed limitations in excess of the total outstanding allocations of any country;

(c) whether, in appropriate cases, contracts shall provide for delivery of scrap within specified short periods in order to prevent undue tying up of allocations in individual long-term contracts;

(d) whether and in what manner to instruct JEMA to take precautions to satisfy itself as to the competence of contracting parties to implement the terms of the contract.

*Effective Date of Foregoing Authorizations*

9. All scrap exported subsequent to the date of this Agreement shall be charged against the foregoing authorizations.

*Booty Scrap*

10. There shall be no further exports of booty scrap after the date of this Agreement except for the 75,000 tons authorized under paragraph II 3 (b) above.

*Price*

11. The price of scrap with appropriate differentials for loading points, quality of scrap, etc., shall be uniform for all foreign buyers, and shall be set from time to time by the US and UK Military Governors under such procedures as they may establish.

*Special Measures*

12. If the US and UK Military Governors consider that

adequate quantities of exportable scrap cannot be obtained without special measures, they are authorized to approve the recovery of scrap by such measures. Scrap recovery under such arrangements, if approved, may be outside regular allocations but subject to such special allocations as the US and UK Military Governors may determine after consultation with the ad hoc Committee.

*Direct Recovery of Scrap*

13. Nothing in this Agreement shall preclude operations by non-German organizations for the recovery of scrap from disarmament and other sources not readily accessible to German scrap merchants provided such operations are carried on in a manner acceptable to the US and UK Military Governors and that all recoveries of scrap (other than the 75,000 tons of booty scrap mentioned above) are paid for at prices established by the US and UK Military Governors and are within either the regular or the special allocations determined by the US and UK Military Governors.

*US-UK Scrap Control Authority*

14. The US and UK Military Governors shall set up a US-UK scrap control authority in which each shall appoint a coordinator to supervise and control the collection and export of ferrous scrap. This control authority shall be subject, through whatever organization the Military Governors may determine, to the jurisdiction of the Bipartite Board.

**III. Reservation of Fusion Agreement**

Nothing in this Agreement shall be deemed to modify the arrangements set forth in the Fusion Agreement of December 2, 1946 as amended by the Agreement of December 17, 1947. Questions which may arise with respect to scrap exports under the present Agreement will be resolved as contemplated in paragraph 5 of the Agreement of December 17, 1947, having regard also to the provisions of paragraph 3 (a) of the latter Agreement.

**Policy on Commercial Fishing in Pacific Island Trust Territory**

**JOINT AGENCY APPROVAL**

[Released to the press September 29]

The Department of State announced on September 29 the policy of this Government relating to commercial fishing operations in the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The policy was approved by the Departments of State, Army, Navy, Air Force, and Interior as a guide to the administration of the Trust Territory and will have the effect of opening the area to commercial fishing. Rich fishery resources, particularly tuma, are available in the waters around this Territory in an area as large as the continental United States. The Territory, itself, contains scarcely as much land area as the State of Delaware. Several commercial fishing companies have shown interest in beginning fishing operations im-

mediately. It is possible that an industry can be built on the fishery resources that will eventually pay a considerable part of the administrative cost of the Territory.

Fishing operations will be under the strict control of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory in order that the welfare of the native inhabitants can be safeguarded and the harvesting of the resources can be undertaken along adequate conservation lines.

Fishing opportunities will be equally available to the fishing enterprises of all nations except that the High Commissioner will have discretion in excluding enterprises for reasons of security or for the purpose of carrying out the obligation to promote the advancement of the inhabitants.

## TEXT OF POLICY DIRECTIVE

[Released to the press September 29]

A. With a view to cooperating in the effort to increase world food production and in order to improve the local economy and to obtain information needed for conservation of fishing resources of the area, the territorial waters surrounding the Trust Territory, except those parts closed for security reasons, should be open to the commercial fishing enterprises of all nations on a non-discriminatory basis, except that whenever a country denies rights with respect to fishing and ancillary operations needed and desired by the local inhabitants of the Trust Territory, the Government of the Trust Territory may, if necessary to obtain those rights, deny that country rights in the Trust Territory.

B. The administering agency, in collaboration with the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, should conduct research as soon as possible with a view to establishing conservation regulations. Fishing grounds within the territorial waters found to be necessary for the local economy should be reserved exclusively for the use and benefit of the local inhabitants.

C. Immediate steps should be taken to foster the development of aquatic resources, including locally owned and operated commercial fishing, bait culture, and ancillary commercial industries.

D. With respect to canning and other fish-processing industries, the administering agency should give priority to the development of locally owned and operated enterprises.

E. The administering agency may, under such conditions, as may be agreed upon by the interested departments, grant permission for the establishment and maintenance of shore facilities to outside canneries and other fish-processing industries provided that, in determining whether such permission shall be granted and in establishing the conditions under which such permission is to be granted, the interests of the local inhabitants shall be paramount.

F. Annual licenses should be required of all commercial fishing vessels operating within territorial limits or operating out of local ports. Licenses to nonlocal fishing vessels should be granted on the understanding that they are subject to revocation or modification wherever security interests or the interests of the inhabitants so require. Licensees should be required to furnish such statistical information regarding fishing operations as the administering agency, in collaboration with the Fish and Wildlife Service, shall deem appropriate.

G. Local inhabitants should be employed in the

complement of a fishing vessel or canning or other ancillary industry licensed for operation in a Trust Territory to the maximum extent consonant with efficient operations. Regulations should be issued prescribing minimum and nondiscriminatory wages and standards of working conditions and otherwise protecting locally hired personnel. The employment of nonlocal personnel in shore establishments should be subject to regulations by the government of the Trust Territory.

H. Except as provided in paragraph A above, and subject to the right of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific, within established governmental policy to exclude any individual or group of individuals for reason of security, and the obligation to promote the advancement of the inhabitants, the principle of nondiscrimination on the basis of nationality shall be observed in the implementation of the foregoing principles and shall apply to all aspects of commercial fishing and ancillary operations and the regulation thereof in the Trust Territory.

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### Two U.S. Citizens Held Incommunicado in Hungary Released

[Released to the press September 27]

American citizens Paul Ruedemann and George Bannantine, president and technical adviser respectively of MAORT, an American-owned affiliate in Hungary of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), have been released from detention by the Hungarian authorities following vigorous United States representations both at Washington and at Budapest to the Hungarian Government and, accompanied by an officer of the American Legation at Budapest, arrived in Vienna at 11:30 a.m. on September 26.

Mr. Ruedemann and Mr. Bannantine were taken into custody by the Hungarian police on the night of September 18 and held incommunicado until their release on September 25. The United States Government considers the allegations made against these two men by the Hungarian authorities and by the officially controlled Hungarian press and radio involving "economic sabotage" were wholly unfounded. These arrests followed a long series of encroachments by the Hungarian authorities on the rights of MAORT, which have now culminated in the seizure of the company under a decree issued by order of the Cabinet Council on September 24 and published in the *Official Gazette* on September 25.

## Economic Cooperation Agreement With Portugal Signed

*Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett*

[Released to the press September 29]

A bilateral agreement in connection with the European Recovery Program was signed with the Portuguese Government on September 28 at Lisbon by Ambassador MacVeagh and the Portuguese Foreign Minister.<sup>1</sup> Although the Portuguese Government is receiving no financial aid under the European Recovery Program, they have given their firm support to the program from the very beginning. The signing of the ERP agreement and the cordial remarks of the Portuguese Foreign Minister on that occasion have shown again the spirit of good will and cooperation of the Portuguese Government in participating in the huge task of European reconstruction.

## Department of State To Have Full Direction of Voice of America Programs

[Released to the press September 30]

Preparation and broadcasting of those Voice of America programs which had previously been handled by the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System under contract with the Department of State, were undertaken by the Department beginning October 1.

In making the announcement, George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, said

<sup>1</sup>For text of the agreement, see Department of State press release 788 of Sept. 29, 1948. For text of a similar agreement with Italy, see BULLETIN of July 11, 1948, p. 38.

Identical notes between the two Governments were exchanged relating to most-favored-nation treatment for areas under military occupation. With the exception of the following paragraph this exchange is similar to the understanding with the U.K. which was printed in the BULLETIN of July 11, 1948, p. 43:

"1. For such time as the Government of the United States of America participates in the occupation or control of any areas in western Germany, the Free Territory of Trieste, the Government of Portugal will apply to the merchandise trade of such area the provisions relating to the most-favored nation treatment of the merchandise trade of the United States of America set forth in the Commercial Agreement signed June 28, 1910, or for such time as the Governments of the United States of America and Portugal may both be contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, dated October 30, 1947, the provisions of that Agreement, as now or hereafter amended, relating to the most-favored-nation treatment of such trade. It is understood that the undertaking in this paragraph relating to the application of the most-favored-nation provisions of the Commercial Agreement shall be subject to the exceptions recognized in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade permitting departures from the application of most-favored-nation treatment; provided that nothing in this sentence shall be construed to require compliance with the procedures specified in the General Agreement with regard to the application of such exceptions."

the transfer of functions was effected under agreement between the Department and the radio networks following their decision to withdraw from programming activities in the field of international broadcasting.

The two networks were preparing and broadcasting Voice of America programs in English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, German, Annamese, Malayan, and Siamese.

The Department's International Broadcasting Division, which has charge of Voice of America operations, will continue to lease short-wave transmitting facilities of private companies, including those of NBC and CBS.

The broadcast output to Latin America was reduced October 1 to 2 hours and 45 minutes daily from the previous 4 hours and 45 minutes' schedule. Daily Far Eastern programs of 15 minutes each in Annamese, Malayan, and Siamese, which had been prepared by CBS up to October 1, were discontinued. European schedules will remain virtually intact with broadcasts continuing in Bulgarian, Czech, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Serbo-Croat, Slovak, Slovene, and Spanish.

Broadcasts will continue to the Far East in Chinese, Korean, Russian, and English, and to Latin America in English, Portuguese, and Spanish.

The Voice of America will increase certain existing broadcasts and will inaugurate programs in additional languages as soon as an adequate staff can be recruited. The output to Europe was given added impetus October 3 when the relay of Voice of America programs through the British Broadcasting Corporation facilities was increased from 9 to 10½ hours daily.

## Ambassador Butler To Represent President at Cuban Inauguration

[Released to the press October 1]

Robert Butler, United States Ambassador to Cuba, has been named Special Ambassador to represent the President at the inauguration of Dr. Carlos Prío Socarrás, President-elect of Cuba, on October 10, 1948. Members of his special mission will be Admiral Louis E. Denfeld, United States Navy, Lt. General Matthew B. Ridgway, United States Army, Major General Willis F. Hale, United States Air Force, and officers of the United States Embassy at Habana.

## Air Transport Agreement With Bolivia

[Released to the press September 30]

The Department of State on September 30 announced that an air-transport agreement between the Governments of Bolivia and the United States was signed in La Paz on September 29, 1948.

*Department of State Bulletin*

The agreement is of the so-called Bermuda type, upon which is based the great majority of the 36 bilateral air agreements of the United States. The agreement grants traffic rights to United States air lines at La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, Robore, Oruro, and Puerto Suárez. A route for Bolivian air lines is to be agreed upon when Bolivia is ready to operate a service to the United States.

Complete text of the agreement will be announced later.

### U.S. Vessels Sailing to Arctic in Support of Canadian-U. S. Joint Weather Station Program

[Released to the press September 28]

It was announced in Ottawa and Washington on June 4 that three U.S. Navy and Coast Guard vessels, with Canadian representatives aboard, would shortly be sailing to Canadian Arctic waters in support of the joint weather-station program which is being carried out by the Governments of Canada and the United States.

These three ships—The U.S.S. *Edisto*, icebreaker, the U.S.C.G. *Eastwind*, icebreaker, and the U.S.S. *Wyandot*, cargo vessel, have now returned to Boston.

During the summer they resupplied the joint weather stations established in 1947 at Eureka Sound, Ellesmere Island, and at Resolute Bay, Cornwallis Island. They also made a preliminary investigation of the possibility of establishing a further joint station in the vicinity of Winter Harbour, Melville Island. In the course of reconnoitering a site for an additional joint station on Ellesmere Island, the *Edisto* and the *Eastwind* managed to reach, via Robeson Channel, the Cape Sheridan area at the north of that island. This area in the extreme north of Canada was the scene of the activities of the British explorer, Sir George Nares, in 1875-1876 and of the subsequent activities of the United States explorer, Admiral Peary, in 1905-1906. The supply mission came across Nares' and Peary's cairn and, as is usual on northern expeditions, Peary's notes found in the cairn were replaced by appropriate documents. The *Edisto* and the *Eastwind* returned to the Atlantic coast through Fury and Hecla Strait, between the Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island.

The ships which participated in the supply mission were under the command of Capt. George J. Dufek, U.S.N., embarked in the *Edisto*. The *Edisto* was commanded by Commander E. C. Folger, U.S.N.; the *Wyandot* by Capt. J. D. Diekey, U.S.N.; and the *Eastwind* by Capt. J. A. Flynn, U.S.C.G. Among the principal Canadian representatives who participated in the supply mission were J. Ivor Griffiths of the Meteorological Division, Department of Transport, and Capt. Albani

Chouinard, master of the Department of Transport icebreaker *Saurel*.

### Records of Nares and Peary Canadian Arctic Expeditions Found

[Released to the press September 30]

Announcement was made on September 28 of the recent return to Boston of the ships which participated in the resupply of the Canada-United States weather stations in the Canadian Arctic.

While near Cape Sheridan, on the north coast of Ellesmere Island, a landing party from the supply mission located a cairn which contained records of two famous Arctic expeditions. The first was that of Sir George Nares, of the Royal Navy, whose ship, the *Alert*, sailed north, in 1875, between Canada and Greenland, to Cape Sheridan. In July, 1876, after exploring the Ellesmere coast westward to Cape Alfred Ernest, Nares' expedition left a record of its activities in a cairn near Cape Sheridan. While on a polar expedition, Admiral Robert E. Peary, the U.S. explorer, subsequently visited the same region in 1905-1906 and, as usual among Arctic explorers, he opened Nares' cairn, took the original note, left a copy of it in the cairn, and added a record of his own activities.

When at Cape Sheridan, the recent supply mission again opened the cairn, removed the notes in it and left copies of them together with a note on the 1948 visit.

The texts of the notes brought back this summer are given below:

#### *Copy of Original Document Left by Admiral Robert E. Peary at Cape Sheridan*

CAPE SHERIDAN, September 5th, 1905.

The Peary Arctic Club's Ship "Roosevelt" arrived here from New York at 7. a.m. and made fast to the ice foot under the point of the cape awaiting the turn of the tide to proceed to Cape Hecla.

The Roosevelt left New York July 16th., Sidney, Cape Breton, July 26th, arrived Cape York August 7th, and left Etah August 17th. Her last stopping place was the icefoot south of Cape Union which she left at 3:30 this morning.

Personally visited the Alert's Cairn at Floberg Beach and took there from Alert's Record, copy of which accompanies this. Roster of the Roosevelt's Company is also enclosed.

R. E. PEARY, U.S.N.

*Commanding the Expedition*

#### *Copy of H.M.S. Alert's Record Left in 1876*

ARCTIC EXPEDITION. 25th July-1876

H.M.S. "Alert", at Floe-berg Beach (Lat. 82° 27' North. Long. 61° 22' West)

H.M.S. "Alert" wintered off this coast: inside the grounded ice 1875-1876. H.M.S. "Discovery,"

her consort, passed the same winter in a well sheltered harbour in Lat. 81° 44' North, Long. 65° 5' West.

The sledge crews after a very severe journey over the ice succeeding in attaining Lat. 83° 20' 30" N. No land has been sighted to the North. Another division explored the coast line to the Northward and Westward to Lat: 82° 23' N. Long: 84° 56' W. Cape Columbia the northernmost Cape being in Lat 83° 7' N. Long. 70° 30' W.

Sledge parties from the "Discovery" have explored the Greenland Shore for some distance to the Northward and Eastward, but the result of the examination is not yet known to me.

Scurvy attacked nearly all the men employed in sledge traveling. Two deaths have occurred: Niels. C. Peterson from the effects of a severe frostbite (which necessitated a part of each foot being amputated) followed by exhaustion and scorbutic taint:—and George Porter, Gunner R.M.A. who died from scurvy and general debility when absent on a sledge journey; and was buried on the floe in Lat. 82° 41' N.

The ice in the Polar Sea broke up on the 20th July,—when it permits us to move, the "Alert" will proceed south and join company with the "Discovery"; both ships will then sail for Port Foulke, and most probably thence to England.

G. S. NARES,  
Captain R.N.

*Commanding Arctic Expedition*

### **Control of Foreign Assets in U.S. Ended**

[Released to the press by the Treasury Department September 30]

Secretary Snyder announced on September 30 the close of more than eight years of activity by the Treasury in the field of controlling foreign assets in the United States. The program started by the Treasury Department almost a decade ago is to be carried through to its ultimate liquidation by the Department of Justice pursuant to a Presidential transfer of jurisdiction.

Plans for this transfer, which is effective as of midnight, September 30, were made by the interested departments in February and were at that time approved by the National Advisory Council and communicated to the Congress. Accordingly, the Treasury Department regulations setting forth the organization and procedures of Foreign Funds Control, and other related regulations promulgated in 1942, are being revoked. These regulations are being superseded by new regulations similar in scope issued by the Department of Justice.

Treasury participation in this field began with the freezing order of April 1940, issued at the time of the German invasion of Norway and Denmark. The scope of the order was gradually expanded until by 1941 it covered China and Japan as well

as all the countries of continental Europe, except Turkey. A 1941 census revealed that the Treasury Department was then controlling foreign assets in the United States worth more than eight billion dollars.

A primary aim of the freezing control was to prevent nationals of the invaded countries of Europe from being despoiled and forced under duress to transfer to the Axis powers their claims to American assets. The freezing controls also served in many ways as a weapon of economic warfare to hamper the financial and commercial activities of our World War II enemies.

The elimination of restrictions on transactions and the gradual unblocking of foreign assets began shortly after the end of actual hostilities. The elimination of these controls has been handled so as to maintain the major objectives for which they were instituted. Unblocking of property has proceeded on a basis which has preserved the ability of the United States to vest assets actually belonging to enemies. The procedures now in effect for unblocking foreign assets in the United States have also been developed with a view toward assisting in the implementation of the European Recovery Program.

### **Proclamation on Revision of ILO Convention**

The President on August 30, 1948, issued his proclamation of the Final Articles Revision Convention, 1946, which was adopted at the Twentieth Session of the International Labor Conference at Montreal on October 9, 1946. That convention is designed to revise partially the conventions adopted by the General Conference of the International Labor Organization at its first 28 sessions for the purpose of making provision for the future discharge of certain chancery functions entrusted by those conventions to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and introducing therein certain further amendments consequential upon the dissolution of the League of Nations and the amendment of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization. The Final Articles Revision Convention, 1946, entered into force with respect to the United States on June 24, 1948, the date of deposit with the International Labor Organization of the instrument of ratification thereof on the part of the United States.

### **The Opportunity of the National Commission**

The Assistant Secretary for public affairs, George V. Allen, made an address before the UNESCO National Commission meeting which was held in Boston on September 27. For the text of Mr. Allen's address on the opportunity of the National Commission, see Department of State press release 777 of September 27, 1948.

## Freedom of Information

### STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL<sup>1</sup>

The theme of National Newspaper Week, "Your Right To Know Is The Key To All Your Liberties", emphasizes a fundamental freedom which our Government is actively seeking to encourage throughout the world—freedom of the people to know the truth.

Half of the world's population lives under some form of censorship today. Denied access to the facts, people in countries where censorship and government control of the press exist can base their judgments only on half-truths or false information fed to them by those in control. Censorship and press control are the first and most important steps in the subjugation of people by a dictator.

Americans should keep constantly in mind that no people have lost their liberties so long as their press remains free.

It is also a vital concern of ours to see that the

barriers to the flow of information are reduced and, as far as possible, eliminated. This is an essential to the world peace which we are seeking.

Our Government is making every effort, through the United Nations, to reduce these barriers between countries. In the Commission on Human Rights, in the Economic and Social Council, in the General Assembly, at the recent Conference at Geneva on Freedom of Information, and in UNESCO, we have pressed for active consideration of freedom of information during the past 18 months. Progress has been difficult, yet it is encouraging.

A heavy responsibility rests with the press and other organs of information to aid in this important work. In their best traditions, it is for them, in the language of the United Nations, "to seek the truth without prejudice and report the facts without malicious intent".

## Surplus Property Agreements on Educational Exchange With United Kingdom and New Zealand Signed

### United Kingdom

The United Kingdom signed on September 22 an agreement under the Fulbright act with the United States, putting into operation the program of educational exchanges authorized by Public Law 584, Seventy-ninth Congress. The signing took place in London, with Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin representing the United Kingdom and U.S. Ambassador Lewis Douglas representing the United States. The agreement was signed in the presence of Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, sponsor of the act.

The agreement provides for a United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom to assist in the administration of the educational program financed from certain funds resulting from the sale of surplus property to that country. The present agreement provides for an annual program of the equivalent of \$1,000,000 in British pounds 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 the United Kingdom or the colonial dependencies, or of the citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies 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 United Kingdom and colonies 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 Commission in the United Kingdom will consist of 12 members, the honorary chairman of which will be the U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom. The members of the Commission will include 7 citizens of the United States and 5 members from the United Kingdom and the colonial dependencies.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Oct. 1, 1948, in connection with observance of National Newspaper Week (Oct. 1-8, 1948), and released to the press on the same date.

**New Zealand**

On September 13 New Zealand also signed an agreement with the United States, under the Fulbright act.

The signing took place in Wellington, with Prime Minister Peter Fraser representing the Government of New Zealand and American Minister Robert Scotten representing the United States. It was the fifth agreement signed under the act, previous arrangements having been made with the Governments of China, Burma, the Philippines, and Greece.

The agreement with the New Zealand Government establishes the United States Educational Foundation in New Zealand to administer certain funds resulting from the sale of surplus property to that country, and provides for an annual program of at least \$115,000 in New Zealand pounds for certain educational purposes.

The Foundation in New Zealand will have an eight-man Board of Directors, the honorary chairman of which will be the principal officer in charge of the United States diplomatic mission in New Zealand. The members of the Board will be three officers of the U.S. Legation in New Zealand, two citizens of the United States resident in New Zealand, and three nationals of New Zealand, one of whom shall be prominent in the field of education.

Information about specific opportunities for American citizens to pursue study, teaching, or research in the two countries will be made public in the near future. Further inquiries about those 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 Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching at the college level, for post-doctoral research, and for teaching in American elementary and secondary schools in New Zealand and the United Kingdom and colonies).

Previous agreements have been signed with the Governments of China, Burma, the Philippines, and Greece.<sup>1</sup>

**Brazilian Cultural Leader Visits U.S.**

João da Silva Monteiro, President of the Board of Directors of the União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos, São Paulo, Brazil, has arrived in the United States for a three months' visit under the travel-grant program of the Department of State. Mr. Monteiro will observe various aspects of the

economic and cultural life of this country and study problems of educational exchange between Brazil and the United States. Particularly interested in rural life on small farms, he plans to spend a week on such a farm in New England as part of his visit here, gathering material for a report to be published in Brazil on "The Education and Progress of a Country Through Rural Free Delivery Service".

Mr. Monteiro has been a member of the Board of Directors of the União Cultural for six years and has served as president for the past two years. This cultural center was founded in 1938 to foster better understanding between Brazilians and North Americans. It currently enrolls over 4,000 students of English, has the largest circulating library of books in English in Brazil, and sponsors various cultural programs interpreting North American and Brazilian culture.

**Brazilian Philosopher Visits U.S.**

João Cruz Costa, professor of philosophy, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil, has arrived in Washington to act as Consultant for the Library of Congress and observe the work of several eastern universities. He is here under the grant-in-aid program of the Department of State at the request of the Library of Congress.

He is at present preparing for publication a study on positivism, a subject on which he is planning to do research while at the Library of Congress.

**Visit of Chilean Historian**

Dr. Eugenio Pereira Salas, professor of American history at the University of Chile, recently arrived in Washington, where he is to serve as visiting professor of Latin American history at the American University during the 1948 fall semester under the travel-grant program of the Department of State.

Dr. Pereira is the President of the Instituto Chileno-Norteamericano de Cultura in Santiago. This organization, a bi-national cultural society which is assisted by the Department of State, is devoted to promoting a better understanding between Chile and this country.

**Language Professor To Teach in Haiti**

William Leonard Schwartz, associate professor of Romanic languages at Stanford University, has left Washington to begin a six months' assignment as visiting professor of English at the University of Haiti under the travel-grant program of the Department of State.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 21, 1948, p. 388; Apr. 11, 1948, p. 488; and May 16, 1948, p. 654.

## Rules of Precedence Relating to Foreign Service and Government Officers<sup>1</sup>

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 1752 of the Revised Statutes (22 U. S. C. 132), and as President of the United States, and in the interest of the orderly conduct abroad of the foreign-affairs functions of the United States, I hereby prescribe the following rules governing precedence among officers of the Foreign Service and officers or accredited representatives of other Government agencies:

1. In the country to which he is accredited, the chief of the diplomatic mission shall take precedence over all officers or accredited representatives of other Executive departments or establishments.

2. In the absence of the titular head of the mission, the chargé d'affaires ad interim shall take precedence over all officers or accredited representatives of other Executive departments or establishments.

3. At a diplomatic mission the officer who takes charge in the absence of the chief of mission shall always take precedence next in succession to the chief of mission: *Provided*, That unless the chief of mission is absent, such officer shall, consonant with the last sentence of section 109 (a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 (Public Law 472, 80th Congress), and during the continuance in force of such Act, take precedence after the chief of special mission.

4. Military, naval, and air attachés shall take precedence next in succession after the counselors of embassy or legation or, at a post where the Department of State has deemed it unnecessary to assign a counselor, after the senior secretary. Military, naval, and air attachés shall take precedence among themselves according to their respective grades and seniority therein.

5. Attachés who are not officers of the Foreign Service and who are not covered by section 4 shall take precedence with but after military, naval, and air attachés.

6. Officers of the Foreign Service below the rank of counselor shall take precedence among themselves as the Secretary of State may direct; but they shall take precedence after military, naval, and air attachés and attachés who are not officers of the Foreign Service, except when the provisions of section 11 hereof are applicable and such officers of the Foreign Service are also assigned as diplomatic officers.

7. Assistant military, naval, and air attachés shall take precedence next after the lowest ranking second secretary. At a post to which there is no second secretary assigned, assistant military, naval, and air attachés shall take precedence as a group among the officers of the Foreign Service of rank equivalent to second secretaries as the chief of mission may direct. Assistant military, naval, and air attachés shall take precedence among themselves according to their respective grades and seniority therein.

8. Assistant attachés who are not officers of the Foreign Service and who are not covered by section 7 shall take precedence with but after assistant military, naval, and air attachés.

9. Except as provided herein no extra precedence shall be conferred upon an Army, Naval, Marine, or Air Force officer because of his duties as attaché to a diplomatic mission.

10. At ceremonies and receptions where the members of the mission take individual position, and in the lists furnished foreign governments for inclusion in their diplomatic lists, precedence shall follow the ranking indicated in the preceding sections.

11. At ceremonies and receptions where the personnel of diplomatic missions are present as a body, the chief of mission, or chargé d'affaires ad interim, accompanied by all officers of the Foreign Service included in the diplomatic list, shall be followed next by the military, naval, and air attachés and assistant attachés, and other attachés and assistant attachés who are not officers of the Foreign Service, formed as distinct groups in the order determined by their respective grades and seniority.

12. In international conferences at which the American delegates possess plenipotentiary powers, the senior counselor of embassy or legation attached to the delegation shall take precedence immediately after the delegates, unless otherwise instructed by the Secretary of State.

13. In the districts to which they are assigned, consuls general shall take precedence with but after brigadier generals in the Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps and commodores in the Navy; consuls shall take precedence with but after colonels in the Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps and captains in the Navy; officers of the Foreign Service commissioned as vice consuls shall take precedence with but after captains in the Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps and lieutenants in the Navy.

14. Officers of the Foreign Service with the title of consul general, consul, or vice consul shall take precedence with respect to medical officers of the Public Health Service assigned to duty in American consular offices as follows: consul general before medical director; consul with but after medical director; vice consul with but after senior assistant surgeon: *Provided*, That this regulation shall not operate to give precedence to any medical officer above that of the consular officer in charge.

15. This order supersedes Executive Orders No. 8356 of March 2, 1940, and No. 8377 of March 18, 1940 (3 CFR Cum. Supp. 624, 632).

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
September 14, 1948

## Fifteen Hundred Persons Complete Foreign Service Examinations

[Released to the press September 30]

Approximately 1,500 young men and women in 18 cities in the United States and 70 cities abroad completed on September 30 the rigid three-day written examination which is the first step toward entrance into the Foreign Service of the United States as a Foreign Service officer.

A total of 1,960 persons were designated to take the examination, which is the second regular test to be given since the end of World War II. However, only about 1,500 of the number designated have actually presented themselves at the 88 examining offices scattered throughout the world.

The facts concerning the current examination differ in many respects from those relating to prewar examinations. For example, the number of persons examined this year is almost four times the number in 1941, the year of the last prewar

<sup>1</sup> Ex. Or. 9998, 14 *Fed. Reg.* 5359.

examination, when 440 persons took the tests. Formerly, also, the examinees tended to be clustered on the two coasts of the United States. This year, large numbers have been designated in cities in all regions of the country, 58 persons having been designated to be examined in Atlanta, 165 in Chicago, 62 in Dallas, 37 in Denver, 87 in St. Louis. In addition, 145 persons residing abroad, most of them already in the Foreign Service in other categories than Foreign Service officers, applied to take the examinations. These include 1 person at Moscow, 9 in Seoul, 13 in Berlin, 1 in Mombasa, 1 in Reykjavik, 2 in Montevideo, and 3 in Montreal.

To pass the written examination—which covers many different subjects, including international law, economics, history, government, and maritime law—the examinee must make an average grade of at least 70 percent. In prewar tests, the percentage of those taking the examination who made this grade varied from 18.6 percent to 19.7 percent. Those who pass the written tests must undergo an oral examination before being classed as eligible for appointment as a Foreign Service officer. An average grade of 80 percent on both the written and oral examinations is passing. Those making this average before the war constituted from 6.8 percent to 9.3 percent of the total designated candidates. Thus, in 1941, 440 persons took the examinations. Of that number, 77 passed the written test, and 37 passed both the written and oral examinations.

### **Test Program Conducted for International Health Information**

The Foreign Service of the United States, in cooperation with the United States Public Health Service, is conducting a test program in the field of international health information. The test is being conducted through a Public Health attaché, Dr. Morris B. Sanders, who has been assigned to the American Embassies at Paris, Brussels, and The Hague, with residence at Paris.

Intended as an aid both to Europe and the United States, the future of the program depends upon the availability of funds and the successful development of the initial effort in harmony with the work of the World Health Organization of the United Nations, of which the United States is a member.

Dr. Sanders, a member of the United States Public Health Service Reserve and a recognized expert in problems of anesthesia and oxygen and in the field of aviation medicine, received instructions outlining the following as his duties in Europe:

1. Dissemination of United States Public Health and medical developments within assigned countries and reporting upon current developments and thinking in those countries;

2. Collection of and reporting on available information from those countries on: health conditions; current medical research and opportunities for United States research abroad; public-health administrative practices and techniques and their results; prevalence of diseases of particular interest to the United States; extent of health-insurance programs; and developments in sciences related to health and medicine;

3. Familiarizing himself with administration and technique of national health services abroad;

4. Ascertaining the research programs and activities of scientific institutions and organizations in the field of health;

5. Attending and, when appropriate, participating in conferences and congresses in health and related fields;

6. Identifying himself with the public health and medical-research life of the countries of assignment.

### **Closing of Consular Offices and Opening of New Offices**

[Released to the press September 23]

Five more American consulates and one vice consulate are being closed in a continuing streamlining of Foreign Service posts throughout the world. The posts to be closed are Tahiti, Society Islands; La Guaira, Venezuela; Cartagena, Colombia; Martinique, French West Indies; Cochabamba, Bolivia; and the combined Fort William-Port Arthur post in Canada.

The closing of these six Foreign Service offices brings to 17 the number of American consular offices closed in various parts of the world since January 1, 1948. Some were closed because of a lessening of work caused by shifting world conditions, some because the volume of work did not justify their cost, some because they had been wartime emergency posts.

One, at Changchun, China, was closed for political considerations because it was in an area with few American interests and surrounded by Chinese Communist-controlled forces. Another, at Vladivostok, was closed by the United States following the shutting down of Soviet consulates in this country by the U.S.S.R.

An additional reason for the closing of these consular offices has been the necessity of utilizing budgeted funds for opening and staffing with experienced personnel new posts in areas now considered vital to American interests.

Some of those closed have been or will be supplanted by consular agents; the work of the others will be transferred to nearby offices. Thus, the volume of business to be done on behalf of United States interests by the Foreign Service should not be seriously affected.

Fourteen new Foreign Service offices were established in the fiscal year 1948 and two more—important enough to be missions, Tel Aviv, Israel, and Seoul, Korea—have been established in recent months. In addition, reports to the State Department indicate a growing need for the opening of still more American consular offices in the future, particularly in the Mediterranean area and in the Near East.

The posts recently opened are sending representatives of the United States back into areas which have regained their prewar importance for this country and into regions newly important because of a wealth of strategic materials, an increase in shipping, or the establishment of new means of communications. Three—at Lahore, Tel Aviv, and Seoul—were brought into being because of the birth of new nations, Pakistan, Israel, and Korea.

The posts recently established follow:

Bergen, Norway; Bratislava, Czechoslovakia; Cebu, Philippines; Curitiba, Brazil; Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika; Elisabethville, Belgian Congo; Haifa, Palestine; Kobe, Japan; Kuala Lumpur, Malayan Union; Lahore, Pakistan; Nicosia, Cyprus; Puerto Cortés, Honduras; Tripoli, Libya; Venice, Italy; Tel Aviv, Israel; and Seoul, Korea.

The full list of posts eliminated since January 1, in addition to the six now in process of closing, is as follows:

Fredericton, N.B., Canada; Changchun, China; St. Stephen, N.B., Canada; Hull, England; Grenada, British West Indies; Port Limón, Costa Rica; Antigua, British West Indies; Plymouth, England; Sarnia, Ontario, Canada; La Ceiba, Honduras; and Vladivostok, U.S.S.R.

### Sale of Surplus Combat Matériel

A list of surplus combat matériel sold to foreign governments by the Department of State in its capacity as foreign-surplus disposal agency during April, May, June, and July 1948 and not previously reported was contained in Department of State press release 664 of August 17, 1948.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Schedule of Fees by Interim Office for German Affairs<sup>1</sup>

*September 2, 1948.*

Public Notice No. DA-121, effective August 10, 1948, established an Interim Office for German

October 10, 1948

Affairs in the Division of Protective Services, Office of Controls, Department of State.

The Interim Office for German Affairs is authorized to prescribe from time to time such fees as may be deemed appropriate for any services rendered. The following schedule of fees is hereby established:

#### NATURE OF SERVICE

##### *Travel Document Service*

Execution of application for travel document and military-entry permit-----	\$2.00
Issuance of travel document-----	10.00
Amendment or verification of a travel document----	2.00
Renewal of travel document-----	5.00
Execution of affidavit in regard to German birth in connection with application for travel document--	1.00

##### *Notarial and Other Miscellaneous Services*

Administering an oath and certificate thereof-----	2.00
Acknowledgment of a deed or power of attorney, or similar service, including one or more signatures, with certificate thereof, for each copy-----	2.00
Certifying to official character of a notary or other official-----	2.00
For taking depositions, executing commissions or letters rogatory, where the record of testimony including caption and certificate does not exceed 500 words (excluding punctuation)-----	2.00
For each additional 100 words or fraction thereof--	.50
Certifying to the correctness of a copy of, or extract from, a document, official or private-----	2.00
Recording unofficial documents in Interim Office upon request (for every 100 words or fraction thereof)-----	1.00
Obtaining copy of German public document (exclusive of local charges of foreign officials and certification by United States Consul)-----	2.00

The fees received by the Interim Office for German Affairs shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

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

Approved: September 2, 1948.

For the Secretary of State.

[SEAL]

JOHN F. PEURIFOX,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

## PUBLICATIONS

### Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932, Volume I, Released

[Released to the press October 2]

The Department of State on October 2 released *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932, volume I, General*. This volume deals entirely with multilateral subjects which do not properly fall under separate country headings.

<sup>1</sup> 13 *Fed. Reg.* 5382.

The *Foreign Relations* record of American diplomacy for 1932 is contained in five volumes. Volume II, *The British Commonwealth, Europe, the Near East and Africa*, and volumes III and IV, *The Far East*, have already been published. Volume V, *The American Republics*, will be ready for publication in the near future.

The year 1932 is the first for which the mass of documentation in the Department files is so great that an expansion of the number of regular annual volumes to five has been necessary. The reason for this increase in diplomatic documentation is primarily the development of those international tensions which within a few years led to the outbreak of World War II.

The central problem presented in the volume now released is that of negotiations for disarmament, the subject treated in the first 574 pages of documents. Efforts of the United States, with considerable support from the British, to bring about international agreement for reduction in military forces failed of success in the face of the German demand for military equality and the French fear of disarming without other effective guarantees of security. There were warnings even then, before seizure of power by the Nazis, that the spirit which dominated Germany in 1914 was reviving, but the American Government was not in a position at that time to pledge its aid to maintain peace or security in Europe.

Efforts for an adjustment of war-debt payments are also extensively treated in this volume. Other sections contain papers on preliminaries to the London Economic Conference, the proposed economic confederation of the Danubian states, tension over the Polish Corridor and Danzig, and a number of technical and economic subjects.

A preface by the editor explains the principles which guide in the compiling and editing of *Foreign Relations*, and names the Department officers responsible for the preparation of the 1932 volumes.

Copies of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1932, volume I (cxv, 979 pages), may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for \$3 each.

### Other Publications

*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 Dead in World War II.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1720. Pub. 3113. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and France—Signed at Paris Oct. 1, 1947; entered into force Oct. 1, 1947.

**Liquidation of German Property in Sweden: Allocation of Proceeds.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1731. Pub. 3153. 4 pp. 5¢.

Understanding Between the United States and France—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Washington July 18, 1946; entered into force July 18, 1946.

**Education: Cooperative Program in Ecuador.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1749. Pub. 3191. 24 pp. 10¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Ecuador Extending and Modifying Agreement of Jan. 22, 1945—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Quito Oct. 2 and Nov. 14, 1947; entered into force Nov. 14, 1947, effective from Jan. 22, 1948.

**Mutual Aid Settlement.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1750. Pub. 3192. 39 pp. 15¢.

Agreement and Exchanges of Notes Between the United States and the Netherlands—Signed at Washington May 28, 1947; entered into force May 28, 1947; Agreement Between the United States and the Netherlands Indies—Signed at Washington May 28, 1947; entered into force May 28, 1947; and Memorandum of Arrangement Between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands—Signed at Washington May 28, 1947; entered into force May 28, 1947.

**Proceedings and Documents of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference.** Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, July 1-22, 1944. Vol. I. International Organization and Conference Series I, 3. Pub. 2866. 1126 pp. \$3.50.

Includes principal substantive documents showing the work of the three commissions of the Conference. The material in this volume outlines the procedures which led to the Articles of Agreement of both the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Volume II will contain additional substantive documents, lists of documents and symbols, and a comprehensive index to both volumes.

**Italy: Establishment of Four Power Naval Commission, Disposal of Excess Units of Italian Fleet, and Return by Soviet Union of United States and British Warships on Loan.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1733. Pub. 3155. 6 pp. 5¢.

Protocol Between the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and France—Signed at Paris February 10, 1947; entered into force February 10, 1947.

**American Dead in World War II; Sites in Italy for Establishment of Military Cemeteries.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1743. Pub. 3183. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Italy Modifying the Agreement of September 13 and 26, 1946—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Washington December 18, 1947, and January 21, 1948; entered into force January 21, 1948; And Understanding Between the United States and Italy Amending the agreement of December 18, 1947, and January 21, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Washington March 24 and April 19, 1948; entered into force April 19, 1948.

**United States Educational Foundation in Greece.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1751. Pub. 3193. 39 pp. 15¢.

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Address by Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Paris, September 23, 1948.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

Vol. XIX, No. 485  
October 17, 1948

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# THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

## Third Regular Session of the General Assembly

### Discussions on Progress of U.N. in Paris

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House October 9]

General Marshall has returned to Washington at my request to report to me on the progress of the work of the various United Nations bodies in Paris. I had a long talk with him this morning, and again this afternoon. He gave me a detailed picture of what has been taking place in Paris, and we discussed questions relating to the future course of this Government in the various matters at issue.

With regard to the report published in this morning's press concerning a possible journey of Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow, the facts are as follows: On last Tuesday, when I communicated with Secretary Marshall, I told him of my continuing great desire to see peace firmly established in the world, and of my particular concern at this time over the attitude taken by the Soviet representatives regarding the atomic problem. I said that I was wondering whether their attitude did not reflect a misunderstanding in the minds of the Soviet leaders so serious, from the standpoint of world peace in general, that we would be remiss if we left undone anything that might conceivably

serve to dispel it. I asked the Secretary whether he felt that a useful purpose would be served by sending to Moscow Chief Justice Vinson, in an effort to make the Soviet leaders understand the seriousness and sincerity of the feelings of the people of the United States about these matters. Secretary Marshall described to me the situation which we faced in Paris, and, in the light of his report and the possibilities of misunderstanding to which any unilateral action, however desirable otherwise, could lead at present, I decided not to take this step.

My talk with Secretary Marshall has been gratifying to me. I was glad to hear his report of the unity which has prevailed between ourselves and the French and British representatives in Paris in all phases of the handling of the Berlin crisis, and of the earnest efforts being made by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations to find solutions to many of the other problems which have been troubling people everywhere. I was glad to be able to assure him of the determination with which people in this country are supporting our efforts to find the road to peace.

#### STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL

[Released to the press October 9]

At his press conference on October 9 Secretary of State George C. Marshall said:

"The President called me home to go over with him the intimate details of what had happened in Paris. The daily events had been reported by radio. We settled on this week end as being the time most convenient to both of us to get together. I did not know until I got off the plane this morning of the statements in the press regarding the matter of Chief Justice Vinson making a direct approach to Generalissimo Stalin.

"Due to his very special position in this matter, the President had been deeply concerned by the intransigent attitude of the Soviet Government during the debate of the atomic problem of the past ten days. He called me late Tuesday after-

noon to a teletype conference and discussed with me the proposal of sending Justice Vinson direct to Moscow. After discussing the matter with him by teletype, the President decided it would not be advisable to take this action. The matter was then dropped. I had called to my attention in Paris and since my arrival here several statements in the press or by radio to the effect that there was a split between the President and the Secretary of State regarding important matters of foreign relations. There is no foundation for this. As a matter of fact, the policy to be followed by our Delegation in the current meeting of the United Nations General Assembly and of the Security Council was decided upon by the President before I left for Paris and has been the basis for the implementation by our delegates of the American

position in the conferences in Paris. Such statements can do no good and they certainly can do a great deal of harm and I deplore them.

"My plans at present are a little indefinite but I will probably return tomorrow night to Paris. The issues being discussed there are highly important and it is important that I be present."

Asked whether this Government had reached a position of reopening discussions of the German question with the Soviet Union, Secretary Marshall said:

"We are perfectly ready to enter into negotiations with the Council of Foreign Ministers on the Berlin question, on the German question, if and provided first, the blockade is raised."

In this connection the Secretary was asked whether this willingness on the part of the United States to reopen negotiations permitted or excluded talks with the Foreign Ministers simultaneously with the lifting of the blockade. Secretary Marshall replied: "Yes, it precludes that. The blockade must be lifted before we meet."

## Discussion In the Security Council of the Berlin Crisis<sup>1</sup>

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council

[Released to the press October 8]

The United States Government has sought by peaceful means to remove the threat to peace created by the Soviet Union, which, while it remains, is the insuperable obstacle to free negotiation. Our very resort to the Security Council is a further use of the same peaceful means and is directed to the same end. The United States will be no party to encouraging or submitting to practices which would make a mockery of the Charter.

Secretary Marshall also declared in his address: "For its part, the United States is prepared to seek in every possible way, in any appropriate forum, a constructive and peaceful settlement of the political controversies which contribute to the present tension and uncertainty." I say expressly that this statement includes continued readiness of the United States to negotiate with the Soviet Government in any appropriate forum regarding any issue outstanding between it and the United States Government. The term "any appropriate forum" includes the Council of Foreign Ministers. But what we are now discussing is this barrier to negotiations—this threat to the peace created by the Soviet blockade of Berlin. The appropriate forum for discussion of the threat to peace is this Security Council. We are here to discuss it.

What constitutes a "threat to peace" as that term is used in article 39? A threat to peace is created when a state uses force or threat of force to secure

compliance with its demands. Acts of the Soviet Government in illegally obstructing by threat of force the access of three Western Powers to Berlin creates a threat to peace.

The Soviet Union may pretend it cannot understand why it can be charged with threat or use of force against the United States, France, and the United Kingdom when a primary consequence of its action falls directly and intentionally upon the civilian population of Berlin for whose well-being the three Western occupying powers are responsible. That an effort should be made to deprive two and one-half million men, women, and children of medicines, food, clothing, and fuel, to subject them to cold and starvation and disease, may seem to some a small matter. But to us, the welfare of people committed to our charge is a matter of serious concern. We cannot be callous to the suffering of millions of people in any country, much less when we have responsibility for them as an occupying power.

Today the daily living requirements of these 2,500,000 people, two thirds of the population of Berlin, are being met by the combined efforts of the British and American air forces; 250 planes are supplying the western sectors of Berlin with food, coal, and other essentials. Efforts of thousands of American and British and French men and women have been devoted to the organization and establishment of an air bridge, which, in one day, has delivered almost 7,000 tons of supplies to the land-blocked city. The Security Council, as well as the population of Berlin, may well regard the air-lift as a symbol of peace and of methods of a pacific settlement.

But the fact that the courage and ingenuity of men and women who are participating in this stu-

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from Mr. Jessup's statement made before the Security Council on Oct. 6, 1948. In this statement Mr. Jessup reviewed the development of the Berlin blockade and the breakdown of the discussions at Moscow between representatives of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. For this material see *The Berlin Crisis, A Report of the Moscow Discussions*, 1948, Department of State publication 3298.

penduous achievement saved the people in Berlin from much of the suffering which the Soviet Government sought to enforce upon them does not mean the threat to peace is removed. The Members of the Council will recall that Marshal Sokolovsky, in an obvious attempt to counteract the air-lift, in complete disregard of the directive as interpreted by Premier Stalin himself, insisted upon new restrictions upon air transportation between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany. The Soviet Government, in a note of September 25, instead of repudiating Marshal Sokolovsky's action, added new demands that air communications should be subjected to the control of the Soviet command.

### Origin of Rights

The United States is in Berlin as of right. The rights of the United States as a joint occupying power in Berlin derive from the total defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany. Article I of protocol on zones of occupation in Germany agreed to by the Soviet Union in the European Advisory Commission on November 14, 1944, provides:

"I. Germany, within frontiers as were on December 31, 1937, will, for purposes of occupation, be divided into three zones, one of which will be allotted to each of three powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the three powers."

This agreement (later amended to include France) established the area of Berlin as an international enclave to be jointly occupied and administered by four powers.

The representatives of commanders-in-chief adopted, on July 7, 1945, a resolution establishing the Allied Kommandatura for administration of Berlin. The Kommandatura was to be under the direction of the chief military commandant, which post was to be held in rotation by each of four military commanders. The chief military commandant in consultation with the other commanders was to exercise administration of all Berlin sectors when a question of principle and problems common to all sectors arose. In order to exercise supervision of Berlin local government, one or two representatives from each Allied command were to be attached to each section of the local German government.

Implicit in these agreements is the right of each of the four powers to free access to and egress from the greater Berlin area. Not only has this right been clearly recognized and confirmed by the Soviet Union by practice and usage for almost three years, but it has been the subject of written agreements between the respective governments as well as by their representatives in the Allied Control Council for Germany. Rights of free access were

directly specified in the message from President Truman to Premier Stalin on June 14, 1945, which agreed to withdraw back to the prescribed zonal boundaries those forces which in the course of the war had overrun part of the territory which later became the Soviet zone of occupation, provided satisfactory arrangements for free access by rail, road, and air to the forces in Berlin could be entered into between the military commanders. I quote one sentence from the Truman message:

". . . As to Germany, I am ready to have instructions issued to all American troops to begin withdrawal into their own zone on June 21 in accordance with arrangements between the respective commanders, including in these arrangements simultaneous movement of the national garrisons into greater Berlin and provision of free access by air, road and rail from Frankfurt and Bremen to Berlin for United States forces."

Premier Stalin replied on June 16, 1945, accepting this plan excepting for a change in date. Premier Stalin gave assurances that all necessary measures would be taken in accordance with the plan. Correspondence in a similar sense took place between Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill. Premier Stalin thus agreed that the Western occupying powers should have "free access by air, road and rail" to Berlin. Even in the Russian language, "free access" does not mean "blockade".

The four zone commanders met in Berlin on June 29, 1945, to put the agreement of the Chiefs of State into force. At this meeting it was agreed that the Western Powers would withdraw their forces from the Soviet zone and would have the use of the Helmstedt-Berlin *Autobahn* and rail routes without restriction and subject only to the normal traffic regulations of the Soviet zone. In reply to a question from General Clay, Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet commander, stated: "It will be necessary for vehicles to be governed by Russian road signs, military police, document checking, but no inspection of cargo—the Soviets are not interested in what is being hauled, how much or how many trucks are moving." In accordance with this understanding, the United States, whose armed forces had penetrated deep into lands of Saxony and Thuringia, in the Soviet zone, withdrew its forces to its zone. Simultaneously, United States garrisoning forces took up their position in Berlin.

The right of the United States to be in Berlin thus stems from the same source as the right of the Soviet Union. Rights of occupying powers are co-equal as to freedom of access, occupation, and administration of the area.

### Confirmation by Agreements and Usage

It clearly results from these undertakings that Berlin is not a part of the Soviet zone of occupa-

tion, but is, by express agreement, an international enclave. Commitments entered into in good faith by the commanders of the four zones of occupation, agreements reached by the Allied Control Authority in Germany, as well as uncontested usage, have recognized basic rights of the United States in the joint administration of Berlin and rights of freedom of access thereto for the purpose of fulfilling United States obligations and responsibilities as an occupying power.

Since July 7, 1945, it agreed that supplies necessary for the welfare of the people of Berlin were a joint responsibility of the four powers. There have been a series of quadripartite agreements entered into between July 1945 and April 1948 for the joint provision of food, solid fuels and electric power, and medical supplies.

All agreements, of course, carried with them the right of access to permit the Western occupying powers to bring their share of supplies to Berlin.

Pursuant to agreement in the Control Council establishing train paths, military trains regularly traversed the Helmstedt-Berlin train route. There was no inspection by Soviet authorities and no Soviet permit was required for outgoing shipments from the Berlin area. Proof of identity through proper documentation was sufficient to comply with traffic regulations, which during this period were reasonable and were fully accepted by the Western Powers. Similarly, personnel of the United States Military Forces and other United States officials traveled freely by train or motorcar over the rail and *Autobahn* routes from Berlin to Helmstedt without Soviet visa.

Air corridors were established between the Western zones and Berlin with unrestricted flight, subject, of course, to safety regulations. Three such corridors were established in November 1945 by Four Power agreement in the Allied Control Council to augment the single provisional corridor agreed to in the meeting of the Allied Commanders-in-Chief on July 7, 1945. In December 1945 uniform safety regulations were adopted in these corridors, under which aircraft have operated continuously since that date. These regulations were reaffirmed by publication on October 22, 1946, of the agreed second revision of these flight rules. In practice, military and civilian airline aircraft of the three Western Powers used the corridors for unlimited flight without notification to Soviet authorities.

Bilateral agreements were made by British and Soviet authorities concerning barge traffic between their two zones. Quadripartite arrangements concerning postal traffic, telecommunications and movement of Germans between the Western zones and Berlin were concurred in, and carried out satisfactorily, prior to institution by the Soviet Union of blockade measures.

There can thus be no question of the legal basis

for United States rights to free access to Berlin or of recognition of these rights by the Soviet Union.

#### Regulation of Traffic

The United States maintains its basic juridical rights of free access to Berlin. These are clearly established and recognized by the Soviet Government. As every reasonable and practical person knows, rail, road, barge, and air traffic must be subject to some degree of regulation. Let me repeat the statement of Marshal Zhukov on June 29, 1945:

"It will be necessary for vehicles to be governed by Russian road signs, military police, and documents checking, but no inspection of cargo—Soviets not interested in what is being hauled, how much or how many trucks are moving."

The United States agreed to this position and we still agree. We do not assert freedom of access means absence of reasonable regulations, but precaution cannot be distorted to mean imposition of restrictions to the point where the principle of free access is completely strangled. The United States will not permit the Soviet Government to use the agreed principle of reasonable regulation as a measure to cloak the threat of force designed to force the United States to abandon Berlin to single domination and rule by the Soviet Union.

#### Development of the Berlin Blockade

When the three Western Powers on July 3 formally protested in Moscow against the blockade, the Soviet Government's reply of July 14 contained no reference to the previous Soviet explanation that the blockade measures were due to "technical difficulties". Rather it openly admitted the blockade was in effect retaliation against actions of the Western Powers in their own occupation zones of Germany, emphasizing in this connection the currency reform of the Western zones. Now, for the first time, and in direct conflict with all agreements to the contrary, the Soviet Government put forward the claim that Berlin "is a part of" the Soviet zone of Germany. The Soviet note ended with the contention that Berlin problems were inseparably linked with questions involving the whole of Germany and negotiations would be effective only if they encompassed the entire German situation. Moreover, the Soviet Government refused to permit the restoration of lines of communication between the Western zones and Berlin, which restoration was declared by the United States Government to be a prerequisite for any negotiations.

Finally, the hollowness of various Soviet pretexts for imposition of the Berlin blockade was completely exposed at the recent meetings of the four military governors when, in total disregard of the directive agreed upon in Moscow, the Soviets demanded measures of permanent control of traf-

fic between Berlin and the West, measures to be continued even after Western zone currency would have been removed from Berlin. The Soviet note of September 22 reinforced this demand and thus gave final proof, if any were needed, that Soviet blockade measures are designed to force the three Western Powers to abandon under duress their rightful position in Berlin.

#### **Soviet Attacks on Berlin Municipal Institutions**

In addition to the blockade, the Soviet Government, to the same end, resorted to other measures of duress against the Western Powers by attempting to undermine and sabotage the lawfully constituted city government of Berlin. This government had been formed in accordance with the temporary constitution of Berlin—an instrument approved by the Allied Control Authority.

United States licensed German publications were repeatedly confiscated by German Soviet sector police in direct violation of Control Council directive number 55. The Soviet licensed press in Berlin, which of course prints only items approved by the Soviet authorities, became more strident in attacks on the Western Powers and the elected city government of Berlin.

Perhaps most serious, Soviet authorities condoned and encouraged public disorders in the Soviet sector of Berlin.

#### **Discussions With Soviet Government**

Indeed, since the very beginning of the Soviet imposition of the illegal blockade, the United States Government has made direct, repeated, and persistent efforts to adjust with the Soviet Government the dangerous situation in Berlin.

These efforts were made to obtain the lifting of the blockade which has created a threat to peace which the Security Council is now considering.

To achieve this objective, the United States Government was prepared, and is still prepared, to work out in good faith practical arrangements which would permit the introduction of the German mark of the Soviet zone, under appropriate Four Power control, as the single currency for Berlin. However, it was not and is not willing to yield its rights and obligations regarding Berlin or Germany under coercive pressure of the Soviet blockade. It was made clear that the removal of this coercive pressure would open the door to negotiations on other outstanding issues regarding Berlin. This was repeatedly expressed, and still is the policy of the United States Government.

The course of the negotiations in Berlin was characterized by the failure of the Soviet military governor to abide by the understandings reached in Moscow.

He proposed new restrictions on transport by demanding that air traffic be limited to supplying the needs of the occupation forces in Berlin. No such restriction heretofore existed or was ever agreed to. The Directive to the four military governors called for the removal of all restrictions, not the imposition of new ones.

On September 22, the three Western Governments sent identical notes to the Soviet Government in which they set forth their final position on three issues of principle. In view of the manifest unwillingness of the Soviet authorities to carry out the agreement reached in Moscow, the three Western Governments also called upon the Soviet Government to lift the blockade and to specify the date on which that would be done. The illegal blockade had been then imposed for over three months. Further talk was obviously pointless. Action by the Soviet Union to cease its attempt to induce compliance by duress was essential.

The Soviet Government made its unsatisfactory reply on September 25. It went even further than Marshal Sokolovsky in demanding control by the Soviet military command over air traffic between Berlin and the West.

#### **Role of the Security Council**

The salient feature of the case before the Security Council is that the Soviet blockade is still maintained and thus continues in existence a threat to the peace which it created.

That is the reason why this case has been brought before the Council as a threat to peace within the meaning of chapter VII of the Charter. Considering the circumstances which confront us it would have been disingenuous to call the blockade and its actual, as well as its potential, consequences by any other name.

However, the fact that this matter comes before the Council under chapter VII of the Charter does not mean the Council is precluded from using any of the machinery of pacific settlement suggested in any part of the Charter. In this case, as in all cases that come before it, the Security Council has the greatest flexibility of action in order to carry out the primary responsibility conferred upon it for maintenance of peace.

Mr. President, we do not bring this case to the Security Council with any cut-and-dried formula for its solution. It is our hope the Security Council can assist in removing the threat to peace. Nothing which has happened has changed our position on that point. The moment that the blockade is lifted, the United States is ready to have an immediate meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to discuss with the Soviet Union any questions relating to Germany.

## First Congress of the International Theatre Institute

BY ROSAMOND GILDER

The International Theatre Institute came into official existence on July 1, 1948. This important event in world theater was the outcome of more than two years' work on the part of a large number of theater workers in more than twenty countries. Encouraged and assisted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), theater experts from Europe, Asia, the United Kingdom, and North and South America had met at Paris, France, in the summer of 1947 and had laid the foundation of a structure which is planned as a permanent world-wide autonomous organization serving, sustaining, and developing the theater in every country of the globe.

The concept has its basis in the conviction that the artists of the world speak a common language and can serve as valuable agents in obtaining mutual understanding and good will among nations. As early as November 1946, the creation of a permanent International Institute was envisaged by UNESCO's committees. The project had been carried to completion by UNESCO, not only by the calling of the experts' meeting in 1947 and the Congress in 1948, but by the untiring efforts of the theater section of UNESCO's Paris secretariat where there has been a permanent focus of continuing activity through the past two years. Today, as a result of UNESCO's efforts, the theaters of the world have a well-organized international body which every country capable of setting up a national center within its own borders is invited to join. It has a program of activities, immediate and long-range, an active executive committee and, by January 1, 1949, it will have a home of its own. UNESCO, having fostered this new international body, will, it is confidently expected, continue to assist it for the next few years. In the meanwhile, the Institute will build up its own resources, increase its membership, and become a force in "promoting international exchange in the knowledge and practice of the arts", as its constitution succinctly states.

Twenty countries were represented at the First International Theatre Congress of the International Theatre Institute which was held at Praha, Czechoslovakia, from June 28 to July 3, 1948. These were Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia. After a formal opening session

at which the host country was represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Education, and speeches were made by Julian Huxley, Director General of UNESCO, Jindrich Honzl, director of the National Theatre and head of the Czechoslovak Delegation, and J. B. Priestley, the British playwright who had been chairman of the interim committee, the delegates went into plenary session and elected Mr. Priestley president of the Congress.

Five days were none too long for the three major subcommittees into which the Congress resolved itself to accomplish their tasks. The Committee on Organization, headed by Emil Oprecht of Switzerland, guided the draft charter through its last phases and untangled the various organizational snarls. The Committee on the Exchange of Companies, under the chairmanship of Dr. Arnold Szyfman of Poland, worked out ways and means to smooth the path of theater groups planning international tours. The Committee on Information, presided over by Dr. Yui Shang-Yuen of China and Mlle. Jeanne Laurent of the French Ministry of Education, made a host of decisions leading to the immediate establishment of an information bulletin and other publications.

When the Congress met in final plenary session July 1, the following countries, represented by delegates of fully established national centers, voted the International Theatre Institute into being: Austria, Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. An Executive Committee was elected of which Arman Salacrou, the French playwright, is president, and the other members are Erich Nikowitz, Austrian actor and director; Maurice Huisman, director of the Belgium National Theatre; S. I. Hsuing, Chinese author and playwright; Jindrich Honzl, director of the National Theatre, Praha; Richard Ordynski, Polish director-designer; Llewellyn Rees, drama director of the Arts Council of Great Britain; and Emil Oprecht, president of the Association of Swiss Theatre Directors. The Executive Committee at its first meeting decided on Paris as the temporary headquarters of the International Theatre Institute and named Maurice Kurtz as secretary general, the appointment to take effect when the Institute moves to its own quarters in January 1949. It also appointed an Editorial Committee of four—Rosamond Gilder, René Hainaux, Emil Oprecht, and Kenneth Rae—to work out details of the informa-

tion bulletin which will appear this year and to plan for future publications.

The United States was represented at the Praha Congress by an observer delegation of three. Two of the delegates, Rosamond Gilder and Warren Caro, were nominated by the Department of State while Clarence Derwent, president of Actors' Equity, represented the American National Theatre and Academy. The American delegates were active on all the committees. Two of them, Miss Gilder and Mr. Derwent, had attended the meeting of experts at Paris in 1947 and had taken part in the formulation of the program and in the drafting of the charter. The United Kingdom sent a large delegation representing its newly founded National Centre. Like the national centers of France, Belgium, and other countries, the British Centre was officially organized by the Ministry of Education and is supported and financed by the British Council and the Arts Council, both of which operate under government subsidies. It has enlisted the cooperation of such nongovernmental agencies as the British Equity and the League of British Dramatists and has set up headquarters in the office of the Joint Council of the National Theatre and the Old Vic. The French Centre also has the official and financial backing of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has likewise secured the cooperation of independent artists' groups and unions. The Czechoslovak Centre shows a slightly different organizational pattern in that it is entirely under the direction of the government Ministries of Education and Information.

The United States Center, which has already been established under the joint chairmanship of Clarence Derwent, president of Actors' Equity, and Moss Hart, president of the Dramatists' Guild, will necessarily have a different form. It must be supported by private funds as no government agency exists to give it backing. However, the Center does have the backing of the American National Theatre and Academy which holds a charter from the Congress of the United States. The United States Center of the International Theatre Institute is, as it were, the foreign-affairs branch of the American National Theatre and Academy. It has a separate committee of its own representing all the theater unions and important national groups, professional and nonprofessional. At its offices at 63 West 44th Street in New York

City, it has already undertaken the duties indicated in the International Theatre Institute charter: it has published a mimeographed *International News Bulletin*, acted as friend and adviser to traveling theater students and workers, established contact with the International Office at Paris and with other national centers in Europe and elsewhere. In addition, it serves as the advisory panel on dramatic arts for the United States National Commission of UNESCO. As soon as the delegates to the First Congress can report to the Committee of the United States Center and to the American National Theatre and Academy and can secure the funds necessary for the United States share of the International Office of the Institute, the American theater should take its place as an active and forceful member of this world movement.

Of what value is the International Theatre Institute to the theater as a whole? This is a practical question that J. B. Priestley, the most practical of idealists, can best answer. In his preface to the International Theatre Institute report, he says that the International Theatre Institute—"will collect and then distribute a great deal of valuable information: about new plays and productions in all countries concerned; about the stage dimensions, technical resources, seating capacities of the chief playhouses in all these countries; about copyright laws, censorship regulations, methods of payment and employment in its member countries. Again it will try to remove the various obstacles that prevent the successful exchange of theatrical companies, to improve transport arrangements for companies touring abroad, to break through the walls of currency regulations and customs dues.

"Then, when the Institute is firmly established and has linked the theatre folk of all nations, it can proceed to organize festivals and exhibitions, produce a journal in several languages, create theatrical scholarships and fellowships, advise the newer countries on the organization of good theatres, and do everything possible (without acting as financial manager) to assist distinguished theatrical companies to cross frontiers, and, if necessary, tour the wide world itself. Finally, the annual Congress of the Institute will enable theatrical workers in all countries to meet and exchange ideas and plan joint action."

In all of this it is quite evident that the American theater has much both to give and to receive.

# The United States in the United Nations

## Atomic Energy

The atomic issue was referred last week to an 11-nation subcommittee of Committee 1 with instructions to study and report on all resolutions on the question.<sup>1</sup> On October 12 the subcommittee, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine dissenting, adopted and sent to the full Committee an amended Canadian resolution accepting as the basis for future work the control plan of the U. N. Atomic Commission but leaving further detailed work in suspension until the Soviet opposition is modified.

On October 15 Mr. Osborn during a meeting of the disarmament subcommittee of Committee 1 called upon the Soviet Delegation to show by answering four specific questions whether or not its proposal for major power disarmament is sincere. He asked Jacob Malik, the Soviet Delegate, the following questions:

First, whether Soviet leaders would disavow expansionism by disbanding their Communist fifth columns in countries all over the world.

Second, whether the U.S.S.R. would disavow the use of the veto in implementing inspection and control of armaments by an international agency.

Third, whether the iron curtain would be withdrawn so that the world could know what is going on in the Soviet Union and thus be relieved of fears growing out of Soviet secretiveness.

Finally, "Is there not a certain effrontery in the Soviet Union presenting to this body such a resolution in the name of a dictatorship which Premier Stalin himself has described as one based on violence and not on law?"

## The Berlin Situation

On October 15 the Security Council resumed its consideration of the Berlin question, which the Western powers charge is threatening world peace and security.

Acting Council President Juan A. Bramuglia of Argentina, on behalf of the six neutral nations of the Council that are attempting to compose the differences between the Western powers and the Soviet Union, asked the four powers concerned for additional information regarding the Berlin blockade.

"Firstly", he said, "we request the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the U.S.S.R. to explain the initial imposition of restrictions upon communications, transport, or commerce between Western Germany and the Soviet zones, the details of and the present

status of the restrictions. Secondly, we request them to kindly explain the agreement involved in the instructions given to the military governors of the four powers in Berlin, and to give the detailed reasons that prevented their implementation."

The three Western powers promised to submit careful and comprehensive answers. Mr. Vyshinsky refused to cooperate.

## Support of ERP

The Norwegian and Netherlands Delegates to the United Nations on October 13 defended the European Recovery Program against Soviet attacks. Speaking before the Economic and Financial Committee, Finn Moe, of Norway, credited the program with having staved off a European depression and started Europe on its way to recovery.

C. L. Patijn, of the Netherlands, said that the program "has given us firm ground under our feet for the first time in Europe's history." He also noted that the Polish Delegate had spoken of economic degradation instead of the promised prosperity. "The truth", he said, "is that the production of the 16 countries is showing a marked increase both in agriculture and industry." Dr. Patijn stated that the Soviet Union should "hear how the vast masses of our workers speak with deep understanding of the Marshall Plan objectives and awareness of leaders that without it the standard of living of the workers would decline 25 percent."

Mr. Moe said that it was interesting that the critics of the Recovery Program had no other solution for Europe's economic ills.

On October 15 the French and British Delegates, Paul Ramadier and W. Glenville Hall, defended the European Recovery Program against Soviet charges. Mr. Ramadier said that ERP is not "a form of economic slavery but an invitation to knit the ties that bind together all of Europe."

## Genocide

The United States on October 14 called for the inclusion of political groups among those to be protected under the proposed United Nations convention on genocide. It asked the Soviet Delegate for a "complete and frank explanation" for the Soviet reversal in the matter.

Ernest Gross, of the U. S. Delegation, told the Legal Committee that the United States sees no valid reasons for disregarding the Assembly's resolution of November 11, 1946, and that "provision for protecting political groups from extermination should be retained in the convention."

The Legal Committee on October 15 voted 20 to 13 to include protection for political groups in the draft convention.

<sup>1</sup> Including those of Canada, the Soviet Union, Syria, and Australia. See U. N. doc. A/C.1/317, Oct. 7, 1948.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### Second Meeting of Wool Study Group

From October 4 to October 6, representatives from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Eire, Finland, France, Iceland, India, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United States, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, together with observers from the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the United Kingdom Dominion Wool Disposals, Limited, have participated in the second meeting of the Wool Study Group.

The study group have reviewed changes which have taken place in the world apparel wool situation, since the first meeting in April 1947 which continued a survey begun by the International Wool Conference in November 1946. They have heard statements from different delegations about the position in their respective countries, with special reference to any problems arising therein and to any matters of international interest.

The group have noted with satisfaction that estimated world stocks of apparel wool at June 30, 1949 (about 2,750 million pounds greasy weight), will be no more than two thirds of June 1947; and that about 75 percent of these stocks will be held commercially, as compared with 55 percent in June 1947. Stocks of wool in governmental ownership at June 30, 1949, are expected to be no more than 660 million pounds or about 22 percent of the current annual rate of production. The group estimated the world stocks of apparel wool June 30, 1948, at 3,551 million pounds greasy weight, of which 1,172 million pounds are held by governments and 2,379 held commercially. Stocks held by joint organization have dropped from about 1,350 million pounds at June 30, 1947, to 1,029 million pounds at June 30, 1948. Stocks

held by the Commodity Credit Corporation have dropped from 541 million pounds at October 1, 1946, to less than 100 million pounds by the end of August 1948.

While the group noted that there will be an estimated excess consumption (3,755 million pounds) over production (2,965 million pounds) in 1948-49 of 27 percent (790 million pounds), it was remarked that current excess visible consumption over production was partly due to filling up pipelines, especially in Europe, which might be regarded as practically completed now. Several producing countries indicated that their production had declined, but the group were reassured by indications from others (and from Australia in particular) of probable upward trend of production in future. It was estimated that the total world wool production in 1948-49 was likely to be between 2 and 3 percent better than in the preceding year, while numbers of sheep in Australia, which were 102 million in 1947, were estimated at 104-105 million in 1948.

The group considered there was no immediate problem in the solution of which international governmental action was at present necessary or desirable.

The group also commented on the rise of prices in wool since April 1947 and on the difference between considerable rise in price of fine wools as opposed to the less significant rise in price of lower grades. It was noticed, however, that there was already a tendency to reduce the call on supplies of high grade merino wools by an increase in consumption of lower grades. This is already having effects on prices.

Finally the group agreed to continue to meet from time to time in the present form in order to review the world wool position.

## THE CONGRESS

Providing for Membership and Participation by the United States in the World Health Organization. H. Rept. 1999, to accompany H. J. Res. 409, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 10 pp.

World Health Organization. H. Rept 2197, to accompany S. J. Res. 98, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 5 pp.

Foreign Aid Appropriation Bill, 1949. H. Rept. 2173, to accompany H. R. 6801, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 11 pp.

Making Appropriations for Foreign Aid. H. Rept. 2440, to accompany H. R. 6801, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 10 pp.

Fuel Investigation. Current Petroleum Outlook. Progress Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. Rept. 2460, 80th Cong., 2d sess. ii, 60 pp.

Report on Audit of Export-Import Bank of Washington. Letter from Comptroller General of the United States transmitting a report on the audit of Export-Import Bank

of Washington for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1947. H. Doc. 641, 80th Cong., 2d sess. v, 19 pp., with 5 schedules.

Twelfth Report to Congress on Operations of UNRRA. Message from the President of the United States transmitting the Twelfth Quarterly Report of Expenditures and Operations Under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration covering the period from Apr. 1, 1947, to June 30, 1947. H. Doc. 686, 80th Cong., 2d sess. iii, 56 pp.

Urgent Needs of the American People. Address of the President of the United States delivered before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives, recommending legislation to check inflation and the rising cost of living and to meet the acute housing shortage. H. Doc. 734, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 6 pp. [July 27, 1948.]

BY W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH

Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs

Asia today presents a radically different picture from that which we knew only a few years ago. In addition to the economic dislocations and damage brought about by the war in the Pacific, that war unleashed strong forces, the eventual workings of which it is extremely difficult to foresee. The most readily discernible force at work today in Asia is nationalism. Its expression has been marked by such milestones as the ending of extra-territoriality in China, the establishment of independence for the Philippines and Burma and, within the British Commonwealth, for India and Pakistan and Ceylon, and the Linggadjati and Renville agreements for the establishment of a United States of Indonesia. The peoples of Asia are moving, sometimes rapidly, sometimes slowly, towards a position of full and mature responsibility for their own affairs. The political emergence of the countries of Asia has and will continue to make them increasingly important to the rest of the world. The picture is complicated, however, by other forces which have arisen in the wake of nationalism, taking advantage of the political cross currents and vacuums which often accompany its initial expression. These forces, outstanding among which is the Communist movement, often identify themselves with nationalism or cloak themselves by exploiting, sometimes with great effectiveness, the deep-seated economic and political maladjustments of Asia.

The working of these forces make for a highly fluid and largely unpredictable situation in Asia today. However, there are several important factors in the present situation that should be borne in mind in any consideration of present and future economic relations between Asia and the rest of the world. My references to these basic factors will necessarily be greatly oversimplified.

The first factor, to which I have already drawn attention, is that political unrest is a natural consequence of rapid transition from colonial dependency, or partial domination, to independence. This political unrest results either from the sharp

conflicts of interest between colonial powers and nationalist forces, or from the exploitation of cultural differences or economic ills for purposes of aggrandizement. Such exploitation has within it the seeds of political and economic calamity if the new nationalist government does not possess sufficient vitality, popular support, and administrative efficiency to ride out the storm. Organized exploitation of political unrest by Communism is the greatest single menace in the Asiatic situation. Just prior to the recent Communist-instigated uprisings in Java, the Department issued a statement relating to southeast Asia<sup>2</sup> which read, in part, as follows:

"To win support and allies in their drive for power, Communist leaders have consistently pretended to champion the cause of local nationalists and have attempted to identify communism with nationalism in the minds of the people of the area. This scheme worked well, at least until the Cominform's denunciation of the Yugoslav Communist leaders as being, among other things, guilty of nationalism. There is some evidence that sincere nationalist leaders in southeast Asia, originally deceived by this device, have now awakened to the fact that, in Communist-controlled states outside the Soviet Union, the nationalism to which they aspire is regarded as a high crime and grounds for ruthless interference in the internal affairs of such states by international Communist organizations."

A second "factor" is a logical corollary of the first. It is simply that economic recovery and development in most Asiatic countries has been and may for some time be impeded by continuing political unrest and conflict. The serious balance-of-payments deficits which confront many Asiatic countries could be improved somewhat by economic remedies, but prewar levels of economic activity cannot be approached until the more immediate political conflicts which are stifling production and trade are resolved. In Indonesia, for example, there is little incentive for the investment of capital in productive enterprise or for the release of inventories for consumption or export until it is evident that the principal factors of production may be estimated with a reasonable degree of accuracy. This cannot be expected until a

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the Far East and India Trade Conference of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, Inc., in New York, N. Y., on Oct. 6, 1948, and released to the press on October 8, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1948, p. 410.

viable arrangement between the nationalist forces of Indonesia and the Netherlands has been achieved.

My third observation relates more to the long-range future. The countries of Asia desire substantial expansion of their industrial, transportation, power, and agricultural facilities. There are obvious advantages to both Asia and the rest of the world in a sound development of Asia's human and natural resources, and in a significantly increased standard of living for Asiatic peoples. However, in viewing the possibilities for such progress, we should not ignore a basic economic and social characteristic of important areas of Asia. This characteristic is Asia's serious overpopulation in relation to its existing resources and productivity and the natural tendency of the population, with a high birth rate, to increase whenever economic gains permit it to do so. If this tendency continues, there will be great difficulty for many Asiatic countries in producing more than is needed for current consumption and the accumulation of domestic capital will be, at best, a slow process. Since foreign capital usually can be put to use only if supplemented by a substantial quantity of domestic capital, it is thus apparent that there are certain limitations on the extent to which foreign capital can be expected to assist effectively in the economic development of Asiatic countries. One may conclude that, in so far as political instability in Asia results from low standards of living, such instability will not be easily and quickly overcome by the progress of industrialization. Perhaps it can be kept within bounds over the long run if the governments of Asiatic countries place at least as much emphasis on social and political reform in the interest of the agricultural population as they do on technical progress.

The importance of Asia today is not minimized by a frank recognition of the difficulties inherent in the situation. Indeed, the first step in meeting these difficulties is in understanding them. While it is true that we cannot expect business as usual in Asia over the next few, predictable years, there is hope, I feel, that in the long run the basic economic needs of the various Asiatic countries will increasingly assert themselves, and that this factor may result in the restoration and expansion of trading relations among the countries of Asia and between Asia and the rest of the world.

Because of the general absence of large-scale industrial development in Asia, wartime damage to capital equipment was minor relative to that in Europe. Consequently, economic recovery to prewar levels of activity could be attained rapidly by most Asiatic countries largely through their own efforts and with relatively little capital expenditure if present political obstacles were overcome and if the rest of the world continues to provide an effective demand for Asia's products.

Importance must be attached, of course, to the revival of such natural trade relations as exist among Asiatic countries and to the possibilities for a gradual expansion of this trade. The major long-run economic task of Asia, however, is the new development of its agricultural and industrial resources at a rate consistent with the availability of domestic and foreign capital and with the level of technical and administrative skills in the area.

In this connection, the position of the United States as the leading exporting and creditor nation of the world should lead to increasingly significant economic relations between the United States and Asiatic countries. American commerce and industry will, of course, continue to have an active interest in Asia as a source of supply and as a market. But the growing importance of economic recovery and of the development of agricultural and industrial resources of Asiatic countries will confront the United States with the problem of how its resources can be made available to those countries in the required volume.

As Ambassador Grady explained so lucidly before the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in India last June, even if conditions were favorable to large government loans, such loans would fall far short of the magnitude of Asia's capital requirements. Consequently, he pointed out, it is necessary that Asiatic countries maximize the use of private foreign capital. I recommend Ambassador Grady's statement as a persuasive exposition of the importance of direct foreign investment, with particular reference to the important historical role of foreign capital, chiefly British and American, in the industrial development of the United States and Canada without infringement of national sovereignty. I am sure that private American capital is available for investment in Asia, but only if the countries of that area desire it. Such a desire, if it is to be realized, must of course be expressed by the creation of conditions which give prospect of reasonable treatment and return for foreign capital.

The stringent economic conditions under which Asiatic countries must continue their efforts towards recovery and development also make it a vital necessity that trade and investment be conducted with the greatest possible economy. Importers should be free to purchase in the readiest and cheapest market; exports should be pushed in whatever market can offer the best price in terms of real value; investment should be directed into industries which over the long run can compete successfully in the world market without costly subsidy. This is merely a restatement in plain language of certain basic economic principles, essentially those embodied in the draft charter for an International Trade Organization.

The Eca is attempting to give expression to those principles in the administration of its China

program. It has arranged that the "project engineer" for each enterprise scheduled to receive United States aid for replacement or reconstruction goods represent its client in seeking out the best prices and deliveries obtainable in today's world markets. Mr. Stillman of the ECA Mission in China, and his Chinese associates, should be commended for the formulation of this procedure, for it not only should insure the greatest return for ECA funds in China, but also should encourage the reestablishment of multilateral trade.

It would seem self-evident from the foregoing that the economic reconstruction of the countries of Asia can proceed at a significant pace only with the progressive resolution of the political problems besetting the area. Unless these problems be resolved, the requisite stability cannot evolve. The Department of State, without undertaking the role of a political Atlas for all the world, has tried and is trying to make its full contribution to the resolution of the essential political conflicts throughout Asia. The extent to which those efforts have met with success and failure are, I believe, known to you all. Necessarily related to the political efforts of the United States is the substantial economic assistance which this Government has extended to certain Asiatic countries. Such assistance is being supplemented by allocations for Asia from the funds appropriated by Congress for European economic recovery. The contribution which the United States Government economic aid can make will depend in part on the role of American business in carrying out expeditiously the procurement and distribution aspects of our aid programs. Over the long run, economic recovery and development in Asia will depend in substantial measure upon the contribution which American industry and finance can make as political conditions permit. Basically, however, United States assistance, both public and private, can, at best, be small in relation to the effort which must be made by the governments and peoples of the countries of Asia to help themselves if they are to attain the success that all of us wish for them.

### Information on Improper Treatment of Americans Detained in Hungary

[Released to the press October 7]

Paul Ruedemann and George Bannantine, American officials of MAORT whose release from custody by the Hungarian authorities was the subject of an announcement by the Department of State on September 27, 1948,<sup>1</sup> have now returned to this country. Supplementary information, which they have already made known to the press, is available concerning the circumstances of their recent detention.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1948, p. 469.

With regard to the so-called "confessions" which have been attributed to them by the Hungarian authorities, Mr. Ruedemann and Mr. Bannantine have affirmed that these statements were, in fact, prepared by the Hungarian police, that the contents of the documents are wholly false and that they copied and signed these "confessions" only under duress. The two men were placed separately in solitary confinement in underground cells for the first four days and were subjected to long periods of questioning at all hours of the day and night. On various occasions they were required to stand with their faces against the wall and arms upraised until they collapsed. During this time, they were permitted very little food and sleep.

The arbitrary detention of these American citizens, the unfounded allegations made against them, and the improper treatment which they received while in custody are characteristic of the methods employed by police states, where the rights and dignity of the individual are, in practice, ignored.

### Military Mission Agreement With Argentina

[Released to the press October 6]

There was signed on October 6, 1948, by Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary of State, and Dr. Jerónimo Remorino, Argentine Ambassador to the United States, an agreement providing for the detail of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army as an advisory mission to serve in Argentina. The agreement is to continue in force for four years from the date of signature, but may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of Argentina.

The provisions of the agreement are similar to those contained in numerous other agreements between the United States and certain other American republics providing for the detail of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps to advise the armed forces of those countries. The provisions relate to the duties, rank, and precedence of the personnel of the mission, the travel accommodations to be provided for the members of the mission and their families, and other related matters.

### THE CONGRESS

Aid to China. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a proposed program of aid to China. S. Doc. 120, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 4 pp. [Feb. 18, 1948.]

Summary of Legislation Enacted by the Eightieth Congress, Together With a Preliminary Statement Relative Thereto Pursuant to the Request of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry, United States Senator From Nebraska. S. Doc. 198, 80th Cong., 2d sess. iii, 52 pp.

# The Spotlight of the International Scene<sup>1</sup>

BY CHARLES E. SALTZMAN

Assistant Secretary for Occupied Areas

It was suggested that I talk to you about some of the focal points of trouble in the world today. This affords me a wide range of topics—much too wide for treatment in a single talk. It is an unhappy commentary on human affairs today that the trouble spots appear to be more numerous than those left untroubled. Therefore I shall limit myself primarily to a discussion of the Berlin situation, within the larger context of American foreign policy. What I shall say is merely a review of policy statements and background that have already been made public. The State Department issued the White Paper last week which reviewed in considerable detail the course of events with respect to the Berlin situation, and representatives at the United Nations have made the American position plain in their statements before the General Assembly and the Security Council. What I am saying, therefore, is merely a review and a paraphrase of what has been said.

In appraising our present situation, it may be instructive to recall our foreign policy course during the past few years. The familiar Von Clausewitz dictum was that war is an instrument for carrying out political policy by other than political means. We might define American foreign policy since 1945 as being in a sense the reverse: an effort to achieve by peaceful means the same objectives for which we fought the war. Every nation's foreign policy is necessarily based on its fundamental national interest. We fought Germany and Japan because they threatened our national security—our right to live and govern ourselves as we see fit and to enjoy equal rights with other nations in world trade and other international relationships.

The paramount aim of our foreign policy today is still the preservation of our freedom and independence, our right to develop and order our own affairs without domination or interference from abroad. We can best maintain our independence and integrity, and develop our own resources in the best interest of our people, in a peaceful world community composed of other free and independent nations, each engaged in providing the best life possible for its own people. Therefore, as a means of achieving our number one objective, we

have as a secondary objective the establishment of a world order conducive to peace and constructive human progress.

Thus we find that the United States and most of the other countries of the world today are in fundamental agreement on the essential objects of international relationships. We have a common purpose and a community of interest with the great majority of the other nations. There are minor differences, of course, but these are all susceptible of adjustment by the ordinary processes of negotiation. The supremely important thing is that the United States and the majority of other nations agree on fundamental principles and are cooperating on hundreds of practical details that make up the world's business.

International cooperation in overcoming the suffering and devastation caused by the war and in constructing a healthy, peaceful world order has been the keynote of United States policy. Even while the war was being fought, we took the lead in the international conferences that resulted in the creation of UNRRA, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations itself.

These plans for cooperative action were based on the assumption, or at least the hope, that the wartime collaboration of the Allied nations would continue in the postwar period; that all the Allies had a common, constructive, postwar objective and meant what they said in professing such an objective. The United States and the other major Allied powers made every effort to assure the Soviet Union that we sincerely desired to work in close cooperation with them after the war. We went to great lengths to convince the Russians that our postwar plans did not threaten them in any way and that the postwar settlements would take into account the damage suffered by Russia in the war and its legitimate security requirements.

After the fighting ended, we continued to hope that the Soviet Union would reciprocate the friendship and cooperation which the United States and the other Western nations extended in concrete form and on many occasions. However,

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H., on Oct. 7, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

it became increasingly evident that Soviet policy was animated by a spirit of rivalry and antagonism and that its primary aim was territorial expansion and the extension of Communism by every possible means, regardless of the rights and wishes of other peoples. It is now perfectly plain that the policy of the Soviet Union is not based on a genuine spirit of reciprocity and cooperation, but on the dogmatic doctrine that conflict between Communism and the rest of the world is inevitable and must continue until one of the two rival systems utterly destroys the other. No matter what the Communists may say on the cynical grounds that the end justifies the means, all their acts confirm the conclusion that they are determined to dominate the world and impose their will on all other peoples.

This is the real and fundamental cause of the differences that now dangerously divide the world and imperil peace. It is not merely a struggle for power between the Soviet Union and the United States, as some even in this country would have us believe. It is a contest of wills between the group of police states directed from the Kremlin and the free peoples of the world, whom the Soviet dictators are trying, for whatever reason, to dominate and control through the instrumentality of international Communism.

The struggle is now world-wide and intense. It is a conflict which the United States does not desire and which we sought by all honorable means to avoid. But the threat exists, and it jeopardizes our national security and the fundamental rights of our people as surely as Hitler did. We have no recourse but to recognize the challenge and to take bold measures to meet it successfully.

The record of the past three years shows that this Government has recognized the threat and has met it with measures that have achieved a considerable degree of success. Various well-known examples can be cited, such as our support of Iran, Greece, Turkey, Korea, Austria and, of course the most outstanding, the Marshall Plan itself. Our Government has consistently sought to further the objectives of the United Nations and to make the Charter the guiding principle in the conduct of international affairs. It has initiated steps to help Germany regain the status of a worthy member of the family of nations, and has stood firm in Berlin, the most critical point of contact between the Soviet Union and the Western powers.

As a result of our efforts, combined with those of the other Western powers, direct Soviet control has extended no further than, roughly, the line reached by the Russian armies in 1945. The free

nations outside the area occupied or dominated by Soviet troops remain free and are substantially stronger today than they were a year ago. The boasted monolithic solidarity of the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe shows unmistakable cracks that bear witness to internal stresses that even the secret police have been unable to eliminate or gloss over.

This, in brief, has been our reaction to the world-wide storm of which Berlin is the vortex. A more detailed appraisal of the situation at Berlin and the events that led to the submission of this question to the United Nations may be instructive.<sup>2</sup> We have been told by some Americans, for example, that we could settle all our differences with the Soviets if only we would sit down around the conference table and enter into open-minded negotiations. This advice has been reiterated, in spite of earlier disillusioning experiences around the conference table. We have found from experience that it is impossible to deal with the Russians, like other nations, on a *quid pro quo* basis. They take the *quid* and try to keep the *quo*.

This observation is substantiated by the record of our dealings with the Soviet Union in regard to Germany. The plans for the Four Power occupation of Germany were worked out by the major Allied powers before V-E Day and were confirmed and elaborated in the Potsdam agreement of August 2, 1945. The right of free access of American personnel and supplies to Berlin was a requirement of the Four Power agreements and was sanctioned by usage for three years.

One of the key provisions of the Potsdam agreement stipulated that Germany was to be treated as an economic unit. It is obvious that unless it were so treated, no permanent rehabilitation of Germany along sound and peaceful lines would be possible. The Western powers tried repeatedly in the Allied Control Council and in the Council of Foreign Ministers to have this requirement put into effect, but without success. Instead, it is obvious that the economy of the Soviet zone of Germany has been systematically Sovietized and that the Soviet zone has become in effect an economic appendage of the Soviet Union. These unilateral actions of the Soviet Union have kept Germany divided economically and have placed serious obstacles in the way of the recovery of Germany to even a subsistence level, not to mention the handicap this has imposed on European recovery as a whole.

Two years ago, when attempts to accomplish German economic unity had been made in the Control Council for more than a year with no success, the American and British Governments determined to unify as much of Germany as they could in the interest of revising the prostrate economy. So in December 1946 the American and British zones were merged for economic purposes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1948, p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 15, 1946, p. 1102.

The United States and Britain also felt that the Germans must be given progressively greater responsibility in political affairs to prepare Germany for eventual return to self-government as a democratic and peaceful nation. Early this year the United States and Britain consulted in London with the French, Belgian, Netherlands, and Luxembourg Governments. Agreement was reached that, in view of the seeming impossibility of reaching Four Power agreement on German unity within any foreseeable future, the western zones of Germany collectively should be allowed to establish their own governmental organization, with which the remainder of Germany could subsequently join.<sup>4</sup>

While the London talks were in progress, the Soviet Delegation left the Allied Control Council and did not return. This wrecked the Four Power administration of Germany. Subsequently, the Soviet Representative withdrew from the Berlin Kommandatura.

The Western powers, having failed in repeated efforts to obtain Soviet agreement on a Four Power plan for currency reform for Germany, introduced a new currency in their zones last June 18. The Soviets then introduced a new currency in their zone and tried to apply it to all of Berlin. The Western powers therefore found it necessary to introduce their own currency in their sectors of Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

As early as last March 30, the Soviet authorities began to apply restrictions to communications and transportation between the Western zones and Berlin. These reached a climax on June 23, when the Soviet authorities halted all rail, highway, and water transportation. This amounted to a blockade of the two and half million Germans and the Allied personnel in the western sectors of Berlin. The pretext first given by the Soviets was "technical difficulties", but they later made it clear that their real motive was retaliation for the decisions of the Western powers at the London conference.

The American and British authorities began to supply their sectors of Berlin by air and have continued to do so with increasing success. The airlift operation has saved the Western sectors of Berlin from being starved into submission and is an achievement in which the American and British peoples can take great pride. But it is an expensive substitute for normal supply methods. The Western powers have used the time bought by the American and British air forces to enter negotiations for lifting the totally unwarranted blockade and permitting a resumption of normal supply by land and water routes.

Efforts of the Military Governors of the Western powers in Berlin to accomplish this proved ineffective and the representatives of the three Western powers in Moscow began a series of

conferences with Foreign Minister Molotov and Generalissimo Stalin in an attempt to effect a settlement.

The Western powers repeatedly stated that they were standing firmly on their rights in Berlin—rights derived from participation in the military defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany and confirmed by formal agreements among the Four Powers. They emphasized that their right to be in Berlin is "unquestionable and absolute," and that "they do not intend to be coerced by any means whatsoever into abandoning this right." They made it clear that they regarded the situation created by the Soviet blockade as extremely serious but capable of settlement.

The record of the negotiations has been made public in the White Paper issued recently by this Government.<sup>6</sup> Mention shall be made only of the main points. In the meeting with American Ambassador Smith and the British and French Representatives on August 2, Stalin proposed a settlement based on the simultaneous replacement of the Western currency with Soviet currency for all Berlin and the removal of all transport restrictions. He also expressed the insistent wish that the decisions of the London conference on Western Germany not be carried out, but he did not make this a condition for settlement of the Berlin situation. Ambassador Smith made it clear that the Western powers always were willing to discuss with the Soviets any problem concerning Germany, provided we were not doing so under duress, as in the case of the blockade.

When these proposals were submitted to the Western governments, they accepted the Soviet mark as the sole currency for Berlin in principle, with the proviso that its issue and use be subject to Four Power control. They also insisted on Four Power arrangements to cover trade between Berlin and the Western zones. Otherwise the Soviets would have practical control of the economic life of Berlin and might have us at their mercy there.

The Western representatives in Moscow then engaged in protracted negotiations with Molotov on the wording of the draft of a Four Power communiqué on the proposals. Molotov tried to limit the transport restrictions to be removed only to those imposed after June 18. He also tried to reintroduce the question of the London agreement on Western Germany, and to leave the proposed Soviet currency for Berlin and the trade of Berlin under Soviet control. All these conditions were contrary to the previous proposals. The discus-

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 21, 1948, p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN of June 27, 1948, p. 385.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Berlin Crisis, a Report on the Moscow Discussions*, 1948, Department of State publication 3298.

sions reached an impasse and the Western representatives obtained another meeting with Stalin.

At this meeting, on August 23, the discussion centered on a directive which the four governments would send to their military governors in Berlin for working out the technical details of the principles already agreed upon. On this occasion, Ambassador Smith obtained confirmation from Stalin that the transport restrictions to be lifted included those imposed before as well as after June 18. Stalin also confirmed the understanding of the Western powers that the Soviet currency for Berlin would be controlled and supervised by the Four Powers jointly.

Following another meeting with Molotov on August 27, in which he again tried unsuccessfully to tie the hands of the Western powers with respect to the London decisions, an agreed directive was dispatched to the four military governors in Berlin.

Beginning August 31, the military governors met daily in Berlin during the week given them to complete their task. In the words of the White Paper, "It soon became apparent that Marshal Sokolovsky (the Soviet Military Governor) was not ready to honor the understandings reached in Moscow." He went outside the terms of the agreed directive and sought to impose restrictions on air traffic. Despite Stalin's agreement, Sokolovsky declared he would agree to remove only those transport restrictions imposed after June 18. He also sought to subject the currency and trade of Berlin to exclusive Soviet control. The discussions in Berlin ended in futility and frustration.

The Western powers then delivered an *aide-mémoire* to Stalin and Molotov in which they cited the principles agreed upon and the assurances given during the previous discussions in Moscow, and contrasted the divergences from them apparent in Marshal Sokolovsky's position. The three Western Governments asked pointedly if the Soviet Government was prepared to carry out the understandings previously reached and to instruct the Soviet Military Governor to be bound by them. Molotov's reply upheld the position taken by Marshal Sokolovsky and blamed the Western powers for the failure of the Berlin discussions. Another exchange of notes left the matter substantially unchanged.

On September 26 the three Western Governments addressed identical notes to the Soviet Government in which they reviewed the course of the negotiations and concluded that the issue between the Soviet Government and the Western powers was not difficulties in communication or in currency regulation.<sup>7</sup> "The issue," they declared, "is that the Soviet Government . . . is attempt-

ing by illegal and coercive measures in disregard of its obligations to secure political objectives to which it is not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means."

The Western Governments asserted that the Soviet Government was solely responsible for creating a situation which rendered impossible further recourse to the processes of peaceful settlement specified in article 33 of the United Nations Charter. They further declared that the situation created by the Soviet Union constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The three Governments stated that, while reserving full rights to take any necessary measures to maintain their position in Berlin, they would refer the action of the Soviet Government to the Security Council of the United Nations.

The three Governments on September 29 referred the matter to the United Nations as a threat to the peace within the meaning of chapter 7 of the Charter.<sup>8</sup> Article 39, the first article of that chapter, states that:

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The case presented by the Three Powers lies squarely within the province of the United Nations, because the issue is whether coercion may be used by one Member against others in pursuance of its political objectives in such a way that peace is threatened. The three Western powers, therefore, have submitted to the United Nations a matter that is within its general responsibility. They have laid their full case before the proper forum, the Security Council, for its judgment on the merits. It is well known, of course, that a permanent member of the Security Council can frustrate the Council's action by exercise of the veto power. However, the three Western Governments have made it clear that they will exhaust every possibility and collaborate in every way through United Nations procedures to remove the threat to peace. The present case places on the Soviet Union a clear responsibility for demonstrating before the eyes of the world the extent to which it will honor its obligations under the Charter.

The painstaking effort of the Western powers to find a satisfactory solution of the critical Berlin situation through direct negotiation with the highest authorities of the Soviet Union yielded only bitter disappointment and did not remove the most dangerous threat to world peace that now exists. But this experience, though exasperating and frustrating, confirmed the earnestness of the Western

<sup>7</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1948, p. 423.

<sup>8</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1948, p. 455.

powers in seeking to compose their differences with the Soviet Union by negotiation, as long as there is the least hope of success. It also emphasized their unalterable determination not to compromise on vital principles, nor yield to coercion, nor take the easy but fatal way of appeasement.

The Moscow-Berlin discussions should clarify for the American people the nature of the paramount problem which this country faces in world affairs. The record provides a case history of the enormous difficulties encountered by a peaceful, democratic government in dealing with an aggressive dictatorship-type government with wholly different objectives and a wholly different concept of international relations.

This is a new kind of test for the American people. We have responded to the terrible ordeal of war with a singleness of purpose and a concentration of effort that have always brought victory. But we are engaged now in a struggle that cannot be settled properly by some quick and decisive action. We are exerting our utmost effort to avoid war. We hope to win this conflict this side of war, by patience, calmness, and spiritual fortitude. Perhaps this will not be possible, but we shall proceed on the assumption that it is possible.

The primary lesson of our postwar experience and particularly of the past few months is that there is no short cut to the kind of world we want. We dare not seek the easy way out through wishful thinking, escapism, or appeasement, lest we drop through the trap door to oblivion. There is no magic formula, no man-made miracle, that will quickly free us of the ever present danger inherent in the machinations of a ruthless and unrestrained group who wield great power.

The eyes of the American people should now be fully opened. We have completed a painful process of disillusionment. We know now that the Soviet rulers have no intention of cooperating in establishing peace and order in the world. They have made this abundantly clear by their postwar behavior. The Soviet Union is the only major power that has annexed territory as a result of the war. It has used its special position in eastern Europe to dominate and exploit smaller countries and reduce them to the status of satellites. It has flouted the will of the majority in the United Nations by excessive use of the veto and by boycotting the Interim Committee of the General Assembly and the special Commissions for Korea and the Balkans. It has blocked the majority plan for the international control of atomic energy, without offering a satisfactory substitute. It used its dominant role in the recent Danubian conference to dictate terms that ostensibly assure freedom of navigation but actually give the Soviets absolute

control over all commerce on the lower Danube. It delayed and impeded the peace treaties with the lesser former enemy states and has obstructed the negotiation of peace settlements with Austria, Japan and, most conspicuously, Germany. It rejected an invitation to participate in the European Recovery Program and proclaimed its determination to defeat that great cooperative enterprise.

The Soviet rulers have thus made it plain that their real aim is world domination through the instrumentality of Communism and that they will stoop to any stratagem of coercion, subterfuge, duplicity, or double-dealing that serves their purpose. Their aims and their methods are a direct threat to the national security of the United States. Forewarned by this knowledge, we must be forearmed by an alertness to danger and a readiness to preserve our security and freedom at all cost. If we do so, the prospects of peace will be much greater, since it would then be less likely that any foreign power would attempt to coerce this and other countries by force.

This is the ordeal which we and the other free peoples of our time must endure and survive. It is a reality which we must face and grapple with—from which we cannot turn away. The first requirement is that we clearly recognize the danger and meet it energetically and courageously. We have what it takes to win if we understand our problem.

In view of the implications of the problem, surely nothing is more important today to every American citizen than to know and understand what has happened in the world since the end of World War II and what these events mean to the United States. It is of utmost importance that every citizen understand what has happened and follow as carefully as possible the development of events from now on in order that we and our neighbors may be in a position to judge for ourselves whatever may be necessary in our national interest and to protect our national security. It is supremely important that we understand, support, and, if necessary, urge those actions, both domestic and foreign, which may, as time goes on, best protect our national security and the world's peace.

I wish some assurance could be given that the critical situation in Berlin will be resolved peacefully and soon. Such assurance cannot be given. All that the American Government and the other governments with which it is associated can do is to assure their citizens that they will do their utmost to keep the peace by all means consistent with justice and honor.

I think that is all the American people will ask of them.

# Franco-American Negotiations on Motion Pictures

## ANNOUNCEMENT OF JOINT DECLARATION

French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, Minister of Industry and Commerce Robert Lacoste, and Ambassador Jefferson Caffery signed on September 16 in Paris a Joint Declaration of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic on Motion Pictures.

The French Government in January 1948 requested negotiations looking toward modification of the Franco-American (Blum-Byrnes) motion-picture understanding of May 28, 1946, in accordance with its provisions.<sup>1</sup> The negotiations not having reached a conclusion satisfactory to both Governments within six months from the request for negotiations, the Blum-Byrnes understanding, as provided therein, has expired. Further nego-

tiations resulted in the Joint Declaration of September 16, 1948, the text of which is attached.

The Department of State considers that the screen quota decided upon by the French Government (five weeks a quarter reserved for the showing of French films) is not inconsistent with the provisions of article IV of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Department also considers that the French Government's decision to institute a distribution quota system limiting the number of foreign feature films dubbed into French which will be authorized for distribution annually in the French Union is not inconsistent with the provisions of articles XII and XIII of the general agreement in view of the current French balance-of-payments difficulties.

## JOINT DECLARATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC ON MOTION PICTURES

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic have, at the request of the latter, re-examined certain questions relating to the distribution and exhibition in the French Union of American motion picture films, and, in particular, the Franco-American motion picture understanding of May 28, 1946. During these conversations, the specific problems relating to the distribution and exhibition of American films in the French Union have been discussed in the light of the special conditions facing the French Government resulting from its external financial position and balance of payments and other postwar problems of economic adjustment. These conversations have taken place with due regard for the relevant provisions of the international conventions and agreements to which both Governments are parties.

I. The French Government has informed the Government of the United States of America that in view of the current situation in the French film industry it is necessary to increase the screen time

reserved to films of national origin. The Franco-American motion picture understanding of May 28, 1946 having expired in accordance with the provisions therein, the French Government has decided, consistent with Article IV of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of October 30, 1947, to reserve five weeks per quarter for the exhibition of French films, except as otherwise noted (Annex A).<sup>2</sup>

II. The French Government has decided to make certain modifications in its administrative regulations regarding the two-year rule, fifteen situations restriction, and allocation of raw stock (Annexes B, C and D).

III. In view of the current French external financial situation and balance of payments, the French Government has decided to institute a distribution quota system (applicable to imported films which are dubbed in France for distribution in the French Union) which it considers to be within the provisions of Articles XII and XIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Recognizing its obligations under the above-mentioned articles of the General Agreement, the French Government undertakes to relax progressively the restriction referred to in this paragraph as its balance of payments situation improves and

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of June 9, 1946, p. 999.

<sup>2</sup> Annexes not printed. For complete text, see Department of State press release 746 of Sept. 16, 1948.

to eliminate the restriction when conditions no longer justify its maintenance (Annex E).

The Government of the United States of America takes note of this decision of the French Government without prejudice to any rights which the United States Government may have under the General Agreement with respect to any action which the French Government may take to implement this decision.

IV. The two Governments have reached a mutually satisfactory understanding with respect to the financial problems arising from the distribution and exhibition in the French Union of American films (Annex F).

V. The arrangements outlined above shall enter into force retroactively on July 1, 1948, and shall remain in effect for four years from that date. Either party may request, within two months of the expiration of each annual period, a review of the provisions contained in any of the annexed documents, except as otherwise provided. This agreement, however, shall continue in full force and effect for four years except to the extent that both parties agree to modifications thereof.

Done at Paris, in duplicate, in the English and French languages, this sixteenth day of September, 1948.

For the Government of the United States of America:

JEFFERSON CAFFERY

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the United States of America*

For the Government of the Republic of France:

ROBERT SCHUMAN

*Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of the Republic of France*

ROBERT LACOSTE

*Minister of Industry and Commerce  
of the Republic of France*

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Foreign Service To Assist Displaced Persons Commission

[Released to the press October 8]

A group of 72 members of the Foreign Service experienced in visa work are being rushed into Germany, Austria, and Italy as the result of budgetary clearance obtained on October 8 at a meeting of Budget Bureau officials with representatives of the Department of State and the Displaced Persons Commission. The arrival of this group at their new posts in Central Europe is expected to break the log jam which has been holding up the displaced-persons program passed by Congress at the last session.

October 17, 1948

Between 500,000 and 600,000 displaced persons are now concentrated in more than 200 camps maintained throughout Germany and Austria and in parts of Italy by the International Refugee Organization, a unit of the United Nations. In addition, up to 400,000 others who are homeless outside of the camps in Central Europe are also potential applicants for admission into the United States.

From this group of about a million left homeless by the ravages of World War II in Europe, 205,000 are to be permitted by law to enter the United States during the next two years, provided they can meet qualifications as to skills, ethnic origins, and time of arrival at their present abodes, and provided also satisfactory assurances in their behalf have been provided for employment, housing, or against their becoming public charges.

The 72 Foreign Service personnel now to proceed into Germany, Austria, and Italy, evenly divided between visa officers and clerks, are the forerunners of a very much larger group which will be required to implement the displaced-persons program. A preliminary sum of \$250,000 has already been allocated for the purpose, mostly to the Foreign Service, by the Displaced Persons Commission. The rate of spending, it is estimated, will exceed the appropriation made available to the Displaced Persons Commission, and therefore it is expected that a deficiency appropriation will be requested of Congress in March of 1949.

The work of providing transportation of displaced persons from Europe into the United States is being expedited by a staff of some 20 selectors and analysts of the Displaced Persons Commission in the various camps, who have been screening eligibles from the thousands of cases already processed by already over-worked American consular staffs.

### Richard C. Patterson, Jr., Appointed Ambassador to Guatemala

Appointment of Richard C. Patterson, Jr., of New York City, as United States Ambassador to Guatemala was announced on September 29 by the White House.

### Resignation of Dwight Griswold

On September 15 the White House announced the resignation of Dwight Griswold as Chief of the American Mission for Aid to Greece, effective September 15, 1948. For the texts of Mr. Griswold's letter to the President and the President's reply, see White House press release of September 15, 1948.

### Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Plymouth, England, was closed to the public on September 30, 1948.

## Executive Order Issued for Administration of Trade-Agreements Program

On October 5, 1948, the President signed Executive Order 10004,<sup>1</sup> prescribing revised procedures for the administration of the reciprocal trade-agreements program in accordance with the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended, and the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948.<sup>2</sup> The new Executive order includes subject matter heretofore covered by three earlier orders which are revoked.

The new order, in general, continues in effect earlier practice under the trade-agreements program with modifications made necessary by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948. The order prescribes procedures to be followed by the Trade Agreements Committee in concluding trade agreements; by the Committee for Reciprocity Information in obtaining the views of interested persons on agreements; and by the Tariff Commission in the event of serious injury or threat of serious injury to domestic industry.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements will continue to function as the central operating committee, giving effect to the requirement of the Trade Agreements Act that the President seek information and advice from certain named government agencies before concluding a trade agreement. Membership in the Committee will consist of persons appointed by the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor and by the Administrator for Economic Cooperation, under the chairmanship of the representative from the Department of State. In accordance with the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948, the Tariff Commission no longer has a representative as a member of this Committee, but arrangements have been made for an observer from the Tariff Commission to attend the meetings of the committee for the purpose of supplying the information hereinafter referred to.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information, which will continue to receive, digest, and circulate to the entire trade-agreements organization the views of interested persons regarding any phase of proposed or existing trade agreements, is to consist of the same persons as those who are members of the Committee on Trade Agreements. The Committee for Reciprocity Information will

function under the chairmanship of the representative of the Department of Commerce, and its offices are being moved to the Department of Commerce.

The order provides that, as before, the Trade Agreements Committee shall submit to the President for his approval a list of articles on which possible United States tariff concessions may be considered in the negotiation of proposed trade agreements. Upon approval of the list by the President, the Trade Agreements Committee publishes the list and a notice of intention to negotiate. At the same time the Committee for Reciprocity Information announces opportunity for the submission of written testimony and for subsequent oral testimony concerning concessions to be offered and granted.

In accordance with the 1948 act, the list is also to be transmitted to the Tariff Commission upon being approved by the President, for confidential report by the Commission as to the minimum United States duties which are required, in its judgment, to avoid threat of serious injury to domestic industry, and as to any United States import restrictions in addition to those already in effect, necessary to prevent such injury. In the course of its investigations, the Commission is to hold public hearings. Reports of the Commission are to be completed within 120 days and transmitted to the President for his guidance in approving concessions to be offered in proposed trade agreements.

The Tariff Commission is also to furnish to the interdepartmental trade-agreements organization factual data relative to production, trade, and consumption of articles under consideration for concession by the United States, and is to supply facts on probable effects of granting concessions and on the competitive factors involved.

Similarly, the Department of Commerce is to submit to the Trade Agreements Committee studies of the trade and other facts regarding each article exported from the United States on which the United States may consider seeking a foreign concession in a trade agreement.

On the basis of all the data available, the Trade Agreements Committee recommends to the President concessions to be sought or offered. A full report must also be made by the dissenting member or members on any dissent from the Committee's recommendations.

<sup>1</sup> 13 *Fed. Reg.* 5851.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1948, p. 351.

In conformity with past practice, each agreement is to contain a most-favored-nation commitment, and as required in an earlier order, all trade agreements are to include the comprehensive escape clause providing that future concessions may be modified or withdrawn if, as a result of unforeseen developments and of a concession in the trade agreement, any article on which a concession has been granted is being imported in such increased quantities and under such conditions as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic industry. Procedure is also provided, as in an earlier order, for Tariff Commission investigations to determine and recommend to the President for his consideration in the light of the public interest whether concessions are causing or threatening injury under this clause.

Both the Trade Agreements Committee and the Tariff Commission are to keep informed at all times of the operation and effect of agreements in force. At least once a year the Commission is to submit to the President and to Congress a factual report on operation of the program.

## Volume V of Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1932, Released

[Released to the press October 9]

The Department of State released on October 6 *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932, volume V, The American Republics*. This volume completes the *Foreign Relations* series for 1932.

Diplomatic attention of the United States with respect to its neighbors to the south in 1932 was centered in efforts to assist in the adjustment of conflicts between sister republics. Fighting was renewed in the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, with the Commission of Neutrals headed by Francis White endeavoring to secure peace through its own good offices and by the cooperation of the ABCP Republics (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru) and the League of Nations. The controversy between Colombia and Peru concerning Leticia threatened to bring open warfare. There were also boundary disputes between Ecuador and Peru and between Guatemala and Honduras.

To add to the international conflicts there was political unrest, insurrection, or successful revolution in Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, and Peru. In some of such disorders Communism played a part. The United States followed a policy of nonintervention in these domestic conflicts but was concerned with the protection of American rights and the question of the recognition of new governments.

Documents in the sections on Haiti and Nicaragua deal with problems concerning the special relations then existing between the United States

and those countries. A treaty was negotiated with Haiti for the further Haitianization of the treaty services, but it was rejected by the Haitian Congress. In Nicaragua assistance was given in the supervision of an election, following which the *Guardia Nacional* was transferred to Nicaraguan officers and the United States Marines were withdrawn from the country.

Other subjects treated include an Argentine proposal for an antiwar treaty, trade relations with Argentina, and claims conventions with Mexico and Panama.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, volume V, The American Republics*, was compiled by Victor J. Farrar of the Division of Historical Policy Research, under the direction of E. R. Perkins, Editor of *Foreign Relations*. Copies of this volume (979 pages) may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for \$3.25 each.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

Benjamin M. Hulley as Chief of the Division of Northern European Affairs, effective July 25, 1948.

Willard F. Barber as Chief of the Division of Central America and Panama Affairs, effective September 5, 1948.

G. Frederick Reinhardt as Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs, effective August 30, 1948.

Jack C. McDermott as Chief of the Division of International Press and Publications, effective September 5, 1948.

Richard M. Scammon as Chief of the Division of Research for Europe, effective August 27, 1948.

Walter Wilds as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Occupied Areas, effective October 6, 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.*

**Fourth Report to Congress on Assistance to Greece and Turkey for the period ended June 30, 1948.** Economic Cooperation Series 12. Pub. 3278. 71 pp. 25¢.

Fourth quarterly report of expenditures and activities in conjunction with the program for aid to Greece and Turkey. Appraises the military and economic situation in Greece and Turkey at the close of one year of U. S. aid.

**Diplomatic List, September 1948.** Pub. 3281. 190 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.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

Vol. XIX, No. 486

October 24, 1948

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## CONSTITUTION-MAKING AT BONN

### *An Article*<sup>1</sup>

Overshadowed by the more dramatic developments that are taking place in Berlin, a conclave of 65 German political leaders is sitting these days at Bonn on the Rhine—a meeting that may rank in the perspective of history as a much more significant event. This “Parliamentary Council”, as it is officially called, is engaged in the task of drawing up a constitution for the government of Western Germany.

These 65 men are the representatives of the 46,000,000 Germans who live in the states of the Western zones of Germany. Assembled in this gathering are the delegates from Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden, Hesse, and the city of Bremen in the United States zone; North Rhine Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, and the city of Hamburg in the British zone; and the Rhine Palatinate, South Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern in the French zone. Furthermore, Berlin, the former German capital, is represented by a delegation of five which may take part in the discussions but may not vote.

This constitutional convention was solemnly opened in the presence of leading Allied Military Government officials and the German ministers president in the Western zones on September 1, and is expected to sit at least until the end of October. Its debates are being held in the quarters of the Pedagogical Academy, a teachers' training college. It is an ultramodern building located on the banks of the Rhine, so that the delegates, looking through the window of the main hall, can see the ships passing up and down on this storied river.

The significance of the assembly lies in the fact that it represents the first attempt to reconstruct Germany politically since Count Schwerin-Krosig announced the capitulation of Nazi Germany at Flensburg on May 7, 1945. It is a coincidence that this gathering should be held exactly 100 years

after the Frankfort Parliament in 1848 had finally attempted to bestow a democratic constitution on the people of Germany. And almost 30 years had elapsed since the Weimar convention drafted the constitution of the first German republic.

While both Frankfort on the Main and Weimar are closely associated with the name of Goethe, the present constitution-makers of Germany are meeting in the pleasant Rhine town that is known throughout the world as the birthplace of Beethoven as well as the seat of an ancient and famous university. But there is one vital difference between the Frankfort and Weimar congresses and the gathering at Bonn. While the earlier conventions represented all of Germany, no delegates from the Soviet zone are permitted by the Russian authorities to attend the sessions of the Parliamentary Council. Bonn is therefore no German National Assembly. And although it is the most important step that has been taken since the war to obtain the political unity of Germany, the Russians and their Communist supporters are shouting from the housetops that the Bonn convention is “splitting Germany.”

The political leaders at Bonn are very sensitive about this accusation—so sensitive that they are careful to emphasize the fact that what they are doing now is laying the foundation of what they call “a provisional government of a state-fragment” and not the definitive constitution of a united Germany. This all-German constitution, they contend, can only be written when the representatives from all over the Reich can convene and when Germany's political sovereignty has been restored. And this constitution, they assert, cannot

<sup>1</sup>Prepared by John Elliot, Chief, Political Activities Branch, Civil Administration Division, OMGUS. This article is reprinted from the *Information Bulletin* of Oct. 5, 1948, of the U.S. Military Government in Germany.

be drafted while Germany is under Allied occupation.

This German point of view was aptly expressed by Dr. Carlo Schmid, eminent professor of political science from the University of Tübingen, in his address before the Social Democratic Congress in Dusseldorf early in September. Said Schmid:

“No definitive solution will be sought in Bonn. All who work there, at least all Social Democrats, know that only a provisional government can be created. We will be able to create a state in the true sense of the word only when an agreement of the four occupying powers has been reached concerning an all-German policy. Every other solution would be bought at the risk of a world catastrophe.”

This fear of leaving themselves open to the charge of being guilty of “splitting” Germany was the cause of the protracted debate on nomenclature between the three Allied Military Governors of Western Germany and the ministers president of the 11 states. The Germans objected to calling the document which they were summoned to draw up a “constitution” as stipulated in the London agreement concluded by the United States, British, and French Governments, which constitutes the legal basis of the Bonn meeting. The Germans succeeded in getting the name changed to “Fundamental Law of a Provisional Constitution” (*Grundgesetz Vorläufige Verfassung*). Likewise, instead of labeling itself a Constitutional Convention, the Bonn gathering styles itself a Parliamentary Council.

Finally, the German ministers president objected to the proposal to have their constitution ratified at a referendum. They feared that this would give a binding character to a document—a distinction which they felt should be reserved for the definitive constitution of Germany. They pleaded that this charter should be ratified by the parliaments of the states. The Allied Military Governors in the end agreed to pass on the German objections to their respective governments, but no decision has as yet been taken on this point.

The delegates to the Bonn convention were named by the state parliaments according to the political strength of the political parties represented in them, in the ratio of one delegate to every 375,000 inhabitants. Hence, the Bonn convention

reflects the political division of Germany as recorded by the last state parliamentary elections (these were held in the United States zone in November and December 1946), and do not necessarily indicate existing German political thought.

The Bonn convention is made up as follows:

CDU/CSU . . . . .	27
SPD . . . . .	27
Liberals . . . . .	5
Communists . . . . .	2
Center Party . . . . .	2
German Party . . . . .	2
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	65

It will be seen that the Parliamentary Council is dominated by the two big parties, Christian Democratic Union bloc (including its sister party, the Christian Social Union of Bavaria and the French zone) and the Social Democratic Party.

The Bavarian Party, which is today rivaling the CSU in that state, is not represented at all in the convention because it did not exist at the time of the Bavarian elections. It is a party composed of dissidents from the CSU. It represents extreme Bavarian home rule, if not separatist elements, and its failure to have a voice in the convention weakens the federalistic faction.

The Bonn convention has been organized by these two big parties. Konrad Adenauer, long time mayor of Cologne and leader of the CDU in the British zone, was unanimously elected president of the Assembly. Its deputy chairman is Adolph Schönfelder, Social Democratic president of the Hamburg Bürgerschaft.

Some of the ablest political figures of contemporary Germany are sitting in the Bonn Parliament. Besides Adenauer, the CDU is represented by Anton Pfeiffer from Bavaria, who dominated the Chiemsee meeting which drew up a list of proposals for the Bonn gathering.

The Social Democratic delegation includes Dr. Walter Menzel, the Minister of the Interior in North Rhine Westphalia, who has drawn up the Social Democratic paper on what the new constitution ought to be; Professor Bergsträsser, an authority on international law who comes from Hesse; and Carlo Schmid, who next to Dr. Kurt Schumacher is probably the dominating figure in his party.

The Democrats have sent Theodor Heuss, a vet-

eran German liberal who was formerly Minister of Education in Württemberg-Baden.

Although the Communists have only two delegates at the convention, one of them is their leader in Western Germany—Max Reimann. He is an able and aggressive debater.

Berlin is represented by a delegation consisting of Paul Löbe, the former Reichstag president; Ernst Reuter, Otto Suhr, speaker of the Berlin City Council; Jakob Kaiser, the former CDU leader in the Eastern zone who was deposed from his office by the Russians; and Dr. Reiff of the Liberal Democratic Party.

The Communists' attitude toward the convention was laid down by Reimann in the opening meeting. They deny that the Bonn convention has any authority to draft a constitution for Western Germany. Reimann submitted a motion to the effect that the "Parliamentary Council was instituting discussions on a separate West German constitution," and warned that the Bonn meeting would have disastrous consequences on the Moscow and Berlin negotiations. After rowdy scenes that recalled the debates in the prewar German Reichstag, his motion was defeated with only the two Communists supporting it.

As in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 that drew up the American Constitution, the principal issue at stake in the Bonn gathering revolved around the distribution of power between the central government and the states. The London agreement stipulates that the Western German government shall be federal in character, but then what is federalism? The United States Constitution, as it is interpreted and applied today, would seem perilously like an *Einheits-Staat* (unified state) to James Madison and most of the Philadelphia delegates.

The Social Democrats are the champions of a strong central government. They would like to see the Western German government have powers closely analogous to those of the Weimar Republic. Their views on the subject have been embodied in a report bearing the name of Walter Menzel, the SPD minister of the interior in the Government of North Rhine Westphalia.

The Christian Democratic-Christian Socialist bloc, on the other hand, wants a central government of limited powers with all rights not expressly given to it reserved to the states. The

Bavarians, in particular, are the exponents of the states-rights school of thought, and their ideas have found expression in the so-called "Ellwangen Document" named after the town in Württemberg where this paper was drafted by a group of Bavarian politicians last spring.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the Social Democrats represent the ideas of Alexander Hamilton so far as central government is concerned, whereas the Christian Democrats embody the Jeffersonian ideas of states' rights.

As the SPD and CDU/CSU are equally balanced in the Bonn convention, the struggle between the unionists and the federalists is likely to prove close and tense, with the issue perhaps being decided ultimately by the 11 voters of the minor parties.

The principal point at issue will probably center around what body is to raise and distribute the taxes—the central government or the states.

In the Bismarckian Reich the central government could indeed raise revenue from custom duties, but for most of its funds it was dependent upon the states. But under the Weimar Republic, the central government levied practically all the taxes, including income taxes, and distributed part of these revenues to the states, which were therefore rendered financially dependent on Berlin.

This reform, the work of the able Center Party financial expert, Matthias Erzberger, constituted what is probably the most important distinction between imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic. Bonn may witness a bitter controversy as to whether the future Western German government will adhere to the Erzberger reform or set the clock back to Bismarck's day.

Some idea of what the future constitution of Western Germany may contain, or what the chief issues are that will be fought out before the Bonn convention, may be gleaned from the majority report submitted by the Chiemsee conference. This was a body of 22 men—two from each state—appointed by the ministers president to work out a draft to be laid before the Bonn convention as a basis for its debates. These delegates met from August 10–22 in the gorgeous palace built by King Louis II of Bavaria upon an island in the middle of the idyllic Chiemsee.

The Chiemsee experts recommended that the Western German state should constitute a "state-

fragment" (*Staats-Fragment*), not a "full state" (*Vollstaat*). This was done to stress the provisional character of the Western German constitution.

This solution was chosen as the best of three alternatives. The other two possibilities were (1) creation of a Western State which it was feared would be tantamount to separation; (2) a formation of a "German federal republic" with claims to exerting its authority over all Germany, even though it was obvious that it could not make its laws effective in the Russian zone. This alternative was regarded as being too aggressive in character and was not seriously considered.

The Chiemsee majority report recommends that the states shall have control over educational and cultural affairs but that the central government shall have far-reaching powers in the matter of financial legislation. It specifies that the central government shall have exclusive legislative authority to impose custom duties and shall have priority in regard to legislation concerning income and property taxes as well as sales and consumption taxes.

It is proposed that the union shall have a bicameral parliament. The lower chamber shall be a *Bundestag* representing the people, like the American House of Representatives; while the Upper House, the *Bundesrat*, shall consist of representatives of the states. Unlike the American Congress, however, the delegates of the *Bundesrat* shall not be elected by the people, but shall be appointed by the state governments, as in the Weimar Republic.

The majority report further recommends that the executive branch of the government should be headed by a *Bundespräsident*. He is to be elected by the joint votes of the two houses of parliament just as the French president is elected by the National Assembly.

The Chiemsee experts propose that the Western German state should have the cabinet system of government as is common in Europe, in preference to the American presidential system in which the chief executive remains in power for a fixed period of time.

The Chiemsee majority report also suggests that the West German state should be called the "League of German States."

The struggle in the Bonn convention between the

unionists and the federalists is foreshadowed by two proposals concerning the text of the preamble to the constitution. According to one version, all constitutional power emanates from the German people, while according to the federalist school of thought, the source of power resides in the individual states.

Social Democratic headquarters have made it clear, however, that they did not consider the Chiemsee report as a document that had to be accepted or rejected *in toto*. Fritz Heine, the party's secretary at Hannover, said that the Chiemsee paper might well "be thrown in the wastebasket" although he conceded that some points from it might be incorporated in the future German constitution. But he declared that the SPD would never consent to the proposal that the West German state should be called a "League of German States"—a name that doubtless suggested to him a Confederation rather than a Union.

Coincident with the drafting and ratification of a constitution for Western Germany, two other important papers in accordance with the London agreement will be promulgated. One is the Occupation Statute, which will be decreed by the three Western powers. This document will serve as the Magna Carta of the people of Western Germany, defining their rights *vis-à-vis* the occupying powers.

The second will be alteration of German state boundaries which the German leaders had been authorized to make. It seems likely at present that only one such change will be made, namely the amalgamation of Baden and Württemberg. This merger would be a territorial reform all to the good, since it would correspond to the claims of both history and tradition and would create a well balanced state in southern Germany approximately equal to Lower Saxony in respect to population.

The work of the Bonn convention bids fair to be an historic milestone in Germany history. The creation of a political government for Western Germany will be an important step towards the ultimate unification of all Germany. The Western German state will be a magnetic force that will tend to attract into its orbit the part of Germany now under Russian rule. In this sense, the Western German state may well play the same role for

(Continued on page 526)

# THIRD REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## World Confidence and the Reduction of Armed Forces: The American Objective

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN<sup>1</sup>

U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

I discuss the proposal of the Soviet Union for a one-third reduction in the armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council. The question of the prohibition of atomic weapons, which is provided for in the plan of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, is now being considered by a subcommittee of this committee.

Two years ago the General Assembly of the United Nations recommended that the Security Council formulate practical measures to provide for the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. On February 13, 1947, the Security Council established for this purpose the Commission for Conventional Armaments.

It is significant that, in the year and a half of the Commission's operations, the Soviet Union found no occasion to introduce this proposal which we have before us. Furthermore, I call to the attention of this Committee the fact that nine of the eleven members of the Commission for Conventional Armaments have agreed upon what they consider the essential principles which should govern the formulation of proposals for the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. The Soviet Union has not accepted these principles. Let us examine these principles in an effort to determine whether or not the proposal brought forward by the Soviet Delegate today meets the standards set by the great majority of the members of the Conventional Armaments Commission. They determined that a system of regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces can only be put into effect in an atmosphere of international confidence and security. Nine out of eleven report that one example of conditions essential to security is the establishment of an adequate system of agreements under article 43 of the Charter. This position was not limited to the United Kingdom and the United States as asserted by Byelorussia.

Is the Soviet Union prepared to permit the United Nations to have effective armed forces on the basis of the principles considered essential by the other permanent members of the Security Council? The actions of its representatives in the Military Staff Committee and the Security Council do not indicate this to be the case.

Another condition considered essential by the majority is the establishment of effective, enforceable international control of atomic energy. I hope that the Soviet Union will find it possible to accept the only system of international control and prohibition which the majority have found adequate.

Another condition essential to world confidence and security is the conclusion of the peace settlements with Japan and Germany. It is impossible for any nation to determine its military requirements for self-preservation until these conditions have been accomplished. But can conditions of confidence and security be created as long as one of the permanent members of the Security Council blocks the formulation of a lasting peace?

Can there be confidence and security when one of the permanent members of the Security Council creates a threat to peace by imposing a land blockade of Berlin?

Can there be confidence and security when one of them refuses to participate in the efforts of the Security Council to remove this threat to world peace?

Can there be confidence and security when one of them frustrates the efforts of all the other occupying powers for a pacific settlement of the dispute?

I call your attention also to the fact that the principles considered essential by nine of the eleven members of the Commission for Conventional Armaments also call for a system of adequate safeguards which, by including an agreed system of international supervision, would insure the observance of the provisions of the resolution or convention by all parties. These, too, must precede the initiation of any disarmament.

The crucial aspect of this question is the steadfast refusal of the Soviet Union, in the study of atomic-energy control and in the field of conventional armaments, to agree in common with other members to the opening of its territory to representatives of the United Nations so that they might

<sup>1</sup> Made before Committee I (Political and Security) in Paris on Oct. 12, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. Printed also as Department of State publication 3319.

determine whether the agreements are being carried out.

Does any member of this committee think for a moment that the Members of the United Nations should disarm while the Soviet Union gives no evidence whatsoever that it is willing to participate in the world community to the extent required for the control of atomic energy and the regulation of armaments?

In its resolution the Soviet Union proposes a system of supervision and control "within the framework of the Security Council." The objective in steering this proposal into the Security Council, with the veto as the trap door, is too obvious to permit serious consideration. Such attitude is an ancient one; the Soviet proposals for disarmament made in 1927 at Geneva were really aimed at another objective than disarmament, as shown in a resolution of the sixth congress of the Communist International:

"The aim of the Soviet proposal was not to spread pacifist illusions, but to destroy them; not to support capitalism by ignoring or toning down its shady sides, but to propagate the fundamental Marxian postulate, that disarmament and the abolition of war are possible only with the fall of capitalism. . . ."

I ask again—Why has Mr. Vyshinsky presented his proposal to this body instead of to the Commission for Conventional Armaments? Could it possibly be for propaganda effect?

The world situation is too grave to permit any further play with words. I say this deliberately after listening to hour after hour of Soviet oratory. In a most revealing manner our Soviet colleagues have, during the past two weeks, exposed to us not only the vanity of such word structures but also their emptiness.

Mr. Vyshinsky has mentioned his aversion to war. He has, in particular, depicted at great length the horrors of atomic warfare. He has freely—very freely—in quoting from one of his favorite American magazines translated the expression "technical improvement" into the word "progress" on the part of the United States in manufacturing even deadlier atomic bombs than that used at Hiroshima. He has then proceeded to wave this distorted example of American inventiveness in the face of dismayed and already overwrought mankind.

Is it not strange that in this "paean of peace" he has placed the accent on atomic warfare? Consistently he has dwelt on the frightful effects of the ever bigger and better atomic bombs which he generously attributes to American resourcefulness and efficiency. Is it not strange that except for a word here and a sentence there he has not placed the accent on war, just plain war? Is it not curious that, instead of concentrating his ire

on that desperately out-of-date ultimate instrument of the policy of nations, he has confined his highest flights of oratory purely to atomic warfare?

I accept the recent challenge of my Soviet colleague to study Marxian teaching as currently expounded today in the Soviet Union for the answer. Aggressive warfare in the Soviet Socialist officialdom has not yet fallen into disrepute. For the time being only atomic warfare is to be dreaded and avoided at all costs. Indeed war itself is still a recognized means of achieving a Communist world society.

The Soviet Union for more than a year has pretended to devote itself to a so-called "peace offensive". Mr. Vyshinsky has spoken much of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union as contrasted to the alleged warlike and aggressive intentions of the United States. Yet by what evidence are we to judge the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union?

In the first place there is a vast Communist literature which reveals much concerning the intentions of the Soviet Union. If these writings are outdated, not valid, or do not represent the policy of the Soviet Union, assurance of that fact, followed by concrete action, would begin to remove the apprehensions felt by many seated about this table. But until that time we have no recourse other than to accept as valid the statements which have been made repeatedly by authoritative representatives of the Soviet Union.

We hope it is not true that the Soviet Union believes and acts on the premise that a conflict between Russia and the Western World is inevitable, and we hope that Mr. Vyshinsky can assure us that such is not the case.

Yet the *History of the Communist Party* of the Soviet Union, a book whose tenth anniversary of publication was celebrated last month in Moscow, which has been printed in 62 languages and distributed in more than 33 million copies, states that "Lenin has pointed out that war is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism." This history, which is taught the length and breadth of the Soviet Union, teaches that there are just wars, wars which are waged, for example, "to liberate the people from capitalist slavery."

In a book published in 1947 entitled *The Economy of the U.S.S.R. During World War II*, the Deputy Premier of the U.S.S.R. and Chief of the State Planning Commission states as follows:

"Lenin and Stalin warned the Socialist homeland again of the inevitability of historical battles between imperialism and socialism and prepared the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for these battles. Lenin and Stalin explained that wars which a working class, having defeated its own bourgeoisie, wages in the interests of its socialist homeland and in the interests of strengthening and developing socialism, are lawful and holy wars. . . ."

"To prevent the possibility of appearance within a future period of new imperialist aggression against the Socialist homeland, and the beginning of a third world war, it is necessary that the aggressor imperialist countries be disarmed militarily and economically, and that the anti-imperialist democratic countries rally together. It should not be forgotten that the capitalist economic system abroad of itself produces aggressive wars and the leaders of such wars. . . ."

Finally, Mr. Chairman, as recently as September 22, 1948, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* stated:

"The capitalist system is doomed to destruction. However, the downfall of capitalism will not come of itself. Capitalism can only be destroyed in a fierce class struggle."

If the Soviet Union regards those governments which do not subscribe to Communism as the representatives of the "capitalism" it seeks to destroy, then how can we avoid feeling apprehensive? When we hear Soviet representatives talk about the peace offensive, we recall that in April 1948 a Communist Party publication in Paris defined "final victory over war" as "victory over capitalism". Is this not a ghastly definition of peace?

It is clear that in the Soviet Union war is not only regarded as inevitable but is actually glorified by its cultural leaders.

Issue no. 44 of the *Literary Gazette*, which, like all Soviet publications, carries official sanction, only two years ago stated the following:

"We do not intend to abandon the war theme. . . . We must write about war in such a way that the generation of young Soviet people which come after us will love arms and be ready for battles and victories."

Perhaps Mr. Vyshinsky can show us that official utterances, some of them made less than a month ago, were not intended to mean what they say. Perhaps Mr. Vyshinsky can withdraw the thesis that a war between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries is inevitable and that Communism teaches that our system must be destroyed. Until he does, however, we cannot ignore the warnings in the writings of Soviet authorities.

So much for Soviet philosophy and the peace of mind which it may inspire in their non-Marxist neighbors.

Now let us briefly consider whether peace of mind can be assured by the past actions of the U.S.S.R.

The aggrandizement of Soviet territory has already been referred to. Indignantly the Soviet Delegation has asserted that these annexations had been effected with democratic consultations of the populations according to the enlightened standards of the Soviet Constitution. Does this statement

stand analysis? Even more, does it stand the test of Mr. Vyshinsky's beloved "critique"? Let us consider eastern Poland. Somehow I seem to remember that the democratic processes of annexation started in September 1939 by a sudden overnight military offensive against an already defeated foe. This conquest was conducted in full harmony and technical cooperation with the Nazis. The Soviet Union approved by the stroke of a pen on August 23 of that year the alliance, and suddenly became a working partner with the oft-denounced Nazis. And did not Generalissimo Stalin, after the Nazi-Soviet partition of Poland, telegraph to Ribbentrop, the Nazi Foreign Minister: "The friendship of the people of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has every reason to be lasting and firm." As to the "democratic" ratification of the inclusion of this large part of prewar Poland in the Soviet Union by the populations themselves, we learn little (and I think we all would keenly be interested to hear) about details thereof from the Soviet Delegation. However, it really should not be necessary to seek far for enlightenment. Any nation, any individual with any kind of experience of universal suffrage does not have to be told a great deal about the democratic character of elections and plebiscites which yield 99-percent results.

The Baltic States also began on their "voluntary" road to incorporation by the arrival of the Red Army in the fall of 1939, followed by their complete takeover after the French campaign of 1940, at a time when there was no question of liberating these small countries from an enemy yoke. We recall that the entrance of the Latvian Republic into the Soviet Union was presided over by no less a person than my distinguished colleague, Mr. Vyshinsky.

Let us pass on down the years. First, we encounter the "great hope", the hope generated in the bosom of every generous human being when the embattled Russian people played such a great part in defeating Nazi Germany, when hope was kindled that the relentless doctrines of Marx and of Lenin, doctrines of hatred between classes and also of inevitable strife, had made way for a more enlightened concept of relations between men and states.

For a long while most people clung tenaciously to this hope, unwilling to yield and abandon their vision that a new world, at last better, with unlimited possibilities for the future, had dawned. They insisted on disbelieving the evidence. Gradually the realization developed that, indeed, nothing was changed.

Is it really necessary to go into details regarding the domination of Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia? Recent events in truly impressive detail have disclosed that the price of Soviet friendship is complete subservience to Soviet policy.

The satellites of the U.S.S.R. were not alone to feel the heavy hand of its constant drive for world power, a drive camouflaged by words appropriated from liberty's lexicon, words of vital meaning to those who enjoy freedom, but deceptive and meaningless in the Russian policy toward her satellites.

Cause for disillusionment and alarm also exists in the Orient, as the distinguished representative of China gave testimony yesterday. There, too, Communist directives preach war and bloodshed, which facts confirm. In a lengthy resolution adopted by the sixth world congress of Communist International at Moscow on September 1, 1928, the following directive concerning China is found:

"The Communist Party (in China) must everywhere propagandize among the masses the idea of Soviets, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, and the inevitability of the coming revolutionary mass armed uprising."

That "mass armed uprising" preached from Moscow in 1928 is now in full swing. The people of Manchuria after long years under Japanese domination and after having their factories despoiled of equipment by the Soviet Army are now suffering untold hardships from armed Chinese Communist forces who are seeking by force to destroy the constituted authority of China, whose representatives sit here among us today as fellow members. These Communist forces have also penetrated into the heart of China seeking to destroy and despoil. Another dangerous development has occurred. The U.S.S.R. obtained as part of its price for entering the war against Japan special positions at Port Arthur and Dairen, Chinese territory, which have been so utilized effectively to bar China from exercising its legal authority.

In Korea, where a people of 30,000,000 held high hopes for complete independence at the end of the war in the Orient in September 1945, those hopes have been and are being betrayed through Soviet opposition to any rational solution. That opposition moreover has been maintained in complete disregard of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on November 14, 1947, providing a fair and honorable solution of the Korean problem. Can the Korean people look forward with equanimity to any solution when a large Soviet-trained armed force awaits in North Korea an opportunity to march southward?

The states of western Europe have also been the victims of this new form of aggression. The Cominform was formed so as better to correlate the work of destruction to be accomplished. At all costs western Europe must not regain its feet, for should it do so it would successfully resist Communist penetration. At all costs the homeland of Western civilization must be kept in a constant

state of turmoil and economic chaos. It must be kept in a state of fear and worry, so as to be unable to concentrate on the great task of reconstruction. The economic blood transfusion from the United States must at all costs be nullified by recurring strikes and curtailed production. The Communist Parties of France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg received their orders accordingly, and with the unremitting discipline which is one of the many terrifying aspects of modern Communism the various Communist Parties proceeded to execute this deliberate plan of sabotage.

Overnight the Communist slogan was no longer "work and produce" as it had been in the first post-liberation period. As soon as it became obvious that returning health would protect these bodies politically against the Communist views the new slogan became "destroy and wreck."

Perhaps most surprising of all is the complete brazenness with which these so-called national parties admit their allegiance to a foreign power.

We have had a striking illustration right here in Paris since this General Assembly convened. The official Communist organ, *Humanité*, on October 1 published the following statement by the Politburo: "The people of France will never fight the Soviet Union." Let us ponder exactly what this means. A French political party declares openly that it will never participate in a war against another nation and this regardless of the circumstances under which a conflict might develop. For "my country right or wrong" the Communists of all lands now substitute "the U.S.S.R. right or wrong."

Are we dreaming? Can such tactics, such actions, such a record be those of one of the founders of the United Nations? Harking back to that day of hope, June 26, 1945, when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed the Charter, what a crashing discord in the world's hymn of peace. Perhaps this apparent contradiction can best be explained by a quotation from Lenin with reference to Communist penetration of trade-unions (Left-wing Communism, an infantile disorder): "It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

Let us for a few moments refresh our memories so as better to judge the record against the lofty purposes so well set forth in the Charter's preamble and first two articles:

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
DETERMINED

*to save succeeding generations from the scourge of*

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war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

## Article 1

*The Purposes of the United Nations are:*

1. *To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to 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, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;*

2. *To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;*

3. *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 for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and*

4. *To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.*

## Article 2

*The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.*

1. *The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.*

2. *All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.*

3. *All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.*

4. *All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.*

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 or enforcement action.*

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.*

7. *Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.*

With complete candor, I shall now speak about the security situation in which we must consider the proposal of the Soviet Union for a one-third reduction of armed forces. In doing so, I quote from a statement that Secretary of State Marshall made before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States on May 5, 1948. He said that—

“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 world circumstances the maintenance of a comparable power relationship is fundamental to world security.”

To what extent did the United States demobi-

lize? Let me cite the statement made by Secretary Marshall before the Women's National Press Club in Washington on July 1, 1947:

"... At the end of the war our government demobilized the greatest concentration of military power that the world has ever seen. Our armed strength was deployed from the Elbe in Germany to the Islands of Japan. This great array was demobilized with amazing rapidity until only comparatively small garrisons of troops were left on the necessary occupation duty in the principal enemy countries. No conditions were attached to this withdrawal. . . . No political parties subservient to United States interests have been left behind in European countries to attempt conquest of governments from within. No American agents have sought to dominate the police establishment of European countries. No 'joint American-European companies' have been forced upon reluctant governments. I do not cite this record as evidence of our peaceful intentions by way of indulging in national boasting, but merely because it is true. . . ."

During this period it has become progressively clearer that serious misconceptions prevail in the minds of the leaders of the Soviet Union. 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.

The United Nations must dispel these misconceptions of the Soviet leaders. It must 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. This will restore to international society the equilibrium necessary to permit the United Nations to function as contemplated at San Francisco.

The United States realized the need for this equilibrium. The first necessary step was to insure the freedom and independence of the Members of the United Nations. 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.

The United States Government, therefore, 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.

In addition the United States Government is now considering the steps necessary to bring the national military establishment to the minimum level required for international security.

Action necessary on the part of the United States to restore this balance-of-power relationship may be less onerous than for some other nations which are already spending a very large percentage of their national income on armaments. The United States for the fiscal year 1948-49 is spending only 5.9 percent of its national income for military purposes, despite the fact that this represents some increase over the low point since the war. This is to be compared with the figure of 17 percent for the Soviet Union mentioned by Mr. MacNeil the other day.

Gentlemen, I repeat that, until present conditions of world fear and insecurity are replaced by an atmosphere of international confidence and security, not only will it be impossible to institute effective systems of control and reduction of armaments but the whole field of international relations will be subject to continuous discord.

The people of the United States are deeply interested in the reduction of national armaments and are prepared to consider most carefully any *bona fide* proposal for lightening the burden of armaments. As a matter of fact, however, the United States disarmed too far and too fast after the last war. The overriding consideration is the maintenance of international peace and security. We know that maintenance of this international peace and security depends upon strength and resolution of those states who in the final analysis are prepared to act in support of the world community against aggression.

Indeed, the security of many nations seated at this table depends upon this fundamental fact. The world learned from Germany and Japan what can happen when leading members of the international community are or are thought to be lacking in strength or resolution. I call upon the Soviet Union to work with us to reduce world tension and to dispel the dread and suspicion which are filling the lives of so many of our peoples and making our efforts for world organization so difficult.

Before closing I wish to state that the Delegation of the United States has considered carefully and will vote for the resolutions which have been submitted to this committee by the Delegations of the United Kingdom and Syria.<sup>2</sup> Taken together these resolutions are entirely consistent with the position of the United States. Article 26 of the Charter provides "that— . . . the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating . . . plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments."

Despite the fact that the work of this Commission has continued to be hampered by the demagogic appeals and irresponsible propaganda of the Soviet Union, the United States believes that the Commission must proceed with its work.

<sup>2</sup> A/C.1/319 of Oct. 10, 1948, and A/C.1/309 of Oct. 1, 1948.

## Discussion of the Palestine Situation in Committee I

### STATEMENT BY RALPH BUNCHE<sup>1</sup>

#### Acting U.N. Mediator in Palestine

It is with heavy heart that I make this statement to the Committee today. But for that crime in Jerusalem committed by a band of despicable gangsters it would be Count Bernadotte himself who would be speaking to you now. The late mediator was not only my chief but a treasured friend. In these months since the end of May, I had come to know him well. He was an utterly honest and fearless man, completely independent in his thinking, and thoroughly devoted to the effort to bring peace to Palestine. He had no axe to grind, no vested interest to serve. The views which I will briefly express to you today will, I think, be very close to the views which Count Bernadotte himself would have expressed had he lived to enjoy the privilege of sitting with you, a privilege which he would have greatly appreciated.

The progress report of the late mediator which is before you as document A/648, sets forth quite clearly in part one the views of Count Bernadotte on the main issues in the Palestine conflict today.<sup>2</sup> I need not repeat these views, and the more so since I am in full accord with them. If I may take the liberty of doing so, however, I would like briefly to give some emphasis to what appears to me to be the inescapable logic of the situation in Palestine with which this Assembly is now confronted.

Since the termination of the mandate on May 15 of this year, there have been three signal developments in Palestine:—The proclamation of a Jewish state, resort to forceful measures by the Arab states, and the intervention of the Security Council.

1. A Jewish state was proclaimed in that part of Palestine envisaged for the Jewish state in the resolution of the General Assembly of last November 29. That Jewish state did not come about in accordance with the processes and procedures foreseen in the Assembly's resolution. But it was no less real because of that and it could confidently base its right to exist on the fact that the majority of the Members of the United Nations had endorsed the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine, a mandated territory and therefore an international responsibility, moreover, this was no nominal or paper state. From the very day of its proclamation it had a vibrant reality. It boasted an active and vigorous government, a national *esprit* and cohesion, and a well organized and well trained, if poorly equipped, army. It was a going concern

from the day of its birth. It was readily apparent to even the casual observer that the nationalist spirit of the Jewish inhabitants of this state was so strong and deeply rooted as to render entirely illusory any suggestion that a Jewish state in Palestine could be prevented by any means other than force of sufficient strength to completely crush the Jewish community. In the five months since its inception, this Jewish state has consolidated and strengthened its position, both nationally and internationally.

2. On the other hand, Arab opposition to the new Jewish state was so intense as to induce the Arab states to resort to violent measures. Open warfare between the newly proclaimed Jewish state and the states members of the Arab League broke out coincidentally with the termination of the mandate and the proclamation of the Jewish state. This, of course, had not been envisaged by the resolution of November 29. Until halted by the two truces achieved through the intervention of the Security Council, it was warfare as deadly as it could be made with the limited weapons and supplies available to the contestants. It was warfare brought on by the fact that the Jews had taken the political offensive on the termination of the mandate and proclaimed a state, while the Arab states, in retaliation, took the military offensive and moved their troops into Palestine with the avowed purpose of protecting the Arab inhabitants of Palestine by crushing the infant Jewish state. This military effort was exerted not by the Arabs of Palestine but primarily by the armies of the Arab states with the objective of protecting the Arabs of Palestine from an alleged danger of Jewish domination. It cannot be said that the Arabs had not given ample warning of their firm intentions in this regard. Their willingness to resort to this extreme action is an accurate gauge of the intensity of Arab feelings as regards the injustice to them of a Jewish state in Palestine.

3. By the intervention of the Security Council the warfare in Palestine has been twice stopped and at present remains stopped. In fact, the resolution of the Security Council of July 15, 1948, which ordered both parties to cease fighting, al-

<sup>1</sup> Made on Oct. 15, 1948, and printed from telegraphic text.

<sup>2</sup> For conclusions of the report, see BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1948, p. 436.

though it makes reference to a truce of undefined duration, also prohibits any further recourse to military action as a means of settling the dispute. The imposed "truce" of July 18 is really a permanent cease-fire order. The opposing armies have now been confronting each other since July 18, but they are forbidden to resume fighting. If either side should provoke a resumption of hostilities it would have to do so in open defiance of the order of the Security Council and thereby run the risk of invoking the threat of sanctions embodied in the July 15 resolution. The Security Council order stands and it cannot be assumed that either side will wish to run the risk of shouldering responsibility for open defiance of this order by a deliberate resumption of hostilities. On the other hand, this permanent cease-fire order, which is also described in the resolution as a truce, has been regarded by both parties as a truce, and therefore of temporary rather than permanent duration. Moreover, it has been administered and supervised as a truce. The armies have not been withdrawn or demobilized. On the contrary, they have been confronting each other in full battle array, and alerted for battle, for almost five months now, except for the intense fighting during the nine day interval between the two truces. The strain and tension are very great, and it is most assuredly not a situation which can be maintained indefinitely. The existing truce clearly must be superseded by something more durable and secure—either a formal peace or an armistice, either of which would be more consistent with the Security Council order than the present precarious truce.

It is unthinkable that Arabs and Jews should be permitted to resume hostilities in Palestine. The threat to the peace of the Middle East generally and even to the world from conflict in Palestine, is far too great.

There have already been some danger signals of outside interests in the conflict, which might render doubtful any assumption that a renewed conflict could be confined to Palestinians and the Arab states.

The role of mediator was defined in resolution 186 (S-2) of the General Assembly of May 14, 1948. Among other functions that resolution directed the mediator to "use his good offices to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine". This was the function to which Count Bernadotte devoted major concentration from the beginning of his effort in Cairo on May 28, although the supervision of the truce under the resolution of the Security Council, and more recently, the tragic refugee problem, consumed much of his time and energy.

In directing his attention towards achieving a peaceful adjustment of the Palestine situation, the mediator was confronted with the necessity of defining the premises upon which his efforts would

be based. His decision in this regard was a practical one, dictated in large measure by circumstances entirely beyond his control.

Arab representatives, for example, with whom he consulted frequently and at great length, constantly emphasized what they would describe as the historic injustice of the Balfour Declaration, the terms of the mandate, the mandate itself, the Jewish nationalist aspirations, and the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November on the one hand, and the fundamental equality and democracy of an Arab state in the whole of Palestine on the other. Count Bernadotte, however, quite rightly in my view, did not regard it as within his purview to pass judgment upon the validity and the justice of decisions previously taken by the international community. On the same grounds, and, in view of the nature of his terms of reference, for instance, he did not consider himself to be rigidly bound by the details of the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November but recognized, nevertheless, that its basic conclusions represented the expressed will of more than two thirds of the members of the United Nations, and could not, therefore, be ignored.

It is undeniable, therefore, that in his approach to the problem, Count Bernadotte was inevitably influenced by the fact that, Arab opposition notwithstanding, there had been, especially during the past 30 years, a progressive recognition by the international community of a special position for the Jewish community in Palestine, culminating in the resolution of 29 November and the proclamation by the Jews themselves of a state of their own in a part of Palestine.

On the other hand, the mediator was not influenced by that part of the claims of the Jews to a historic right to Palestine based upon their ancient residence in that country and their religious association with it, rather than formal international sanctions. He did not accept, therefore, the Jewish contention that it was they who were always called upon to compromise. Since he could not accept their alleged historical claims to the whole of Palestine, including Transjordan, he could not admit the contention that acceptance of the 29 November resolution constituted a compromise on their part, and that any alteration in the terms of that resolution not favorable to them would compound a compromise previously made.

It was within this *milieu* that the mediator, through four months of negotiation of unprecedented intensity, strove, by trial and error, through reason and persuasion and every other honorable means, to find a common ground upon which the conflicting parties might meet. This common ground was never found. That it was not found was due entirely to the intransigence of the parties. On the fundamental issues, each side remained adamant.

In view of this fact, the mediator was forced to the conclusion that it was not now possible, by means of an intermediary, to bring the two parties together and achieve agreement between them. The Arab representatives steadfastly refused to meet the Jewish representatives, either in the presence of the mediator or otherwise, since they considered any such step as a tacit admission on their part of the right of the Jewish state to exist.

The mediator, however, did not conclude from these facts that the problem of Palestine cannot be solved by peaceful means, or that a basis for agreement between the parties can never be found. Failure to bring the parties together would, it is true, preclude any immediate possibility of a tidy, definitive solution, which is very much to be desired. But there was an alternative which derived precisely from the very rigidity of the parties who were at the same time in the predicament of having to defy the Security Council in order to resort to the simple expedient of trial by force of arms.

It was with this in mind that the mediator pointed out in paragraph 10 on page 4 of his report that:

“Although it cannot be said that neither side will fight again under any circumstances, I am strongly of the view that the time is ripe for a settlement. I am reasonably confident that given the permanent injunction against military action issued by the Security Council, and firm political decisions by the General Assembly, both sides will acquiesce, however reluctantly, in any reasonable settlement on which is placed the stamp of approval of the United Nations. I do not mean to imply that there is at the moment bright prospect for formal agreement between the two parties. But, in my opinion, although such formal agreement would be highly desirable, it is not indispensable to a peaceful settlement at this stage. What is indispensable is that the General Assembly take a firm position on the political aspects of the problem in the light of all the circumstances since its last session, and that its resolution be so reasonable as to discourage any attempt to thwart it and to defy the Security Council order by the employment of armed force.”

It was on the basis of this assumption also that the mediator considered it highly essential that the question of Palestine come before the General Assembly at this time and that the political aspects of the problem be reviewed and unequivocally pronounced upon in the light of all the relevant factors.

In my opinion, in the present circumstances, two needs are uppermost in the most imperative sense. The first of these needs is a reasonable basis for the assumption that neither party will again resort to force in order to make its views prevail and as a means of gaining its objectives. In this regard, reason for hope is to be found in the fact that

settlement by force has been tried and has been checked. I do not find it possible to believe that either side wishes to resume hostilities or that either side has found settlement by force of arms a profitable expedient. Despite the conflict which has raged in Palestine and despite the gulf which still divides the antagonists, there is on both sides a desire and a need for peace arising from the fact that war is a costly, even disastrous, interruption in the normal course of development of both Arab and Jewish communities in the Middle East.

The second of these needs is for the General Assembly, as the representative body of the international community, to set forth its position on the following fundamental political issues affecting this former mandated territory with regard to which its responsibility continues:

- A. Permanent peace in Palestine.
- B. The Jewish state in Palestine.
- C. The general configurations of the boundaries of such a state.
- D. International guarantee for such boundaries.
- E. The future status of Jerusalem.
- F. The disposition of the Arab-controlled area of Palestine.
- G. Guarantees for the rights of all inhabitants of Palestine.
- H. The repatriation and resettlement of Arab refugees.
- I. The nature of the machinery to be employed as a vehicle for continuing United Nations intervention in the problem until all of its major aspects are finally disposed of.

It would not appear essential in this regard that a detailed plan, a blueprint, be devised for this purpose. Indeed, any such detailed scheme, in view of all the developments since last November, and the present situation in Palestine, might well be undesirable. Assuming always that the parties do not again resort to force, it would seem that a somewhat general treatment of the subject, which while making clear the position of the United Nations on major issues would leave to the parties the burden of peaceful adjustment, might have great merit.

The conclusions set forth in part one of the mediator's report might well provide a basis for a general treatment of this kind. These conclusions represent the constructive deductions which Count Bernadotte had arrived at on the basis of his extensive and fruitful consultation on the problem over a period of four months. He did not presume to present them as recommendations to any organ of the United Nations. As the mediator's report points out in paragraph 13 on page 5, these conclusions were designed of settlement and conciliation of the differences between the two parties. It was, indeed, his intention to renew in Paris his consultations with the representatives of the parties in pursuance of the elusive objective of mutual

agreement between them. It was his thought that if the conclusions set forth in the report could not be accepted by Arabs and Jews as a basis for discussion they still would be available to the General Assembly for such use as it might see fit to make of them. Count Bernadotte harbored no illusions, that either Arabs or Jews would embrace the conclusions in their entirety, nor did he deem it essential for them to do so, however desirable that might be. He was convinced, as I am convinced, that the

voice of the United Nations speaks with considerable authority in Palestine; this voice, in truth, was the sole foundation of his effort and his unchallengeable achievements.

At the appropriate time, should the Committee desire it, I would be pleased to present a statement dealing exclusively with the conclusions in the report and giving an explanation and elaboration of each of them, and also the answer to any question regarding the report.

## The United States in the United Nations

[October 15-22]

### The Roll of the United States

George F. Kennan, in his address before the Herald-Tribune Forum on October 20,<sup>1</sup> stated that if we mean business in our determination to make the United Nations work, we must remember that we have before us a task "as difficult and as arduous as any that this country has ever tackled in peace or in war". If that is our purpose, he said, then we must shape and align the realities of international life so that they "speak for themselves with an eloquence greater than words—that they convince the skeptical as words have thus far failed to do, that the road of international collaboration is after all the fastest, the most practical, and the safest of the paths of national policy. And where people are not open to argument on considerations of the common good, then they must be shown that this same conclusion flows even from the narrowest and most embittered sense of self-interest, which it does.

"This is the job we have to do.

"It is not, in reality, a new task, or one that lies only before us. We have already been deeply engaged in it for a long time.

"And it is not our task alone. It is a responsibility which we share with the other peace-loving nations of the world. It is entirely fallacious to regard the differences which now separate the United States and the Soviet Union merely as a struggle between those two powers. The conflict which exists inside the United Nations is not a conflict between the United States and the U.S.S.R. It is a conflict between the majority of the U.N. members, acting in support of the Charter, and a group of governments who refuse to abide

by its provisions or to recognize the over-riding international obligation which the Charter constitutes.

"We have now reached one of the most complicated and delicate phases of this long and difficult effort. We have been compelled to place before the United Nations a matter of great seriousness which it had proven impossible to compose by peaceful means outside of the United Nations. We were aware that this would constitute a severe test of the organization, and one which we would have preferred to have spared it. But we had no alternatives other than to meet the threat of force with action in order to break the blockade of Berlin, or to do nothing at all and thus permit this threatening situation to develop in an ominous silence and uncertainty, conducive to every sort of alarmist speculation and hysteria.

"This is a situation which is easy neither for us nor for our friends. It is going to take all we can bring to it in the way of steadiness and understanding and mutual confidence. But we must always understand that on the successful resolution of it there hangs more than the removal of restrictions on the supply of a single city; there hangs the removal of one more great obstacle on the road to a world in which international organization can really function."

### The Berlin Crisis

A resolution aimed at peaceful solution of the Berlin crisis was presented to the Security Council in Paris on October 22 by six neutral nations (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, and Syria) which have been striving to solve the problem since it was posed by the United States, Great Britain, and France.

The text of the resolution follows:

The Security Council having carefully considered the series of events which have led to the present grave situa-

<sup>1</sup>For the complete text of Mr. Kennan's address, see Department of State press release 853 of Oct. 20, 1948.

tion in Berlin, conscious of the council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and acting in accordance with Article 40 of the Charter in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation in Berlin, in particular, by preparing the way to its settlement, calls upon the four governments who have responsibilities in Germany and in Berlin as the occupying powers—France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1. To prevent any incident which would be of a nature such as to aggravate the present situation in Berlin,

2. To put into effect, simultaneously, namely on the day of notification of this resolution to the four governments concerned, the steps required for the fulfilment of points (a) and (b), which are set forth hereunder:

(a) Immediate removal by all parties of all restrictions on communications, transport, and commerce between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany, and the restrictions on transport and commerce to and from the Soviet zones of Germany, it being understood that said restrictions are the ones applied by the parties after the first day of March 1948.

(b) An immediate meeting of the four military governors to arrange for the unification of currency in Berlin on the basis of the German mark of the Soviet zone. The four military governors will fix the conditions for the introduction, circulation and continued use of the German mark of the Soviet zone, as sole currency for the whole of Berlin, and to arrange for the withdrawal of the Western mark.

All the foregoing to be in accordance with the terms and conditions defined in the joint directive delivered to the four military governors in Berlin, agreed upon by the four governments in Moscow, and issued on 30 August, 1948, and to be carried out under the control of the quadripartite financial commission, whose organization, powers and responsibilities are therein described.

This measure must be totally fulfilled by the date indicated in Paragraph (c).

(c) The date referred to in the last part of paragraph (b) shall be the 20th November 1948.

3. Within 10 days following the fulfilment of the measures provided for in Section Two, or on such date as is mutually agreed between the four governments, to reopen the negotiations in the Council of Foreign Ministers on all outstanding problems concerning Germany as a whole.

### **Palestine**

The Security Council on October 19 ordered a halt to the fighting between Israeli and Egyptian forces over supply routes to the Negev area in southern Palestine. The Council also reminded the parties in the Palestine dispute of their obligations under the Council's blanket cease-fire orders. The last such order, dated August 19, was unconditional and had no time limit.

The Council met at the request of Acting U.N. Mediator Ralph Bunche after U.N. truce officials failed through their own efforts to halt the Negev clashes.

The resolution adopted by the Council on the Negev fighting was submitted by Syria and embodied Dr. Bunche's recommendations. The first part of the resolution, ordering the immediate cease-fire, was adopted unanimously. The rest of the resolution was adopted by a 9-0 vote, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine abstaining.

The resolution calls on both Israeli and Egyptian forces to withdraw from any positions not

occupied at the time of the Negev outbreak, which began on October 15. Conditions governing the passage of supply convoys to the Jewish settlements in the Negev are to be set by U.N. truce officials and both sides are required to negotiate, either directly or through U.N. truce machinery, any outstanding problems.

The Council reaffirmed its previous all-Palestine cease-fire orders by adopting unanimously the joint Chinese-British resolution submitted last week. It calls on the Palestine parties to ensure the safety of U.N. personnel and their ready access to all places where their duties require them to go, including airfields and ports. It also calls on the parties to do their utmost to bring to justice all persons assaulting U.N. personnel. A Soviet amendment accepted by the Council adds that U.N. observers should not go beyond objective reports to the Council.

On October 21 Dr. Bunche set Friday noon (GMT) as the deadline for Israeli and Egyptian forces fighting in the Negev, Palestine's southern desert, to cease fire. The Security Council had previously issued the cease-fire order.

Dr. Bunche transmitted the deadline by cable simultaneously to the Israeli and Egyptian Governments through U.N. Representatives in Tel Aviv and Cairo.

### **Atomic Energy Resolution Adopted**

Committee I completed its work on the atomic energy question on October 20 by approving, 41 to 6, with 10 absentions, a four-point Canadian proposal, as amended, to continue consultations aimed at establishing an effective system of international control and outlawing atomic weapons. This proposal will go to the General Assembly, where a two-thirds majority is required for adoption.

### **The General Assembly**

Having examined the first, second and third reports of the Atomic Energy Commission which have been transmitted to it by the Security Council in accordance with the terms of the General Assembly resolution of 24 January 1946:

1. 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 of the commission as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of weapons in accordance with the terms of reference of the AEC.

2. Expresses its deep concern at the impasse which has been reached in the work of the AEC as shown in its third report and regrets that unanimous agreement has not yet been reached.

3. Requests the six sponsors of the General Assembly resolution of the 24th of January, 1946, who are permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission, to meet together and consult in order to determine if there exists a basis for agreement on international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and to report to the General Assembly results of their consultation not later than its next regular session.

4. Meanwhile the General Assembly calls upon the AEC to resume its sessions, to survey its program of work, and to proceed to the further study of such of the subjects remaining in the program of work as it considers to be practicable and useful.

The effect of the resolution is to turn the stalemated issue of atomic energy control over to the United States, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, France, China, and Canada to see whether they can find a basis for agreement between now and the time when the General Assembly meets for its next regular session.

The resolution as adopted is a revision of the proposal originally submitted by Canada and reported out by a special subcommittee. The original draft would have left the issue to the five major powers and Canada to solve the impasse created by the Soviet Union, and would have directed them to report at the next regular session. Meanwhile, the Atomic Energy Commission itself would have been inactive.

In announcing the United States' acceptance of the wishes of the other nations, Ambassador Austin emphasized that in agreeing to the revision, the United States was not retreating from its oft-stated view that the solution to the control impasse is outside the AEC's competence and "that other means of establishing cooperation must be explored".

#### **Non-Self-Governing Territories**

At a meeting of the Trusteeship Council in Paris on October 18 the United States supported an Indian resolution calling on states administering non-self-governing territories to notify the General Assembly of changes in territorial constitutional position or status resulting in discontinuance of transmission of information called for under provisions of the Charter.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 29 to 0, with 17 abstentions, after a Polish attempt to broaden the resolution and Belgian efforts to limit it were rejected.

Terming the resolution "logical and proper." Francis B. Sayre, U. S. Delegate said:

"The United States now transmits voluntarily information regarding the development of institutions of self-government within its territories. Even in the absence of such a resolution, the United States would expect to inform the United Nations of any change in constitutional position and status of any of its territories as a result of which it believed it unnecessary in respect to such territory to transmit further information under the Charter, and in so doing to give such accompanying information as might be appropriate. In voting for this resolution, it is the understanding of my Government that transmission of the information requested does not alter the right of each administering state to determine constitutional position and status of any particular territory under its sovereignty".

#### **Cooperation Resolution**

The five major powers found themselves in agreement on October 21 as each expressed support for a Mexican resolution appealing to the great powers to "redouble their efforts, in a spirit of solidarity and mutual understanding, to achieve in the briefest possible time final settlement of the war and the conclusion of all peace treaties".

Unqualified support for the resolution was voiced by the United States, the United Kingdom, and China. The Soviet Union and France also endorsed the resolution but suggested rewording. In addition, seven other nations spoke for adoption of the Mexican appeal.

The United States was the first of the great powers to speak out in favor of the Mexican resolution, the speaker being John Foster Dulles, of the U.S. Delegation. The statement was Mr. Dulles' first at a formal meeting of the current General Assembly.

Mr. Dulles emphasized that although the major powers have the right of initiative regarding the peace treaties, this right must be used "affirmatively and constructively, and if not so used, the consequences are of concern to all members of the United Nations".

## North Pacific Regional Air Navigation Meeting of ICAO

BY CLIFFORD P. BURTON

The North Pacific Regional Air Navigation Meeting held at Seattle, Washington, July 13-29, 1948, under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was the eighth in the original series of ten regional meetings scheduled by ICAO to survey aviation facilities throughout the world. Upon the completion of the series ICAO will have an index of facilities needed by international civil aviation on all the important air routes of the world. The remaining regional meetings projected by ICAO are the African-Indian Ocean Meeting and the South-east Asia Meeting.

The work of the regional air-navigation meetings, namely, the provision of safe and adequate transportation to international travelers, is basic to all ICAO programs in the technical field. The United States as host government provided the international secretariat for the Seattle meeting with assistance from the technical staff of ICAO at Montreal.

Nine voting countries were present: Australia, Canada, China, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Siam, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In addition, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Poland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics sent observers. International organizations represented were the International Air Transport Association, the International Meteorological Organization, and the United Nations.

The main meeting was preceded by a meeting of a fact-finding group which convened the week prior to the regional meeting in order to examine and document operational data for the convenience and use of the main meeting. The Seattle meeting was the first time such a group was convened. Since it proved its usefulness, the pattern will be made use of at subsequent regional meetings.

The organization employed at the North Pacific Regional Air Navigation Meeting was similar to that used at previous regional meetings. It consisted of the General Committee, Subcommittee 1 of the General Committee, and technical committees in the fields of telecommunications and radio aids, meteorology, search and rescue, air-traffic control, aerodromes, air routes, and ground aids. The General Committee did not handle any substantive material as all technical matters were handled by its No. 1 Subcommittee or in the other technical committees. Clifford P. Burton, Chair-

man of the United States Delegation, was elected Chairman of the meeting, with Colonel Cheng-Fu Wang of China and Colonel Sphrang Devahdstin of Siam elected First Vice Chairman and Second Vice Chairman respectively.

The results of the meeting were quite satisfactory to the United States as the United States position, as approved by the interdepartmental Air Coordinating Committee, was upheld to a high degree. Specific accomplishments in the technical fields are given in the brief summary that follows.

*Flight Operations.*—Problems in connection with this subject were handled by the No. 1 Subcommittee of the General Committee. The Committee recommended slight alterations in the boundaries of the ICAO regions to exclude the northern portion of Alaska and to extend the southwestern boundary southward to include the Philippines and the eastern coast of China (and Hong Kong). A standard altimeter setting of 29.92 inches of mercury was recommended for the ocean areas excluding the area approximately 100 miles from the shore line. In these latter areas a QNH value for altimeter settings will be utilized for both terrain clearance and altitude separation. In the field of dimensional units it was agreed that the yellow table published by ICAO would be used over the land areas of the United States and Canada with an exception thereto in the ocean areas and the Aleutian chain wherein nautical miles and knots would be substituted for statute miles per hour. The subject of publications and manuals was handled in connection with NOTAM procedures, and the position of the United States was upheld in its entirety.

*Aerodromes, Air Routes, and Ground Aids.*—The Committee selected regular, alternate, and supplementary aerodromes required for North Pacific air routes. Also, certain aerodromes by class were selected for improvements. It recommended that all aerodrome improvements be completed as rapidly as possible but in no case later than July 1, 1953. The Committee agreed that obstruction marking and ground markers should exist on air routes, that night lighting should be provided at all regular and alternate aerodromes, and that approach lights should be visible where instrument landing systems are installed and where practical at all other regular and alternate aerodromes.

*Air Traffic Control.*—The Committee recommended the establishment of flight information regions over most of the water areas of the North Pacific. Approach and aerodrome control service was recommended for those aerodromes where the traffic density justified their establishment. During the development of supplementary procedures for this region, the Committee recommended that action be taken to amend the South Pacific supplementary procedures so as to be consistent with the North Pacific supplementary procedures.

*Telecommunications and Radio Aids to Air Navigation.*—The Committee recommended additional point-to-point and air-ground aeronautical communication circuits to take care of meteorology, air-traffic control, and search-and-rescue requirements. In addition, recommendations were made for additions to the aeronautical radio-navigation aids to meet the needs of the present and proposed routes and aeronautical services operating within the region.

*Aeronautical Meteorology.*—The Committee reviewed the existing system of meteorological telecommunications and prepared detailed requirements for the exchange of meteorological information between the various meteorological offices as well as for broadcast to aircraft in flight. The Committee recommended the establishment of eight ocean weather ships, the exact location to be determined in general by the implementing state, taking into consideration the requirements of the other technical services such as search and rescue, telecommunications, and air-traffic control.

*Search and Rescue.*—The Committee reviewed and tabulated the search-and-rescue facilities provided in the region and recommendations for certain additions were made to meet the minimum requirements for the region.

### U.S. Delegation to International Tin Study Group

The Department of State announced on October 13 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Third Meeting of the International Tin Study Group, scheduled to open at The Hague on October 25, 1948. The Delegation is as follows:

#### *Chairman*

Donald D. Kennedy, Chief, International Resources Division, Department of State

#### *Advisers*

Glion Curtis, Jr., American Embassy, The Hague  
 Carl Hgenfritz, Vice President, United States Steel Corporation  
 Charles W. Merrill, Chief, Metal Economics Branch, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior  
 Erwin Vogelsang, Chief, Tin and Antimony Section, Non-ferrous Metals and Minerals Division, Department of Commerce

W. F. McKinnon, Associate Director, Office of Metals Reserve, Reconstruction Finance Corporation  
 Evan Just, Director, Division of Strategic Materials, Economic Cooperation Administration

The International Tin Study Group will review the report of its working party which met at The Hague in June. It will also review the world statistical position of tin and discuss common problems in connection with production, consumption, and trade in tin.

The International Tin Study Group was established upon a recommendation of the World Tin Conference, held at London in October 1946, to which the principal tin-producing and -consuming countries of the world sent representatives. The last meeting of the Group—the second—was held at Washington, D.C., April 19–24, 1948.

### U.S.—Mexican Fisheries Conference

[Released to the press October 15]

Fisheries problems of mutual interest to the United States and Mexico will be the subject for discussion between the two Governments at a conference to be held in Mexico City beginning on October 25.

In line with its program of advancing measures designed to conserve fisheries resources of the high seas the United States is interested in entering into a joint fisheries-conservation agreement with Mexico. However, the present talks are primarily of an exploratory nature, it was emphasized, and delegates are expected to make recommendations for later consideration by the various federal agencies, interested state governments, and representatives of industry.

The United States and Mexico have several bilateral agreements by which the two countries have harmoniously achieved the solution of specialized problems in a spirit of friendly cooperation. The equally outstanding success of the bilateral fisheries conventions between Canada and the United States, by means of which the valuable halibut and sockeye-salmon fisheries have been conserved and developed, makes it appear that cooperation in the sphere of fisheries with our southern neighbor would also be mutually beneficial.

### THE CONGRESS

Report of Activities of National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Message from the President of the United States transmitting report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems covering its operations from Oct. 1, 1947, to Mar. 31, 1948. H. Doc. 737, 80th Cong., 2d sess. vi, 56 pp.

Calling on the President for Information Concerning the Potsdam Agreements and Violations Thereof by Soviet Russia. S. Rept. 1440, 80th Cong., 2d sess., to accompany S. Res. 213. 11 pp.

Amending the Trading with the Enemy Act. S. Rept. 1619, 80th Cong., 2d sess., to accompany S. 2764. 3 pp.

U.S.S.R. Travel Restrictions for Diplomatic Personnel

SUPPLEMENT TO 1941 LIST

The American Embassy at Moscow has received a circular note from the Foreign Office of the U.S.S.R. The note, dated September 30, 1948, refers to the Foreign Office note of May 16, 1941, in terms indicating that the restrictions of that date are still considered in effect and in supplement thereto transmits a new and greatly expanded list on points and localities in or to which travel is prohibited for members of the staffs of foreign missions and consulates. For all practical purposes the list covers the entire territory of the U.S.S.R. Certain omissions, such as points in the Georgian Republic and Yakutsk, U.S.S.R., are notable; the principal additions are the newly acquired territories, such as Sakhalin.

In theory, travel is permitted through certain areas, but one cannot reach those areas without crossing forbidden zones.

The restriction to 50 kilometers radius of Moscow is entirely new, not having been included in the 1941 note. Travel even in this small radius is subject to so many exceptions—i.e., *raions* (districts) where travel is forbidden even though less than 50 kilometers distant—that to all intents and purposes members of the foreign missions are restricted to Moscow city limits.

American correspondents have written stories about the new restrictions, but their stories have been held up by the Soviet censor.

NOTES OF MAY 16, 1941, AND SEPTEMBER 30, 1948

[Translation]

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT  
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Pr/140

NOTE VERBALE

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has the honor to bring to the attention of the [ . . . Mission] the information that, beginning with this date, the Government of the U.S.S.R. has established a procedure whereby the travel on the territory of the U.S.S.R. of diplomatic and consular representatives in the U.S.S.R. of foreign states, as well as of employees of foreign embassies, legations and consulates, may take place only on condition that such persons previously inform the appropriate organs of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the People's Commissariat for Defense and the People's Commissariat for the Navy, with regard to trips planned, indicating the itinerary, the points of stop-over and the length of travel, so that such trips may be registered by the above-mentioned organs.

At the same time, the same Decree of the Soviet Government has declared as prohibited (for travel) the points and localities in the U.S.S.R.

enumerated in the list which is attached hereto.<sup>1</sup>  
Moscow, *May 16, 1941.*

[To all Embassies and Missions]  
Moscow

[Translation]

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE USSR  
No. 1130/Pr.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR presents its compliments to Embassies and Missions and has the honor to communicate that after revision of the list of forbidden points and localities of the USSR transmitted with note no. 140/Pr. of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, dated May 16, 1941, the Government of the USSR has approved a new list of forbidden points and localities of the USSR, which is attached hereto.<sup>2</sup>

Moscow, *September 30, 1948*

Seal no. 1 of the  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

[To all Embassies and Missions]  
Moscow

Zvenigorod, Kuntsevo, Krasnogorsk, Krasnopol'yansk, Podolsk, Ramensk, Tushino, Khimki and Shchelkovo, where travelling is forbidden.

As an exception, it is permitted to go to the cities of Klin and Zagorsk as well as to Yasnaya Polyana (Tula oblast), providing the travellers proceed along the main automobile highway and have notified in advance the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR or the Ministry of Armed Forces of the USSR about the trip.

<sup>1</sup> Not here printed.

<sup>2</sup> List not here printed. A note attached to the list reads as follows:

Members and employees of embassies, missions and consulates are allowed to travel without notifying in advance the appropriate organs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR or the Ministry of Armed Forces of the USSR within a radius of 50 km. from Moscow, with the exception of the following raions of Moscow oblast: Dmitrov,

## Relaxing of Visa Restrictions by U.S. and Belgium

[Released to the press October 15]

The Belgian Government, as of October 15, 1948, will waive visa requirements, but not passport requirements, for American citizens proceeding to continental Belgium for transit or for a period of stay not exceeding two months.

The United States, because of existing laws, may not reciprocate in identical terms. However, the United States will grant passport visas without fees and valid for a period of 24 months, instead of the present 12 months' period of validity of such visas, to Belgian nationals who are proceeding to the United States and its possessions for business or pleasure purposes, and who are *bona fide* nonimmigrants within the meaning of the immigration laws, provided the Belgian passport of each bearer remains valid during the period of validity of the visa.

## Visas Not Required for Italy

[Released to the press October 5]

The Department of State has been advised that at the present time the Italian Government does not require visas of American tourists for travel to Italy. It has also been advised that as of November 1, 1948, visas will not be required of American citizens for visits to Italy either for business or pleasure.

Since the Registration Act of 1940 requires that all persons other than American citizens entering this country must have United States visas, it is not possible to dispense with visa requirements in the case of Italian citizens coming here. However, as of November 1, the United States will reciprocate to the extent of issuing visas gratis for those Italians coming to this country temporarily for business or pleasure. These visas will be valid for a period of 24 months. In the case of Italians wishing to immigrate to the United States, immigration visas costing \$10 will continue to be required.

## Negotiations on Treaty of Friendship Between U.S. and Ireland Resumed

[Released to the press October 15]

The Department of External Affairs of Ireland and the American Legation in Dublin announced on October 15 that negotiations have been resumed at Dublin for the purpose of concluding a comprehensive treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between Ireland and the United States. Exploratory discussions were initiated last May,

and it is now hoped by the two Governments that it will be possible to reach final agreement within the near future.

This is the most comprehensive treaty of its kind that Ireland has undertaken to negotiate with any country. The provisions of the text now being put in shape by representatives of the two Governments will lay a broad, long-term, contractual basis for the economic relationships between Ireland and the United States and for the fundamental rights and privileges that the nationals of each country enjoy in the other. Currently, these are largely based on treaties concluded between Britain and the United States during the nineteenth century. The new agreement is expected to modernize pertinent features of these old treaties and to contain also many new clauses that reflect present-day needs and developments.

The discussions are being pursued in a spirit of mutual appreciation of the common ideals and outlook of the two nations.

## Constitution-Making at Bonn—Continued from page 510

Germany that the kingdom of Piedmont did in unifying Italy in the nineteenth century.

It may be regarded as a striking coincidence that the Bonn convention is meeting on the one hundredth anniversary of the German Revolution of 1848. The Frankfort Parliament that met that year tried to establish German unity on the basis of liberty and democracy but failed because of the political dilettantism of many of the delegates and because of the lack of vision of the King of Prussia. German unity was, instead, effected on the basis of autocracy by the methods of militarism with disastrous consequences not only to the Reich but to the whole world.

Today the Bonn Parliamentary Council is attempting to make good where Frankfort failed in establishing German political union on a democratic foundation. The combined German-American Carl Schurz Memorial Celebration, which was held in Frankfort just two days after the opening of the Bonn convention to do honor to the Forty-Eighters who emigrated to America, was a significant reminder of the close and sympathetic interest with which not only United States Military Government but the American people are following the efforts of the men of Bonn to carry this mission to a successful conclusion.

## Double Taxation: Discussions With Greece

[Released to the press October 14]

Discussions between American and Greek technical experts looking to the conclusion of treaties for the avoidance of double taxation and for administrative cooperation in prevention of tax evasion with respect to income taxes and to taxes on estates of deceased persons will be held at Athens in the latter part of November.

If the discussions are successful and a basis for agreement is found, they will result in the preparation of draft treaties which will be submitted by the negotiators to their respective governments for consideration with a view to signing.

In preparation for the discussions, the American delegation will welcome conferences with interested parties or statements and suggestions from them concerning problems in tax relations with Greece. Communications in this connection should be addressed to Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington 25, D.C.

## Renegotiations of Certain Tariff Concessions Granted by Brazil, Ceylon, Cuba, and Pakistan

As was indicated in the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN of October 3, 1948, page 445, it was decided at the second session of the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held at Geneva from August 16 to September 14 that, because of special problems facing Brazil, Ceylon, Cuba, and Pakistan, certain tariff concessions granted by these countries to the other contracting parties would be the subject of renegotiations.

The purpose of these renegotiations is to reach agreement upon adjustments in the rates of duty on the items which are listed below for each country. The renegotiations are to be carried out initially between the pairs of countries chiefly interested in the particular concessions involved. However, any modifications in the schedules of tariff concessions of these four countries agreed upon during such bilateral negotiations must receive final approval by all of the contracting parties.

Any views of interested persons with regard to these renegotiations should be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, which is the committee established to receive views on trade-agreement matters. Since it is proposed to begin initial discussions between each of these four countries and the United States on products of primary interest to the United States as soon as possible, it is suggested that any such views will

be of the most value if submitted within the next 30 days. All communications on these matters should be addressed to The Secretary, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C.

The items which will be the subject of renegotiation are given in Department of State press release 825 of October 11, 1948. The negotiations may also include consideration of new concessions on products not now in the respective schedules of any of the four countries or additional concessions on products already in such schedules.

## Austria Extended Time for Renewing Trade-Mark Registrations

The extension of time until and including February 28, 1949, for renewing trade-mark registrations with respect to Austria was granted by the President in proclamation 2816 (13 *Fed. Reg.* 5927) on October 9, 1948.

## China Makes Lend-Lease Payment

[Released to the press October 13]

The Department of State announced on October 13 that the Government of China has paid to the Treasury of the United States \$2,824,930.75, representing the second annual installment on principal and interest of the lend-lease pipeline agreement with China.

This agreement, concluded in June 1946, represented lend-lease material on order by the Chinese Government at the end of the war, totaling approximately \$51,000,000. The agreement provides for repayment over a 30-year period at 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  percent interest.

## Appointment of U.S. Member to International Joint Commission

The Department of State announced on October 11 the appointment by President Truman of Eugene W. Weber, Special Assistant to the Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, Department of the Army, as a member of the United States Section of the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada. This appointment fills the vacancy on the United States Section of the Commission which has existed since the death of R. Walton Moore, Counselor of the Department of State, on February 8, 1941. The Commission will hold its semiannual meeting in Ottawa, Canada, beginning October 12, 1948.

## Belgium and Luxembourg Join in U.S. Fulbright Plan

[Released to the press October 8]

Belgium, Luxembourg, and the United States signed on October 8 an agreement under the Fulbright act, putting into operation the program of educational exchanges authorized by Public Law 584, 79th Congress. The signing took place in Brussels, with Education Minister Camille Huysmans representing the Belgian Government, the Chargé d'Affaires for Luxembourg representing that country, and Ambassador Alan G. Kirk representing the United States. It was the seventh agreement signed under the act, previous agreements having been made with the Governments of China, Burma, the Philippines, Greece, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

The agreement provides for a United States Educational Foundation in Belgium to assist in the administration of the educational program financed from certain funds resulting from the sale of United States surplus property to these countries. The present agreement provides for an annual program of the equivalent of \$150,000 in Belgian francs for educational purposes. The program will 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 Belgium, the Belgian Congo, and Luxembourg, or of the nationals of Belgium, Belgian Congo, and Luxembourg in the 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 nationals of Belgium, the Belgian Congo, and Luxembourg 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 Belgium will have an eight-man Board of Directors, the honorary chairman of which will be the United States Ambassador to Belgium. Members of the Board will consist of five United States citizens resident in Belgium including a representation from the United States Embassy in Brussels, two citizens of Belgium, and one citizen of Luxembourg.

In discussing the program in Brussels, Ambassador Kirk said:

"I am very happy about the agreement, because I believe it will continue the tradition of exchange

of students between our universities which has resulted in producing many leaders of thought, education, and government in Belgium and Luxembourg. Also there has been created an outstanding body of Americans who know and love the culture of your country. Even more, with the great interest now being taken by our universities and private foundations in the United States in providing fellowships for foreign students, I look forward to an increasing number of the young men and women of Belgium and Luxembourg finding such opportunities in our country. Although the development of such a program necessarily requires time, its importance is well understood in educational circles in the United States. This is definitely not a one-way street, along which only American traffic will pass.

"During the past year, ten fellowship students went to the United States for advanced study under the auspices of the Belgian-American Educational Foundation. Others were sent by American Rotary, and the American Association of University Women provided for several students. There are even cases where the American students themselves, at some of our universities, have contributed the funds or the expenses of selected foreign students. This, I sincerely believe, is only a beginning. The cordial regard which our countries have for each other will assure that the two-way street will be well traveled."

Information about specific opportunities for American citizens to study, teach, or undertake research in Belgium, Luxembourg, or the Belgian Congo will be made public in the near future. 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, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching in Belgian elementary and secondary schools); and the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue NW., Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching at the college level and for post-doctoral research).

### Second Meeting of Educational Exchange Advisory Commission

Consideration of the basic principles of United States educational exchanges with specific reference to the problems of Eastern Europe and the Iron Curtain countries was undertaken at the second meeting of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange in a two-day session, October 18 and 19.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, the Commission discussed problems presented to it by George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, concerning the disposal of art objects now in this country from occupied countries.

<sup>1</sup>For an account of the Commission's first meeting, see Department of State publication 3313.

# Sales and Transfers of Nondemilitarized Combat Matériel

[Released to the press October 12]

List of consummated sales of surplus combat matériel, effected by the Department of State in its capacity as foreign-surplus disposal agent, dur-

ing the months of February, April, May, July, and August, 1948, and December 1947, as reported to the Munitions Division of the Department through October 11, 1948, and not previously announced is as follows:

Country	Description of matériel	Procurement cost	Sales price	Date of transfer
Brazil . . . . .	Spare parts for aircraft engines . . . . .	\$22,648.70	\$1,132.44	8/7/48
	Miscellaneous spare parts for machine guns, armored cars, and cleaning and preserving materials.	22,236.01	9,609.11	8/27/48
China . . . . .	Miscellaneous parts and equipment for aircraft . . . . .	5,093,273.15	891,322.80	7/29/48
	42 P-47-D Aircraft (militarized) . . . . .	6,781,451.00	544,500.00	8/7/48
	255 Aircraft engines (for C-46s and C-47s) . . . . .	3,798,547.50	393,500.00	8/16/48
Denmark . . . . .	Torpedo boat T-19 (non-demilitarized) . . . . .	(1)	5,000.00	Feb. 48
Finland . . . . .	5 Minesweepers to Finnish Purchasing Mission (demilitarized).	2,911,250.00	175,000.00	5/5/48
Italy . . . . .	1 Minesweeper to Italian national (demilitarized) . . . . .	582,250.00	25,050.00	4/10/48
Mexico . . . . .	Helmets and liners . . . . .	74,500.00	7,450.00	8/19/48
Netherlands . . . . .	66 Tank engines—to be demilitarized for scrap . . . . .	192,030.00	50,000.00	8/3/48
	Miscellaneous ordnance equipment . . . . .	1,877.00	303.10	8/13/48
	Ammunition . . . . .	1,560.00	80.00	8/13/48
Norway . . . . .	Ex-German freighter, <i>Drau</i> . . . . .	(1)	422,500.00	7/26/48
United Kingdom . . . . .	1 LST for scrap (demilitarized) . . . . .	2,171,280.00	1,800.00	12/17/47
Venezuela . . . . .	Miscellaneous gas masks and repair kit, bayonets, binoculars, carbines, clinometers, machine guns, truck mounts, helmets and liners.	63,507.91	7,206.01	8/16/48

<sup>1</sup> Captured enemy matériel.

## "Korea, 1945 to 1948" Released

[Released to the press October 15]

The Department of State announced on October 15 the issuance of its newest publication, *Korea, 1945 to 1948*. This pamphlet reviews the political developments within Korea from the time of entry of the U.S. Army forces into that country to the present, with special emphasis on the period after March 1947 not covered by the Department's previous publication, *Korea's Independence*. It contains also a survey of Korean economic conditions and a supplementary selection of documents.

The pamphlet, Department of State publication 3305, will be sold by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 25 cents a copy with a 25 percent discount to purchasers of 100 copies or more.

## 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.

October 24, 1948

**Education: Cooperative Program in Peru.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1740. Pub. 3166. 25 pp. 10¢.

Arrangement Between the United States and Peru—effected by exchange of notes signed at Lima April 1 and 15, 1944; entered into force April 15, 1944; And Memorandum of Agreement—Signed at Lima April 4, 1944; effective April 4, 1944; Supplementary Agreement No. 1—Signed at Lima January 30, 1945; entered into force January 30, 1945; Supplement to Memorandum of Agreement—Signed April 30, 1945; entered into force April 30, 1945.

**Economic Cooperation with Iceland Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1787. Pub. 3252. 69 pp. 20¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Iceland—Signed at Reykjavik July 3, 1948; entered into force July 3, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation with Italy Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1789. Pub. 3253. 55 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Italy—Signed at Rome June 28, 1948; entered into force June 28, 1948.

**National Commission News, October 1948.** Pub. 3292. 10 pp. 10¢ a copy; \$1 a year domestic, \$1.35 a year foreign.

Prepared monthly for the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

**Departmental Regulations**

**270.1 Departmental Responsibilities in the Programs for Acquisition and Use of Foreign Currency and Credit Assets:** (Effective 8-9-48) Experience with and responsibility for the use of foreign currency and credit assets within the Department have crystallized to the point where the existing arrangements can now be formalized in this regulation.

**I GENERAL.**

**A Acquisition and Use.** As a result of the sale of surplus property abroad and the making of lend-lease settlements, the United States has acquired foreign currencies and credits amounting to several millions of dollars and is in a position to acquire substantially more. These foreign currencies and credits can be and are being employed to provide funds for the acquisition or improvement of real property for the Foreign Service; to promote educational activities contemplated by the Fulbright Act; and, in some instances, to meet current Governmental expenses abroad.

**B Specific Use.** Except for expenses for an administrative staff, the Fulbright Program is being financed solely through the use of foreign currency and credit assets arising from the sale of surplus properties abroad and does not depend upon current appropriations. For the foreign buildings program and for Departmental administrative expenses abroad, foreign currency and credit assets, obtained either from surplus property sales or other sources, are purchased from the Treasury Department or from such other Government agency or corporation as may have such currencies or credits, with funds obtained from current appropriations specified for these purposes.

**II OFFICE AND DIVISION RESPONSIBILITIES.** Subject to the policy determinations and general supervision of the appropriate Assistant Secretaries and Office Directors, responsibilities under these programs are delegated as follows:

**A Division of Organization and Budget (OB).** OB will:

1 Coordinate Departmental planning for the use of foreign currencies and credits for the various programs and allocate available currencies and credits in accordance with approved plans. The coordinating responsibility includes clearance of proposals of the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations (FBO) and the Division of Exchange of Persons (IEP) for foreign currencies and credits to be drawn down from foreign governments and for reservation of foreign currencies on deposit in the Treasury; clearance of FBO and IEP requests for requisitions to foreign governments for currency draw-downs; and clearance of FBO requests for purchases of unreserved currencies from United States Government agencies.

2 Develop plans and recommendations for use of foreign currency and credit assets to pay Departmental administrative expenses abroad.

3 Maintain necessary liaison with and obtain required clearances from the Bureau of the Budget. Ascertain through the Bureau of the Budget that proposed plans for use of foreign currency and credit assets are in accord with the President's over-all program.

4 Review and approve necessary reports to the Congress or Bureau of the Budget on foreign-currency and credit-usage programs. IEP will be responsible for educational-program reports; FBO for buildings-program reports; OB for reports on general administrative expenses.

5 Prepare other consolidated reports as may be required; FBO, IEP, and other offices concerned supplying OB with any additional information required for this purpose.

6 Maintain a central record, by country and program, showing source, allocation, and utilization of foreign currencies and credits. As required, OB will issue reports, based upon this record, for the use of all interested offices, such as FBO, IEP, Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner (OFLC), and Office of Financial and Development Policy (OFD).

7 On request, provide technical advice on budget, organization, and management matters relating to educational-foundation operations.

**B Division of Finance (DF).** DF will:

1 Act as the central drafting and transmitting point for all requests to draw down foreign currencies as payments under surplus property, executive, and lend-lease agreements.

2 Conduct necessary liaison with the Treasury Department and other Government agencies and corporations from which foreign currencies may be purchased, regarding specific foreign-currency purchase transactions including liaison with respect to reimbursement from FBO and general administrative appropriations for foreign currencies purchased from whatever source.

3 Designate depositories for foundation funds.

4 Upon request provide technical advice and assistance in fiscal and accounting matters relating to the acquisition and use of foreign currency and credit assets.

5 Prepare certification for Fulbright purposes under Treasury Regulation 799.

**C Division of Exchange of Persons (IEP).** IEP will:

1 Develop educational programs under the Fulbright Amendment to the Surplus Property Act.

2 Draft and negotiate through appropriate Departmental channels, executive agreements with other governments establishing educational programs.

3 Initiate requests, through OB, for concurrence of the Bureau of the Budget for the reservation of foreign currencies for the Fulbright Program.

4 Initiate requests, through OB, for reservation of foreign currencies by the Treasury Department.

5 Initiate requests, through OB for draw-downs or transfers of foreign currencies.

6 Initiate requisitions, through DF, for foreign currencies to be transferred to particular foundations from Treasury holdings.

7 Supervise, review, and issue regulations governing educational-foundation operations (including organization, budget, and fiscal operations).

8 Establish a basis for each foundation to maintain adequate current records of its operations.

9 Prepare reports on educational-program activities for transmission to the Congress, as required by public law (60 Stat. 755), and provide information on the Fulbright Program for inclusion in other Departmental reports.

**D Division of Foreign Buildings Operations (FBO).** FBO will:

1 Develop foreign-buildings programs utilizing available foreign currencies and credits under public law (60 Stat. 663).

2 Negotiate, through appropriate Departmental channels, agreements with foreign governments for the acquisition of property.

3 Initiate requests, through OB for reservations of foreign currencies by the Treasury Department.

4 Initiate requests, through OB and DF, for draw-downs or purchases of unreserved foreign currencies.

5 Initiate requests, through DF, for purchases of reserved foreign currencies.

6 Initiate, through OFLC, instructions authorizing acceptance of specific properties as payments in kind under the provisions of surplus-property and lend-lease agreements authorizing acceptance of property. FBO will furnish OFLC with the customary Certificate of Valuation, stated in terms of United States dollars, which will be used by OFLC as a basis for acknowledging the payment by the foreign government and for transfer of funds from the Foreign Service Buildings Fund to Miscellaneous Receipts (Proceeds of Surplus Property or proceeds from Lend-Lease Settlements).

7 Prepare reports on utilization of foreign currency and credit assets in the buildings program as required.

#### E Division of Financial Affairs (FN).

1 While the surplus property and lend-lease programs involve several divisions of OFD, FN is primarily responsible for the foreign-currency aspects of those programs. FN will:

a Make the basic economic- and financial-policy judgments regarding the acceptance of foreign currencies in lieu of dollar obligations. In those cases in which economic conditions do not warrant the acceptance by the United States of foreign currencies in lieu of dollars, the office responsible for the program for which the foreign currency is to be used, may forward a recommendation to the Under Secretary to accept the foreign currencies on other grounds.

b Determine whether foreign-currency provisions will be incorporated in new lend-lease agreements.

c Determine, in applicable cases, the policy with respect to the drawings of foreign currencies in lieu of United States dollars under the foreign-currency option authority.

d Amend, for countries whose economic and financial prospects warrant it, lend-lease agreements in order to authorize acceptance of local currency or payment in kind in lieu of payment in dollar obligations.

e Conduct necessary liaison with the Treasury Department and other interested United States Government agencies with respect to foreign financial-policy aspects of the programs including exchange rates, convertibility of foreign currencies and applicability of foreign-exchange control regulations.

f Review and clear proposed Fulbright executive agreements, certifications for Fulbright purposes under Treasury Regulation 799, proposed reservations for foreign currencies and credits for Departmental programs, and draw-downs of foreign currency and credit assets under surplus-property and lend-lease agreements for conformance to appropriate aspects of United States foreign financial policy including those relating to exchange rates, convertibility of foreign currencies, and applicability of foreign-exchange control regulations.

g Advise OFLC and the War Assets Administration (WAA) (or its successors) regarding the acceptance of foreign currency in connection with cash and credit sales of surplus property which cannot be made for dollars. Also advise OFLC and WAA (or its successors) in the formulation of agreement clauses granting the United States Government the option of drawing foreign currency in lieu of dollars.

2 The foreign buildings program, with respect to United States foreign financial-policy aspects, will be cleared between FBO and FN at the beginning of each fiscal year. Should it become necessary to make substantial variations in the original proposal, FBO will clear the changes in advance with FN.

F Legal Adviser (L). L will review Fulbright executive agreements for conformance with enabling legislation; draft and review proposed legislation affecting the use of foreign currencies and credits; and furnish necessary legal opinions regarding the use of foreign currencies and credits under existing legislation.

G Office of the Foreign Service (OFS). OFS will provide advice and assistant to the Office of Educational Exchange (OEX) on the administrative relationships between the Foreign Service establishments and educational foundations.

H Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner (OFLC). OFLC will:

1 Review and clear instructions pertaining to the acquisition of foreign currencies and properties as payments under the provisions of surplus-property agreements, as well as under joint surplus-property and lend-lease agreements, except that routine acquisitions of foreign currency made in accordance with agreed procedures and within established allocations need not be individually cleared.

2 Maintain accounts necessary to establish records of payments received and balances due from foreign governments under surplus-property agreements.

3 Determine the terms of payment, including those relating to the acquisition of foreign currency and property, which will be incorporated in new surplus-property agreements and in appropriate amendments to existing agreements. With regard to the acquisition of foreign currency, OFLC will consult with FN.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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# THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

## U.S. Proposes Six Sponsoring Powers Discuss Atomic Energy Issues

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN IN COMMITTEE I<sup>1</sup>

### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

The resolution of Canada now before the Committee, provides in paragraph 1 for approval by the General Assembly of the Atomic Energy Commission's plan of control and prohibition as set forth in 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 of the Commission. The plan was developed by, and we believe has the support of, all the nations who have at any time served on the Atomic Energy Commission, with the exception of the Soviet Union, Poland, and the Ukraine; in other words, a majority of 14 states and a minority of 3.

The Soviets have recently announced that they would be willing to negotiate simultaneously two treaties which, as many speakers have already pointed out, would have to be closely interlocked. But the Soviet proposal does not alter the conditions necessary for effective control. These conditions remain the same. They are laid down in the two reports. They have been developed by the serious work of the delegates of 14 nations. They have been discussed with the Delegates of the Soviet Union for over two years. It would do no good to repudiate this work and start all over again, if indeed that were possible. The same facts, the same necessities, would require the same control. The facts of the problem, the nature of the fission process, indeed, the dual nature of U-235 and plutonium, which may be used either as fuels or as explosives, remains the same. The United States believes that the plan and present proposals of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission constitute the necessary basis for establishing

effective control of atomic energy and prohibition of atomic weapons and will vote accordingly for paragraph 2 of the Canadian resolution, which is a simple expression of fact. Paragraph 3 of the Canadian resolution deals with the problem of how to get negotiations started again, so as to complete the treaty or convention on which certain work remains to be done. The Canadian resolution proposes a solution.

A number of other solutions have been suggested to solve the problem. One proposed solution is that of the Soviet Union. The Soviets have proposed in their resolution that we repudiate the work of the past two and a half years and start all over again under the terms of reference laid down by the General Assembly in 1946. But the Soviets interpret these terms of reference in a manner different from the interpretation given by the majority of the Commission. The Soviets interpret these terms of reference to mean that prohibition and control must be put into effect, simultaneously, and that control be simultaneous on all control activities. Their position was made perfectly clear in the statements which the Soviet Delegate, Mr. Malik, made before the Subcommittee. He desired that other nations should agree to the simultaneous conclusion and bringing into force of two conventions, one for control and one for prohibition, and ". . . that the Atomic Energy Commission should resume its work on the basis of the resolution of the General Assembly of January 1946". He then said, concerning the sys-

<sup>1</sup> Made on Oct. 18, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

tem of stages contained in the General Assembly's resolutions of January 24, 1946, and I quote from the summary record of his remarks, "that system of stages had been intended to facilitate the studies of the Atomic Energy Commission but now the United Kingdom and the United States had given the system of stages another meaning: They extended it to the putting into effect of the system of control."

Putting together these two statements made by the Representatives of the Soviet Union during the meetings of the Subcommittee, we see that the so-called concession proposed by the Soviet Union had attached to it new conditions which were designed to commit the General Assembly to a system of control which would prevent the treaty going into effect by stages as required by the Commission. Such a proposal is not a concession. It is simply a maneuver designed to provide for the destruction of atomic weapons in one country before, and probably a long while before, there had been any determination of whether or not atomic weapons existed in another country. By demanding that prohibition be simultaneous with control, without any gradual steps or stages by which both prohibition and control would go into effect, the Soviet proposal would eliminate atomic weapons and explosives in one country many months, or perhaps years, before the system of control and inspection had been able to locate and determine the existence of atomic weapons and explosives in certain other countries. Such an arrangement would, of course, be wholly unacceptable. The majority of the Atomic Energy Commission have an entirely different view of the problem.

The majority believe that the terms of reference of the General Assembly clearly provide and make possible that the treaty should go into effect by stages. Moreover, the practical realities in putting controls into effect require time. In the words of the first report, which is part of the plan of the Commission: "The treaty or convention should embrace the entire program for putting the international system of control and inspection into effect, and should provide a schedule for the completion of the transition process over a period of time, step by step, in an orderly and agreed sequence leading to the full and effective establishment of international control of atomic energy".

These stages would, of course, include the step-by-step elimination of atomic arms coincident with the step-by-step establishment of control, leading to the final result of complete control, known elimination and enforceable prohibition. These steps or stages have not yet been laid down.

According to the Commission's third report no useful purpose would be served by trying to determine the form and timing of stages until the Soviet Union is ready to take a sincere part in the negotiations on the basis of accepted principles. We have been through this debate over and over again in the Atomic Energy Commission in the past two and a half years. It would not be possible nor reasonable to go back and start this debate all over again.

The Soviet resolution would commit the General Assembly to a course under which no majority of sincere men in the Atomic Energy Commission could develop an effective plan. It is wholly unacceptable. Another proposed solution to the problem of renewing negotiations is that proposed in the Indian resolution. That resolution provides that the Atomic Energy Commission would go back to work and complete the drafting of a treaty on the basis of the work already done. Those who drafted the Indian resolution hoped at first that the Soviet Union would cooperate in the work of the Commission on this basis and included such a clause in the resolution. But in the Subcommittee Mr. Malik said on October 11: "The U.S.S.R. do not agree with the provisions which is included in the Indian resolution, that there are indications that the situation which led to the closing of the work of the Atomic Energy Commission no longer exists". This clause had therefore to be omitted. The Indian resolution now means that the work should go on without the Soviet Union, but we do not agree that this would be a solution. Indeed, we believe that in the long run it would gravely set back the hope of agreement. In the matters which now remain for discussion, the political aspects are so important that it would be impractical and, we believe, harmful to discuss them except in full and open cooperation among all the major countries involved, and against the background of unanimous agreement on the majority plan as thus far developed.

Let us consider some of these matters which still remain to be agreed upon in detail in order to complete a treaty. There is the matter of sanctions. Under the plan proposed by the Soviet Union sanctions would be terribly important. The Soviet plan proposes the operation of nuclear plants by nations, with an international agency carrying out periodic inspections to see whether they are operating within the rules of technological exploitation agreed upon in the treaty, or set out by the agency. If these rules were violated, that is, if a nation made more nuclear fuel than the rules provided, the international agency would then make a recommendation to the Security Council. To set the matter right, the Security Council might have to employ sanctions. Such infractions by national plants would probably come up quite often, and sanctions would be continually and terribly important. Failure of the Security Council to act because of the veto, which is probable in certain cases, would create a most serious situation. Under the plan proposed by the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission all plants would be owned and operated by the international agency. The quota of nuclear fuels to be used for peaceful purposes would be defined in the treaty and the international agency would be required to carry out these treaty provisions. Under the Commission plan, major sanctions would only be required in the case of violations, such as seizure or refusal of inspection, which might be expected to occur only at rare intervals. In an atmosphere of cooperation in the basic elements of control, the matter of the veto could probably be worked out quite easily. Further elaboration of the veto matter by the majority without Soviet agreement and presented apart from consideration of the plan as a whole would tend to confirm present frictions.

Let us examine the matter of stages. Contrary to what seems to be the impression of the Soviet Delegates, judging from their remarks before this Committee, neither the first nor the second report of the Commission lays down the order of stages. The order of stages is one of the matters still to be agreed upon before a treaty can be completed. It surely is evident that the order of the stages will be greatly affected by the conditions of world secu-

rity existing at the time the treaty is to go into effect. For instance, the time at which disposal of atomic weapons would take place would depend upon the rapidity with which effective control could go into effect. This in turn would depend upon the openness existing between nations at the time the treaty was signed. If the Communist states were still a closed system, it would take time to open them up so that control could become effective. And make no mistake about it, such opening up is fundamental to effective control. But if the Communist states had already opened their borders to the extent now prevalent in other states, it would take much less time to establish controls, and disposal of weapons could take place much sooner.

To attempt to lay down stages now when agreement on other matters is so distant would only increase the suspicions and differences which now exist.

In the matter of staffing the organization, some discussions were held in the Commission just prior to the drafting of the third report. It was quickly apparent that no agreement could be reached on staffing, until the functions of the international agency were agreed upon. The Soviet Delegates themselves stated that further discussions of staffing were useless until agreement was reached on the functions of the proposed agency. Such discussions might indeed be harmful, since they would point up the differences and make later agreement more difficult.

For these and other reasons we were compelled to disagree with the point of view advanced in the Syrian resolution that work in the Commission might usefully go on, even though the Soviet were not taking part.

The United States holds firmly to the views so cogently expressed in the third report that no further progress can be made at the level of the Atomic Energy Commission until all the members of the Commission agree to accept, as constituting the necessary basis for further work, the reports as approved by the General Assembly. The United States further believes that since such acceptance is not now forthcoming, the best, and probably the only hope of obtaining it is by consultation among the sponsoring powers. This is the solution proposed in paragraph 3 of the Canadian resolution.

It is because we so earnestly seek agreement, because we still hope for ultimate agreement, however dim the present prospects, that we strongly urge this course which would follow from the acceptance of the resolution now before us in its entirety.

In taking this position we will no doubt further increase the suspicions of the Soviet powers as to our motives. Other nations have said that the offer of the United States under certain conditions was a generous offer. But the Soviet Union have sought other motives to account for our strange action. The motive they seem unable to understand is our deep concern for the kind of world the American people desire to live in. The American people desire to live in a world where individual human beings, as well as independent nations, great and small, have the greatest possible liberty and freedom consonant with the liberty and freedom of others. They desire to live in a world where all men are equal under the law. As a means to these ends and as an end in itself, they seek a world in which there is openness among all nations, freedom to move easily across national borders, freedom of information, and a free exchange of scientific and cultural ideas among the nations.

That is the kind of world the people of the United States desire. It is towards that kind of world that United States foreign policy is oriented and towards which we are earnestly striving. We envisage such a world in the field of atomic energy. It is envisaged by the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in the plan which is now presented to the General Assembly. In the field of atomic energy no effective control is possible except in such a world. Unless we all consider this matter on the basis of these realities, we are only laying up dangers for the future.

Over two years ago the United States made an offer to give up its atomic weapons, its great plants for making the explosives which are used in atomic weapons, and for making the nuclear fuels which may at some later date provide power for industry, and offered to give up its knowledge derived at such great expense and from such long years of study, so that there would no longer be any secrets in this field, and all its knowledge

would be open to all the world. The United States made one condition to this offer. It is a serious condition.

That condition is that there should be set up an effective, enforceable, international system of control and prohibition. This is consistent within the policy by which the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States is governed. The Atomic Energy Act of 1946 provides in Section 10 (a) (1) "That until Congress declares by joint resolution that effective and enforceable international safeguards against the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes have been established, there shall be no exchange of information with other nations with respect to the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes". In practice the condition would mean that the world would be thrown open to a broad exchange of information, to a considerable free movement of persons, so that effective, enforceable control of atomic energy would be made possible.

These conditions must be fulfilled. Therefore, the second subparagraph of Section 10 (a) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, would go into effect: "(2) That the dissemination of scientific and technical information relating to atomic energy should be permitted and encouraged so as to provide that free interchange of ideas and criticisms which is essential to scientific progress". The United States does not intend to give up its atomic weapons except under a system of control sufficiently effective to guarantee that other nations do not have, and cannot secure, these weapons. We believe that the majority of the nations of the world support us in this position. We believe that the majority of the nations want this same kind of open world which is desired by the United States.

In the light of what I have just said, the situation in which the Atomic Energy Commission now finds itself is much more difficult than mere disagreement on the details of negotiations. The situation which has led to the impasse in the Atomic Energy Commission has been clearly analyzed in the third report of the Atomic Energy Commission. This analysis is based on the firm conclusions of the Commission after over 30 months of negotiation. It is an analysis which honesty and forthrightness require us all to appreciate. It brings us down to the plain realities

of the situation with which we are faced. This is not a temporary breakdown in negotiations which can be remedied by further discussions at the level of the Atomic Energy Commission. This situation is caused by the refusal of the Soviet Union to participate in the world community on a co-operative basis.

The Communist states have set up a closed system and over a large area of the world have drawn an Iron Curtain behind which things go on in secret, things of which the rest of the world is properly suspicious. So long as the Communist states continue this position, effective international control of atomic energy will be impossible. So long as the Communist states continue this system of secrecy, the safeguards which other nations deem indispensable cannot be made effective. So long as this situation continues, all the world will be suspicious of Soviet motives and will, of necessity, arm against unknown dangers.

The Communist states desire to live in a secret world of their own, behind which, for all we know, they may arm and prepare their people for war. We do not desire to live in such a world. That is the impasse in which the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission finds itself. This is the im-

passé which cannot be overcome by the Atomic Energy Commission. It can be overcome only by the aroused, the insistent consecution, the moral—not mechanical—majority of free men who have a right to insist that they remain free.

The basis on which the work of the Atomic Energy Commission might be resumed should be discussed, so it seems to us, not in a technical body such as the Atomic Energy Commission, but in consultation among the six sponsoring powers who first proposed to the General Assembly that this matter be undertaken by the United Nations and who should now find a means for its continuance. If they find this means, the Atomic Energy Commission would be immediately reconvened. But if the sponsoring powers should not be successful, they must report to the General Assembly, which will then decide what steps should next be taken.

We believe that this would be the best means of bringing about that for which we all so devoutly hope, the reconvening of the Atomic Energy Commission under conditions which will result in the completion of a treaty acceptable to all nations. The United States will vote for the Canadian resolution in its entirety.

## U.S. Accepts Atomic Energy Resolution

### STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN IN COMMITTEE I<sup>1</sup>

Mr. President, The United States will acquiesce in the amended resolution which has now been accepted by Australia. That is to say, the Canadian resolution as it shows on A/C.1/340. However, I want it clear that we adhere to the principles and policies that we have advocated throughout this debate. We are not retracing our steps or retreating from the position that we have stated here several times. We are firmly persuaded that the report of the Atomic Energy Commission, the third report, represents the fact when it says:

“In this situation the Commission concludes that no useful purpose can be served by carrying on negotiations at the Commission level”.

Why is that so? Well, the Commission states why it is so, namely, and I am quoting:

“The failure to achieve agreement on the international control of atomic energy arises from a situation that is beyond the competence of this Commission”.

In other words, it is the same deep-seated political division separating East from West and the Commission found, after long experience, that was a constant barrier to accomplishments of agreement, of cooperation, and collaboration upon this vital question in the Atomic Energy Commission. Therefore, it recommended a suspension—not the kind of suspension which my friend Colo-

<sup>1</sup> Made on Oct. 19, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

nel Hodgson speaks of—that is, indefinitely suspended. On the contrary, it expressly recommended a limitation and it used the word “until”. That is probably why the word “when” was used in this resolution as it was originally drafted. It was the appropriate word and referred to the recommendation of the Commission. Now, this is what they recommended:

“The Atomic Energy Commission therefore recommends that until such time as the General Assembly finds that this situation no longer exists or until such time as the sponsors of the General Assembly resolution of 24 January, 1946, who are the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission, find, through prior consultation that there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy, negotiations in the Atomic Energy Commission be suspended.”

Now, that is plain English and anybody that interprets that to mean an indefinite suspension is straining the English language. That is a suspension only until certain events occur and it contemplates something constructive being done. The resolution offered here and under consideration up to this point recommended what had the most promise of accomplishment in it. That is, consideration of those factors which were in the way of agreement in the place where they have to be considered, that is, on a higher level entirely.

Now, it developed here that this little undercurrent ran through this great Committee—*anxiety* that the project of international control was being given up—*indefinitely suspended*—and so many amendments reached toward something that would give hope and assurance to the world that that was not going to take place.

Now, believe me, the United States respects the opinion of its colleagues on this Committee and when it sees a movement of opinion like that around this table, it gives attention to it. And, notwithstanding the fact that we still believe firmly that the only place where we can unravel this tangle—the tangled threads—is on a higher

level, nevertheless, we are going to acquiesce in the obvious feelings of this Committee. We are going with you. Don't let anybody assert that the United States tries to coerce or force its opinion. I can give you evidence now, this minute, to the contrary. We are going to vote for this although we still adhere to the opinion expressed in that report of the Atomic Energy Commission and supported by our endeavors here with all the strength we have.

Mr. President, I think it would be the gravest error to slip back to February 1947 and merge control of atomic-energy studies with conventional armaments. This is an old fight which was finished, we thought, in the Security Council in February 1947, and yet we see it raising its head from time to time. Just why should we mix this work all up? Why should we set back what has been gained? It is a great study that has been carried forward for thirty months with a definite report of progress. Now, are we going to give it strength? Are we going to have it carried on with the moral approbation of the largest number of countries in the United Nations, or are we going to weaken it in every way that we can? For example, put in here proof of it—the words “in substance” or the words “in principle”. Weasel words to tear down that which we are reaching for? We cannot get anything more out of the General Assembly than its moral power. We must reach for all the moral strength that we can have to support this very intelligent accomplishment of the Atomic Energy Commission—for it is the accomplishment of the Commission, you understand. The majority rule obtained there and it is only by the strangest attitude towards democratic principles that we find a small minority persistently resisting the decision of the Atomic Energy Commission.

So, we now give our allegiance to this amendment—this amended resolution of Canada here—provided it is not mangled by amendments or by some conduct of this Committee that would rob it of the only thing that there is in it, and, that is, the moral power of the General Assembly.

## Review of Allied Action on Berlin Blockade

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP<sup>1</sup>

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council

The distinguished representative of the United Kingdom has given the Council a complete review of the facts of the complex blockade measures imposed by the Soviet Union over a period of months. These are actions which were designed to deprive the Western powers of their legal rights in Berlin and force the German capital into the Soviet economic and political system. These are acts which taken as a whole constitute duress and threat of force, such as are wholly inconsistent with the obligations imposed on members of the United Nations by the Charter.

At the very moment in which the Security Council is considering the blockade, Soviet authorities have taken additional steps to tighten it. They announced in Berlin yesterday that, effective as of yesterday, all vehicles coming from the Soviet zone into Berlin must enter through the Soviet sector. In other words, as regards vehicular traffic into the Western sectors of Berlin, a watertight blockade has now been clamped about the perimeter of the city. The manner in which these measures have been taken provides a striking illustration of the Soviet blockade methods. Suddenly, without prior warning, a police cordon is thrown around an area comprising two thirds of Berlin. Instead of a simple reasonable system of inspection at the point of entry, a vehicle must detour 40 or 50 miles in order to enter the city from the east. Instead of the use of an agreed-upon documentation for the entry of this vehicle, it must possess unspecified and unilaterally decreed papers. Its ultimate fate, should it persist in wishing to enter the West sectors from the Soviet sector, is seizure of the vehicle and its cargo, including food. We are informed, indeed, that yesterday patrols of police in the Soviet sector began inspecting all vehicles trying to enter the West sectors. One thing emerges

clearly from these announcements and actions: the blockade not only exists, but is being intensified. The duress of which we complained and which is a bar to negotiations is being increased even as the Security Council deliberates.

There is an aspect of the blockade measures which I particularly wish to be re-emphasized to members of the Council. As I pointed out before, under a series of international agreements the four occupying powers undertook responsibilities for the population of the sectors of Berlin committed to their charge. The blockade is a method used by the Soviet Union for the expansion of its power in utter disregard of these joint responsibilities and with callous indifference to the effect of their measures upon the population of the Western sectors. I would also remind the Council that it was not until a month after the blockade was imposed that the Soviet Union made their offer to supply food and coal to the Western sector. It was thus clear that they originally contemplated putting this pressure on the population in an attempt to break their spirit, and it was only after the success of the air lift was demonstrated that the attempt was made to counter the air lift with the offer of Soviet supplies.

This is the blockade which Vyshinsky says is entirely mythical. •

His contention that there is no blockade has been amply disproved by facts. The Soviet interpretation will in any event be somewhat disputed by two and one-half million people who are the direct object of Soviet power politics, who are faced with a choice between accepting the real and potential hardships of the blockade or accepting Soviet political food and political coal and hence

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Security Council on Oct. 19, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

Soviet and Communist political domination. Their choice has been clear and unmistakable from the beginning. They have chosen hardship and freedom. This is a hopeful sign for the future peace and security of Europe, for the sake of which the Four Powers undertook the occupation of Germany. Let us not forget that at Potsdam it was declared that the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world. It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. That was agreed at Potsdam. The Soviet Government, using the harsh instrument of the blockade, has indeed chosen a strange way in Berlin to live up to its agreement to democratize German political life. Thanks to the air bridge and the support given it by Berliners, the Soviet Government has not succeeded in its purpose.

Let us get down to the bare bones of the matter. There is Berlin, an island in the midst of the Soviet zone. By international agreement Berlin is a city under the administration of four countries—France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States. It is not a Russian city. Officials and troops of four countries are in that city carrying out their duties in the several sectors assigned to them by international agreement. Questions affecting the city as a whole, under those same agreements, are supposed to be controlled by the four countries acting together in the Control Council and Kommandatura—two bodies which they set up for that purpose. In 1945 all four agreed that all four should share in bringing essential supplies of food, fuel, etc., to Berlin and in distributing those supplies in Berlin.

For about three years this island city of Berlin was administered under these agreements. Then in 1948, for one reason or another (I shall not now pause to review the evidence which shows what the reason was; the varying and inconsistent reasons advanced by the Soviet command for these restrictions have already been revealed), the Soviet

Union, one of the Four Powers, walked out of the Control Council and Kommandatura and began to close the routes to Berlin. All these routes, by rail, road, and canal, cross the Soviet zone territory to reach Berlin. The Soviet Army is stationed all through that territory and therefore is in the physical position to prevent traffic from crossing it. They have not *the right* to prevent this traffic because they agreed that France, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the U. K. and the U. S. should all share in administering Berlin, and Premier Stalin himself in 1945 agreed that they had a right to go in and out of Berlin to and from their own zones. But the Soviet Union has the physical power and has threatened to use it. It does not have the same physical power of control over the air and therefore the three Western Governments are using air lanes. The air lift has imposed tremendous additional burdens upon the three Western powers who have exactly the same right as the Soviet Union to be in Berlin. But if we three Western countries had been unwilling to make that effort, we would be defaulting on our recognized responsibilities for the economic and political welfare of the Berlin population. It is not unreasonable to assume that the objective of the Soviet Union is to place the Western powers in a position where they cannot carry out those responsibilities. It is absurd for the Soviet Union to argue that there is no blockade merely because we can still reach our own sectors of Berlin by air or because they belatedly offered to supply food in exchange for political control.

One does not need to be an expert on the Charter to realize that the use of physical power backed by armed force in an attempt to prevent us from going where we have a right to be and where we have international duties to perform, is a violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. If the Soviet Union had complaints against the three Western countries, the whole system of the Charter clearly requires them to try to settle these differences by peaceful means. Did they try to do so? They did not.

From the beginning of 1948 until their surface blockade became complete, they never suggested that we have a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to discuss the broad questions of the

future of Germany. From the time they withdrew from the Control Council in March 1948, they never suggested negotiations by any other body. Instead they used the extreme measure of the blockade.

Some people may think there was no real threat of force because they did not actually open up on our trains and trucks and barges with machine guns and artillery. But let me give you a picture as presented by an actual case. On June 21, 1948, United States military train no. 20, under command of an American officer and carrying one warrant officer and an interpreter and six train guards, left Helmstedt en route to Berlin.

Despite the fact that it had complied with all agreed regulations, the train was stopped at the Russian control point. There were three days of argument during which Russian demands were frequently altered. Finally the Russian commandant ordered all U. S. personnel off the rail property, which he claimed was under Soviet control and onto guard cars. Two American guards were forced off the U. S. engine by a Russian colonel and two armed Russian guards. Other Russian guards with automatic guns were placed beside the train in various spots. Soviet guards rode the train to the border point where they alighted and the train proceeded back to Helmstedt.

Now as I pointed out to the Security Council before, we could have used armed force against this Soviet threat or we could have meekly submitted and surrendered our rights and duties in Berlin, subjecting nearly two and one-half million Germans to Soviet rule with all that that implies. What we actually did and are still doing is live up to our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and to try to settle the question by peaceful discussions while continuing to discharge our obligations in Berlin.

This leads me to the second question which has been put to us. I quote it:

"We request the representatives of the U. S. A., the U. K., France, and the Soviet Union to explain circumstantially the agreement involved in the instructions given to the Military Governors of the Powers in Berlin and to give the detailed reasons

that prevented the implementation of those instructions."

The Soviet Government will, however, appreciate that the three Governments are unable to negotiate in a situation which the Soviet Government has taken the initiative in creating. Free negotiations can only take place in an atmosphere relieved of pressure. This is the issue; the present restrictions upon communications between Berlin and the Western zones offend against this principle. When this issue is resolved, such difficulties as stand in the way of a resumption of conversations on lines set out should be removed.

I have already given the Council on October 6 an outline of the discussions which followed.<sup>2</sup> I shall repeat the essential points.

At the close of the meeting on August 2, Stalin seemed to meet our point of view. He proposed that lifting restrictions on transport and commerce should be carried out simultaneously with the introduction in Berlin of the German mark of the Soviet zone and the withdrawal from Berlin of the Western mark "B".

The three Western Governments assumed that Stalin's proposal was based on the establishment of Four Power control over currency in Berlin and therefore could be accepted. Accordingly, in the next meeting with Molotov on August 6 the three Western Representatives suggested that a communiqué should be agreed upon by the Four Governments which would announce the lifting of the blockade, the introduction into Berlin of the German mark of the Soviet zone as the sole currency of the city, under adequate Four Power control, and an agreement to hold a Four Power meeting to consider outstanding questions with respect to Berlin and Germany. This document will be found in our White Paper.<sup>3</sup> You will note that it was a simple proposal and, in addition to the points I have just mentioned, spelled out Four Power safeguards with respect to currency which we considered essential.

The Soviets did not accept immediately the draft communiqué. Instead, protracted discus-

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 17, 1948, p. 884.

<sup>3</sup> Department of State publication 3298.

sions were held between the Four Powers over a three-week period until the directive was agreed to on August 30. I think it unnecessary to give here a detailed chronological account of those discussions. That account is given in the White Papers which have been published by the United States Government and by the British Government. If you will compare the proposals made by the Three Powers on August 6 with the agreed directive, differences between them will be clear.

When agreement was reached on August 30 as to the terms of the directive, the U.S. Government believed that no more than administrative acts by technical experts in Berlin were required to carry out the directive. There had been an exhaustive discussion on all issues of principle in the directive. So far as we knew full accord had been reached. The only thing that remained was to put into effect the principles agreed upon which we assumed could be done by the four Military Governors.

The directive met the points made by the Soviet Government in Moscow and at the same time was consistent with the maintenance of our rights in Berlin.

Stalin gave specific assurances on the question of Four Power control over currency in the August 23 meeting with Representatives of the three Western Governments.

As reported by Smith:

"Stalin stated that the German bank of emission controlled the flow of currency throughout the whole Soviet zone, and it was impossible to exclude Berlin from the Soviet zone. However, if the question were asked whether it did so without being controlled itself, the answer was 'no'. Such control would be provided by the Financial Commission and by the four Commanders in Berlin, who would work out arrangements connected with the exchange of currency and with the control provision of currency, and would supervise what the bank was doing."

No unresolved issues of substance appeared to be involved on August 30 when the directive was sent to the four Military Governors in Berlin.

But what was our experience in Berlin?

In answering this question, one needs remember what the situation was when the discussions be-

gan. The beginning was on July 6 when the three Governments sent the first notes to the Soviets. By that time, the Soviet interruption of highway, railroad, and canal traffic was complete and the three Western powers had been forced to resort to the air lift to carry out their acknowledged duties in Berlin. This was the situation creating a threat to the peace which still exists, and which will continue to exist until the restrictions of surface travel are removed. For over three months we have been trying to remove this threat to the peace by peaceful means. When direct discussions failed, we turned to the Security Council, which by the Charter has been given the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

We turned to the Security Council on September 29 for exactly the same reason that we entered into the discussions with the Soviet Government in July, namely, to remove the threat to the peace. We did not come to the Security Council in July, because article 33 of the Charter required us "first of all" to exhaust the possibility of direct discussion. But the threat to the peace existed in July as it exists now in October.

In July we wondered whether there were some detail, some misunderstanding, which caused the Soviet Government, however improperly and illegally, to use force instead of conference. If that were the case, the difficulty could be removed. If, however, as all signs seemed to indicate, the Soviet Union was using the threat of force to get us out of Berlin, that was a different matter. So we put the question to Stalin on August 2 in Moscow. Smith, of the U. S., spoke for the three Governments. I want to quote his words which you will find printed in full in the U. S. White Paper:

"The United States, the United Kingdom and France do not wish the situation to deteriorate further and assume that the Soviet Government shares this desire. The Three Governments have in mind restrictive measures which have been placed by Soviet authorities on communication between the Western zones of Germany and Western sectors of Berlin. It was the feeling of our Governments that if these measures arose from technical difficulties, such difficulties can be easily remedied. The Three Governments renew their

offer of assistance to this end. If in any way related to the currency problem, such measures are obviously uncalled for, since this problem could have been, and can now be, adjusted by representatives of the four powers in Berlin. If, on the other hand, these measures are designed to bring about negotiations among the four occupying powers they are equally unnecessary, since the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and France have never at any time declined to meet representatives of the Soviet Union to discuss questions relating to Germany. However, if the purpose of these measures is to attempt to compel the three Governments to abandon their rights as occupying powers in Berlin, the Soviet Government will understand from what has been stated previously that such an attempt could not be allowed to succeed."

Smith went on to say:

"In spite of recent occurrences, the three powers are unwilling to believe that this last reason is the real one. Rather they assume that the Soviet Government shares their view that it is in the interest of all four occupying powers, of the German people and of the world in general to prevent any further deterioration of the position and to find a way by mutual agreement to bring to an end the extremely dangerous situation that has developed in Berlin."

The record shows that the Soviet Military Governor departed from the directive on three fundamental matters of principle. First, he asserted that the use of the air corridors to Berlin from the west would be limited to supplying the needs of the occupation forces; but the directive called for the lifting of restrictions, not the imposition of new ones. Second, he maintained that the trade of Berlin with the Western occupation zones and third countries should be controlled exclusively by the Soviet Military Command, but the directive provided that a "satisfactory basis" of trade should be worked out rather than unilateral control. Third, the Soviet Commander insisted that the Four Power Financial Commission would not have the necessary authority with respect to the activities in Berlin of the German bank of emission

despite the explicit understanding to the contrary reached with Stalin August 23 on this point.

The three Western Governments decided to take these issues back to Moscow to determine whether the Soviet Government itself was also going to disregard the agreements which had been reached.

However, in going back to Moscow, we did believe that it was essential to obtain an unequivocal affirmation by the Soviet Government of the principles of the August 30 directive. We were not prepared to embark on another round of long discussion which would simply reproduce what had gone before and which would open for further discussion principles previously settled. We wanted unequivocal answers to the three questions. We then wanted performance on those answers in Berlin. What happened when we went back to Moscow?

The three Western Governments requested in their *aide-mémoire* of September 14 that the Soviet Government affirm the understanding reached in Moscow concerning those three issues and instruct the Soviet Military Governor to carry out these undertakings. A reply was received by the three Western Representatives in Moscow on September 18. In that reply the Soviet Government upheld the position of the Soviet Military Governor to the effect that the use of the air corridors in the future be limited to supplying the requirements of the occupation forces in Berlin contrary to the Control Council decision of November 30, 1945. While admitting that the trade of Berlin should be under Four Power control, the Soviet Government maintained that actual issuance of export-import licenses should be controlled by the Soviet military administration. This would have vitiated Four Power control over trade. The reply seemed to go back to acceptance of the principle that the Financial Commission would have authority only over certain activities in Berlin of the German bank of emission.

It is evident that we did not obtain the simple affirmation we sought of the agreed principles of the August 30 directive. Nor did we obtain any assurance that the Soviet Government would instruct the Soviet Military Governor to follow the directive. In short, we obtained an unsatisfactory reply. In view of all that had happened before,

we came to the considered opinion that the Soviet Government was attempting to secure political objectives to which it was not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means. We discovered that the talks we were holding were serving as an excuse to prolong the blockade rather than as a means of removing it.

Therefore, on September 22, the three Western Governments sent identic notes to the Soviet Government in which they restated their positions on the three principal issues and in which they also asked the Soviet Government to lift the blockade and specify the date on which it would be done.<sup>4</sup>

The Soviet reply to this note was received on September 25.<sup>5</sup> It still did not explicitly clarify all of the points which we had taken back to Moscow. It did not state that the Soviet Government agreed that commercial freight and passengers could move to Berlin by air. It did, perhaps, imply that the air corridors might be used for this purpose. However, it stated that there must be control by the Soviet High Command over the transport of commercial cargoes and passengers. The Soviet reply thus raised a new question. We could not agree that the Soviet Command should exercise such control. We had stated repeatedly in Berlin that inspection for protection of currency would be necessary but that it must be exercised on the basis of agreed quadripartite regulations.

I want to point out that in the circumstances existing in Berlin, protection of the currency of the Soviet zone is wholly unrelated to the volume of freight or the number of passengers moving by land, water, or air between the Western zones and Berlin. Protection for currency of the Soviet zone, as a practical matter, can be had through adequate exchange and currency controls as between the two areas, not through control of traffic. The Governments of France, the U.K., and the U.S. have always been prepared to agree to reasonable safeguards for the protection of the Soviet zone German mark. They have always been and still are prepared to agree to reasonable regula-

tions over traffic. Limitation of and control over the volume of traffic that moves between the Western zones and Berlin should not be confused with the wholly separate and unrelated question of currency and exchange control. The Soviets have used this as one of their excuses for establishing the blockade and as reason for claiming the right to impose restrictions on the use of air corridors for transportation of freight and passengers. This is a subterfuge on the part of the Soviets to place air traffic and Berlin under control of the Soviet Command.

Because further talks had become manifestly futile, we informed the Soviet Government that we were referring the matter to the Security Council in our identic notes of September 26-27. We sent our notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on September 29.<sup>6</sup>

As you are aware, the Soviet Government sent a note to the three Western Governments on October 3, even after we had referred the case to the United Nations. That note is a further illustration of the tactics which have been pursued by the Soviet Government throughout these talks. It suggests for example that the matter of air-traffic control to prevent illegal currency and smuggling operations should be capable of mutually satisfactory negotiation but it carefully refrains from making a definite commitment. It is another example of the evasions, and apparent unwillingness to affirm understandings already reached.

Now we are asked why was it that the whole matter was not settled on the basis of the directive of August 30. Stated in another way, the question is, "Why did the threat to peace continue after September 7 when conversations of the four Military Governors were concluded, or after the 14th of September when the three Western Governments wrote the Soviet Government explaining in what respects Sokolovsky had refused to live up to the understanding reached in Moscow?"

A simple and direct answer to the question is that the threat to peace did not end then because it was the Soviet blockade measures which caused the threat to peace and the Soviet Government refused to lift the blockade. The Soviet Government created the threat to peace and the Soviet Government can remove it.

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1948, p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> U.N. doc. S/1020, Sept. 29, 1948. See also BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1948, p. 455.

To sum up, the three Western powers were prepared to discuss practical arrangements to deal with the currency problem in Berlin or other problems as long as there was the slightest reason to believe that the restrictions imposed by the Soviet Government were in any way related to such problems. But when it became apparent as the conversations progressed and particularly after the Soviet repudiation of the agreed interpretation of the August 30th directive, that the real Soviet intention was to force the abandonment of our rights in Berlin, which Stalin had been informed was totally unacceptable to the Western powers, it was obvious that the discussions were doomed to failure. In our view these discussions prove conclusively and we so stated in our notes of

September 26-27 that the Soviet Government was and is attempting by illegal and coercive measures in disregard of its obligations to secure political objectives to which it is not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means. We could not continue to discuss even on the currency question under a clearly established attempt to attain such objectives by coercion and duress.

In demanding the immediate lifting of the blockade which constitutes a threat to peace, we in no way seek to be released from our commitment to carry out the directive of August 30. We are asking the Security Council to remove the threat to the peace, not to avoid a discussion with the Soviet Government, but to make it possible to engage in discussions free from duress.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

## United Nations Day

### STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY MARSHALL<sup>1</sup>

With the other members of the United States Delegation, I am attending in Paris the third regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. For five weeks this has been a period of extraordinary activity, as we have been dealing daily with matters of utmost world concern. Make no mistake about it, what is being done here has a profound meaning for every American.

It is fortunate, I think, that United Nations Day is being observed while the General Assembly is in session. The critical nature of issues we are debating should cause the people of the world to think both seriously and realistically about what the United Nations really is and what people may rightfully expect it to accomplish in their behalf—that is, in behalf of world peace.

The most vivid impression I have received in the past few weeks is the new appreciation of the indispensable part the organization of the United Nations has come to play in the affairs of the world community. I wish I could convey to all of you at home the stirring sense of reality and vitality we feel from participating in these meetings. Certainly no one here doubts that they are part of an organization engaged in the most important business in the world today—that is, an intense effort to save this and succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

But we realize that the United Nations cannot hope to succeed unless it boldly comes to grips with the realities of the world situation. It cannot exist merely as a symbol above and apart from human struggle. If the organization is to justify the hopes of mankind, it must gather strength to surmount the difficulties, the crises of the world, and bring about peaceful solutions for them.

The most important fact of international life today which every country must take into account is the fact that the United Nations is a living, dynamic institution. This does not mean that we

can find solutions for all our complicated international problems easily and automatically by referring them to the United Nations, nor does it mean that we should lose our perspective—or fear that doomsday is just around the corner if the United Nations does not provide quick and satisfactory solutions. Some of these problems have already defied the ingenuity of Member Nations that make up the United Nations, and because the United Nations is inseparably a part of the real imperfect world in which it exists it is subject to the same disabilities and frustrations that beset the negotiations of its individual members. We would make a fundamental error if we disregarded these realities and considered the United Nations as some short cut to Utopia. There is neither a short cut nor a Utopia. We live in a human world with all man's frailties and failings, which I have come to think are more pronounced in nations than in individuals.

The United Nations Charter recites specific limitations which were passed on by the fifty nations that created the organization. The United Nations is in no sense a supergovernment. It does not have complete authority over sovereign nations which compose its membership. They did voluntarily agree to cooperate within the provisions of the limited authority conferred upon it by the Charter, but the achievements of the United Nations are limited to the willingness of various nations to cooperate. The difficulties, successes, and failures of the United Nations directly reflect existing relationships among nations.

The attention of our people has been focused on political disputes debated in the Security Council and the excessive use of the veto in that organization. This has led to an impatient desire to force hasty revision or even complete overhauling of the whole United Nations machinery. Many of these proposals are unrealistic in that they confuse cause with effect. They propose cures for symptom instead of for disease. The truth is that the means for cooperation provided by the United Nations are not, I repeat, are not inadequate—it is a lack of genuine desire for cooperation on the part of certain nations that brings about the present feeling of futility and frustration.

<sup>1</sup>The first statement was made over the CBS network on the occasion of the observance of United Nations Day, Oct. 24, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. The second statement was made to American students on the occasion of United Nations Week over the NBC network on Oct. 22, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

This obstructive attitude or procedure is the most serious limitation of all, it is the greatest blight on the effectiveness of the United Nations. It has been imposed contrary to the wishes of the majority of the Member nations, and contrary to understandings reached in San Francisco. Yet the United Nations unquestionably represents the maximum degree of international cooperation that is possible at this time.

The way to increase the cooperative spirit is not by deliberately destroying the inadequate unity that now exists, but rather by careful and patient cultivation of greater unity through the processes of the United Nations.

Always keep in mind that the United Nations today provides the forum in which world opinion can be brought to bear on the most critical world disputes. In time the cumulative effect of moral judgments of the large majority of mankind expressed through the organization will inevitably exert a powerful influence upon even the most recalcitrant government.

I am addressing you from Paris, where the United States is taking an active part in the deliberations of the United Nations. This meeting is dealing with serious problems in world affairs, some of which will affect your personal lives for years to come.

I wish it were possible for me to meet you personally, in your gatherings at schools throughout our country, to impress on you the great importance of the organization of the United Nations and the duty you owe to yourself and your country to help strengthen the United Nations and make of it a tremendous influence for peace in the world.

The people of our country have just passed through a terrible war in defense of our right to live in freedom and to govern ourselves as we see fit. Great sacrifices were made, hundreds of thousands of lives of our young men given to keep for us and for future Americans the kind of liberty

The United States will associate itself with as much of the world as will sincerely devote its efforts to the realization of the aims proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. Our government is resolved to seek peace and understanding in accordance with the Charter both inside and outside the United Nations. We will not allow misuse of United Nations procedures or obstruction of our efforts, singly or in concert with other nations, to dismay or defeat us.

I urge all Americans to observe United Nations Day in a practical manner by increasing their knowledge and understanding of the organization, particularly the Charter. The United Nations was born out of world disaster and has had to be nurtured during continuing crises. Given a reasonable opportunity the United Nations will grow and develop through other crises to its maturity. That is the way of civilization. There is no better road—no shorter—in fact, there is no other road—to lasting peace.

and ways of life that have been so wonderfully developed in America.

Now we are engaged in a great effort to save succeeding generations from the scourge and horrors of war and to bring progress and prosperity to the world. Our efforts are centered on the United Nations, the world's best hope for peace.

We only began this great enterprise three years ago. We must look to you to carry it forward to strength and power. You are young. You have a fresh viewpoint and vigor. Make the United Nations your own organization by learning all you can about it, what it is, what its purposes are, how it operates. Read the Charter and re-read it, until you understand it as thoroughly as you do our own Constitution. Identify yourself with the United Nations and work unceasingly to make it the means by which you and the young people of other lands can live together in peace and happiness in the years ahead.

#### ADDRESS BY GEORGE V. ALLEN<sup>2</sup>

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

I am glad to talk with you tonight about the United Nations because many people who read the daily headlines, reporting disputes in the General Assembly in Paris, are inclined to overlook the really significant developments now taking place. Many people are skeptical that any progress can be made, under present world conditions, towards the creation of an effective world organization,

but progress *is* being made toward that end every day.

Today, in Paris, the spokesmen of the world are debating ways and means by which nations can work creatively toward building an effective

<sup>2</sup> Address broadcast over WRC in Washington on Oct. 22, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

peace. A large majority of the hundreds of delegates present are showing more and more clearly, when the chips are down, that they appreciate the necessity for preserving the dignity and worth of the individual, and are aware that an effective world organization can only be built on democratic principles.

In each debate in Paris, this issue is becoming more clear cut. We are getting down to rock bottom. The question of the control of Berlin is incidental to the basic question whether anti-democratic methods of force and coercion shall be permitted to continue as a means of conducting international relations. As the various individual cases are discussed, this basic issue underlying them all emerges more clearly.

The fact that more and more people of the world are steadily realizing the fundamental question involved is more important to me than the political disagreements which are hitting the headlines. The quarrel is not between the United States and Russia; it is between democracy and totalitarianism, between aggression and nonaggression, between moral and immoral international conduct.

But the political debates in Paris by no means tell the whole United Nations story. The Security Council, as "trouble shooter" for the United Nations, receives most of the headlines, but the less spectacular day-to-day advancements made by the United Nations and by its specialized agencies in social and economic fields are perhaps equally important.

A vast new machinery of international cooperation has come into being since 1945. A study of the United Nations organization chart will reveal commissions, councils, and special agencies

which offer Member Nations a meeting ground to attack almost every type of common problem, such as the control of contagious diseases, educational reconstruction, and many others of equal importance. Some people think there are too many such agencies and bureaus, but each is important, and their constant if quiet endeavors and achievements add up to a significant total. In some of these agencies, delegates of widely divergent political views work in close technical cooperation and harmony.

This, very briefly to be sure, rounds out the story I wish to share with you tonight. Let me repeat. I find strength in the fact that the aims and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations are identical with those of the American people, and that they express accurately the hopes of all other democratic peoples. The basic fault is not in the Charter, but in the fact that some of its Members continue to employ undemocratic methods of force and coercion to achieve their international goals. But the longer the issues are debated, the more clear it becomes to all the world, including increasing numbers of people behind the Iron Curtain, that the basic issue involved is morality in international conduct against immorality, national independence against subservience to an alien rule, and human liberty against the subjection of this individual to the dictates of a ruling clique.

Progress is being made, and with a steadfast conviction in the superiority of democratic principles over any other system of conduct yet devised, we shall succeed in building a world order which will stand in the noonday sun, strong and firm on its solid support—the people of the United Nations.

## WHY WE SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS

By Ambassador Warren R. Austin <sup>1</sup>

Today marks the first official, world-wide observance of United Nations Day, designated by unanimous recommendation of the General Assembly in 1947. On this day people are gathered in all parts of the world to discuss problems before the United Nations and to express their determination, in the words of the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

It is fitting that this world-wide testimony to humanity's greatest hope for peace, the United Nations Charter, should occur on the day dedicated to the one Father of all mankind; it is fitting that this observance should fall on the day of prayer, and that mankind's prayers for peace and justice are rising in unison around the earth.

I feel greatly honored to have a part in Britain's observance of this universal holiday in Central Hall, Westminster, in which the organization began its life. It was the people of this island whose valor and determination in the darkest hours made possible the victory from which emerged the United Nations. Faced, as we now are, with the certainty that the development of the United Nations will require from all of us much of the same spirit, I feel especially privileged to observe this day with people who, in our time, have so distinctly identified their country with qualities of faith and courage.

The people of my country cherish the partnership with you that helped create the United Nations. We are united in our desire to see that partnership grow in collective effort to strengthen the United Nations.

Today, in the United States, our national election campaign is suspended so that people may join in rallies in every state to manifest support for the United Nations. It provides us with another opportunity to demonstrate that our participation in the United Nations is based on the national will, and not on the platform of any one political party. Both major parties have published pledges to support the United Nations.

The Democratic platform states: "We support the United Nations fully and we pledge wholehearted aid toward its growth and development."

The Republican platform provides: "We believe in collective security against aggression and in behalf of justice and freedom. We shall support the United Nations—the world's best hope in this direction, striving to strengthen it and promote its effective evolution and use."

The United States Delegation in Paris is a bipartisan delegation and the policies of that delegation have not become the subject of partisan debate in the election campaign now nearing its end. Our people are able to observe at close range the growth of the organization from its beginnings in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations through the writing of the Charter, on our Pacific Coast, to the establishment of its home on our Atlantic Coast. Our students, editors, political leaders, and public visit sessions of the General Assembly, Security Council, Trusteeship Council, Economic and Social Council, and other agencies of the United Nations. They return to their communities with firsthand reports of how representatives of 58 nations are progressing with their work. This all makes the United Nations very real to our people.

One reason we are glad that the General Assembly is being held in Paris this year is that it is giving the people of Europe a better opportunity to visit its sessions, and to feel their intimate relation to it. There is an inherent basis for the American support of the United Nations. During most of our history, we have been receiving the sons and daughters of all nations, and especially from Europe. We have become a United Nations country, exemplifying that men of every nationality, religion, color, and race can live together in peace, and cooperate for the welfare of all. I would not imply that we have achieved our ideal. Our efforts to insure the fulfillment of the guaranties of equal rights must be pursued endlessly, and with enlightened vigilance. Our own difficulties make us keenly sensitive to the tremendous task faced by nations in building the envisioned world community, and they give us the patience necessary to reach that goal. Many of these people who came to the United States were bitter over the wars and quarrels of Europe. They had turned their backs on the old world and dreamed of building a new world in splendid isolation.

Through hard experience the American people came to realize that in an interdependent world no nation can escape the consequences of war, and every nation depends to some extent on world order for its own social and economic well-being. Once having reached this conviction, the overwhelming majority of the American people demanded full

<sup>1</sup> Address made at Central Hall, Westminster, London, Oct. 24, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

United States participation in the United Nations, and they have supported every measure for collective security and international economic cooperation.

I realize what the experience of Europeans has been. They had high hopes of outlawing war and building collective security through the League. They gave support to that first effort to build a world organization. They were disappointed and disillusioned when the Senate of the United States held aloof from the League. Their hopes were dashed as the League failed to stand by the covenant when Mussolini attacked Ethiopia, when Japan moved into Manchuria, when the Nazis seized the Rhineland, then Austria and Czechoslovakia.

To my mind the great difference between the 1930's and the present is that then the majority of the League members were falling apart to become, one by one, victims of aggression; while today the majority of the members of the United Nations are closing ranks to create a united front against aggression. That difference is so important as to justify a real hope for the efforts in which we are now engaged to avoid war.

Our difficulties are so obvious and complex as to provoke skepticism in some, but they challenge the great interest and effort of an increasing majority.

Just two days ago, we were greatly strengthened by the achievements of one day:

The Security Council elected five judges to the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly did likewise, revealing a high degree of accord between East and West.

The Political and Security Committee, after thorough debate, agreed upon the Mexican resolution with unanimity of the 58 members. (The conference broke into animated applause at this heart-warming accomplishment.) The resolution recalled faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter; the pledge of the members in the United Nations and proclaimed that only with continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among the three countries which made the Yalta Declaration, and among all the peace-loving nations, could the higher aspirations of humanity be realized.

One of the contributions to wider cooperation was made by the Soviet Union in the Subcommittee. It initiated paragraph 4 of the Mexican draft recommending that the powers signatory to the agreement of December 1945, and the powers which subsequently acceded thereto, "associate with them in the performance of such a noble task (the settlement of the war and the conclusion of all the peace settlements) the states which subscribed and adhered to the Washington Declaration of January 1, 1942."

The Security Council, considering the Berlin question, by unanimous consent, tabled a resolution which was proposed by the six neutral members. We prayerfully look forward to the consideration of that resolution next week.

As I left Paris for this meeting, I received official notification, as President of the Security Council, that its resolution for an immediate and effective cease-fire in the Negeb, has been obeyed by both Jews and Arabs.

We do not serve our cause by overestimating short-run gains, nor by underestimating the long-range difficulties. But, as we advance toward collective security, step by step we grow more efficient with each succeeding accomplishment.

We created and set in motion the most ambitious organization for peace ever conceived. We built up an efficient Secretariat, introduced novel methods of breaking down barriers of language, developed fact-finding facilities, and arsenals of information for combating such ancient causes of war as disease, hunger, and ignorance. We created commissions and specialized agencies to deal with the whole range of vital problems through international consultation; the problems of control of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction; of reduction and regulation of armaments; of human rights; of finance and trade; of health and narcotics; of food and agriculture; of economics and employment; of education, science, and culture; of labor standards; of displaced and stateless persons.

The fact that we have a vast international organization, this year holding more than 5,000 meetings in various places throughout the world, enables us to see in bold relief the differences and tensions between nations as they appear.

I should like to discuss with you frankly these tensions, to suggest action to relieve them, and thus hasten the realization of collective security as envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

A great part of the tension in the United Nations grows out of the fact that economic and social instability in the wake of the war has favored the growth of Communist parties in many countries. Communist leaders in these countries try to exploit chaotic conditions to seize power. In those countries where Communists have been able to call upon the Red Army either for direct help or as an imminent threat, they have succeeded. It is significant that they have succeeded nowhere else. But, as country after country has fallen under Soviet domination, and as Communist parties in other countries have demonstrated their role as Moscow-directed fifth columns, the black cloud of fear has spread over all of Western Europe and has darkened the horizon of the United Nations.

These fears and their causes were laid before the General Assembly with directness and candor in

two brilliant speeches: one by Mr. Spaak, Prime Minister of Belgium; the other by Mr. Bevin, your Foreign Minister.

Our failure to support the balance of power existing at the time the Charter was signed has been a contributing factor. The rapid demobilization of our armies enabled the Kremlin to extend its domination, to encourage paralysis rather than productivity, to spread fear where there should have been hope.

We expected, when the Charter was signed at San Francisco, that force would cease to be the dominant factor in relations between nations. This hope sprang from the heart of a nation which then possessed the greatest concentration of military power the world has ever seen. We hoped and believed that in seeking solutions for postwar problems, our war-born unity would be maintained. And so, our country, like yours, demobilized with reckless velocity. It has been a bitter and, in many respects, costly lesson.

I believe there will be peace, because this time we are making perfectly clear, in advance, that we are not willing to submit to extortion as the price of peace. I believe there will be peace, because of the firm and determined unity which exists between our two countries and with France; and because this unity is receiving support from an overwhelming majority in the United Nations.

I perceive a new hope arising in the General Assembly now meeting in Paris. It grows from the increasing readiness of the many to unite against the threats and crude tactics of the few . . . .

The Member states, and particularly the states of Western Europe, are speaking plainly and persuasively. The kind of tension which results from knowing the truth and being fearful of the results of expressing it, has been broken in Paris.

I am persuaded that once the unity of the many has been demonstrated persuasively to the few, they will seek constructive solution through collaboration. The Second World War might have been prevented if the aggressors had been convinced at the outset of the eventual unity of the many defenders. Real unity of the majority and expression of it in the United Nations, in the presence of the minority, offers our best hope of eventual peaceful settlement.

The United States does not seek to promote uniformity in the United Nations. We do not seek to promote any particular political or economic system in individual Member states. But we do seek to make it possible for free nations to plan a peaceful future, in association with others if they wish, but without fear or coercion. We do seek the creation of conditions in which nations are able to safeguard their freedom against aggression. We do seek the creation of conditions in which the re-

sources, skills, and tools of the twentieth century may freely be employed for the greater benefit of mankind.

Each nation has the right to choose the method by which it shall work toward the common objective. No nation has the right to insist that its method is the only method. No nation has the right to undermine the common objective of a peaceful world providing better life and larger freedoms for all.

The spirit of hope which I perceive in the General Assembly is based also on the fact that Western Europe in which we meet is now headed toward economic reconstruction and self-reliance. The European Recovery Program is just beginning to be felt, but signs are unmistakable that the common effort is succeeding.

You know of the success that is flowing from your own efforts here in Britain. It is important to realize that collective effort is producing collective results in steel production. A good yardstick of this is provided by Sweden and the Bizonal area of Germany which have exceeded, as you have, the quotas set for the first six months of this year. They have surpassed their goals by 18 percent; Belgium has done the same by 4 percent; Italy by 2 percent; Austria by 34 percent. The Economic Committee for Europe estimated that steel production for all of Europe this year will exceed 1947 by 11 million tons, and will exceed the production quota by 4 million tons.

You have cut your trade deficit by over half for the first six months of this year. Greece reports great progress in rebuilding its transportation system. Petroleum refining is on the increase in France. Harvests are promising, and the increased amount of farm machinery is helping to insure the full realization of crop possibilities.

This is your handiwork. This is the product of your skills, your management, your patience and hard work. We in the United States have assisted financially and technically in great measure, and the labor of our workers and our farmers has come to your support. Nevertheless, it is primarily your accomplishment. We cannot today predict the full results, but of this we can be sure: rising internal strength for the European Members of the United Nations not only strengthens collective security, but reduces chaos and misery exploited for totalitarian aggrandizement.

We have great cause to be encouraged, but we have little cause to be satisfied. The unity that has brought us thus far must be strengthened and extended. I hope the economic and political cooperation now under way in Western Europe can be regarded as only the beginning of a movement toward European solidarity.

Plans for collective self-defense contained in the Brussels pact should be carried forward. The

principle of progressively developing regional and other collective efforts for self-defense, as defined in the so-called Vandenberg resolution, approved by our Senate with only three dissenting votes, should be implemented.

The efforts to strengthen the United Nations must be continued on many fronts, among them the inter-American front. It means, also, unrelaxed effort to restrict the application of the veto, to provide contingents of armed forces available on call of the Security Council, to obtain agreement on an effective, enforceable system for the international control of atomic energy. And it means unrelenting support of economic and social projects sponsored by the United Nations through specialized agencies.

We can do no less if we are to fulfill the solemn

pledges made in signing the Charter at San Francisco. Nothing has occurred in the intervening years to change the principles we there espoused. Nothing can ever occur to change the eternal principles animating the Charter. The principle of the Fatherhood of the Most High and the brotherhood of man, regardless of race, creed, or religion, is eternal. The changes which will occur will be the result of mankind's spiritual progress in his struggles toward that goal—for perfection alone is invulnerable.

May the prayers of this day, rising from the hearts of all mankind, be felt in the United Nations. May we receive from this day's rededication to the Charter new courage and inspiration for the long task of building a just, abundant, and peaceful world.

## The United States in the United Nations

### Palestine

[October 23-29]

The Security Council on October 26 opened debate on Egypt's charges that Israel was "constantly and increasingly "violating the recent Negev cease-fire order, but adjourned until October 28 without taking action.

The Palestine situation was taken up at an emergency session called to weigh Egypt's allegations. Lebanon and Syria also demanded that the Council order Israel to give up territory gained in the desert fighting since the most recent outbreak on October 14. Egypt agreed to withdraw its troops to positions occupied on October 14, as the embattled contestants were asked to do by Ralph Bunche, acting U.N. mediator for Palestine.

Great Britain and China proposed on October 28 that the Security Council consider sanctions against Israel or Egypt, or both, if they fail to withdraw their military forces in Palestine's Negev area to positions occupied before the recent outbreak of fighting.

The Security Council agreed without objection to postpone until October 29 a vote on the proposal, which calls for appointment of a seven-nation committee to study application of sanctions as permitted under article 41 of the Charter.

In submitting the sanction proposal, Dr. Tingfu Tsiang (China) and Sir Alexander Cadogan (U.K.) stressed the fundamental principle of the Palestine truce that no military advantage should accrue to either side. They said the aim was to stabilize the Palestine situation until a final solution could be found.

Ralph Bunche told the Security Council that each side of the Palestine controversy was guilty of what he termed an effort to "win the war under the enforced truce". The acting mediator reported that as a result of the recent outbreak of fighting the dispositions of the opposing troops were such that an early reopening of hostilities was likely unless truce lines were reestablished quickly.

Dr. Bunche maintained that what is desperately needed now is a means of transition from what he described as a tenuous truce to permanent peace. The parties themselves do not seem to be able to accomplish this, he asserted. He added:

"The truce in Palestine has now endured almost five months. During this period, the war has been held in abeyance by the firm intervention of the United Nations. But it cannot be reasonably expected that this phase can endure indefinitely".

He expressed belief that "the critical stage has now been reached where bolder, broader action is

required. Such action should take the form of a clear and forceful declaration by the Security Council that the parties be required to negotiate, either directly or through truce supervision, organized settlement of all outstanding problems of the truce in all sectors of Palestine with a view to achieving a permanent condition of peace in place of the existing truce.

"Such negotiation would necessarily aim at formal peace or, at the minimum, an armistice would involve either complete withdrawal and demobilization of armed forces, or their wide separation by the creation of broad demilitarized zones under U.N. supervision."

On October 29 a five-nation subcommittee of the Security Council in Paris was set up to consider several amendments to the joint British-Chinese proposal calling for a study of the possibility of imposing sanctions in the Palestine situation.

The subgroup, consisting of the United Kingdom, China, France, Belgium, and the Ukraine, is not expected to be able to consider all the amendments and prepare a revised resolution before November 2. After creation of the subcommittee, the council rejected a Syrian effort to force further discussion on October 30 and adjourned indefinitely. It will be recalled on the Palestine issue when the subcommittee notifies the Council president that the revised draft is ready. Canada suggested establishment of the subcommittee.

### The Berlin Crisis

The Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and France on October 27 reaffirmed their countries' willingness to carry out the proposals embodied in the resolution by which the Security Council sought to settle the Berlin crisis but which the Soviet Union vetoed.

After conferring for an hour, the Western powers' Foreign Ministers issued the following statement:

"The three Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France considered the situation produced by the Soviet veto of the Security Council resolution regarding the Berlin question.

"As is known, the three Governments accepted that resolution and declared their readiness to carry it out loyally, and they stand by their expressed willingness to be guided by the principles embodied therein.

"The question is still on the agenda of the Security Council. The three Governments are ready to continue to fulfil their obligations and to discharge their responsibilities as members of that

body, which is still in a position to consider any development in the situation."

The six neutral nations of the Security Council, which had been trying for weeks to find an answer to the perplexing Berlin question, submitted on October 25 a four-point resolution aimed at amicable settlement of the controversy between the Western powers and the U.S.S.R.<sup>1</sup>

Nine of the Security Council's 11 members, including the Western powers, voted in favor of the proposal; the Soviet Union and the Ukraine opposed the resolution.

The vetoed resolution called on the Four Powers to avoid acts which might aggravate the Berlin situation; lift immediately all restrictions on commerce, transportation, and communications between Berlin and the four zones of occupation; call an immediate meeting of the four Military Governors in Berlin to arrange for unification of the city's currency by November 20; and convene the Council of Foreign Ministers to consider the entire German question within 10 days of fulfillment of the measures called for in connection with the Berlin issue.

#### Reduction of Arms

An 11-nation U.N. Subcommittee on October 25 adopted a Belgian resolution which would have the Security Council direct its Conventional Armaments Commission to continue the study of world arms reduction, emphasizing the need for an international control system for atomic energy use and for a close check on conventional armaments of all nations.

The Subcommittee of the Assembly's Political and Security Committee also rejected a Soviet proposal for one-third arms cut by permanent Members of the Security Council and the prohibition of atomic weapons. The vote was 6 to 2: the United States, Great Britain, France, Brazil, Belgium, and China voting affirmatively, the Soviet Union and Poland opposing; Lebanon and Australia abstaining.

The Belgian plan was approved paragraph by paragraph, with the Soviet Union and Poland opposing on every vote.

Immediately after the balloting on the two draft resolutions, the Polish Representative submitted another proposal which he said would meet general agreement. It was a combination of the defeated Soviet resolution and a Lebanese plan, which had earlier been withdrawn. It will be submitted in writing on Tuesday and acted upon by the Subcommittee on Wednesday.

The United States was among the nations supporting the Belgian proposal, which in effect replaced a French draft previously under consideration, which the United States had sought to amend to emphasize the need for world control of atomic energy along with conventional arms regulation.

On that score, the Belgian draft accepted today reads that:

... the aim of the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces can only be attained in an atmosphere of real and lasting improvement in international relations, which implies in particular the application of control of atomic energy involving the prohibition of the atomic weapon.

The resolution continues:

But noting on the other hand that this renewal of confidence would be greatly encouraged if states were placed in possession of precise and verified data as to the level of their respective armaments;

#### The General Assembly

*Recommends* the Security Council to pursue the study of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments in order to obtain concrete results in implementing Article 26 of the Charter as soon as the improvement in the international atmosphere permits;

Trusts that the Commission for Conventional Armaments, in carrying out its program, will devote its main attention to formulating proposals for the receipt, checking and publication by an international organ of control endowed with universally accepted powers, of full information to be supplied by member states with regard to their effectives and their conventional armaments;

Invites the Security Council to report to it no later than its next regular session on the effect given to the present recommendation with a view to enabling it to continue its activity with regard to the regulation of armaments in accordance with the purposes and principles defined in the Charter.

The Conventional Armaments Commission has reported that it considered it futile to continue discussions, since the Soviet Union has refused to accept the majority wishes on any arms-reduction plan.

The Polish resolution, hastily offered, calls upon permanent Security Council Members to take the initiative by reducing in the course of one year all land, naval, and air forces, and to implement measures for arms cuts and for prohibition of atomic weapons. It would also establish within the Security Council an international control body to which full official data on arms and armed forces of the five major powers would be submitted.

#### United Nations

The Polish proposal for a reduction in armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons was rejected on October 27 by the Subcommittee on Disarmament Proposals set up by the U. N. Assembly Political Committee.

The Polish proposal, backed by the Soviet Union, was along the lines of the Soviet proposal turned down earlier during the week by the subcommittee. The vote was 6 to 2 with France, Lebanon, and Australia abstaining.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 24, 1948, p. 520.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

### High Frequency Broadcasting

President Truman approved on October 19 the nominations of R. Henry Norweb, Special Ambassador, as chairman and George E. Sterling, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, as vice chairman of the United States Delegation to the second session of the International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting called by the International Telecommunication Union. The Conference is scheduled to open at Mexico City on October 22. Named by the President to serve as delegates are:

Francis Colt de Wolf, Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State  
Ernest W. McFarland, United States Senator  
A. Gael Simson, Consultant, Communications Liaison Branch, Department of the Army  
Charles W. Tobey, United States Senator  
Fred H. Trimmer, Chief, Facilities Planning Branch, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State

The other members of the United States Delegation are as follows:

#### *Advisers*

Edward Cooper, Secretary, Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce  
Louis E. DeLaFleur, Assistant Chief, Frequency Allocation and Treaty Division, Federal Communications Commission  
Mucio Delgado, Chief, Radio Program Branch, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State  
Raymond L. Harrell, Telecommunications Attaché, American Embassy, Habana, Cuba  
Perry Harten, Chief, Studio Operation, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State  
Jack W. Herbstreit, Assistant Chief, Frequency Utilization Research Section, Central Radio Propagation Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards  
Howard Hotchner, Assistant Chief, Broadcast Division, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State  
Joseph M. Kittner, Assistant to the General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission  
Roger C. Legge, Jr., Propagation Analyst, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State  
Curtis B. Plummer, Chief, Television Broadcast Division, Federal Communications Commission  
Dudley G. Singer, Attaché, American Embassy, Mexico, D.F.  
A. Prose Walker, Chief, Allocations Section, Television Broadcast Division, Federal Communications Commission

#### *Industry Advisers*

Walter E. Benoit, Member of the Board of Directors, Westinghouse Radio Stations, Inc.  
Charles B. Denny, Executive Vice President, National Broadcasting Company, Inc.  
Royal V. Howard, Director of Engineering, National Association of Broadcasters  
George Edward Hughes, Vice President, Director of International Broadcasting, Associated Broadcasters Inc.  
Walter S. Lemmon, President, World Wide Broadcasting Foundation  
Louis Henry MacDonald, Chief Engineer, World Wide Broadcasting Foundation  
Justin Miller, President, National Association of Broadcasters.  
Don E. Petty, General Counsel, National Association of Broadcasters  
Forney A. Rankin, Executive Assistant to the President, National Association of Broadcasters  
James P. Veatch, Manager, Washington Office of the Frequency Bureau, Laboratories Division, Radio Corporation of America

#### *Press Liaison Officer*

Dorsey Fisher, First Secretary and Public Affairs Officer, American Embassy, Mexico, D.F.

#### *Secretary of the Delegation*

Ellis K. Allison, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

#### *Special Assistant to the Chairman*

Vivian N. Cartwright, Special Assistant to the Chief, International Radio Frequencies Section, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State

The first session of the International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting held at Atlantic City, August-October 1947, voted to hold the second session of the Conference at Mexico City. It also established a Planning Committee for the Conference. The Planning Committee held meetings at Geneva in the spring of this year and at Mexico City beginning on September 13.

The aim of the forthcoming Conference is twofold: the first is to work out a plan of frequency allocations within the bands of the radio spectrum set aside for high-frequency broadcasting by the International Radio Conference at Atlantic City in 1947, and the second is to agree upon a convention which would establish an international organization to have cognizance of high-frequency broadcasting. The plan drawn up by the Conference will be forwarded to the Provisional Frequency Board of the International Telecommunication Union for inclusion in a report to a special administrative conference which will consider

these recommendations to complete the reallocation of the entire radio-frequency spectrum.

The high-frequency (short-wave) broadcasting is greatly used by many nations for broadcasting to other countries. It is within these bands that the Voice of America conducts its broadcasting.

### Meteorological

The designation of Norman R. Hagen, meteorological attaché, American Embassy, London, as United States Delegate to the meeting of the Regional Commission for Asia of the International Meteorological Organization (Imo) was announced by the Department of State on October 30. This meeting is scheduled to be held at New Delhi, India, November 10-17, 1948.

The purpose of the meeting is to promote the maximum degree of coordination and standardization among the meteorological services on the Continent of Asia. The Asian meeting is of particular interest to the United States since the U.S. Weather Bureau operates meteorological stations and offices in the Pacific which depend upon weather reports from the Asian area.

Included on the agenda are these topics: (1) network of stations; (2) meteorological reconnaissance flights over sea areas; (3) times of observation to be adopted in the region with reference to the Imo recommendations; (4) marine meteorology; (5) telecommunications; and (6) broadcasts.

Invitations to attend the forthcoming meeting have been extended by the Government of India to those governments that are members of the Regional Commission for Asia, and to those border countries which have expressed their desire to be represented at the meetings of the Commission.

The Regional Commission for Asia is one of six such commissions established by the Imo to deal with meteorological problems on a regional basis.

### Semiannual Meeting of International Joint Commission Held

[Released to the press October 18]

The International Joint Commission met in executive session in the Victoria Building, Ottawa, Ontario, on October 12 and 13. George Spence of Regina, Saskatchewan, was acting chairman for Canada. A. O. Stanley, of Washington, was chairman of the United States Section. Commissioners Roger B. McWhorter and Eugene Weber, both of Washington, were also present.

Mr. Weber, who has been recently appointed, took the oath of office.

Members of the International Columbia River Engineering Board, composed of members acting

for the United States and Canada, were present, as follows:

Victor Meek, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa  
F. G. Goodspeed, Department of Public Works, Ottawa  
Maj. Gen. R. C. Crawford, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Department of the Army, Washington  
C. G. Paulsen, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, Washington

Victor Meek, chairman of the Canadian Section of the Board, summarized its progress report for the preceding six months. He called attention to the work that has been carried on in British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana in respect to flood control on the Kootenay River, drilling operations for dams, and surveys of potential dam sites. The report stated that the Corps of Engineers' report (Seattle District) on the Libby Dam site has been forwarded to Washington and is under study there by the Department of the Army.

A report was submitted by the International Souris-Red Rivers Engineering Board, the members of which are as follows:

J. W. Dixon, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, Washington  
Maj. Gen. R. C. Crawford, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Department of the Army, Washington  
C. G. Paulsen, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, Washington  
Victor Meek, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa  
A. L. Stevenson, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa  
T. M. Patterson, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa

The progress report, which covered the period April-September, set forth the studies that are to be made in connection with the Red River of the North, with a view to flood control. This work will include studies to prevent floods such as those which have recently done so much damage in the City of Winnipeg. It was decided that the investigations should cover measures for the elimination of pollution.

A progress report was also submitted from the International Waterton-Belly Rivers Engineering Board, composed of the same members as the International Souris-Red Rivers Engineering Board. The report outlined the investigations that had been conducted in the basins of these rivers in the United States and Canada, covering the installation of gauging stations, the activities of the engineers of both Governments during the preceding six months, and the collection of data respecting the present and future uses of the waters of these streams.

The Commission decided to have further hearings at Detroit, Michigan, on November 15 and 16, and at Windsor, Ontario, on November 17, 18, 19, and 20, on the references of the Governments of the United States and Canada in the matter of the pollution of St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, and Detroit River. A hearing will also be held at Sault

St. Marie, Ontario, on November 22, in regard to the pollution of St. Mary's River.

The report of the International Souris River Board of Control in regard to a number of small applications from the Province of Saskatchewan for the use of waters of the Souris River was discussed, and the applications were approved by the Commission.

### **H. van Zile Hyde Appointed U.S. Representative to WHO Executive Board**

[Released to the press October 18]

The recess appointment by the President of Dr. H. van Zile Hyde as United States Representative to the executive board, World Health Organization, was announced on October 18 by the White House.

The President also approved the appointment of Dr. Wilton L. Halverson, Director of Health of the State of California, as alternate United States representative to the second session of the executive board, which is scheduled to meet at Geneva beginning October 25. Dr. Hyde, Senior Surgeon of the United States Public Health Service and Assistant Chief of the Health Branch, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State, and Dr. Halverson will be accompanied by Howard B. Calderwood of the Department of State, who will serve as adviser on the United States Delegation.

All three were members of the United States Delegation to the First World Health Assembly, which met at Geneva last June.

### **Informal Participation in Bolivian International Fair**

[Released to the press October 21]

The United States Government will participate informally through the American Embassy at La Paz, in the Bolivian International Fair (La Paz Quatro-Centenary Exposition) and has sent a number of technical documentary films and historical pictures of the United States to La Paz for display. This exposition, which opened October 20, 1948, and will probably continue until the end of the year, commemorates the 400th anniversary of the founding of the city of La Paz in October 1548 by Alonso de Mendoza, an officer in the Spanish Army. Most of the nations with which Bolivia maintains diplomatic relations have been invited to exhibit the products of their industries.

Several American business firms at La Paz have leased a pavilion at the site of the fair. These firms with other industrial corporations will exhibit their products in this building known as the "American Pavilion". A room has been set aside in this building for the picture display and the showing of the American Government films.

## **THE RECORD OF THE WEEK**

### **U.S.-U.K. Zone of Trieste Admitted to OEEC Membership and ECA Bilateral Agreement Concluded**

[Released to the press October 18]

The Council of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation on October 14 admitted the U.S.-U.K. zone, Free Territory of Trieste, to membership in that organization. In addition, an economic cooperation agreement was concluded October 17 in Trieste between the U.S. Government and the commander of the zone. This agreement follows closely the pattern of agreements already concluded between the U.S. Government and other participating countries, with appropriate modifications to take into account the special status of Trieste as provided in the treaty of peace with Italy.

Assistance to the U.S.-U.K. zone of Trieste from the United States has until now been on a relief basis, limited to the goods required to assure the population the necessities of life and prevent eco-

nomie retrogression. Now the zone is embarking upon a recovery program which will encourage the rehabilitation of its economic life. By joining in cooperative efforts with the other participating countries the zone will also benefit from the strengthening of economic relations which were of such importance to it in the past, and it will be enabled to make its contribution to European recovery.

Participation of the U.S.-U.K. zone in the recovery program will call for close and continual consultation between the zone and the Italian Government to assure that their programs take into account their common interests and that the terms of the economic agreements concluded between the zone and Italy under the provisional regime of the Free Territory are followed.

## Recommendations on Problems of Educational Exchange With Eastern European Countries

### REPORT OF THE U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange has given consideration, at the request of the Department of State, to problems of educational exchange as regards the countries of eastern Europe. We submit herewith our recommendations.<sup>1</sup>

The educational exchange program is based upon the conviction long held and amply demonstrated by civilized nations that free interchange of persons and ideas between nations is a source of understanding, enrichment, and progress. Since the effectiveness of such a program will depend not only upon its range or extent but also upon the voluntary and unprejudiced spirit in which it is conducted, it is obvious that its greatest usefulness will be in relation to the free and democratic countries of the world which are glad to avail themselves of its reciprocal advantages.

Although this memorandum deals with the countries of eastern Europe, the Commission wishes to emphasize that, for reasons which will be cited, the program of educational exchange will be more limited in scope and immediate effectiveness in these barricaded regions of the world than is the case where normal and friendly contacts obtain.

The obstacles which have been placed in the way of educational and cultural exchanges by a number of the countries of eastern Europe are well known and need not be detailed. Many efforts have been made by official and voluntary agencies in this country to establish exchanges with these countries but with very few results. In authorizing this program, the Congress of the United States laid down in the Smith-Mundt Act the principle that all official exchanges should be upon a reciprocal basis. Since for the present most of the eastern European governments are unwilling to reciprocate,

it is not recommended that the United States sponsor government-supported exchanges with them until their governments give evidence of cooperation in the mutually helpful and friendly spirit of the Act. This unwillingness to reciprocate will also currently exclude exchange with these countries under the Fulbright Act which requires negotiations by the governments involved with assurances that acceptable exchange projects in both directions can be initiated and carried out.

We have, however, many unofficial opportunities for contacts and exchange of persons with these countries. Not only students, scholars, and scientists are involved, but also representatives of the professions, such as journalism and medicine. While these exchanges are initiated and sponsored by voluntary agencies, the Department of State must make available the necessary travel papers, and it is often called upon to facilitate the exchanges in other ways. Should it do this?

The Advisory Commission, after a full study of the problem and of the difficulties involved is convinced that the United States Government should not close the door to these unofficial exchanges, and we so advise the Department of State. Our reasons for this are several.

In the first place, it is clear from the evidence submitted to us, that our experience in these exchanges, on the whole, has been a good one. While some difficulties have been encountered, the exchanges with eastern Europe have brought about the correction of erroneous beliefs about this country, and a greater appreciation of its institutions, and a more critical outlook toward totalitarian regimes.

This practical experience is strongly supported by certain general considerations. For the United States to close its doors to all contacts with those nations with whose philosophy it disagrees would be to pull down an iron curtain on our own side of the Atlantic, to adopt a policy which we condemn, and to lose in world opinion much of the moral leadership which this country has enjoyed. Many of our own nationals, furthermore, need upon occasion to visit the countries of eastern and southeastern Europe for business, journalistic, scholarly or other purposes. We cannot well request privileges which we in turn deny. These considerations, together with the positive gains which follow from such interchange in the correction of

<sup>1</sup>The Commission met for a two-day session on Oct. 18 and 19, 1948. The next meeting is to be held in Washington on Nov. 15, 1948. For a review of the first meeting of the Commission on Sept. 10, 1948, see Department of State publication 3313. This report was released on Oct. 19, 1948.

The Commission by resolution recommended that the Department of State use the Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art as repositories for recovered cultural objects and works of art looted from the occupied areas, until these objects can be returned to their rightful owners at a time to be determined by the Department.

misinformation and the removal of prejudices seem to us to justify the maintenance of a broad policy of interchange. To cut off contacts with the totalitarian nations of the world because of fears as to what might happen to democratic institutions through such contacts would imply a weakness which has no justification in fact. No army ever burned its bridges except in retreat. The democratic way of life is not now in retreat.

Such an interchange of persons between the United States and the countries of eastern Europe obviously will require careful control.

American officers, responsible for issuing visas and permission to enter the United States should satisfy themselves, as far as possible, that individuals desiring to come to this country have no subversive intentions, but serious and *bona fide* academic, professional, or vocational purposes. Permits should be for not more than one year, though subject to renewal.

We do not recommend that the Department encourage immature and inexperienced American students to undertake study under present conditions in eastern Europe. Maturity of judgment and experience is desirable in order to appraise critically the instruction received, to profit most from the total experience, and to avoid personal episodes. In all cases of Americans permitted to travel in any of these countries, it is desirable that they be informed before departure as to conditions that they will encounter. We recommend that the State Department accept the responsibility for seeing that this is done. We believe that restriction of the travel of individuals entering the country or of Americans going abroad under the sponsorship of organizations recognized as subversive is desirable.

A special problem exists with reference to the holding of international conferences, congresses, and institutes. Many such meetings are held by reputable organizations which include as participants persons with conflicting political views. Present United States statutes and regulations governing the entrance of foreign nationals make it difficult for some of these persons to attend these meetings. This eliminates the United States as one of the meeting places for organizations of a widely international character. This is undesirable from many standpoints. We recommend that a more liberal policy be followed in granting permission to enter for individuals desiring to attend the reputable meetings of this kind.

## Letters of Credence

### *Sweden*

The newly appointed Ambassador of Sweden, Erik C. Boheman, presented his credentials to the

President on October 20. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 854 of October 20, 1948.

## Claims Settlement Agreement Between U.S., France, and Australia

[Released to the press October 19]

An agreement was entered into on October 19 by the United States, France, and Australia setting forth a procedure for settlement of cargo claims arising out of the requisitioning by the United States of the S. S. *Maréchal Joffre*, a French vessel which was loading general commercial cargo in the Philippines at the time of the Japanese attack in December 1941. The vessel was taken by the United States Navy to Australia, where its cargo was unloaded, and it was then pressed into service in the interest of the war effort.

Under the agreement which implements a general agreement forming part of the lend-lease and claims settlement with France of May 28, 1946, the French Government will settle claims of all owners of cargo landed in Australia and will pay United States citizens in dollars.<sup>1</sup> Australia will turn over to the French Government the proceeds, in Australian pounds, of sales of items in the cargo which they effected after unloading in Australia.

The agreement was signed on behalf of the United States by Under Secretary Robert A. Lovett; by Henri Bonnet, the French Ambassador, on behalf of France; and by Norman J. O. Makin, the Australian Ambassador, on behalf of Australia.

## Visit of Secretary Marshall to Greece

Secretary Marshall arrived in Athens on October 16 and was greeted at the airport by Prime Minister Sophoulis. The Secretary told a press conference on October 18 that "we are deeply concerned in the desire to be of assistance to the rehabilitation of Greece".

In connection with Secretary Marshall's visit the following statement was released to the press in Athens on October 18:

"The Secretary has been trying to get to Greece for some time. The United States has assumed heavy commitments and heavy responsibilities in this area in which he is officially much involved. He had planned the trip for last week end but he left for Washington last Friday.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of JUNE 9, 1946, p. 994, and JUNE 30, 1946, p. 1127.

"This is a difficult time to leave Paris with Berlin and the atomic questions being actively discussed and Palestine coming up shortly.

"It did not appear that a longer wait would offer a more propitious time for a visit so he decided to come this week end.

"He is very happy to have even this very brief visit to Greece."

The Greek Prime Minister accompanied Secretary Marshall to the airport when he departed on October 18.

## Uprising in Korea Reported

[Released to the press October 21]

The Department of State has received a report from the United States Special Representative to Korea, John Muccio, that on the morning of October 20 Seoul received reports through Korean channels of an uprising in the port town of Yosu in the Cholla Namdo Province.

Mr. Muccio said that exact information was lacking but that it was fairly well established that while a battalion of the Fourteenth Korean Constabulary Regiment was being mustered for transfer to Cheju-do (an island off the coast) some 40 men mutinied. They were joined by an undetermined number of civilians. A group reportedly numbering 500 commandeered a train and headed for Sunchon.

No Americans, military or civilians, have been in any way involved.

## U.S. To Investigate Mexican Charges of Illegal Entry of Mexican Workers

[Released to the press October 19]

The Chargé d'Affaires of Mexico in Washington called at the Department on October 18 to express the concern of the Mexican Government at the actions which he said were recently taken on the Mexican border near El Paso by United States immigration authorities in permitting and facilitating the illegal entry of Mexican farm workers into Texas. The Chargé pointed out that this action was in violation of the agreement entered into by the Governments of Mexico and the United States last February 21<sup>1</sup> and had not only caused surprise in Mexican official circles but was already creating widespread popular reaction. He pointed out further that the uncontrolled exodus of so many workers from northern Mexico represented serious economic loss to the agricultural production of that area and expressed the hope that

prompt and effective action would be taken by the United States Government to rectify the matter. The Chargé said that his Government felt it had no other recourse than to consider the agreement of February 21 as abrogated because of the unilateral action on the part of this Government by certain United States officials.

Assurances were given to the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires that the matter would be immediately investigated by the Department in the hope of either making satisfactory explanations to the Mexican Government or taking such corrective measures as seemed necessary. The hope was expressed to the Mexican Chargé that, considering the traditional and deep feelings of cooperation and friendship between the two neighboring countries, everything should be done by both Governments to minimize the adverse effects of this incident. The Department is taking the matter up officially with other interested agencies of the Government.

## Reciprocal Copyright Relations Between U.S. and the Philippine Republic

In an exchange of notes dated October 21, 1948, between Joaquin M. Elizalde, Philippine Ambassador at Washington, and Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary of State, there are set forth the conditions upon which the benefits of the copyright law of each country will be extended to authors and copyright proprietors who are citizens of the other country.

The note from the Philippine Ambassador is accompanied by a copy of a proclamation issued on October 21, 1948, by Elpidio Quirino, President of the Republic of the Philippines, according copyright privileges to authors and copyright proprietors of the United States. The note from the Acting Secretary of State to the Philippine Ambassador is accompanied by a copy of a proclamation issued on October 21, 1948, by the President of the United States pursuant to Public Law 281, 80th Congress (61 Stat. 652), extending to Philippine authors and copyright proprietors the benefits of the copyright law of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

For texts of the above-mentioned notes and accompanying proclamations see Department of State press release 855 of Oct. 21, 1948.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Closing of Consular Offices and Reopening of Office at Martinique

[Released to the press October 18]

A further realignment of posts in the Foreign Service was disclosed on October 18 with the reopening of one United States Consulate and the closing of two others. The one ordered reopened

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1948, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation 2819, 13 Fed. Reg. 6193.

is on the French-owned island of Martinique, in the West Indies. The two scheduled to close down are in Limerick, Ireland, and Bristol, England.

The decision to abandon the Consulate on Martinique was based primarily on efforts to effect budgetary savings, as announced less than a month ago; but since then representation made to the Department of State has brought about a change in plans. Martinique, it will be recalled, played an interesting role in the early part of World War II, when it was the outpost nearest to the United States of the Vichy government.

While the Consulate at Limerick is being closed, a small Foreign Service staff is to be retained at the nearby Shannon Airport, so that services regularly performed for Americans traveling overseas by air will not be curtailed. Normal business for Americans at Limerick has gone down since the end of the war and there are now less than 200 U.S. citizens residing in the Limerick area.

The Consulate at Bristol is being closed because a slackening in routine business there seems to make this an advisable place to cut Foreign Service expenses at a time of budgetary stringency.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

William C. Johnstone, Jr., as Director of the Office of Educational Exchange, effective August 10, 1948.

Russell L. Riley as Executive Officer of the Office of Educational Exchange, effective June 23, 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.*

**Report of the United States Library Mission To Advise on the Establishment of the National Diet Library of Japan.** Far Eastern Series 27. Pub. 3200. 41 pp. 15¢.

Report submitted to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, February 8, 1948, on the services which an adequate national library may be expected to render to Japan; a summary of the proposals submitted by the Mission to the Diet Committees; and the text of the National Diet Library laws as enacted on February 4, 1948.

**International Office of Public Health.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1754. Pub. 3212. 54 pp. 15¢.

Protocol Between the United States and Other Governments—Signed at New York July 22, 1946; ratification advised by the Senate of the United States July 19, 1947; ratified by the President of the United States July 28, 1947; ratification of the United States deposited with the United Nations at Lake Success August 7, 1947; proclaimed by the President of the United States May 19, 1948; entered into force October 20, 1947.

**Exchange of Official Publications.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1767. Pub. 3235. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Manila April 12 and June 7, 1948; entered into force June 7, 1948.

**Cooperative Rubber Plantation Investigations.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1771. Pub. 3245. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Haiti Amending Letter Agreement of January 24, 1941—Effected by exchange of notes, signed at Port-au-Prince February 3 and 11, 1948; entered into force February 11, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation with Norway Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1792. Pub. 3254. 53 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Norway—Signed at Oslo July 3, 1948; entered into force July 3, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation with the Netherlands Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1791. Pub. 3266. 63 pp. 20¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the Netherlands—Signed at The Hague July 2, 1948; entered into force July 2, 1948.

**Selected Publications and Materials Relating to American Foreign Policy.** October 1948. Pub. 3304. 25 pp. Free.

List of Department of State publications relating to U.S. participation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, to the making of the peace, the occupation of Germany and Japan, and economic reconstruction.

**Korea, 1945 to 1948.** Far Eastern Series 28. Pub. 3305. 124 pp. 25¢.

A report on political developments and economic resources, with selected documents.

**International Educational Exchange; United States Advisory Commission and the Program of the Department of State.** International Information and Cultural Series 3. Pub. 3313. 10 pp. Free.

Report of the 1st meeting of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange and a brief résumé of the international exchange program of the Department of State.

## THE CONGRESS

Foreign Aid Appropriation Act, 1949. S. Rept. 1626, 80th Cong., 2d sess., to accompany H. R. 6801. 17 pp.

Authorizing the Secretary of State To Perform Certain Consular-Type Functions. S. Rept. 1759, 80th Cong., 2d sess., to accompany H. R. 4330. 2 pp.

Investigation of Federal Employees Loyalty Program. Interim Report of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, pursuant to S. Res. 189 (80th Cong.), a resolution authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to carry out certain duties. S. Rept. 1775, 80th Cong., 2d sess. iii, 29 pp.

Summary of the Legislative Record of the Eightieth Congress, Second Session, Together With a Statement Relative Thereto Pursuant to a Request of the Honorable Alben W. Barkley, United States Senator From Kentucky. S. Doc. 203, 80th Cong., 2d sess. ii, 38 pp.

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*The Department of State*

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## THE VOICE OF AMERICA

*by Assistant Secretary George V. Allen*

At the time of the debates in Congress a year ago as to whether there should be a Government program of foreign information, many people felt that America was being vilified abroad from every angle and that we should make some answer on the short-wave radio. We could not send out vast quantities of American newspapers and magazines, and American visitors could not go in and talk with people of many foreign lands. Any possibility of penetrating certain areas would have to be by radio through the Voice of America.

The real Voice of America is the voice of the thousands of newspapers, periodicals, public speakers, public officials, private groups, or individuals—anyone and everything which, if fused together by some magic process, would make up the articulate and composite voice of the 147 million people of the United States. If our short-wave program is to be the true Voice of America, it will reflect their views, not so much as expressed in quadrennial elections but in their day-to-day lives.

Nobody seems to be certain about the origin of the term "Voice of America", although a man who runs a short-wave broadcasting station in Boston claims that he first used it about 1938 in a private short-wave broadcast to Europe. He says he just tagged his broadcast the Voice of America, and it caught on. It is one of those slogans that, by continued use, gets more and more currency and builds around itself a connotation that makes it hard to discontinue. Many phrases and terms in the English language are created, nobody knows quite why or how. When a phrase achieves currency and is firmly established it is sometimes beyond changing. The American public has developed the term "Voice of America".

The purpose of the information program of the Department of State, of which the Voice of America is a part, is to assist in achieving the aims of American foreign policy. The chief aim of this policy today is the preservation of the democratic way of life, including notably the preservation of the freedom of the press and the American system of private enterprise and initiative. The achievement of this goal is the concern of every American.

Our information service is therefore fighting every day to preserve and extend the very principles which the American press so excellently exemplifies. We shall continue to fight with every means in our power.

American journalism and American radio are far ahead of journalism and radio anywhere else in the world. They achieved that outstanding position through the American system of private enterprise. If that system breaks down, our pre-eminent position in the world will deteriorate. The entry of Government into the information field should not threaten private activities. We hope we can pool our resources, both of Government and of private industry, for the very purpose of preserving private enterprise.

Even though the Government will always have a responsibility to make its policies known to the public, its entry into the general-information field is temporary, dictated by the world situation. With the triumph of democracy on a broad scale, it is hoped that private enterprise will in time be able to perform the general-information functions entirely and that the activity of all governments in the field of information will reduce finally to the vanishing point.

We are awaiting for the day to come when no air waves of the world are taken up with the

efforts on the part of one people to propagandize another. But we live in a realistic world. For the moment, therefore, since private industry will not undertake this job, Government must send out American information by radio. This is the only feasible means for us to reach the people behind the Curtain. Let us be certain that the Voice of America represents genuine American principles—American democracy and liberty and freedom.

The United States Government did not get into broadcasting before 1942. Most countries outside the United States—certainly most of those in Europe—have always maintained a government monopoly of radio broadcasting, both for domestic and foreign programs. In Great Britain, for example, only one organization, the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), broadcasts both to people inside Britain and to other people all over the world.

The greatest safeguards to the freedom of information as agreed to in principle by 35 nations at a recent meeting in Geneva on freedom of information is a multiplicity of sources. The radio listener can hear only one man's view of the truth or the news if there is only one voice on the air. Full liberty to tune all over the radio dial is meaningless if only a single program is broadcast. It takes a multiplicity of ideas and views on a problem to give the people who are listening the background necessary for them to form their own judgments.

But most European countries—all of them with only one or two minor exceptions—have had government-controlled programs since the beginning of radio, both for their medium (standard) wave inside their country and their short-wave programs going abroad.

Governments which control their broadcasting systems soon began to use them in the short-wave bands to project their policies outside their own territory, trying to reach into the minds of the other people and convince them through methods of propaganda. The first time any government began to try, on a larger scale, to convince another people of its ideas and thoughts was in 1936, when the Nazi Government of Germany put on a Russian-language program designed, purely and simply, to speak in the Russian language to the Russian people—to reach over the heads of the

Soviet Government and get down to the people to try to tell them the Nazi story.

Very shortly after that, the Nazis put on programs in English and French. In 1938 the British and the French systems also began official, government-sponsored programs in foreign languages, reaching into the hearts of other countries. The United States didn't start such an operation before Pearl Harbor. In 1942 the United States Government began broadcasting in foreign languages to foreign peoples. Since 1929, NBC and CBS had done some short-wave broadcasting from the United States as a commercial venture, but they had beamed those programs only to Latin America, in Spanish, and had had no government support. When the war started, the private companies could no longer sell advertising on their foreign-language programs, and United States stations were about to go off the air. The private companies suggested that the Government take over the operation for the duration of the war, mainly as a war effort but partly as a method to keep the programs going.

Two separate Government agencies were set up to do that operation. One, the Office of War Information, under Elmer Davis, was given the responsibility for broadcasting to the Far East, Europe, and Africa. An Office of Inter-American Affairs, set up under Nelson Rockefeller, was given charge of the information work in Latin America. Both organizations—the OWI and the OIAA—had many activities in addition to short-wave radio programs.

At the end of the war, in the fall of 1945, many wartime agencies which had been set up for the prosecution of the war, including OWI and OIAA, were discontinued. Certain pertinent functions, however, were lumped temporarily into the Department of State under an Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Nobody knew whether the Government was going to continue to engage in radio broadcasting. Many people thought that the Government's information work, a wartime activity, ought to be cut off at the end of the war. They felt very genuinely that this was a field that should be reserved for private industry—that American newspapers and magazines and radio stations could tell foreigners about the United States a great deal better than a Government bureau could.

If private broadcasting companies had been willing, at the time, to broadcast on short wave to foreign countries, the Government, using the taxpayers' money, would possibly have been taken out of the operation immediately. But no private broadcasting company was willing to engage in this activity. They couldn't sell nearly enough advertising to make it pay. During 1941, which was the last year the private companies undertook to broadcast programs to Latin America, each of the two networks, NBC and CBS, lost about 600 or 800 thousand dollars. Consequently, we were faced with the fact—shall we have a Government program or shall we have no short-wave program at all?

Many people thought that perhaps it would be better to have no program at all. They hoped that some day the private companies would again resume short-wave broadcasting, when the world trade situation would be such that people could sell sufficient goods abroad to justify corporations in spending money to advertise their goods.

During the war close relations existed among all the Allies, and there was a natural hope that this collaboration would continue in peacetime. The hope was short-lived. Even before last summer, the air waves coming out of Eastern Europe were already filled with falsehoods about the United States. For example, when I was Ambassador to Iran I listened to vilification and misrepresentation of American motives day after day after day.

We could have taken the point of view that the Soviet lies would fall by the wayside; truth would out eventually, and we should not even bother to answer.

However, most of the members of Congress concluded that the time had come when we should start answering back, giving the truth. They learned, for example, that the American taxpayer, since the war, had contributed about 560 million dollars for the relief and recovery of Poland alone, in connection with various efforts to put the war-torn countries of Europe on their feet.

Yet, in Warsaw the people were being told every day that the purposes of our effort were imperialistic, that Wall Street wanted to get its tentacles on the economy of this country, and that the United States was out to expand its control and domination throughout the world. Americans began to ask, "Shall we continue to

pour out our money in an effort to bring about honest reconstruction and the preservation of democracy and liberty without telling people what our purposes are? Shouldn't there be some agency responsible for the job of telling foreigners what American policy is?" That view prevailed, and Congress passed Public Law 402 of the 80th Congress, known as the Smith-Mundt Act, providing for both an information program and a longer range educational exchange or cultural-relations program, to be considered integral parts of the permanent conduct of the foreign relations of the United States. The purpose was to let the peoples of the world know the true aims of the United States Government and what the American people are.

Eight or ten transmitters daily broadcast the Voice of America Russian program. We have already identified 18 Soviet transmitters which the Soviet Government is using in an effort to "jam" us. The Soviets use more power and effort and time of their transmitters in trying to jam us than we use in sending out the programs. Their jamming robs them of the use of transmitters that are so much needed for their own internal and foreign-propaganda work. They certainly would not devote valuable time of their transmitters if our programs did not "sting".

One naturally wonders whether our programs still get through in spite of all their jamming. There are various proofs, particularly in Eastern Europe, but also in the U. S. S. R. itself, that they do get through: Radio Moscow, in its own programs, consistently analyzes the programs of the Voice of America and tries to refute them; and if it cannot find arguments, it starts calling names. The Soviet press and radio, despite the great amount of jamming, also pay constant attention to our programs.

No law in the Soviet Union at present makes it illegal for a Russian to listen to a foreign broadcast. One reason is that although Radio Moscow and *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and all other Soviet newspapers spend most of their time screaming against our programs, the Soviet Government tries to pretend that we are having no effect at all—that the Soviet people are solid and that they cast at every election 99 percent of their votes for the Government. They pretend that our broadcasts would not convince anybody; thus it would be incon-

sistent if they made it illegal for a person to listen to us. Furthermore, all sorts of foreign broadcasts go into Russia. If they banned all listening to short wave, Russians could not listen to Radio Warsaw, or Bucharest, or Praha, or even to Radio Moscow itself, since many Soviet programs are sent out on short wave to reach all parts of the Soviet Union.

The Smith-Mundt Act is often referred to as a turning point in the conduct of our foreign relations, but this type of activity has always been carried on by American Government representatives abroad as a normal part of their activities. The work of an American Consul or Minister or Ambassador abroad has always been that of explaining what the United States is trying to do and what America is like. They meet with the local press, make public addresses on American foreign policy, and talk to individuals, and have done so since the beginning of our history. The Smith-Mundt Act recognizes in legislation the fact that information about the United States and explanations of our policy are an integral part of the conduct of foreign relations. The act is the guidebook for our activities at the present time.

The act was signed in January of this year. Almost immediately thereafter, several committees of the Congress began a series of investigations of our operation. Members of the House Committee on Appropriations discovered the fact that certain broadcasts in the Spanish language were being beamed to South America, giving alleged background of a very curious sort about the United States. The broadcasts were a series of programs, 15 minutes every Wednesday, called "Know North America".

That series happened to come to light by pure chance. An investigator of the House Appropriations Committee, acting for Representative Taber, asked to have a look at some sample scripts which the Voice of America was sending out. He picked up a calendar and said, "You can choose your date—send over scripts for either the 15th, 16th, or 17th of February". The person who had handled the request selected entirely by chance the 15th of February. He could have selected the 16th or the 17th. The Know North America series, which goes out only once a week, happened to go out on that 15th. If the 16th or the 17th had been chosen, the series which led to the investigation might never have come to light.

The subject of the February 15 script was Wyoming. It referred to Indian maidens running foot races "undressed and unfeathered". This led to prompt demands for scripts on other States. The one on Texas included a remark by a South American tourist, quoting a passage from John Gunther's *Inside U.S.A.* to the effect that Texas had been born in sin and New England conceived in hypocrisy.

Both Houses of Congress made an immediate demand for investigation of why this type of program was going out, particularly to find out whether the persons who were sending out this kind of misrepresentation of the United States were merely careless, whether they thought they were amusing, or whether there was a deeper subversive significance in it. Several committees vied with each other for the privilege of holding the hearings. Both the House Committee on Executive Expenditures and a joint committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and on Executive Expenditures held investigations. Reports issued at the close of those investigations pointed the finger quite properly at the Department of State for not having adequately supervised the programs.

The truth of the matter was that the programs were written in Spanish, and nobody in the Department of State had translated them or, in fact, even knew what was in them. One might ask, "How in the world did a situation of that sort come about?"

During the evolution of the legislation it was thought that private industry would not undertake an extensive short-wave information program because it was not commercially feasible. Government money, therefore, had to be voted for it to be done. Congress stated clearly that private industry could do a better job than Government and could do it more efficiently and more effectively. The State Department, therefore, was put under strict instructions to use private industry for short-wave broadcasting to the maximum extent feasible.

The legislation made provision for contracts to be made with private broadcasting agencies (NBC and CBS) that would carry on about 70 percent of the broadcasting, including all the broadcasting to Latin America. The State Department undertook to do about 30 percent itself, including all the broadcasts beamed to the Iron Curtain coun-

tries of Central and Eastern Europe. Those were the more delicate areas, and the script writer had to be in immediate contact with the policy of the Government and had to have inside information in order to be able to do the job. The private companies recognized the heavy responsibility of broadcasting into that area. If they said something that was not in accord with policy or with facts, they might cause great mischief. They were happy to have the State Department undertake the responsibility for Iron Curtain broadcasting.

The Know North America series was one of the broadcasts being done by NBC under contract with the Department of State. Taxpayers' money was being used to pay for it, but considerable honest difference of opinion arose between the private broadcasting companies and the representatives of the Department of State regarding the extent of the Department's responsibility for supervising those programs.

Some officials of the commercial companies said, in all honesty, whenever the question of State Department supervision arose during the past year, that the Government did not know how to run a broadcast, that private companies had had great experience in broadcasting and had built up through private initiative and energy the great American broadcasting systems and knew a lot more about this than the Government. They pointed out that Congress had shown its recognition of this fact when it had required by law that private industry be used to the greatest extent possible.

The chief advantage of the investigations which Senator Ferguson and his committee held was to clarify the question of responsibility beyond any doubt. The Senator indicated that if taxpayers' money was involved, the State Department had full responsibility for supervision. But whenever we went to the National Broadcasting Company or the Columbia Broadcasting Company and said their scripts were not telling the proper story about the United States and that we felt we should blue-pencil this or that, they were naturally inclined to cry "censorship". They pointed out that the U.S. Government spends taxpayers' money to

buy the New York *Times* every day for our official United States libraries abroad, but we do not tell the *Times* what to say in its columns or editorial page. Most of our libraries have John Gunther's book, from which the objectional passages were quoted. Should they tear out the offending pages?

As a result of the investigations, the private companies are now telling us:

"All right, you win. We recognize now that the Congress considers the State Department to have full responsibility for every word that is said over Voice of America programs, whether those programs are written by the State Department or by a private agency. Congress says that since taxpayers' money is involved, we can't hide behind the skirts of any provision of the law stating that private companies can broadcast more effectively than the Government. We now recognize what Congress wants you to do about it. But if that is the way it is, we don't want to have anything more to do with it."

So they came to us on July the first and said: "Please take this program back. We don't want to have it any more. You do 100 percent of the broadcasting."

Many people have asked the Department whether it plans to increase the Voice of America program in the light of the world crisis. In reality, the Department has more interest in improving the programs that it has, in making them good, hard-hitting, solid, effective programs, than in using, for example, more languages such as Vietnamese, Siamese, Indonesian, Malayan, Pushtu, and Hindustani.

It has been pointed out that the Department of State could get ten times more listeners to the Voice of America broadcasts if entertainment were featured. The Congress of the United States, however, did not appropriate money for the purpose of entertainment. The Department would have an endless job if it undertook the task of entertaining the two billion peoples of the world. The Voice of America, therefore, does not include programs of dance records and other forms of entertainments. Its principal job is one of information.

# THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

## U.S. Urges Acceptance of Draft Resolution on Berlin Crisis

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP<sup>1</sup>

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council

Mr. President, I should also like to pay tribute to the statesmanship which has produced this draft resolution which is now before us. Members of the Security Council who have worked with you, Mr. President, have themselves borne witness to the fact that the achievement of this result in the course of their deliberations was the result of your leadership in the discussions which have been going on. We recognize this draft resolution as the result of an imaginative and a sincere effort to find a solution to a difficult problem. The effort has been made in accordance with the best traditions of the international principles typified in the Charter of the United Nations. Since we so regard this resolution, we have received it with respect and we have given it careful study.

Mr. President, as I listened also to the views which were expressed here on Friday by those who joined in submitting this resolution, I felt reassured that the intent and purpose of this resolution are the same as those which we understand from studying its text. The resolution is characterized by the spirit of reciprocity and the development of a logical progression of ideas. As we understand the resolution, it contemplates the following program.

On the day of the notification of the resolution to the four Governments concerned, two events will take place, or in the words of paragraph 2 of the resolution, two steps will be put into effect. The first step which is mentioned and which is to be put into effect on the day of the notification is the reciprocal removal of the restrictions imposed since March 1, 1948, by the Soviet Union and by the three Western Governments on communications, transport, and commerce between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany and to and from the Soviet zone. Immediately upon the adoption of this resolution and even before its

formal notification, the Government of the United States would be prepared to take steps to assure compliance on our part with the provisions relative to the lifting of the restrictions and the meeting of the Military Governors. We assume that the brief interval which will elapse between the adoption of the resolution and its formal notification will be sufficient to enable all of the four Governments concerned to issue the necessary orders.

The second step which is mentioned and which is to be put into effect on the same day, that is, the day of notification, is a meeting of the four Military Governors in Berlin. The purpose of this meeting is to arrange for the unification of currency in Berlin on the basis of the German mark of the Soviet zone under adequate Four Power control. The principles which will guide the four Military Governors in making these arrangements are those agreed upon in Moscow and embodied in the directive of August 30, 1948. These meetings are to be concluded not later than the 20th of November. Under the program outlined in the resolution, the Council of Foreign Ministers will meet on November 30 unless the arrangements to be made by the four Military Governors are concluded before November 20, in which case the Council of Foreign Ministers will meet at an earlier date, namely, ten days from the conclusion of the work of the Military Governors. However, the Four Powers jointly agree the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers can be held at any other day.

Mr. President, the United States in a spirit of accommodation is ready to accept this resolution. We accept the principles stated in it and would be prepared to carry it out in full good faith. I hope, Mr. President, that there is no member of the Council who will not similarly find in this resolution a reasonable and fruitful program for the solution of a grave problem.

Later Mr. Jessup said:

<sup>1</sup> Made in the Security Council at Paris Oct. 25, 1948, and released to the press by the U. S. Delegation on the same day.

Mr. President, the United States has taken note of the declaration of the Representative of the Soviet Union that it proposes to veto the resolution which has been proposed by six members of the Security Council.<sup>2</sup> In the judgment of the world, Mr. President, this was a just and reasonable resolution drafted by fair-minded statesmen of six countries from regions scattered widely all over the globe. It was proposed by them in the discharge of their responsibilities as members of the Security Council and in an honest attempt to settle this difficult problem.

The Representatives of France, of the United Kingdom, and of the United States accepted this resolution. If the Berlin question is not settled on the basis of the proposition stated in this resolution, the responsibility will rest squarely and unavoidably on the Government of the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, the Representative of the Soviet Union referred at some length to the so-called directive of August 30. Perhaps he did not bring out as clearly as might well be done the language of the preliminary paragraph of that directive which reads as follows:

"The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR have decided that subject to agreement being reached among the four military governors in Berlin for their practical implementation the following steps shall be taken simultaneously."

The directive was thus a decision to proceed to two simultaneous steps on the basis of an agreement to be reached by the Military Governors. That agreement was never reached. It was never reached for reasons which have been amply explained to the Security Council by the Representatives of France, the United Kingdom, and by myself, and the record has been made fully available to the Security Council.

But, Mr. President, the question of the directive is not the issue which is before the Security Council. Since that point has again been raised, I feel it is incumbent upon me to refer again to the communication of the three Governments submitting this issue to the Security Council and to quote again two sentences from that communication of September 29. The communication says:

"The issue between the Soviet Government and the Western Occupying Powers is, therefore, not that of technical difficulties of communications nor that . . . of currency for Berlin. The issue is that the Soviet Government has clearly shown by its actions that it is attempting by illegal and coercive measures in disregard of its obligations to secure political objectives to which it is not entitled and which it could not achieve by peaceful means."

The three Governments lay before the Security Council the threat to peace which was created

by the blockade measures imposed by the Soviet Union.

The argument which we have just heard by the distinguished Representative of the Soviet Union is an admission that blockade measures which his Government has imposed are being used as a measure of duress.

I listened in vain as he was speaking to any suggestions in his remarks that he, too, like the Representatives of the three Western Governments was approaching this draft resolution in a spirit of accommodation, in an endeavor to settle the problem of Berlin. On the contrary, Mr. President, he flat-footedly asserted that they would continue the threat of their blockade measures until the Soviet mark was established as the sole currency, not by free agreement, but under Soviet dictation.

Mr. President, the main issues which are before the Security Council have been made very clear in the proceedings we have had. The resolution has been laid before us, which was eminently fair in the effort of six governments which led to its formulation. It seems to me, Mr. President, that we must now ask, "What does the Soviet Union want?"

Does it want a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to discuss Berlin or the unification of Germany, which always has been and still is the aim of the three Western Governments, or to discuss questions of Germany as a whole? The Soviet Government can have such a meeting without the threat to peace. We told them that before. We repeat that promise. We have indicated our acceptance of that principle in our approval of the draft resolution which was before us.

Does the Soviet Union want the Soviet zone mark to be established as the sole currency of Berlin under Four Power control, as Premier Stalin himself suggested? They can have that without maintaining the blockade. We have told them so before and we tell them so again.

Does the Soviet Union want assurances that we do not want to use Four Power control of the currency in Berlin to damage or to control the general economy of the Soviet zone outside of Berlin? They can have such assurances without threat or violence. We have made that clear already. We make it clear again.

Does the Soviet Union want guaranties to prevent the use of transport facilities for black-market operations in currency in Berlin? They can have such guaranties without resorting to duress. Again, it is a matter which we have told them before we would do, and we are ready to say so again.

If the Soviet Government will remove all restrictions imposed on transportation, communications, and commerce subsequent to March 30, 1948,

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 24, 1948, p. 520. See also U. N. doc. S/1048, Oct. 22, 1948.

between the Western zones and Berlin, the United States Government will undertake to provide safeguards for the Western mark B and the Eastern mark of the Soviet zone as presented by the United States Representative during the course of the Berlin discussions.

Mr. President, as I understood the distinguished Representative of the Soviet Union in his remarks a few moments ago, he argued that blockade measures which have been imposed by the Soviet Union were imposed to protect the economy of the Soviet zone against the Western mark. However, Mr. President, as I have had occasion to point out to the Council before, these blockade measures began in January, reached their fullness in March and the Western mark was not introduced until June 24. I think it necessary to point out again that the matter of restrictions on traffic has nothing to do with the question of safeguards to prevent the movement of currency. Removal of blockade restrictions imposed upon land communications, land and water communications by the Soviet Union would restore the normal traffic channels of supply and transport which are now confined to the air lift. In effect this would merely substitute the normal ground means of transport for present air transport.

The United States has never intended to use currency as a means of adversely affecting the economy of the Soviet zone. The objective of currency reform is to improve economic life and not to destroy it.

Mr. President, if on the other hand the Soviet Union wants to drive us out of Berlin, where we have an acknowledged right to be, that result they cannot get by maintaining their threat to peace. We have stated that position over and over again, and that simple fact should now be clear. If the Soviet Union wants us to work out technical details of the first four questions I put, under duress of maintenance of blockade measures, instead of through the process of free negotiation, again the answer to that question is "No." In short, Mr. President, the Soviet Government can get all it says that it wants without maintaining the blockade. With the blockade it can get neither what it says it wants nor what its actions seem to suggest it actually does want. It is the blockade which is the barrier and it is the Soviet Union which can lift the blockade.

Mr. President, even now in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union has seen fit to indicate that it intends to block the efforts of the Security Council of the United Nations, if it wishes to end the threat to peace which it created, the Berlin question can be settled on the basis of the program suggested in the draft resolution which is now before the Security Council. The three Western Governments have indicated their acceptance of the principles contained in that resolution. If the Government of the Soviet Union would give reciprocal assurances that that program suggested in that resolution would be carried out, it can be done.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

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## The United States in the United Nations

### Palestine: Security Council orders Negev withdrawal

The Security Council adopted on November 4 an amended British-Chinese resolution calling for withdrawal of Israeli and Egyptian forces from any positions gained in the Negev since October 14, when recent hostilities in that area of Palestine began.

The resolution was approved by a nine-to-one vote, with the Soviet Union abstaining, after revisions embodied in a U.S. amendment were accepted. The Ukraine cast the opposing vote.

The U.S. amendment eliminated from the original resolution specific mention of article 41 of the U.N. Charter, under which noncompliance could be met by economic sanctions. The amended resolution instead provides that in the event of noncompliance a seven-nation council committee will study the situation "as a matter of urgency" and report to the council "on further measures it could be appropriate to take under Chapter VII of the Charter."

Chapter VII includes article 41 and other enforcement provisions but the resolution, as now worded, does not specify what measures would be considered in the event of the noncompliance. The original British-Chinese resolution specified measures under article 41—the economic sanctions section.

Israeli Representative Aubrey Eban objected to both the original and the amended version, claiming that the Negev, awarded to Israel under the partition resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, is an integral part of Israel.

The advances in the Negev fighting have been Israeli advances and the called for withdrawal would be from positions taken from Egyptian forces.

Jacob Malik, Soviet Delegate, called for direct negotiations between Israeli and Egyptian Representatives. Representative Eban said this was acceptable. Egypt, however, supported the adopted resolution with the comment that it could be stronger and again asserted that it could not recognize the Jews as a negotiating party.

In presenting the U.S. amendment, Philip Jessup pointed out that the council's main task is to keep the peace in Palestine and not to lay down a settlement and that positions taken by the council members on the truce question do not prejudice positions they may take in the Assembly on the political settlement problem.

The U.S. amendment specifies that the Negev withdrawal is being called for without prejudice to the rights, claim, or position of the two parties "or to the position which the members of the United Nations may wish to take in the General Assembly" on political settlement.

Mr. Jessup, in stressing the truce aspect, said that the truce must be maintained "until arrange-

ments can be made to replace the truce by a more permanent peaceful settlement".

He characterized council action to maintain the truce as "a necessary prerequisite to General Assembly consideration" which "does not prejudice the result of such consideration in any way".

The resolution calls for establishment of truce lines in the Negev by Israeli and Egyptian Representatives. Failing establishment of these lines by the two parties, "permanent lines and neutral zones shall be established by decision of the acting mediator".

*Refugee Aid.* The 26-nation Executive Board of the International Children's Emergency Fund has allocated \$6,000,000 for supplementary relief of 250,000 child and mother refugees from combat areas in Palestine. The Program Committee had recently recommended that \$2,200,000 be added to the \$411,000 previously allocated for relief in that area. However, the Executive Board approved the larger figure of \$6,000,000 on November 5, after hearing a report on needs of the refugees.

Maurice Pate, UNICEF executive director, pointed out that the organization can help only children and pregnant and nursing mothers among the half-million homeless Palestinians. The need for basic relief, such as the \$30,000,000 program suggested by acting mediator Ralph Bunche, he pointed out, remains unchanged.

A summary of UNICEF activities to date shows that 155,625 Arab mothers and children up to 15 years old have received aid. No figures are yet available on the number of Jewish mothers and children assisted. Relief supplies are being distributed in camps in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Trans-Jordan.

Meanwhile, the Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, on October 30, named a 15-member subcommittee to examine all the proposals regarding Palestine refugees that have been made so far and to work out a draft resolution.

Subcommittee members were instructed to consult Secretary-General Lie on the question of administering a proposed Palestine refugee relief fund. The Legal Committee will be asked to give urgent consideration to the legality of the fund idea.

In the Social Committee on October 29, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced a joint Anglo-American resolution calling for a Palestine refugee aid program budgeted at \$29,500,000.

In presenting the resolution, Mrs. Roosevelt said, "We believe that the acting mediator's estimate of the number of persons for whom relief should be supplied and the period of time for the program both represent a sound basis for action by the General Assembly. . . ."

"It has not been determined whether the refugee movement has reached its peak nor in

what degree some of the refugees may be absorbed during the period of the program in the areas in which they have found refuge. On the basis of information available it would appear reasonable to assume that 500,000 persons will require assistance for the period of the program. The period of time proposed will carry through the next harvest. We anticipate that the program of relief will be launched as soon as funds are available and the necessary organization can be established. For this purpose December 1, 1948 represents a realistic date. . . . It will be recognized, however, that this problem requires an operation of a character different from normal United Nations activities and that it requires a different budgetary treatment. Consequently we believe that the cost of this program should not be made a part of the United Nations budget. We endorse, therefore, the proposal in the resolution submitted by the United Kingdom and the United States that the General Assembly urge all Members of the United Nations to make as soon as possible voluntary contributions in kind or in funds sufficient to ensure that the amount of supplies and funds required are obtained."

Every effort should be made to use all available volunteer international and local organizations, Mrs. Roosevelt stated, and recommended that "the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the International Children's Emergency Fund can be particularly helpful because they can readily bring into service the experienced disaster and relief personnel known to them."

#### **Korea: Commission's Report**

The continued concern of the General Assembly for the attainment of national independence and unity in Korea is called for in the report of the Korean Commission, made public on October 30.

The commission's report to the Assembly noted with regret "the grim reality of a divided Korea," with a government in the south set up as a result of U.N.-observed elections in May and another in the north set up "arbitrarily by steps which were not under international observation". The northern zone has been under Soviet occupation and the south occupied by the United States.

In its report, the commission stressed the urgent need for establishing procedures for peaceful negotiation between the two regimes in Korea, adding that this "must take place before military evacuation of the occupying forces abandons Korea to the arbitrary rule of rival political regimes whose military forces might find themselves driven to internecine warfare."

The Soviets have unilaterally announced the beginning of withdrawal of their troops, leaving their zone in the hands of a Communist-dominated regime. The United States is turning over admin-

istration of its zone to the newly elected government at Seoul.

The report stressed that the commission, following the will of the Assembly, has always concerned itself with Korea as a whole. But this has been thwarted, the report said, by the refusal of Soviet authorities to allow the commission to visit the Soviet zone or conduct U.N.-observed elections there—in contrast to the cooperation given by U.S. authorities in the south.

Immediate unification of Korea is essential if that country's social, political, and economic well-being is to be served, the commission held. Efforts of Korean leaders to achieve this end have failed largely because of "the tension prevailing in the international situation", the commission found.

#### **Atomic Energy: Resolution Adopted**

The General Assembly on November 4 overwhelmingly voted its approval of the atomic control plan developed over the past two years by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The vote, on the revised Canadian resolution previously approved in committee, was 40 to six, Soviet group opposing. The Soviet proposal was defeated by the same vote.

#### **Spain: Economic Statistics**

The Legal Committee of the General Assembly on November 2 voted 21 to 14 to delete a portion of a resolution under debate which would specifically bar Spain from an international convention on economic statistics.

#### **Radio Plan Approved**

The Assembly Administrative Committee on October 30 adopted a resolution calling on the Assembly to approve in principle the establishment of a U.N. telecommunications system.

The resolution was submitted jointly by the United States, the Soviet Union, and France.

If the resolution is approved at a later Assembly plenary session, it will permit the United Nations to seek shortwave broadcasting frequencies at the current telecommunications conference being held at Mexico City.

At present, the United Nations depends on the generosity of U.S. and Canadian shortwave systems for its transmission time.

#### **Greece: Third Interim Report**

In a third Interim Report which was approved unanimously on October 22, the Special Committee on the Balkans said that facts which have come to its notice during this period confirm and strengthen the conclusions of its General and Supplementary reports.<sup>1</sup>

This is UNSCOP's third Interim Report, the previous two having been sent to the General Assembly on December 31, 1947, and January 10, 1948, at the time of a large-scale guerrilla attack against Konitsa in Epirus.

<sup>1</sup> *Documents and State Papers*, September 1948.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## Calendar of Meetings<sup>1</sup>

<b>Adjourned during October</b>		<b>1948</b>
ITU (International Telecommunication Union): Meeting of Administrative Council.	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 1-Oct. 5
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization): Fifth Session of Council . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 7-
Legal Committee . . . . .	Lisbon . . . . .	Sept. 24-Oct. 1
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington . . . . .	Sept. 27-Oct. 1
International Monetary Fund: Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington . . . . .	Sept. 27-Oct. 1
ILO (International Labor Organization): Technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Factories.	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 27-Oct. 16
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization): Conference to Constitute an International Union for the Protection of Nature.	Fontainebleau, France . . . . .	Sept. 30-Oct. 7
Social Tensions Conference . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 8-
WHO (World Health Organization): Expert Committee on Tuberculosis . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Sept. 30-
Expert Committee on Venereal Disease . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 15-19
Expert Committee on Pharmacopocias . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 15-21
Pan American Sanitary Organization: Meeting of Executive Committee . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 2-3
Meeting of Directing Council . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 4-16
International Wool Study Group: Second Meeting . . . . .	London . . . . .	Oct. 4-6
International Council for Exploration of the Sea . . . . .	Copenhagen . . . . .	Oct. 4-11
UPU (Universal Postal Union): Meeting of the Executive and Liaison Committee.	Locarno and Bern . . . . .	Oct. 11-21
Fourth Pan American Consultation on Cartography . . . . .	Buenos Aires . . . . .	Oct. 12-
Ninth General Conference on Weights and Measures . . . . .	Paris and Sèvres . . . . .	Oct. 12-21
Fifth Inter-American Congress of Surgery . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Oct. 17-21
Second Meeting of South Pacific Commission . . . . .	Sydney . . . . .	Oct. 25-
International Tin Study Group: Third Meeting . . . . .	The Hague . . . . .	Oct. 25-
		<b>1948</b>
<b>In Session as of November 1, 1948</b>		
United Nations: General Assembly: Third Session . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Sept. 21-
ITU (International Telecommunication Union): Provisional Frequency Board . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 15-
Planning Committee for High Frequency Broadcasting Conference . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Sept. 13-
International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 22-
Bolivian International Fair . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Oct. 20-
ILO: Industrial Committee on Textiles: Second Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 26-
WHO: Second Session of Executive Board . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 25-
<b>Scheduled for November 1948</b>		
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade): Meeting of Committee on Special Exchange Arrangements.	London . . . . .	Nov. 1-
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization): Fourth Session of Council . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Nov. 8-13
Fourth Session of Annual Conference . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Nov. 15-
ILO (International Labor Organization): Industrial Committee on Petroleum: Second Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 9-
Preparatory Conference on Labor Inspection in the Asian Countries . . . . .	Kandy, Ceylon . . . . .	Nov. 15-
Joint Maritime Commission . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 26-
Governing Body: 107th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 29-
IMO (International Meteorological Organization): Meeting of Regional Commission for Asia.	New Delhi . . . . .	Nov. 15-
Empire Parliamentary Association . . . . .	Hamilton, Bermuda . . . . .	Nov. 15-
West Indian Conference: Third Session . . . . .	Guadeloupe . . . . .	Nov. 15-
WHO (World Health Organization): Expert Committee on International Epidemic Control.	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 15-
Second Inter-American Congress on Brucellosis . . . . .	Mendoza, Argentina . . . . .	Nov. 17-
UNESCO: General Conference: Third Session . . . . .	Beirut . . . . .	Nov. 17-
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization): Southeast Asia Regional Air Navigation Meeting.	New Delhi . . . . .	Nov. 23-
United Nations: Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Fourth Session.	Glenbrook, Australia . . . . .	Nov. 29-

<sup>1</sup> Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

## Sound International Trade Program: Its Meaning for American Business

by Paul H. Nitze<sup>1</sup>

Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs

At the end of World War II, we were confronted with a world economy even more seriously out of joint than most of us then realized. Six years of struggle had depleted the resources, both financial and material, of a large segment of mankind. The apparatus of many countries for the production and distribution of goods was in a shambles. In others it had been seriously distorted to meet the specialized needs of war. Critical economic dislocations had given rise in many countries to strict governmental controls over all important economic activities. Moreover, important changes in the attitudes of individuals and governments towards the problems of trade and economic organization in general had taken place. The growing economic and political strength of organized labor and agriculture had brought about a situation in which wage and price adjustments to changing economic conditions were difficult to make. There had been a growth of social consciousness and wider claims upon governments for the welfare of their people, the avoidance of unemployment, and the provision of social security.

The combination of these and other factors had led to an increase of economic planning and nationalization of industry in the domestic field and of state trading in the field of international trade. These influences in the main lead away from the determination of trade channels on the basis of market considerations and away from the correction of trade imbalances by internal deflation and price-level adjustments, as was characteristic of the nineteenth century systems of trade. For the private trader and his government, they have created new problems of increasing importance which have to be reckoned with.

So powerful are these factors in today's trading world, that they have affected even the United States, where private competitive enterprise flourishes to a greater extent than anywhere else in the world. Even we have felt the need to control exports, support many farm prices, engage in government purchasing of certain foodstuffs and raw materials, and limit the use of scarce materials.

Segments of the American people exert strong pressures for limitation of imports, for payment of subsidies, or for other governmental measures when the operation of the competitive price mechanism threatens to become painful.

Since the end of the war, and particularly in the last year, the world has made steady progress in overcoming some of the most acute material shortages and in correcting some of the major trade imbalances. There is still, however, a long and difficult road ahead.

### EXPANSION OF WORLD TRADE

It is in this setting of the world as it is and of the actual problems that confront us that we must consider what constitutes a sound international trade program.

In the nineteenth century, common principles of international trade were tacitly understood and accepted by all countries. Today, however, with the emergence of new forces and new problems, specific international agreement is necessary.

I think that businessmen will agree that at least four basic conditions are necessary for a sound expansion of world trade: stability; good markets; fair rules of trade; and procedures for settling trade disputes.

Let us see whether and to what extent our international trade program contributes to these objectives.

#### Stability

Stable conditions of international trade obviously cannot be achieved easily or overnight. The uncertainties of disturbed economic conditions today are enhanced by overshadowing political uncertainties. But there are positive steps which can be taken towards this end.

First, there can be judicious assistance to the building up of the damaged productive resources and economic machinery of other friendly countries. Second, there can be international agreement on the objectives and principles which all would like to see govern international trade. Third, there can be international action for the moderation of exchange fluctuation.

The United States had led in working for the

<sup>1</sup>Address made before the Twentieth Conference on Distribution, in Boston, Oct. 25, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

restoration of much-needed stability in international trade by being one of the chief architects of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly the International Monetary Fund and the proposed International Trade Organization, and by undertaking the European Recovery Program. Through these measures we have sought, by international agreement, to achieve settlement of political problems, to give a common direction to decisions on trade policy, to moderate exchange fluctuations, and to assist in the restoration of the basic economies of the Western European democracies. All of these measures help to bring more stability into the conditions of international trade.

### Good Markets

Good markets are basic to sound trade. To be good markets, they must be accessible and they must be able to pay for the goods they receive. Goods can be disposed of by gift or barter deals, but neither provides what we would consider a sound market.

Through the European Recovery Program, European countries are being helped to restore their production and hence their capacity as sound markets for each other, for us, and for the rest of the world.

Loans have been made to other countries through the Export-Import Bank for the expansion of necessary facilities which will assist in their economic development. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been established for the same purpose.

A beginning has been made in reaching agreement upon principles designed to promote the flow of private capital and technical skills into areas which can use them to foster their productivity and development, and hence their emergence as good markets as well as good suppliers. This has been done at Bogotá in the economic agreement of Bogotá, and at Habana in the Charter for an International Trade Organization.

The reduction of artificial trade barriers also helps to make good markets. At Geneva last year, 23 nations negotiated for selective reduction of their tariffs, not only with the United States but with each other. The result was the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, in which 23 countries reduced tariff rates on some products and bound rates against increase on other products for about 45,000 individual items covering over one half of the total foreign trade of the world.

These are major steps toward the sound development of good markets.

I have been asked whether the United States, with only one vote, will not be outnumbered in the Iro by the many smaller countries and forced to accept all kinds of things that it does not like. I do not think we need to be afraid. Such a thing has not yet happened in any international agency

with which we work. Such a fear leaves out of account the strategic position of leadership that the United States enjoys in the world. As a matter of fact, many smaller countries are concerned that the United States and other large countries will dominate Iro, regardless of the one vote for each, simply because, in the nature of the case, the larger countries cannot help having more influence in world affairs.

The truth is that there are always those who fear that their country will be outnumbered by other countries in any kind of an international organization. If reason did not overcome this narrow fear, there would never be organized international cooperation between sovereign countries. I am not such a fatalist. I believe that sovereign nations can work together. I do not think that pessimistic resignation pays dividends either in business or in national success. American life is built upon a different foundation—faith in our destiny, courage in the future.

### Fair Rules of Trade

I said at the outset that one of the elements that a businessman wants to see included in a sound trade program is fair rules of trade. This is what the Charter for an International Trade Organization, agreed upon by representatives of 53 nations at Habana in March 1948, seeks to provide.

As World War II drew to a close, many people in the United States, the British Empire, and other countries felt that the absence of fair rules of trade in the decades after the first World War had contributed significantly to the economic warfare that "dried up" world trade in the 1930's. Then, each country traded on the basis of the law of the jungle, and the devil took the hindmost. As one European statesman put it:

"We competed with one another in devices to restrict the volume of world trade and then fiercely competed with one another for a greater share of that smaller total."

With this in mind, we in the Government began to work, even while hostilities were still going on, to lay the basis for the establishment of fair rules of conduct over the widest possible area of trade. One of the first acts of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations was to appoint a Preparatory Committee of 18 nations to prepare an agenda for a World Conference on Trade and Employment, which was finally held at Habana from November 1947 to March 1948. Representatives of 53 nations there agreed upon the text of a Charter for an International Trade Organization for submission to their respective legislatures. It is expected that this Charter will be submitted to our Congress in the next session.

The Charter establishes a code of rules that countries voluntarily agree to follow with respect to their trade with each other. These rules cover a

wide range of international trade relationships: Tariffs, quotas, subsidies, foreign exchange, customs formalities, cartels, commodity agreements, most-favored-nation treatment, and the international aspects of foreign investment, employment, and economic development. Most of them represent commitments by governments to refrain from taking specified governmental actions affecting trade which they would otherwise be at full liberty to take.

I won't try to describe these rules in detail, but I do feel that it would be useful to state in general terms what they seek to do. They have two aspects. They state the agreed general principle and they indicate how, or to what extent, it must be applied. Let me illustrate.

Certain important rules can, and therefore would, come into immediate and full operation when the Charter enters into force. Rules of this kind are those requiring simplification of customs formalities, the curbing of international cartels, and many more.

The problem is, however, more complicated with respect to others. For example, one of the important rules is that nations undertake to negotiate for the reduction of tariffs. But, clearly, no nation will undertake in advance to reduce all its tariffs or even any particular tariff. Therefore, the Charter provides that negotiations shall be on a selective, product-by-product basis, which will afford adequate opportunity to consider the needs of individual industries and that members shall be free not to grant concessions on particular products. It also provides an "escape" clause under which if, as a result of a reduction and of unforeseen circumstances, imports increase so as to threaten serious injury to a domestic industry, the reduction may be withdrawn.

Another important principle is that nations will not use quotas to restrict their trade or to discriminate against the trade of a particular country. But, clearly, under present conditions very few countries can apply this rule completely, no matter how much they may desire to do so. They just don't have enough foreign exchange to pay for all the imports their people want. Therefore, they must keep their imports down to the amount they can pay for and concentrate on the ones they really need, just as an individual of limited means does in preparing his family budget. So the Charter permits the use of quotas to accomplish this necessary budgeting only as long as a real shortage of foreign exchange lasts.

Thus, in situations where the agreed principle cannot be fully put into effect, members are not asked to do the impossible. They are, however, obliged to comply to the fullest extent, and at the earliest moment that they can, and they may be called to account by other members or by the Organization if they fail to do so. The conditions

under which failure to comply fully with the rules can be justified are very specifically defined.

I give these illustrations because concern has been voiced in some quarters that exceptions in the Charter will have the effect of vitiating the rules which it lays down. Quite the contrary. The existence of the exceptions is what makes it possible for many nations to accept the rules and start putting them into effect, at least partially, pending the time when they can do so fully.

#### **Procedures for Settling Trade Disputes**

The Ito would provide a permanent mechanism for the orderly settlement of international economic disputes. This permanent feature is important. We learned from the experience of the World Economic Conference, in 1927, and the London Monetary and Economic Conference, in 1933, that intermittent international conferences, accompanied by broad declarations of principle (as some people now propose), are not an effective means of resolving world economic problems, of avoiding depressions, or averting economic warfare. A permanent international agency, operating on the basis of specific commitments, is a far more effective instrument for these purposes.

An international body to handle trade must have flexibility if it is to handle satisfactorily changing world conditions. Therefore, the Charter, like the United States Constitution, has a procedure of amendment and provides for a comprehensive review of its provisions within five years.

Each member of the Ito would have one vote, and decisions would, in the main, be by majority vote. The Organization could not force any country into any act against its desire. But if a member violated a commitment accepted under the Charter, the Organization could authorize other members to withdraw from the offender the privileges that all members grant to each other under the Charter. The right to withhold privileges to offenders, together with the persuasion exercised in the Ito forum, plus the force of public opinion, would constitute the sanctions of the Ito.

#### **FUTURE COURSE**

I have given particular emphasis to the Ito in this discussion of a sound international trade program, first, because it is new and less well known than the other facets of our international trade policy, and second, because of the very special potentialities which it has today for the businessmen of the United States. As I have indicated, the private-enterprise system in which we believe is now called upon to operate in a very different and less congenial world than that which existed before World War I or even between the two world wars. New and powerful forces are at work which tend to make it more and more difficult for the private trader to do his business abroad. These forces

are the result of economic adversity, or new philosophies, or both. This Government has the responsibility of working out with other governments agreement on principles which will give the maximum opportunity for the private trader to conduct his business and exercise his ingenuity and ability.

We do not guarantee that the measures taken or proposed will cure the deep-seated ills of the world trading systems overnight. And we do not undertake that they will restore international trade completely to private enterprise. The changes which have taken place in the world are too deep for that. But we are convinced that these measures are positive steps which will help to cure those ills, help to eliminate the necessity for continued assistance to other countries by the United States, and help to create the conditions under which private enterprise can have its best chance.

Let us assume for the moment that we go forward without the Ito. What would be likely to happen?

I have pointed out that governments are in the international trade picture more than ever before; that they have at their disposal new, highly effective, and ingenious techniques for the control of trade; and that the circumstances in which their countries find themselves create powerful demands for the use of these techniques in the narrow and short-run national interest. The Charter, basically, imposes limitations upon the use of those techniques, confining it to cases which all have agreed are legitimate. If the rules of the Ito are not accepted, countries will be free to use these control techniques, not only in the cases permitted by the Charter, but in all other cases as well.

To be specific: If the rules of the Ito are not accepted, countries will be free to use quotas as long as they like to limit or change the course of their trade not only for reasons of exchange shortage, but also for pure protection and political favor. They will be free to give new preferences in their tariffs. They will have no obligation whatsoever to negotiate for the reduction of their tariffs or for the elimination of their present preferences. They will be free to maintain and intensify confused, complicated, arbitrary, secret, and obstructive customs regulations. They will be under no obligation whatever to do anything at all about the restrictive practices of international cartels. They will be free to take any form of arbitrary action they desire with respect to the treatment of foreign capital within their borders. They will be free to conduct state trading enterprises in wholly uncontrolled competition with private enterprise.

Where does the private trader stand in such a world? And where does his government stand when he comes to it and asks it to protest on his

behalf against the arbitrary action of some other government that injures his business? We can say to the other government that we don't like what it is doing and that its action hurts our citizens. And this often produces results. But we have worked to develop the Ito because we want to be able to say to that other government that we are protesting what it has done, not only because it hurts our citizens, but also because it violates an obligation which it has assumed not only to us but to other countries as well. And we want to be able, if necessary, to call that government to account before those other countries and before the public opinion of the world. This will immeasurably strengthen our hand in serving your legitimate interests.

### CONCLUSION

Finally, we cannot get away from the fact that in today's world political and economic considerations are inextricably interrelated. Political uncertainties make for disturbed economic conditions. It is brought home to every one of you each morning as you read your daily paper that one of the basic factors retarding the world's recovery has been the strength and aggressiveness of international Communism. The economic and political difficulties which have existed since the war have been exploited to the full by the Soviet Union and its agents abroad.

Every one of the measures which I have described, the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Trade Organization, has been open to the Soviet Union. It has been invited to join in these cooperative efforts to restore world production and world trade. It has consistently refused to do so. It has opposed these efforts. It has inveighed against them in its press, and over the air, and in the United Nations. The Ito, for example, which we regard as a means of promoting and stabilizing trade by the common effort of all friendly nations on equal terms and for the benefit of all, has been called by the Soviets an organization to "contribute to the domination of the U. S. A. in world markets", part of "the drive of American imperialism toward world domination". We are charged with "seeking to open world markets and sources of raw materials to the further penetration of American monopolies", and through the Marshall Plan and the Ito "to enslave not only Europe, but the whole world". *Foreign Trade*, the monthly magazine of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade, said:

"One of the means of establishing world domination is the foreign trade program of American imperialism. This program has found its final expression in the American proposals for the creation of an International Trade Organization.

The objective of these proposals lies in the creation of a new trade organization of the type which will make possible the strengthening of the economic position of the U. S. A. in the capitalist world."

Why this spate of abuse of ITO? Why do the Russians use every means at their command to sabotage the European Recovery Program? Because they fear and fight any measure which will

have the effect of strengthening and unifying the non-Communist world. They fear and fight the program I have described because to the extent that it helps to establish stability and sound markets and fair rules of trade, as it will, so does it also help to strengthen and unify the non-Communist world to stand against the menace of an alien ideology and to prove by the acid test of accomplishment that the way of the free nations is the better way.

## Position on Provisional Government of Israel

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House on October 24]

The Republican candidate for President has seen fit to release a statement with reference to Palestine. This statement is in the form of a letter dated October 22, 1948, ten days before the election.

I had hoped our foreign affairs could continue to be handled on a nonpartisan basis without being injected into the presidential campaign. The Republican candidate's statement, however, makes it necessary for me to reiterate my own position with respect to Palestine.

I stand squarely on the provisions covering Israel in the Democratic Platform.

I approved the provisions on Israel at the time they were written. I reaffirm that approval now.

So that everyone may be familiar with my position, I set out here the Democratic Platform on Israel:

President Truman, by granting immediate recognition to Israel, led the world in extending friendship and welcome to a people who have long sought and justly deserve freedom and independence.

We pledge full recognition to the State of Israel. We affirm our pride that the United States, under the leadership of President Truman, played a leading role in the adoption of the resolution of November 29, 1947, by the United Nations General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish state.

We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations' resolution of November 29 and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations. We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any resolution of the United Nations to the extent that it may prevent any such revision.

We continue to support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places in Palestine.

I wish to amplify the three portions of the platform about which there have been considerable discussion.

On May 14, 1948, this country recognized the existence of the independent State of Israel. I was informed by the Honorable Eliahu Epstein that a Provisional Government had been established in Israel. This country recognized the Provisional Government as the *de facto* authority of the new State of Israel. When a permanent government is elected in Israel it will promptly be given *de jure* recognition.

The Democratic Platform states that we approve the claims of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations' resolution of November 29, 1947, and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

This has been and is now my position.

Proceedings are now taking place in the United Nations looking toward an amicable settlement of the conflicting positions of the parties in Palestine. In the interests of peace this work must go forward.

A plan has been submitted which provides a basis for a renewed effort to bring about a peaceful adjustment of differences. It is hoped that by using this plan as a basis of negotiation, the conflicting claims of the parties can be settled.

With reference to the granting of a loan or loans to the State of Israel, I have directed the departments and agencies of the Executive Branch of our Government to work together in expediting the consideration of any applications for loans which may be submitted by the State of Israel.

It is my hope that such financial aid will soon be granted and that it will contribute substantially to the long-term development and stability of the Near East.

## Brussels Proposals Not Received by United States

Acting Secretary Lovett told his press conference on October 27, that if and when the signatories to the Brussels pact submit North Atlantic security proposals to the United States, such proposals would be considered in the light of the Vandenberg resolution adopted by the United States Senate last June.

Mr. Lovett pointed out, however, that such a request had not been received here, but that if and when it was received, it would be considered in accordance with the guiding principles of the Vandenberg resolution.

That resolution placed the Senate on record as favoring "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles, and provisions of the Charter" and "association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security."

It was in accordance with this resolution, Mr. Lovett recalled, that exploratory talks were initiated in Washington July 6, between representatives of the Brussels pact countries and the Department of State.<sup>1</sup>

When the conversations were opened, the Department of State described them as "concerning problems of common interest" in relation to the Vandenberg resolution. It was pointed out at that time that no information concerning the substance of these exploratory talks would be made public before decisions were reached.

These exploratory talks have been completed, Secretary Lovett announced, and since they were informal, no commitments were involved.

The spadework represented by these conversations, he added, would facilitate further negotiations when they are opened. Congressional leaders of both major United States political parties were kept informed during the conversations, Mr. Lovett said.

He noted that the Washington conversations covered a wide variety of subjects, including a whole era of pacts, and mostly the methods by which United States security and world peace could best be obtained. The Acting Secretary said he did not know who originated the idea of a North Atlantic pact, but that the idea of a North Atlantic community of nations was an old one.

Further comment, Mr. Lovett told the reporters, would have to await receipt by the United States of proposals from the Brussels pact countries.

*The following is the telegraphic text of the communiqué issued by the five Foreign Ministers at the conclusion of their meeting on October 27:*

The Foreign Ministers of the Five Signatory Powers of the Brussels treaty met in Paris on the 25th and 26th of October, 1948, for the third regular session of the Consultative Council.

After examining the decisions taken by the five Defence Ministers at their meeting on 27-28 September 1948, including the setting up of the land, sea and air command organization of Western Union, the Council gave its approval to the principles governing the defence policy of the Five Powers which are based on the Brussels treaty and on the Charter of the United Nations.

The Council also made a preliminary study of the question of North Atlantic security and the conversations on this subject which took place in Washington during the summer.

This examination resulted in complete agreement in the Council on the principle of a defensive pact for the North Atlantic and on the next steps to be taken in this direction.

The Council approved the suggestions made by the five Finance Ministers on the 7 October 1948. In order to carry out these suggestions as rapidly as possible the Council decided to set up a Committee of Experts to study the financial and economic questions raised by the organization of the defence of Western Europe.

The Council next took note of the progress accomplished in the social and cultural fields, and approved the reports submitted to it.

As regards the question of European unity, the Council decided to set up a committee of representatives chosen by the governments of the five signatory powers of the treaty of Brussels, consisting of five French, five United Kingdom, three Belgian, three Netherlands, and two Luxembourg members.

The object of this committee, which will meet in Paris, will be to consider and to report to governments on the steps to be taken toward securing a greater measure of unity between European countries.

To this end, the committee will take into consideration all suggestions which have been or may be put forward by governments or by private organizations. In this connection it will examine the Franco-Belgian suggestion for the convening of a European Assembly and the British suggestion relating to the establishment of a European Council appointed by and responsible to governments for the purpose of dealing with matters of common concern. This committee will draw up a report for submission to the Consultative Council at its next meeting.

Finally, the Foreign Ministers proceeded to a full exchange of views on various international problems, certain of which are now being considered in the United Nations Assembly and the Security Council.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of July 18, 1948, p. 79.

## Reparations Program in Western Zones of Germany

### THREE POWER STATEMENT<sup>1</sup>

Since the reparations programs covering the three Western zones of Germany were published in October and November 1947,<sup>2</sup> the European Recovery Program has come into being and is now vitally affecting the progress of recovery. The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States have therefore had under consideration the desirability of insuring that the reparations programs are still fully consonant with the needs of European recovery. It has been agreed by the three Governments that there is a need to examine certain portions of the reparations lists with a view to determining to what extent some plants on those lists might better serve the needs of European recovery if left in Germany than if removed and re-erected elsewhere. Pursuant to section 115 (f) of the United States Foreign Assistance Act, a preliminary review of the lists has already been made by the United States Government and a list of plants which re-

quire more detailed study has been drawn up. The further review of these plants will be conducted by the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Economic Cooperation Administration maintaining close touch with officials of the other two Governments concerned, who will cooperate in every way. It is hoped to complete this review within a few weeks. Further plants will be made available to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency for allocation as rapidly as possible while this investigation is in progress.

The review is being conducted from the standpoint of European economic recovery and not with the object of bringing about any general readjustment of the reparations programs. It is intended by the Three Powers that subject to whatever deletions from the reparations lists may be agreed as a result of this review the balance of the reparations programs shall be brought to a speedy conclusion.

## The Struggle for Freedom in Greece

### STATEMENT BY HENRY F. GRADY<sup>3</sup>

#### American Ambassador to Greece

Eight years ago today, the entire world was electrified by an event that has already gone down as a landmark in history.

On that day, the Greek people rose as one man and cried "No!" to the powerful invader.

It was the first real check on the aggressive might that had unleashed the second world war.

Greece has known little peace since that time. Again today she is engaged in a trying struggle against what honest men the world over recognize as the force of evil. Call it militant Pan-Slavism, call it Red Totalitarianism, call it Neo-Fascism—it is the same. It is the force of destruction, of fanaticism, of chaos.

It is more than ironic that while the Greek people—with the help of their friends—are seeking with every means to rebuild their country, to achieve the long-sought peace, to join in the great

and inspiring program of recovery which now animates the rest of free Europe, that at this very moment the enemy from within and without bends every effort toward destruction and chaos.

The world may well admire the struggle which the hard-pressed people of Greece are waging again toward their freedom, and those who think the struggle an easy one must be either naive or ignorant of the facts. We who are here, we who are on the spot helping the Greeks to retain their nation and their liberty, helping them to remain in the community of free nations, do not underestimate these difficulties, these tremendous obstacles. We are sure that they will be overcome—and overcome by the Greeks themselves.

On this great day, I would like to make but one salute—to the Greeks who are waging this great struggle; chiefly, of course, to those in actual combat against their enemy, but also to all elements in Greek life which are contributing to this great national effort.

For again the Greeks are saying "No!" Again they have made the hard choice. Again they have chosen freedom.

<sup>1</sup> Issued by the Department of State and the Economic Cooperation Administration on Oct. 27, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> Not here printed.

<sup>3</sup> Made in Athens on Oct. 28, 1948, and released to the press in Washington on the same date.

## Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey

*Statement by the President*<sup>1</sup>

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey, the people of the United States join me in extending cordial greetings and best wishes to President İnönü and to the people of Turkey.

The full significance of this anniversary could hardly have been foreseen a quarter of a century ago when the Turkish Republic was proclaimed. In America, we were from the beginning filled with admiration for the resolute struggle of the Turkish nation to go forward under the indomitable leadership of Turkey's first President, Kemal Atatürk. We have watched with sympathetic interest the profound social and cultural reforms effected in two brief decades. We are happy that the advancements of science in this air-travel age have so reduced the distance between our two countries that we no longer feel remotely separated. We are still happier that the decision of the Turkish nation to continue the development of democratic institutions and to further safeguard human rights and liberties is being carried out at a time when these ideals—so dear to all Americans—are being ruthlessly crushed and obliterated in many parts of the world.

The political independence and territorial integrity of Turkey are of great importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples. In conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, I recommended to the American Congress on March 12, 1947, the extension of assistance to Turkey and to Greece. This program, as authorized by the American Congress two and one-half months later, has since been extended for a second year—that is, through June 1949. The effective way in which Turkish and American personnel are cooperating on this program is a further, and most striking, example of the mutual ties that bind our countries.

I am deeply grateful that during this troubled postwar period the relations between the United States and the Republic of Turkey, inspired by a common ideal for the establishment of security for all nations through just and lasting peace, have been strengthened and consolidated.

## Double Taxation Convention With Belgium Signed

[Released to the press October 28]

On October 28, 1948, Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary of State, and Baron Silvercruys, Belgian Ambassador in Washington, signed a convention between the United States and Belgium

for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

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 instruments of ratification shall be exchanged and that the convention shall become effective on January 1 of the year in which the exchange of such instruments takes place.

## Steps Taken To Repatriate Mexican Workers

[Released to the press October 25]

On October 18 the Mexican Embassy presented a note to the Department calling attention to certain irregularities which had occurred in the vicinity of El Paso in connection with the entry of a large number of Mexican farm workers and their employment on farms in Texas and other western States under conditions other than those prescribed in the agricultural-workers agreement of February 21, 1948.

In a note dated October 22, the Department expressed its regret that this incident had occurred and stated that measures had been taken to correct the situation. The United States agreed to commence prompt repatriation of the Mexican workers who entered illegally, as required by article 29 of the agreement; to halt further illegal immigration of Mexican farm workers; and to continue extending to Mexican workers legally in the United States the advantages and conditions provided in the agreement.

The reply of the Mexican Embassy, dated October 23, accepts as satisfactory the American note and states that the fulfillment of the commitments set forth therein will bring the incident to a close.

Reaction in the Mexico City press to the American note, which was published in its entirety, was highly favorable.

It is understood that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has already begun to deport to Mexico the workers who entered contrary to the agreement.

*Exchange of Notes Between the U. S. and Mexico  
October 22, 1948*

SIR: I refer further to your attentive note of October 18, 1948, concerning irregularities which have occurred in the vicinity of El Paso in connection with the entry of certain Mexican farm work-

<sup>1</sup> Recorded by the Voice of America for delivery on the occasion of the Turkish National Holiday, Oct. 29, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

ers under conditions other than those established by the exchange of notes of February 21, 1948.

An investigation of the circumstances of this case confirms that the entry of these Mexican nationals was indeed illegal and that they were not, as required by Article 29 of the agreement, immediately deported to Mexico. I deeply regret that these irregularities have occurred.

I am happy to inform you at this time, however, that orders have been issued that the Mexican nationals who entered illegally be promptly returned to Ciudad Juárez. Repatriation of these workers has already commenced.

Orders have already been issued to stop all further illegal or clandestine immigration along the border.

Nothing which has happened, of course, will in any way affect the rights and privileges of the Mexican nationals who are now legally in the United States in fulfillment of contracts entered into under the agreement. They will continue to enjoy the immunities and prerogatives set forth in the agreement and individual work contracts and the existing satisfactory arrangements for participation of Mexican consuls in discussions of any misunderstandings which may arise will continue as in the past.

It is my sincere hope that the corrective measures which have been described above and which will be carried out to the best of my Government's ability, will be found satisfactory to your Government.

With sincere expressions of profound regret for the serious instance of non-compliance which has occurred, I take this opportunity to express my Government's appreciation for the cooperation Mexico has given in the past and which I hope will continue in the future.

I avail myself [etc.]                      ROBERT A. LOVETT

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 23, 1948*

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of October 22 relative to the irregularities which occurred in the vicinity of El Paso in connection with the entry into the United States of Mexican agricultural workers under conditions other than those expressed in the exchange of notes of February 21, 1948.

Upon instructions from my Government, I am pleased to inform Your Excellency that it has found satisfactory the statements made by the Department of State, as well as the measures adopted by the American authorities, measures the realization of which, already commenced, brings an end

<sup>1</sup> For text of the decision, see BULLETIN of Aug. 3, 1947, p. 216. For Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan, see *Documents and State Papers* of April 1948, p. 32.

to this lamentable incident, which has been resolved, as was to be expected, in the spirit of justice, good neighborliness and friendly cooperation which has always governed relations between Mexico and the United States.

I avail myself [etc.]

RAFAEL DE LA COLINA  
*Charge d'Affaires ad interim*

## U.S. Policy in Japan Founded on FEC Basic Policy Decision

[Released to the press October 28]

With regard to the statement by the Soviet Ambassador before the Far Eastern Commission on October 28, which was given to the press, it should be pointed out that General MacArthur, as a top United States Commander, holds conferences in Tokyo with high United States military officers from time to time and these are purely routine matters of sole concern to this Government.

With respect to the allegation that the former Japanese naval base at Yokosuka is being converted into a modern naval base, it may be stated categorically that this is not true. This base has been used from the beginning of the occupation by the United States naval forces supporting the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in carrying out the objectives of the occupation—which it is both necessary and proper for them to do. Accordingly, the implication that the Far Eastern Commission decision on the basic post-surrender policy for Japan is being violated is wholly without foundation.<sup>1</sup>

## American National Red Cross Extends Relief in Near East

[Released to the press October 24]

The American National Red Cross has informed the Department of State that it shares the concern expressed by the Department for the health and welfare of the victims of hostilities in the Near East. Accordingly, the Red Cross has approved an extension of its disaster relief program to help meet the present emergency in the Near East.

In addition to assistance which it has made available during recent months, the Red Cross will now send to the Near East 3,000 blankets, 150,000 yards of cotton cloth, 5,000 finished garments, 10,000 layette items, and 150,000 cakes of soap. On its part, the National Children's Fund of the American Junior Red Cross will furnish 30,000 layette items, educational supplies, and, contingent upon subsequent determination of need, food for a children's feeding program. This additional aid will increase to approximately \$700,000 the material value of assistance which has been contributed by the American Red Cross.

The American Red Cross has also announced its

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intention to furnish the services of three relief experts to help observe the distribution of American Red Cross supplies and to coordinate American Red Cross activities with those of the League of Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations, and other organizations.

It is prepared also to consider additional requests for relief supplies from its representatives after they have arrived in the Near East and have surveyed the need for further assistance from the American Red Cross.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Functions of the Secretary of State in National Election

[Released to the press October 29]

The Department of State on Monday, November 1, will take the first step in the series of duties which fall to the Secretary of State in connection with the election of President and Vice President. Acting Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett will send to the Governors of the 48 States a letter outlining the procedure laid down in the law for the receipt and transmission by the Department of State to the Congress of certificates of the appointment of the electors of the several states and of the votes of the electors.

These ministerial duties are assigned to the Secretary of State, who has been the channel for communication between the Government of the United States and the governments of the several States on these Constitutional matters since the law of March 1, 1792. The duties of the Secretary of State have remained the same under various revisions of the law, which in its present form is Title 3, Chapter 1, of the United States Code, enacted as recently as June 25, 1948.

The duties of the Secretary of State in connection with the presidential election are to receive from the State authorities of those States two certificates and to transmit them to the Congress. These are:

1. Certificate of the appointment of electors of President and Vice President from the executive of each State as well as the list of all other candidates for electors, with the number of votes received by all of them. Copies of this certificate will be transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

2. Certificate of the separate vote of electors of each State for President and Vice President to be taken on December 13, with the list of the electors sent by the electors of each State. A copy of this certificate is transmitted by the Secretary of State to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, pending the joint session of the Congress to canvass the vote on January 6, 1949.

November 7, 1948

The Secretary of State retains the original of the certificate of the ascertainment of electors and a copy of the vote of the electors as the official public record for the National Archives.

## 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.*

**Establishment of Diplomatic Relations With the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.** European and British Commonwealth Series 2 (new series). Reprint. Pub. 528. 22 pp. 10¢.

A literal print of the documents.

**UNESCO and You.** International Organization and Conference Series IV; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 4. Reprint. Pub. 2904. 41 pp. 15¢.

Questions and answers on the how, what, and why of your share in UNESCO, together with a six-point program for individual action. Revised as of March 1, 1948.

**The Foreign Service of the United States.** Department and Foreign Service Series 1. Reprint. Pub. 2991. 81 pp. 25¢.

Educational preparation for Foreign Service Officers and entrance examinations.

**Financial and Economic Relations.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1757. Pub. 3221. 52 pp. 15¢.

Agreements and supplementary exchanges of notes between the United States and Italy—signed at Washington August 14, 1947; entered into force August 14, 1947.

**Economic Cooperation With Norway Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1792. Pub. 3254. 53 pp. 15¢.

Agreement between the United States and Norway—signed at Oslo July 3, 1948; entered into force July 3, 1948.

**Documents & State Papers, September 1948.** Vol. I. No. 6. Pub. 3284. 64 pp. 30¢ a copy; \$3, 12 issues.

A monthly periodical, supplementary to the Department of State BULLETIN, containing documents and articles pertaining to international relations and activities of the State Department and the Foreign Service.

**Diplomatic List.** October 1948. Pub. 3310. 195 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.

**World Confidence and the Reduction of Armed Forces: The American Objective.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 18. Pub. 3319. 14 pp.

Remarks by Warren R. Austin, U. S. Delegate to the Third Session of the General Assembly, Paris, October 12, 1948.

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## ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

*by George N. Monsma*

In the midst of the unsettled world conditions it is heartening to remember that there is an association of nations which has stood the test of almost 60 years of existence and today is stronger and more virile than ever before. The Organization of American States is the oldest organization of independent, sovereign nations in existence, although it has been known by various names during these years. The American Republics are a family of nations, and, as in all families, there may be some disagreements and misunderstandings from time to time, but it is all in the family, and underneath is the firm ground of family unity.

Before going further in a discussion of this subject, let us refresh our memories on the countries comprising the Pan American family of nations. Beginning with the United States and working south, we have our neighbor, Mexico, which is the only Latin American country having a common border with us. Then the Central American countries—Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama. To the east, the Caribbean countries—Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. Moving south to the South American Continent, we have along the north and west coast Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile. On the east are Brazil and Argentina, with Uruguay and Paraguay in between, and Bolivia in the center of the continent.

Four languages are used in these 21 republics—Portuguese in Brazil, French in Haiti, English in the United States, and Spanish in the other countries.

As the United States won its independence from England under the leadership of George Washington, so the countries of Latin America gained

their independence from European powers under such great leaders as Simón Bolívar and San Martín.

### **United States Policy**

It was early recognized in this country that the interests of the American Republics are inexorably tied together by geographic propinquity and common ideals, such as love of freedom and democratic aspirations. The United States policy with respect to the other American Republics has developed through the years in accordance with the ebb and flow of national and international events of history. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 has been a unilateral doctrine which says in effect that the United States would consider it dangerous to its security if European powers were to seize further territory in or impose further political control over any portions of this hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine was a unilateral statement of United States policy rather than an inter-American pronouncement. The era of multilateral cooperative arrangements between the American Republics such as we have witnessed during the past 60 years had not yet arrived.

The basic friendship between the nations of the Americas weathered the frictions of our period of "manifest destiny", when the United States was expanded to the Pacific and when Texas and California were added to the Union. This basic friendship has survived in spite of the irritations and frictions of the early part of the present century, when the United States intervened from time to time in the affairs of the other American Republics.

The 1930's and 40's have been characterized by

an intensification and broadening of cooperation with the other American Republics, with a resultant feeling of good neighborliness and good will.

#### **Characteristics of the Inter-American System**

If there is a key word for the inter-American system, if there is a word that can summarize the attributes of the system, that word is *cooperation*—cooperation in all of our relations, political, economic, and cultural. The inter-American system possesses numerous characteristics, all of which together form the pattern of cooperation.

One of these characteristics is solidarity. Inter-American solidarity is revealed in numerous ways, but perhaps in no sphere is it more strongly evident than in the field of common defense. In 1940 at the second meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, at Habana, when World War II had commenced in Europe, the American Republics agreed that an attack by a non-American state upon an American state would be considered an attack against all the American Republics and that in the event of such an attack, the American Republics would consult, to agree upon measures that should be taken. The month following Pearl Harbor, the Foreign Ministers met in Rio de Janeiro to outline cooperative measures, and the period of the war was one of unprecedented cooperative activity among the American Republics. The solidarity of the other American Republics in the matter of defense was further implemented last year by the signing of the treaty of Rio de Janeiro. In addition to enunciating the principle that an attack on one of the American states is an attack on all, the treaty provides that in case of an armed attack by any state against one of the American states within the geographic limits specified in the treaty or within the territory of an American state, the contracting parties are obligated to render immediate assistance, the nature of such assistance to be determined by each state. The contracting parties are also obligated to consult, in order to determine what collective measures will be required of all. In the case of armed attacks outside of the region defined in the treaty or outside the territory of the American Republics, and in the case of aggression or situations that endanger the peace of America anywhere in the world,

there is an obligation on the part of the contracting parties to consult for the purpose of deciding which of the collective measures specified in the Charter will be taken by all. Decisions on the specified collective measures under the treaty will be made by a vote of a two thirds majority and will be binding on all states with the one exception that no state will be required to use armed force without its consent.

The Rio treaty is a striking example of the solidarity of the American Republics. Eleven nations have already deposited their instruments of ratification, and several others are now in the process of ratifying the treaty. It is anticipated that the necessary ratifications to bring the treaty into effect (two thirds of the signatory states) will be deposited before long. The Rio treaty has been characterized by Senator Vandenberg as “. . . cheerful, encouraging and happy news in a cloudy, war-weary world which is groping, amid constant and multiple alarms, toward the hopes by which men live. It is good for us. It is good for all our neighbors. It is good for the world”.<sup>1</sup>

A second characteristic of the inter-American system is the recognition and respect for the equal sovereignty of each American nation. In inter-American assemblies each country has one vote, the small as well as the large. There is no attempt of the larger nations to lord it over the smaller ones. All members of the system are equally sovereign.

Going hand in hand with the principle of equal sovereignty is the principle of nonintervention, which is a third characteristic of the inter-American system. The American Republics agreed at Montevideo in 1933 that no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another American Republic. The United States scrupulously observes this commitment in its relations with the other American Republics. Intervention has no place in a cooperative system, such as the inter-American system.

Consultation is a fourth characteristic of the system. The American Republics subscribe to the principle that they should consult in regard to all matters of mutual concern, and they have been practicing such consultation for nearly 60 years on an ever-increasing range of subjects. Consultation has had special significance in the inter-American system since 1936, when the principle of con-

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1947, p. 505.

sultation was given treaty form. Consultation between sovereign equals is, of course, the very antithesis of coercion by a powerful nation of weaker neighbors.

A further characteristic of the system is the desire of the American Republics to settle by peaceful means any disputes which might arise between them. The inter-American machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes has its roots in the Gondra treaty of 1923, which has been amplified and strengthened by subsequent agreements.

The inter-American system places great emphasis on cooperation for the general welfare. It is an accepted principle that cooperation among all the states is necessary for the advancement and welfare of the peoples of the Americas. It is important that there should be a satisfactory standard of living in all the American Republics. A standard of living compatible with the dignity of human personality is imperative not only because of humanitarian considerations and sociological principles but also because a community or country which is constantly threatened by destitution and poverty becomes a fertile ground for alien ideologies which may become a threat to the security of the neighboring nations. On the other hand, a community with a satisfactory standard of living is the best insurance against the entrance of totalitarianism; it is the best assurance of a continuance of a democratic system.

The United States has cooperated whole-heartedly in such multilateral endeavors as the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, which is the inter-American health organization. It has also been active in bilateral programs. Through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, the United States and other American Republics cooperate in health and food-production programs. Through the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation the United States cooperates extensively in the scientific and technical field, and in the exchange of students and specialists. Cooperation among the American Republics for the improvement of economic and social conditions is a means for undergirding democracy in the hemisphere.

A further characteristic of the inter-American system is the support which it gives to the United Nations as a regional arrangement under the

United Nations Charter. The United Nations Charter provides that regional organizations shall have a function in the peaceful settlement of disputes and contemplates that regional arrangements may have certain enforcement functions under authority of the Security Council. The American Republics are loyal in their support of the world organization. They acknowledge that cooperation between their American neighbors does not preclude the necessity for cooperation on a world-wide basis. At the same time, the American Republics recognize that world-wide cooperation does not preclude the close and fruitful relationship which the American Republics have developed over the course of years. Very far from being mutually exclusive, cooperation on a world-wide basis and regional cooperation in the inter-American system, supplement one another—the regional cooperation giving support to world-wide cooperation in the United Nations.

The American Republics have a long history of cooperation in economic matters; in fact, the present-day Pan American Union started as a commercial bureau of the American Republics. There is at present an Inter-American Economic and Social Council. Economic cooperation has its roots in economic interdependence. It is safe to assume that the coffee you had for dinner today was made from coffee grown in Brazil or one of the other American Republics. Many other instances of this kind could be mentioned. On the other hand, many of the products of New Jersey and other states of the Union find their way to South America. Inter-American trade is important to the American Republics. Many of the other American Republics are in need of economic development, for which they need tools and machinery. To purchase tools and machinery requires foreign exchange. Problems of this kind are to be discussed at an Inter-American Economic Conference in Buenos Aires in the spring of next year.

#### **Organization of the System**

The characteristics of the inter-American system find their expression in the organizational set-up of the system. The agency with which there is the greatest familiarity in the United States is the Pan American Union. The Pan American Union is the permanent organ of the

inter-American system which, of course, is far more extensive than the Union itself.

The organization of the inter-American system is depicted on the accompanying chart. The title, "Organization of American States", and the subtitle, "The International Organization of the 21 American Republics established by the Charter signed at the Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogotá, Colombia, 1948", appear on this chart. While the name, "Organization of American States", was selected in Bogotá in the spring of this year, the organization or association of American states itself dates back to the First International Conference of American States held in Washington in 1889-90. At this conference the International Union of American Republics came into being. The present Organization of American States is the lineal descendant, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, the reorganization of the International Union of American Republics of 1889-90.

One of the main purposes of the Bogotá conference was to work on a reorganization of the inter-American system. The system had experienced a spontaneous growth from the days of its inception and the need was quite generally felt for integration and coordination of the various inter-American organizations and agencies that had developed. The Bogotá conference prepared a charter for the Organization of American States which provides an integrated system for the various agencies of the Organization.

The box at the top of the chart relates to the Inter-American Conference. This is the supreme organ of the Organization and decides the general action and policies of the Organization. All member states of the Organization are represented at the Inter-American Conference and each state has the right to one vote. The conference will meet every five years in regular session; however, special sessions may be called with the approval of two thirds of the governments. There have been nine inter-American conferences of this type in the past, beginning with the one in Washington in 1889-90, the most recent one being at Bogotá.

The straight line down from the Inter-American Conference leads to the Council of the Organization, which is the permanent executive body of the Organization. The Council is composed of one representative of each of the member states.

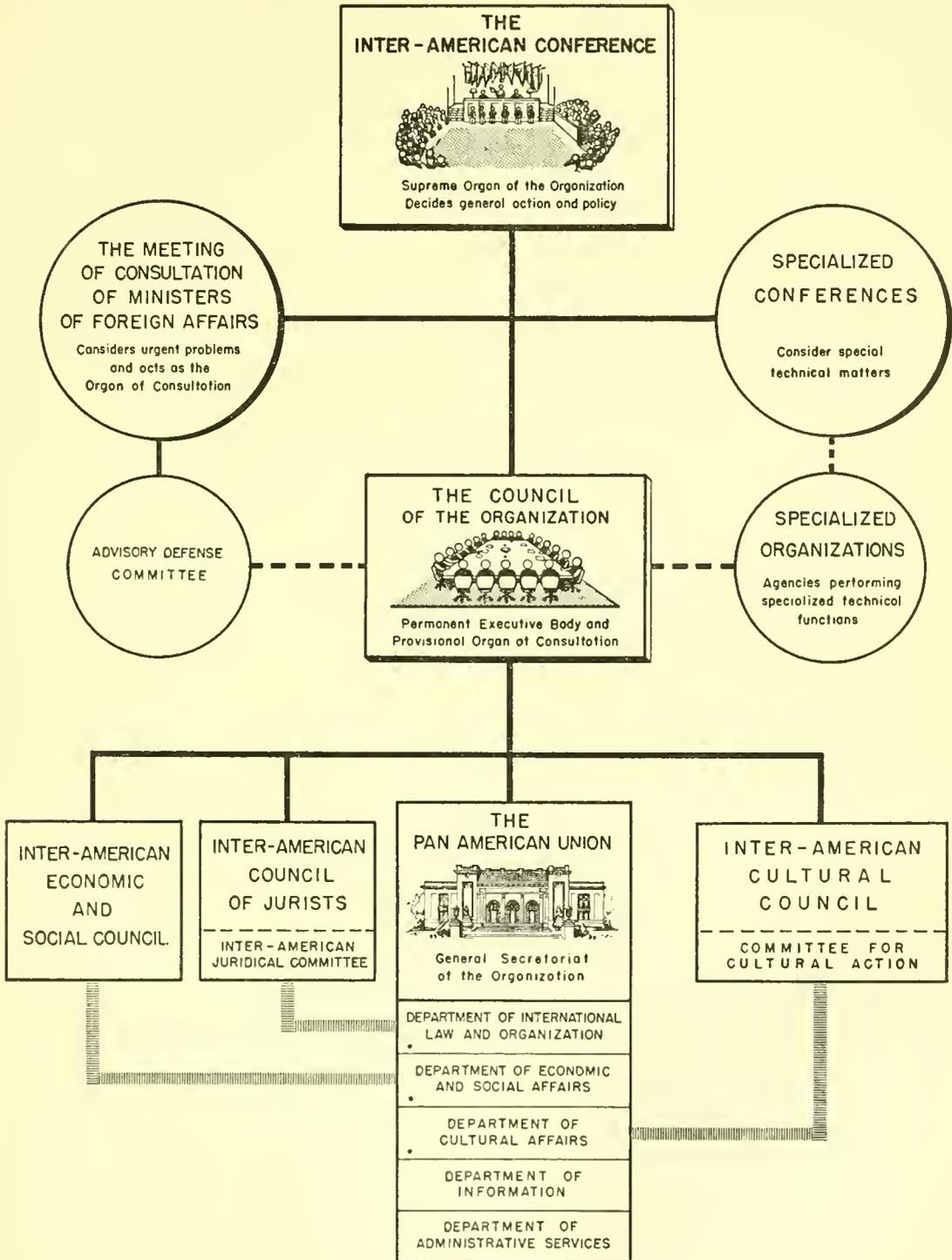
The Council meets at the Pan American Union building in Washington at regular intervals—in the past usually once a month, but in the future it will probably meet twice a month. Many of the countries are represented by a full-time representative, with the rank of Ambassador; others have appointed their Ambassador to Washington to serve as their representative on the Council. The Council makes recommendations to the governments, to the Inter-American Conference, and to the agencies of the system. It serves as a point of coordination for the functioning of the whole system, and promotes and facilitates collaboration between the Organization of American States and the United Nations and other international agencies.

The straight line down from the Council of the Organization, on the chart, leads to the Pan American Union. The picture in this box of the chart is the Pan American Union building located on the corner of 17th Street and Constitution Avenue in Washington, D. C. Visitors in Washington find it very interesting and worthwhile to stop at the Pan American Union building and see the many exhibits portraying the arts and industries of the other American Republics, as well as the tropical garden in the center of the building, and the beautiful Hall of the Americas; also the Council Room where the Council of the Organization holds its sessions and where the committees of the Council meet.

The Pan American Union had its inception in 1890 when the First International Conference of American States established it as the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics. In 1910 its name was changed to the Pan American Union. The Pan American Union is the central and permanent organ and general secretariat of the Organization. As is indicated on the chart, it has five departments—International Law and Organization, Economic and Social Affairs, Cultural Affairs, Information, and Administrative Services. Through these departments it promotes economic, social, juridical, and cultural relations among the member states. It also does preparatory work for inter-American conferences and serves as secretariat for the Council of the Organization and various inter-American conferences. The work of the Union has expanded to such an extent during the years of its existence that it is using every avail-

# ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

*The International Organization of the 21 American Republics established by the Charter signed at the Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogotá, Colombia, 1948.*



*\* The Directors of these Departments are the Executive Secretaries of the respective Councils.*

(Courtesy of the Pan American Union)

able bit of space in the Pan American Union building, as well as extra space obtained in other buildings in Washington. It is in urgent need of the additional building which is being constructed at the present time on Constitution Avenue between 18th and 19th Streets, just across the street from its present building.

At the top of the chart and to the left, is a circle for the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The Meeting of Foreign Ministers considers problems of an urgent nature and serves as the Organ of Consultation under the Rio treaty. Any member state may request that a meeting of consultation be called. When such a request is made, the Council of the Organization decides whether the meeting should be held. If an armed attack occurs within the territory of an American Republic or within the region specified in the Rio treaty, the Chairman of the Council of the Organization must call a meeting of Foreign Ministers immediately, at the same time calling a meeting of the Council itself, which is to serve provisionally as the Organ of Consultation.

Just below the circle on the chart for the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs is a smaller circle devoted to the Advisory Defense Committee. The Advisory Defense Committee is composed of the highest military authorities of the American states participating in a Meeting of Foreign Ministers when it is acting as the Organ of Consultation. It is convoked under the same conditions as the Organ of Consultation in order to advise the Organ of Consultation on problems of military cooperation that may arise in connection with the application of treaties on collective security. The Committee may also meet under certain other conditions, for technical studies and reports on specific subjects.

On the right of the chart are also two circles—the top circle, "Specialized Conferences", refers to conferences of the American Republics which meet to consider technical matters or to develop specific aspects of inter-American cooperation. The economic conference to be held in Buenos Aires next spring is a conference of this type. These conferences are called when the need for them is felt, or pursuant to provisions in existing inter-American agreements.

The smaller circle on the right deals with specialized organizations. These are inter-American

organizations which have been established by mutual agreement and have functions with respect to a given field of common interest to the American states, such as health, transportation, commerce, geography, and history. Agreements are to be entered into between the Council and specialized organizations defining the relations that shall exist between the respective agencies and the Organization of American States.

On the lower part of the chart to either side of the Pan American Union are boxes containing the names of three Councils—The Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Inter-American Council of Jurists, and the Inter-American Cultural Council.

The first of these—the Inter-American Economic and Social Council—is currently in existence and has been for several years. Its principal purpose is 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, commerce, and industry, and the raising of the standards of living of their people. The Inter-American Council of Jurists and the Inter-American Cultural Council are new councils first provided for in the charter signed at Bogotá, although the Inter-American Juridical Committee, the permanent committee of the Inter-American Council of Jurists, is a continuation of the Juridical Committee which has been in existence for several years in Rio de Janeiro. The Juridical Council will serve as an advisory body on juridical matters, will promote the development and codification of international law, and will study the possibility of attaining uniformity in the legislation of various American countries. The Cultural Council will seek to promote free relations and mutual understanding among the American people in order to strengthen their educational, scientific, and cultural ties and to promote and coordinate activities in these fields. As in the case of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, all of the American Republics will be represented on the Juridical and Cultural Councils. The Council of the Organization has a committee at work at the present time which is preparing for the actual establishment of the Juridical and Cultural Councils.

The foregoing is a summary of the organization of the inter-American system as contemplated by

the charter signed at Bogotá. The charter is a treaty, and hence, will have to be ratified by the Republics in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. It will enter into force among the ratifying states when two thirds of the signatory states have deposited their ratifications. However, since the charter is actually a reorganization of an existing system rather than a completely new organization, and since all of the American Republics signed the charter, the Bogotá conference felt that there was every reason for placing the organizational set-up in effect immediately, so that the benefits of the reorganization could be attained immediately, without having to wait for the necessary 14 ratifications.

The Bogotá conference, therefore, passed a resolution which places the organizational set-up of the charter in effect provisionally and also specifies that the new organs provided for in the charter shall be established on a provisional basis.

The inter-American system is a mighty bulwark of solidarity in a turbulent world. Here equal sovereignty is recognized, countries avoid intervention in each other's internal affairs, but consult on matters of mutual interest. Here we have peaceful settlement of disputes and cooperation for the general good. Such a system, such an organization of states, such a free community of neighboring nations, is a tower of strength to the United Nations and to the world.

### **Related Department of State Publications on the American Republics**

The following publications may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Report of Delegation of United States to Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Mexico City, Feb. 21–Mar. 8, 1945. Conference Series 85. Pub. 2497. 1946. 371 pp. 55¢.

Report on the work of the Conference, with appendixes, including the Final Act of the Conference and draft resolutions presented to the Conference.

Cultural Centers in the Other American Republics. By Dorothy Greene and Sherly Goodman Esman, Department of State. Inter-American Series [30]. Pub. 2503. 1946. 20 pp. 5¢.

An explanation of activities and studies in the cultural centers established in the American republics by local groups and U.S. nationals.

Sharing "Know-How" — An Inter-American Achievement. Foreign Affairs Outline No. 14. Inter-American Series 34. Pub. 2949. 1947. 4 pp. Free.

Development of inter-American bilateral scientific and cultural cooperation during and after the war, effected principally through the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and the Institute of Inter-American Affairs.

Cooperation in the Americas: Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, July 1946–June 1947. International Information and Cultural Series 1. Pub. 2971. 1948. 146 pp. 40¢.

A discussion of the cooperative scientific and technical projects, the exchange of persons, and other cultural interchanges between the Americas.

Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, Quitandinha, Brazil, Aug. 15–Sept. 2, 1947: Report of the Delegation of the United States of America. International Organization and Conference Series II, American Republics 1. Pub. 3016. 1948. 225 pp. 40¢.

A discussion of all phases of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, with ample documentation.

Sovereignty and Interdependence in the New World: Comments on the Inter-American System. Inter-American Series 35. Pub. 3054. 1948. 32 pp. Free.

An article by William Sanders describing various phases of inter-American cooperation as it has developed during the past 60 years.

Address by the Secretary of State Before the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogotá, Colombia, Apr. 1, 1948. International Organization and Conference Series II, American Republics 2. Pub. 3139. 1948. 14 pp. Free.

Presenting the U.S. point of view on inter-American cooperation and organization.

Significance of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in the Conduct of U.S. Foreign Policy. Inter-American Series 36. Pub. 3239. 1948. 19 pp. 15¢.

A series of articles by Louis J. Halle, Jr., on inter-American cooperation under the Institute with emphasis on the fields of agriculture, education, and health.

# UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COOPERATION

*by Norman Burns*

Adviser, Office of International Trade Policy

In the midst of World War II, a commission of the Federal Council of Churches proposed six prerequisites of "a just and durable peace". One of those proposals relates directly to United Nations economic cooperation. It reads as follows:

"The peace must make provision for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions."

The commission explained its proposal in a brief comment:

"Science", it said, "has made it possible for the world to sustain a far greater population than was formerly the case and to attain for that population a high standard of living. But this involves a large degree of transportation and interchange between one nation and another. Thus all people are subject to grave risk, so long as any single government may, by unilateral action, disrupt the flow of world trade. This is a form of anarchy that creates widespread insecurity and breeds disorder. It prompts nations to seek self-sufficiency for themselves at the expense of others. We do not here envisage, as presently practical, a condition of 'free trade'. But the world does require that the areas of economic interdependence be dealt with in the interest of all concerned and that there be international organization to promote this end."

## **Need for International Economic Cooperation**

This trend of thought motivated the creation of a postwar structure of international economic cooperation. Thoughtful people had become convinced of the economic interdependence of the various countries. They had seen from their own experience how unilateral action by each country, without adequate regard to the effect of its action on other countries, had led to economic warfare that "dried up" international trade in the 1920's

and 1930's. They had seen how the mishandling of the world's economic problems in the interwar years had created political instability that rendered more difficult the task of maintaining the peace. They knew that World War II had disrupted world economic life far more than had the first world war. The second world war had lasted for a longer period of time and had destroyed more life and more property over a wider area of the globe than any previous war. Many people realized that if our kind of world was to survive this holocaust, the various countries would have to cooperate in political and economic matters to achieve economic recovery as quickly as possible.

## **Postwar Progress**

Within the short space of three years, the United Nations have created an operating mechanism for international economic cooperation—something they had not been able to do after the first world war. At times the obstacles seemed almost insuperable. Yet when we consider the situation today in relation to 1945, the accomplishment seems very great indeed. Within three years after the first world war, the United States experienced the severe depression of 1921; and famine stalked through many foreign lands. Today the United States industrial production is two thirds above that of prewar years; agricultural production, one third above. Canadian and Latin American production is substantially higher than before the war. By the end of 1947, nearly all the European countries (except Germany) had reached or exceeded their prewar industrial output, according to the latest annual report of the International Fund. Western Germany's industrial output is now 70 percent of the prewar level. Exports from the 16 Western European countries participating in the European Recovery Program were 30 percent greater in volume in 1947 than in 1946, and the 1947 volume was only 10 to 15 percent less than

in 1938. The bread-grain production of Western Europe in 1948 was about 12 percent below the 1938 volume, according to the United States Department of Agriculture.

The fact that emerges from these broad comparisons is that after the most devastating of all wars and in the face of determined Communist attempts to prolong the disruption of war-torn countries, the non-Communist world had made great strides toward economic recovery. The major reason for the success thus far achieved lies in the determination of the non-Communist world to follow a course of international economic cooperation. The United States has contributed in full measure to such cooperation. Without United Nations cooperation and United States assistance, such recovery would not have been possible.

### **Instruments of U.N. Economic Cooperation**

The United Nations economic structure consists of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies. The Economic and Social Council serves as a forum for the discussion of all economic and social matters pertinent to economic stability and well-being as a basis for peace. It is composed of 18 Member Countries elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms. It has been meeting twice a year (seven meetings to date), and its next meeting will be at Lake Success in February 1949. The United States Representative on the Council is Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs.

The authority of the Economic and Social Council is confined to consultation, discussion, and recommendation; it has no coercive power. It may make recommendations, on the basis of majority vote, to the General Assembly, Member Governments, the specialized agencies, and, under certain conditions, to the Security Council. It may consider any kind of economic or social question brought before it by Governments Members of the United Nations, or, in certain cases, by nongovernmental organizations which have consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. It may deal with regional economic problems. It has called conferences to deal with the conservation of natural resources, freedom of the press, and the establishment of the World Health Organization. Its resolution of February 1946 proposed the calling of an international trade conference to reduce

world-trade barriers and to expand world trade. This resolution led to the 23-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, negotiated at Geneva last year, and to the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization. The Economic and Social Council is responsible, also, for coordinating the activities of specialized economic organizations, such as the International Bank, the International Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the proposed International Trade Organization.

The International Bank was created in 1945 to make long-term loans for the reconstruction and development of member countries. Its total capital amounts to 8,286 million dollars; its resources in terms of gold, dollars, and United States bonds amount to one billion dollars. It has granted reconstruction loans amounting to 525 million dollars to France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Luxembourg, and Chile. According to a recent press statement by John J. McCloy, president of the Bank, the Bank may make further loans up to 478 million dollars within the next six months. Securities have been sold in the United States amounting to 250 million dollars, and Mr. McCloy said that further issues are contemplated. Bank securities are legally authorized investments for institutional investors for all national banks, for commercial banks in 41 States, for savings banks, and insurance companies in 22 States, and for trust funds in 28 States.

The International Monetary Fund, a sister organization of the Bank, was established to reduce wide fluctuations in exchange rates between different currencies. It advises member countries in the establishment of exchange rates; it serves as a continuous forum for consultation on such problems; it sends technical missions to member countries, at their request, to help them put their fiscal affairs in order; and it buys and sells foreign exchange. In the period from July 1, 1947, to April 30, 1948, it bought 544 million dollars of foreign currencies. Voting power in the Bank and the Fund is based primarily upon the country's participating capital. The United States has 33.65 percent of the Bank votes and 30.62 percent of the Fund votes. The latest annual reports of the Bank and the Fund contain excellent surveys of the present world economic situation.

The Food and Agriculture Organization and the

International Labor Organization have specialized economic functions. The former makes recommendations on world supplies and requirements of foodstuffs, the latter on world labor conditions. Like the Bank and the Fund, each has a membership of approximately 50 countries. The Soviet Union is not at present a member of any of these agencies except the Economic and Social Council, where it usually opposes the economic programs of the non-Communist world. Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia are members of most of the specialized agencies.

The United Nations economic structure is now virtually complete except for the establishment of the proposed International Trade Organization. During the Habana conference last spring, representatives of 54 nations agreed upon a draft Charter for an International Trade Organization. This Charter will be submitted to the legislatures of the various countries for ratification. It will be submitted to the United States Congress probably early next year.

The Charter does two things: it establishes a code of fair-trade rules that countries voluntarily agree to follow in their trade with each other; it proposes an organization to implement the rules of fair trade and to serve as a forum for the settlement of trade disputes between members. The Charter seeks to avoid the kind of economic warfare between countries that limited world trade in the 1920's and 1930's.

The United States has actively sponsored this project, through five years of international discussions and conferences, for the reason voiced in the resolution of the Federal Council of Churches, namely, that when governments are free to take unilateral action to disrupt the flow of world trade, the inevitable result is "anarchy that creates widespread insecurity". Cordell Hull, then Congressman from Tennessee, proposed the creation of such an organization during the first world war. His resolution in the House of Representatives, April 23, 1917, proposed a "permanent international trade agreement congress" to consider "all international trade methods, practices, and policies which in their effects are reasonably calculated to create dangerous and destructive commercial controversies or bitter economic wars" and "to formulate treaty arrangements with respect thereto, designed to eliminate, prevent, and avoid the inju-

rious results and dangerous possibilities of economic warfare . . .".

The Charter rules cover the whole range of international trade relationships: tariffs, quotas, subsidies, foreign exchange, customs formalities, cartels, commodity agreements, nondiscrimination, and the international aspects of foreign investment, employment, and economic development.

The basic principles of the Charter are simple. Countries voluntarily agree to follow certain fair rules of trade. If countries desire to take certain actions, they must consult with each other. The Charter rules represent commitments by governments to refrain from various governmental actions which they are now at full liberty to take, that interfere with private trade. Thus the Charter gives greater scope for the development of trade on the basis of competitive rather than political considerations. This favors private enterprise.

One basic principle of the Charter is that countries should negotiate for the reciprocal reduction of world-trade barriers. Substantial progress has already been accomplished under the 23-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiated at Geneva last year. Under this agreement, the 23 countries reduced tariff rates on some items and bound tariff rates against increase on other items for products accounting for over one half of the world's total foreign trade. This was the most comprehensive attempt ever undertaken to reduce world-trade barriers. The general agreement is already in effect for all the 23 countries except Chile; it includes the United States, the British Empire countries, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, China, and certain Latin American countries. Next April 11 more countries (Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Greece, Peru, Uruguay, Dominican Republic, Haiti, El Salvador, and Nicaragua) will negotiate with each other and with the 23 nations of the General Agreement for a further reduction of world-trade barriers. The United States will conduct its negotiations in accordance with the usual Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The Soviet Union, although invited, did not participate in either the trade agreement or the Charter negotiations. The Soviet Union has opposed the Charter. Mr. Arutiunian, speaking for the Soviet Union before the Economic and Social Council, August 11, 1948, claimed that the

International Trade Organization would "exert pressure on countries practicing state-controlled trade" and that it would "contribute to the domination by the U. S. A. of world markets".

The European Recovery Program is not an integral part of the United Nations structure, but it complements United Nations economic cooperation. The basic reason for the European Recovery Program was that Western Europe, as a result of war-dislocations, was unable to support itself. In 1947, for example, Western Europe's dollar deficit on current account upon the Western Hemisphere amounted to 8 billion dollars, according to the International Fund. The choice was either for the United States to extend aid to help Europe restore its economy quickly or for Europe to restrict its imports to its means of payment. The latter meant restriction of European consumption to a point that would be perilous to the economic and political stability of Western Europe. The United States Congress, following a bipartisan policy, voted 5 billion dollars for the European Recovery Program in the 12- to 15-month period beginning April 1948; one half of this amount has already been authorized for procurement. Paul Hoffman, Administrator of the program, says that further assistance will be needed until the summer of 1952, at which time Western Europe will be on a self-sustaining basis. But there is an "if"—if world trading conditions are such as to permit an expansion of world trade.

It is because of this "if" that the ultimate success of the European Recovery Program is closely associated with the United States trade program. Europe cannot support itself without a flourishing world trade, because the European economy is built upon the procurement of raw materials in some countries and the sale of manufactured products in other countries. The United States Congress recognized this basic situation in the "Economic Cooperation Act of 1948", which created the European Recovery Program, when it required under the act (section 115) that the United States cooperate "with other participating countries in facilitating and stimulating an increasing interchange of goods and services among the participating countries and with other countries and cooperating to reduce barriers to trade among themselves and with other countries".

The International Bank, in its latest annual report, also emphasizes that in the long run Euro-

pean recovery depends upon a large world trade. It says in this respect:

"Unless the markets for European products can be broadened and greater freedom of intra-European trade can be attained, the hope for ultimate European recovery will be dimmed and the opportunity afforded by ERP will be lost. Trade barriers in whatever form tend to breed productive inefficiency. They enable inefficient and uneconomic enterprises to survive and prevent efficient producers from reaching the markets they need to improve their efficiency and increase their production."

Thus the Habana Charter for an International Trade Organization and the world trade barrier reduction program of the United States Government—both of which are instruments to expand world trade—complement the European Recovery Program. The recovery program is intended to put Europe on its feet as quickly as possible; the United States trade program and the Charter are intended to establish trade conditions that will enable Europe to stay on its feet after American emergency financial aid comes to an end.

### Conclusions

United Nations economic cooperation is now a living reality. It is already functioning as regards the non-Communist world. The United States has contributed in full measure toward that recovery, at great cost to the finances and resources of this country. We did so because we knew that with our support, the postwar world might recover; without it, no one knew what the future might hold forth. The real issue was faith in a way of life.

The path of United Nations economic cooperation has not been easy. One keystone in the structure—the International Trade Organization—has not yet been established. In the United Nations structure, precisely the same as in national governments, organizations tend to overlap each other. In the United Nations structure, precisely as in national governments, some people and some countries are more interested in words than in deeds. In the United Nations negotiations, as in national governments, there are conflicts and differences of opinion. It is not always easy to make such organizations work effectively. The United Nations economic organizations can work only if the

Member Governments want them to work. The United Nations organizations were confronted with postwar economic problems of appalling magnitude. Communist strategy has been to prolong and aggravate these problems.

The problem of the future concerns the relation of the democratic and the Communist world. In this situation there are "pluses" for the democracies. Partly as a by-product of the United Nations activity, public opinion in each country under-

stands more clearly than ever before the nature of the world's economic and political problems. This is a plus in the balance. Another plus is that the democratic countries, notwithstanding all difficulties, have shown that they can work together; they have actually achieved tremendous progress toward world recovery. Another plus is American leadership, which, in the future as in the past, will count heavily in the balance of world affairs.

## THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

### Adoption of Atomic Energy Resolution

#### STATEMENT BY WARREN R. AUSTIN<sup>1</sup>

##### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

We have before us the resolution on atomic energy<sup>2</sup> adopted by more than a two-thirds vote at the 165th meeting of the first committee on October 20, 1948.

The resolution approves the general findings and recommendations of the first report, and the specific proposals of Part II of the second report of the Atomic Energy Commission, as constituting the necessary basis for the control of atomic energy to insure its use only for peaceful purposes, and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, in accordance with the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission. It requests the six powers who were the sponsors, on the General Assembly, of the resolution which resulted in setting up the Atomic Energy Commission, to consult in order to determine if there exists a basis for agreement. Meanwhile, it calls upon the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its sessions and to proceed with the further study of such of the subjects remaining in its program of work as it considers to be practicable and useful.

The United States voted for this resolution in

Committee I.<sup>3</sup> It will vote for it in this plenary session. In doing so, it is carrying out the commitment which it made to turn over its atomic weapons, its plants, and all its knowledge in this field, to an international agency in order that atomic weapons might be forever prohibited, and that peaceful uses of atomic energy might be successfully developed. To this commitment, it attached only one condition, namely: that a system of safeguards should be set up, such that, when the United States disposed of its atomic weapons, it would not be possible for any other nation to make or use atomic energy for destructive purposes.

We believe that the general principles and specific proposals of the Atomic Energy Commission, which have been developed after long discussion, and with such painstaking care, meet this condition. Many alternatives have been considered but none has been found which would contain equal guaranty of security to all nations.

In this matter, the interest of the United States is no different from the interest of any other country. Any weakness in the plan of control which would allow a possibility of a new threat of atomic weapons anywhere in the world after the signing of the treaty, would be disastrous to peace and security. There is no nation, great or small, which would be willing to envisage such a possibility.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Plenary Session of the General Assembly in Paris on Nov. 3, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 606.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 31, 1948, p. 539.

We firmly believe that the Soviet Union, when it has fully considered all aspects of this situation, and is ready to enter into a treaty for control and prohibition, will demand, as do all other nations, a plan which embodies every possible safeguard. When that time comes, it seems likely that the Soviet Union will itself insist on the safeguards embodied in this very plan, which they now so bitterly oppose.

The resolution before us also calls upon the six sponsors of the General Assembly resolution of January 24, 1946,<sup>4</sup> who are the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission, to meet together and consult in order to determine if there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy to insure its use only for peaceful purposes, and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons. The United States shares the view of the majority of the nations members of the Atomic Energy Commission, as expressed in the Commission's third report,<sup>5</sup> that such consultations are necessary. The impasse in the Atomic Energy Commission is basically due, not to differences in the technical details of the plan, but to the refusal of the Soviet Union to accept, in the words of the third report: "The nature and extent of participation in the world community required of all nations in this field." It is the desire of the United States that these consultations should be at a high level and principally concerned with the cause of the Soviet Union's finding itself at present unwilling or unable to take a cooperative part with other nations in the necessary measures for the maintenance of peace.

We do not assume that at the very first consultation the great difficulties which separate the Soviet Union from the countries of the Western world will be immediately resolved. But we believe that the time is appropriate for consultation on these matters. We do very seriously hope that quiet and mature discussion in an atmosphere of intelligent deliberation may make for progress in mutual understanding, and pave the way for ultimate solutions. We believe that the terrible problem of atomic energy would provide a framework which would keep constantly before the consulting powers the urgent necessity for agreement on measures which would resolve present difficulties, and which would lift from the hearts of nations the overshadowing fear of atomic warfare.

As an additional step towards attaining this great objective, the General Assembly in this resolution calls upon the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its sessions, to survey its program of work, and to proceed to the further study of such of the subjects remaining in the program of work as it considers to be practicable and useful.

After the experience of the past two years in the Atomic Energy Commission, the United States had

about reached the conclusion that no further concrete advance could be made in the Atomic Energy Commission itself until some agreement had been reached on the basic barriers to immediate acceptance of a plan of prohibition coupled with effective control. The attitude of the United States in this respect was shared by the nine majority members of the Atomic Energy Commission when they voted for the third report. However, in the debate in Committee I, the Delegates of Syria, of Australia, and of India urged that the work of the Commission be continued in one or another form. This feeling was expressed by many other delegates, and the United States concurred. We say now to the General Assembly that we loyally participate in the request it is making upon the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its sessions, that we will earnestly proceed to the survey of the program of work of the Commission, and to the further study of such of the subjects remaining in the program of work as the Commission, in its discretion, considers to be practicable and useful.

The United States will do its share to carry out this mandate of the General Assembly in such a way as to advance, by every possible means, toward our common goal of control, and elimination from national armaments, of this dangerous weapon.

In making this promise, we are continuing a policy to which the people of the United States have been committed since the beginning of the Atomic Age. On October 27, 1945, the President of the United States, in his Navy Day address, reaffirmed the fundamentals of the United States foreign policy in the new frame of reference of the atomic bomb. In effect, he told the world that we hold the bomb and our knowledge of atomic energy as a "sacred trust", and that in no way did our possession of such a weapon constitute a threat to any nation, or make a departure from our basic foreign policy.

By the end of the first year of the Atomic Age, the United States had initiated action that:

Led to the creation of the mechanisms for international consideration of atomic controls;

Devised a detailed plan for the world control of nuclear energy under an International Atomic Development Authority representing all of the United Nations;

Adopted by Act of Congress a strict national control of all fissionable materials under a civilian commission;

Released radioactive materials (isotopes) for medical, biologic, and scientific research, and

Through its representative to the newly created

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 10, 1946, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> Department of State publication 3179.

United Nations Atomic Energy Commission had proposed a plan for the international control of atomic energy.

A notable part of this record is the public policy declared in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.<sup>6</sup> That carefully considered legislation primarily relates to domestic control. However, in the evolution of policy declared by that act the magnitude and complexity of the task to be met in international planning and intergovernmental collaboration, was discovered. Therefore, both national and international policies of atomic-energy control were brought close together in the technical study and political discussion which resulted in the Act. Consequently, we find that this law, devoted to domestic administration, provided, in part, in the very first section:

*Purpose of Act.* It is the purpose of this act to effectuate the policies set out in Section 1. (a) By providing, among others, for the following major programs relating to atomic energy.

(2) A program for the control of scientific and technical information which will permit the dissemination of such information to encourage scientific progress, and for the sharing on a reciprocal basis of information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes can be devised,

(5) A program of administration which will be consistent with the foregoing policies and with international arrangements made by the United States, and which will enable the Congress to be currently informed so as to take further legislative action as may hereafter be appropriate.

In Section 8 of the same act we find this provision:

Any provision of this Act or any action of the Commission to the extent that it conflicts with the provisions of any international arrangement made after the date of enactment of this Act shall be deemed to be of no further force or effect.

In the performance of its functions under this Act, the Commission shall give maximum effect to the policies contained in any such international arrangement.

The declarations of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 show clearly the intentions of the American people with respect to the relationship between domestic and international control of atomic energy.

More recently, on June 11, 1948, the Senate of the United States set forth as one of the objectives which the United States Government is particularly to pursue, the following:

"Maximum efforts to obtain agreement among member nations upon universal regulation and reduction of armaments under adequate and dependable guaranty against violations."

International control of atomic energy was considered "the immediately crucial aspect of the entire problem of armaments".

These declarations are important because they represent the will of the American people expressed by the Congress elected by them. They provide a clear and continuing mandate for the carrying out of American policy as established by the people.

In this brief sketch of early policy development the General Assembly may perceive the relation to world safety of the principles and policies contained in the proposed resolution.

In the first meeting of the Atomic Energy Commission, the United States suggested certain principles which might be used by the Commission as a basis for its studies. During the almost three years which have followed, other nations have made important contributions to these principles. Notably, there have been contributed the proposal that quotas representing the proportion of nuclear fuel which would be assigned to each nation for peaceful purposes, should be written into the treaty, and not left to the arbitrary decisions of the international agency; and, further, the principle that upon the signing of the treaty, production of nuclear fuel should be kept to a minimum necessitated by actual beneficial uses. These new principles were accepted by the United States, the first, because it dispelled the charge that the international agency would be armed with arbitrary powers by which it might interfere with the economic life of other nations, and the second, because it enormously increases the security of the world during that considerable period of time which may elapse before atomic energy finds its proper place in the world economy for the production of power.

The debate in the first committee was concerned almost entirely with the removal of the threat of atomic war. We feel that the debate on this resolution would not be complete unless the Assembly gives consideration to the other vital purpose laid down by the General Assembly in giving the Atomic Energy Commission its terms of reference, namely, the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The products of nuclear fission can be employed in nondangerous quantities over a wide range of scientific activities, from which we may hope for considerable benefits to mankind. Indeed, benefits of this sort are already being attained, in part through the distribution by the United States of isotopes produced in its plants and laboratories and made available to all nations who are willing to publish the results of their work. But the great field of advance lies in the possibility that large, and, thus unfortunately, dangerous quantities of nuclear fuel may be used to produce electricity for power, and thus open a new era of well-being to vast numbers of people to whom other power resources are not available. Scientists tell us that it may take from 10 to 50 years before power from

<sup>6</sup> S. Rept. 1211, 79th Cong. (the McMahon bill).

nuclear fission can be produced on a basis to compete, even in a remote region with power produced from other fuels. The length of time which will be required for this great peacetime achievement of science will depend, to a large degree, upon the free world-wide exchange of information in this field.

At the present time, progress is being made slowly by individual nations, limited in their resources and forced to throw over their work a veil of secrecy which prevents their receiving the help of scientists from other countries.

Under the proposals now put forward by the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, which are before you for approval, this situation would be very rapidly improved.

In the plan of the Commission, it is proposed that scientific research with nondangerous quantities of atomic materials would be carried on under license in national and private laboratories. The atomic materials used or produced would be owned by the agency. The purpose of the license would be to insure that dangerous quantities were not involved, that atomic weapons were not developed, and that all information on the research and its results were immediately reported to the agency so that it could be freely interchanged and made public. There would be no other restrictions on scientific research with nondangerous quantities of material.

Thus, research in beneficial uses would not be confined to agency laboratories. The conduct of such research by nations and individuals would be promoted and encouraged by the agency which would be authorized to make available personnel, materials, facilities, and funds for these purposes. By such assistance and by publishing all information relating to atomic energy the agency would facilitate international cooperation among scientists and would give an immediate and enormous impetus to scientific research.

After the establishment of international control, important peaceful benefits of atomic energy would be available to all participating nations. The most immediate of these beneficial applications is in the field of biology and medicine. A possible future application is in the development of atomic power. There are many scientific, technical, and engineering problems to be solved before atomic power can become a practical reality. There are also questions of economic feasibility which need to be answered. To solve these problems and answer these questions, the international agency would promote research and development on atomic power in its own laboratories and in national and private laboratories.

Whenever experimental work on power undertaken by a nation reaches a point at which further development would require the use of atomic materials in dangerous quantities, the agency itself unequivocal terms. The General Assembly now

would take over such a development in cooperation and agreement with the nation concerned, and carry forward the work provided the agency deemed it to be consistent with the general requirements of security. Experimental or pilot plants would be set up, owned and operated by the agency in several countries, and the experimental and development work done in those plants would be carried on with the help of scientists and engineers from many countries. All of the results of such experimental developments would be freely circulated and published. There would thus be every prospect for an enormous acceleration of this important work which holds so much hope for mankind.

When and if the time comes that atomic energy can be used to produce power on an economical basis, the international agency would, subject to the requirements of security, make such power available at the request of any nation ready to enter into appropriate agreements. Thus all nations, with the minimum of interference in their economic affairs, would enjoy the benefits and the positive advantages that would arise from the cooperative development of atomic energy and the sharing of information, facilities, and personnel.

We know of no way other than the method of an international agency as now proposed, by which mankind could hope so soon to derive these full and important peacetime benefits. Until such a plan is adopted, the secrecy required to protect not one nation but all nations against the clandestine acquisition and ownership of atomic weapons will remain. This secrecy inevitably acts as a delaying factor in the advance towards the constructive use of atomic energy.

We have touched on this matter here because while this plan and proposal of the Atomic Energy Commission has as its negative side the necessity of controlling atomic weapons and prohibiting their use, it has on its positive side a great constructive purpose which can be fully attained in no other way.

Since August 8, 1945, the United States has consistently maintained the view that atomic weapons must be removed from national armaments. For over three years, the United States has worked toward that end. This has been, and still remains, our consistent purpose. Our offer still stands.

The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has labored arduously to set forth in a single plan those two great objectives of the General Assembly, which were laid down in the terms of reference to the Commission.

We believe that the General Assembly is now at the point of taking a critical step towards the implementation of the work of the Commission.

What is needed is that the mandate of the General Assembly should be expressed in clear and

unequivocal terms. The General Assembly has an opportunity to approve this resolution by the vote of an overwhelming majority of its members.

In doing so, the Assembly would add to the opinion of its Atomic Energy Commission the moral power of its carefully considered judgment. It

would provide a new lever by which new forces of cooperation could be activated. It would stimulate the faith of uncounted millions of anxious people that the United Nations can and will persevere, however complex the differences, to the pacific solution.

## Resolution on Reports of the Atomic Energy Commission <sup>1</sup>

The General Assembly,

HAVING EXAMINED the first, second and third reports of the Atomic Energy Commission which have been transmitted to it by the Security Council in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 1 (I) of 24 January 1946,

1. *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 of the Commission as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons in accordance with the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission;

2. *Expresses* its deep concern at the impasse which has been reached in the work of the Atomic Energy Commission as shown in its third report

and regrets that unanimous agreement has not yet been reached;

3. *Requests* the six sponsors of the General Assembly resolution of 24 January 1946, which are the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission, to meet together and consult in order to determine if there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and to report to the General Assembly the results of their consultation not later than its next regular session:

4. Meanwhile,

The General Assembly,

*Calls upon* the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its sessions, to survey its programme of work, and to proceed to the further study of such of the subjects remaining in the programme of work as it considers to be practicable and useful.

## Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography <sup>2</sup>

### Trusteeship Council

Report of the Drafting Committee on the Report on the Administration of New Guinea for the Year 1 July 1946 to 30 June 1947. T/202, July 29, 1948. 19 pp. mimeo.

<sup>1</sup> Contained in U.N. doc. A/690, Oct. 23, 1948. Adopted by the First Committee on Oct. 20, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Administration of Tanganyika for 1947. T/204, July 30, 1948. 42 pp. mimeo.

—Report on the Administration of South West Africa for 1946. T/209, August 2, 1948. 10 pp. mimeo.  
Non-Self-Governing Territories. Summaries and analysis of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1947. vii, 509 pp. printed. \$4.00.

### Atomic Energy Commission

An International Bibliography on Atomic Energy. Scientific Aspects. Volume II. Part III—The Biological and Medical Effects of High Energy Radiation. Part IV—Isotopes in Biology and Medicine. (Preliminary Edition). AEC/INF/9, September 17, 1948. mimeo.

## Discussion of Greek Problem

### STATEMENTS BY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN COMMITTEE I<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

#### Continuation of Balkan Commission

We now deal with the substance of the agenda item: "Threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece". Unfortunately, the threat to Greece is not an isolated fact. Rather it is part of a larger problem, many phases of which come before the United Nations.

In Greece, Communists are attempting to overthrow the Government by violence, and in this effort they are receiving aid from other countries that are already Communist controlled. This violent effort to establish in Greece a Communist government is but part of a general effort to extend the power of Soviet Communism throughout the world. The Security Council has been considering another phase of this problem as it dealt with the coercive measures being taken by the Soviet Union to extend its power over all Berlin. This Assembly will deal with another phase when we take up the agenda item of Korea. Wherever one looks, whether it be to Europe, Africa, Asia, or the Americas, there is apparent the same pattern of effort—namely the incitement, from without, of coercion, fear, and violence within to achieve international political objectives. The manifestations of this effort differ only as they are adjusted to meet local situations.

There is nothing surprising about this uniformity, for it reflects what Communists throughout the world have been consistently taught and what they are being taught today. The Soviet, they are told, will not be safe until the non-Communist nations have been so reduced in strength and numbers that Communist influence is dominant throughout the world, and that, in such efforts, the Soviet Communist Party is the "vanguard", the "shock-brigade" of the world proletariat. It is furthermore taught that this result cannot be achieved by peaceful reform but only by methods of revolution. Therefore, when throughout the world, Communists seek to weaken and overthrow non-Communist governments and use force, coercion, and terrorism, they are only doing what their foreign leaders have taught them to do.

Of course, under the Charter of the United Nations, men are entitled to follow the dictates of their conscience and their reason, and to

attempt, by example and persuasion, to bring others to share their beliefs. That, we believe, is a human right and fundamental freedom that the Charter consecrates. But, and this is the essential, the Charter does not countenance using *violence* to achieve international ends. Article 2 (4) binds all the Members broadly to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force". This does not mean that the Charter attempts to freeze the *status quo*. On the contrary, throughout its preamble and its articles runs the theme of a changing world, a world in which there is "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". (Preamble.) Article 14 gives this General Assembly the authority to "recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations". But such adjustment must be "peaceful".

There is thus a basic contradiction between the Charter theory of *peaceful* change, by evolution, and the Communist doctrine of *violent* change, by revolution. And it is because Soviet Communism teaches and practices the use of violence that the United Nations has found it impossible, as yet, to relieve the peoples of the world from the heavy burden of armament and the even heavier burden of fear.

So long as Soviet Communism does preach and practice revolution as a means to destroy the social order elsewhere and to achieve world-wide political ambitions, many are bound to wonder whether the Communist Governments signed the United Nations Charter with integrity of purpose. The United Nations is, however, faced with that practical situation. Under the circumstances, it must do what it can to check the threat and use of violence and thereby to remove the pall of fear which overhangs the world. Its means to this end are inadequate. "Action" is a primary responsibility of the Security Council, and in the Security Council the Government of Soviet Russia wields a power of veto. That, indeed, is why this Balkan

<sup>1</sup> Made on Oct. 26 and Nov. 5, 1948, respectively, and released to the press on the same date.

affair is before the Assembly. The Soviet Union, by its veto last year, made the Security Council impotent to deal with it.

The Assembly has, however, great possibilities if they are properly understood and fully used. The Assembly can expose the facts and by so doing can build up a moral judgment so widespread and so weighty that no nation will ignore it. Marshal Stalin said of the League of Nations that "despite its weakness the League might nevertheless serve as a place where aggressors can be exposed". He put his finger on a great power—the power of exposure. It does not work with precision or with immediacy, but it is, in the long run, a power to which all are sensitive for history has proved that those who flout it pay, some day, a heavy penalty.

So, in a world where some nations believe in methods of violence, this Assembly must set itself the hard task of exposing every such manifestation and gradually developing a world opinion so condemnatory of such methods, so disposed to suppress them, that violent methods will gradually fall into disuse as ineffectual and dangerous to those who employ them. Then at last we shall have a world in which, despite differences, men will, in the words of the Charter, "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors".

Greece is a case in point. Last year this Assembly established a Special Committee on the Balkans, composed of eleven Member States and charged with two main functions: To be available to assist Greece and its three northern neighbors to settle their differences amicably if, happily, their mood should make this possible and, secondly, to inform the United Nations and, through it, the world, regarding the conditions along the northern Greek frontier.

Unfortunately, the Committee was unable to perform its first function, for Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia refused to cooperate with the Committee. However, the unanimous factual conclusions of that Committee are now before this Assembly and these facts ought to be studied and proclaimed so that all will know.

On the basis of 86 first-hand observation reports, and through the testimony of more than 700 witnesses, the Committee has found unanimously that <sup>2</sup>—

The Greek guerrillas fighting against the Greek Government have received large aid and assistance from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia and have been furnished war material and other supplies from those countries. Great quantities of arms, ammunition, and other military stores have come across the border to Greek guerrillas, notably during times of heavy fighting.

The territory of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia has frequently been used as a base of military operations, and the guerrillas have frequently moved at will across the frontiers for tactical reasons. When the guerrillas are pinned against the frontier, they fall back across it, using it as protection, and then reappear elsewhere.

Thus in essence an international border becomes a weapon of aggression against those who respect it.

The reports of the Committee are replete with concrete instances of the actual use of Yugoslav, Albanian, and Bulgarian territory. For example:

On March 1, 1948, there was heavy machine gun fire from Yugoslavia into Greece, for about five hours during daylight. Another machine gun in Yugoslavia territory fired into Greek territory for a period of seven hours, while three men in Yugoslav uniforms chatted with the crew of the machine gun.

On July 11th there was artillery fire, on July 12th mortar fire, and on July 18th machine gun fire from Albania against the Greek national army.

On August 7, 1948, mortar fire was heard from within Bulgarian territory and on the same day two of the United Nations observers were actually wounded by artillery fire from Bulgarian territory. A plane bearing Bulgarian markings apparently machine-gunned Greek troops on August 17th.

These are but a few of many incidents actually observed by the United Nations Special Committee itself and are quite apart from the incidents reported by witnesses heard by the Committee.

The unanimous factual conclusion of the Special Committee is that what has happened "constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and to peace in the Balkans". It has happened despite the fact that the last session of the General Assembly by vote of 40 to 6 had called upon Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia "to do nothing which could furnish aid and assistance" to Greek guerrillas.

Some might say that, since these are the facts, the General Assembly resolution has failed. Such a conclusion is, I submit, totally unjustified. In fact, the General Assembly has not failed. It has not, to be sure, achieved immediate obedience to its will. But the General Assembly was never given authority to command obedience. It depends primarily on the power of public opinion and to build that up takes time, patience, and persistence. Already, however, the General Assembly has had an influence. It has had an influence in promoting aid to Greece. It has had an influence even along the northern frontier. The representative of my Government who served on the Special Committee believes, and I understand others believe, that if it had not been for the pres-

<sup>2</sup> See *Documents and State Papers*, September 1948.

ence of the Special Committee in Greece, the military aid given by the northern neighbors of Greece, would have reached far greater proportions than, in fact, has been the case. There can, I think, be no doubt that the northern neighbors of Greece have, in fact, been restrained by the presence of the Committee and its power of exposure at this "town meeting of the world".

All governments are sensitive to public opinion and, however eager they may be to promote violence to achieve their international ends, they are reluctant to do so if their conduct exposes them to the condemnation of world opinion and to the resistance that that opinion inspires. The record before us is bad as to the conduct of some nations—it is dismally bad—but it is not *fatally* bad, for Greece survives. We can reasonably feel that the Assembly action of last year has been one of the indispensable factors that have, so far, preserved for Greece the integrity and sovereignty which it was hoped this Organization could secure for all time for all of its Members.

Greece not only survives but, thanks to its own efforts and those of the United Nations and of other friendly states, Greece is steadily making progress in the rehabilitation of the country and in making good the terrific losses which Greece suffered when she resisted Nazi aggression and became its victim. Her army has made great sacrifices in bringing security to the Greek people and resisting the terroristic tactics of the guerrilla forces. Greek railroads are being rebuilt, the roads and bridges are being reconstructed, crops

are increasingly being cultivated, political conditions are stabilizing, and there are being created these "conditions of stability and well-being which" the Charter recognizes (article 55) "are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

I submit that the action of the United Nations in regard to Greece constitutes not a failure, but a success. The Members of the United Nations who have cooperated in this effort can properly be proud. It is, in my Government's opinion, abundantly clear that this effort to save Greece, which already has good results, should be carried on to the complete success that is now in sight. Therefore, my Government, in conjunction with the Governments of China, France, and the United Kingdom, is submitting and supporting a resolution which, in essence, continues the present Commission with the dual function of observation and good offices; which calls upon Greece's northern neighbors to cease and desist from aiding the effort violently to overthrow the Greek Government; and which assures a continuing exposure which will make it certain that, if there is continued violation of the Charter, world opinion will grow steadily more condemnatory, more resolute, and more potent to restrain aggression.

I hope, however, that events will not take that course, but that this general debate may demonstrate the possibility of a peaceful solution consistent with the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece.

### Concern for Peace in the Balkans

Mr. Chairman, I wish first to comment on the attempt of the Soviet Delegation to divert attention by charging that the United States is developing Greece as a base for aggression in pursuance of its goal of "world mastery". That charge was repeated in chorus by the other Communist-controlled Delegations. Of course, Mr. Chairman, the United States Delegation denies that charge as vicious falsehood. But I realize that all governments always deny aggressive intentions. So, I invite a more searching test, that of deeds.

Within the last 30 years the United States has twice been one of the principal victors in world war. Thereby we became possessed of vast power beyond our border. Yet, in the course of those 30 years, our national domain has actually contracted, not expanded. That simple fact speaks, I think, with significant eloquence.

After World War I we quickly withdrew from Europe a military force that was tremendous. We virtually disarmed ourselves. Under the treaties of Versailles and of Berlin, we took no territory and no reparation. We were satisfied to have helped to save the free institutions of Europe.

Three years ago the United States had on the continent of Europe a military force that was one of the most potent the world has ever known, not just in numbers, but in its superb quality and its unmatched mechanized equipment. Our land forces in Europe consisted of over 3 million combat troops, with more than 14,000 tanks. We had here more than 17,000 aircraft manned by about half a million men. Our Navy was operating in the European theatre more than 5,000 vessels.

What of that remains in Europe today? The merest fragment, perhaps 3 percent. There are less than 500 men in Greece and not one of these a combat soldier. We disposed of or destroyed more than 5 million long tons of military stores in Western Europe and we destroyed here more than 4,000 complete United States aircraft. When we withdrew, we withdrew cleanly. We organized no disloyal groups, no fifth columns, to do our will. Our deeds, Mr. Chairman, are not the deeds of a nation that is set on world mastery.

It is quite true that the United States has now checked its program of disarmament. That is not our preference. It is due to the fact that the defeat

of Germany and Japan did not, as we had hoped, end the fears of the free peoples. Indeed a new fear now grips them and it is a fear that, unhappily, cannot now be allayed by international organization alone. That is in part because the Security Council's power to decide is crippled by veto and its power to act is crippled by lack of military contingents. It is in part because the threat is deviously contrived.

So long as that is the situation, the United States intends to be strong. We make no apology for that, because our strength is not for ourself alone. It is our purpose so to unite and strengthen the forces of freedom that they will not have to fear. In so acting we are, of course, motivated by self-interest. I do not pretend otherwise. But the self-interest we are serving merges with the self-interest of all those who renounce methods of violence, coercion, and terrorism and who, in the words of the resolution which last Wednesday the Assembly adopted unanimously, conform their policies to the Atlantic Charter declaration that all the men in all the land should live out their lives in freedom from fear.<sup>3</sup>

Our growing national strength no doubt displeases some; but it does not, I believe, frighten any. I ask each delegate to search his own mind and come to his own conclusion as to who and what his nation fears. I shall be satisfied with a silent verdict, for I know that some fear even to express their fear.

The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia do not like it that the Government of Greece is getting from abroad military aid that it requested. But these northern neighbors of Greece can, if they want, bring that to an end. Let them comply with the solemn recommendations of the United Nations Assembly. Let them end their incitement and shielding of Greek guerrillas and Communist rebels and the giving to them of aid and comfort. Let them resume neighborly relations with the Greek Government. The Greek people, who have already endured eight years of cruel violence, surely want nothing more than to return to ways of peace and to dedicate their whole effort to the imperative tasks of reconstruction. Any Greek Government that maintained a military establishment for purposes other than independence, territorial integrity, and internal security, would quickly forfeit for Greece the support and sympathy she now enjoys.

I turn now to consider the Four Power draft resolution and in the first instance its acceptance of the special committee findings that the northern neighbors of Greece have allowed their territory to be used by Greek guerrillas and rebels and have otherwise aided and assisted them. A great effort has been made here to discredit these findings.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 614.

In fact, the special committee was unanimous in its factual conclusions and that, in my opinion, ought to be sufficient. Neither the Assembly nor the first committee with its large membership and crowded calendar can undertake, as a court of first instance, to weigh all the available evidence.

The special committee spent a year in actual observation. It saw for itself and it talked with hundreds of people to get their impressions. No doubt many of the people with whom they talked were unreliable. The special committee itself says so. But surely the special committee is better qualified than we are to decide what weight should be given to what it saw and heard. To call the report of the special committee "garbage", as has been done here, is to insult a competent, hard working, and conscientious organ of the United Nations, the members of which have endured much personal risk and hardship in order to carry out the desire of the General Assembly that, at this session, it should have knowledge of the facts through an agency of its own choosing.

There can be no doubt that—as unanimously found by the special committee—"the Greek guerrillas have received aid and assistance from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia; that they have been furnished with war material and other supplies from those countries; that they have been allowed to use the territories of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia for tactical operations; . . ." The difficult question that confronts us here is not to decide what the facts *are*, but to decide what to *do* about them.

The debate shows that all of us feel disappointed that there is not open to this Assembly some quick and direct method of putting an end to the existing situation. The Four Power proposal would, in effect, continue the special committee, with some clarification of its powers. That is what the special committee itself recommends, and it is hard to see any other course that is open to us.

Of course, if the northern neighbors of Greece were, in fact, willing to cooperate with this Assembly and with its special committee, that would make it possible to give the committee a different and more constructive task. There is, however, no present basis for planning on that assumption. The northern neighbors of Greece have heard moving pleas from Greece and others. So far, their responses indicate that the Assembly is face to face with the same hard attitude of noncooperation as has confronted it up to now.

Nevertheless, in the hope that this attitude may change, and the Assembly, in this situation, can serve the charter purpose of "harmonizing the actions of nations", the Four Powers, which sponsor the draft resolution before you, propose to add, at paragraph 10 (C), an authorization to the special committee on its discretion to appoint one or more persons to use their good offices to promote cooperation with Greece that is sought of Albania,

Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. In that way the Assembly will have established means for reconciliation if developments should seem to make that possible. That, I believe, will respond to desires that have been expressed here in the course of the general debate, including also ideas that, we understand, have been expressed by members of the special committee, particularly the representatives of Pakistan and Brazil.

The primary dependence of the Assembly will, however, have to be upon its power to expose what happens and in that way to influence public opinion and national action throughout the world. Of course, that process does not give immediate decisive results. Nevertheless, as I pointed out in my opening statement, the power to expose, the power to educate public opinion, is, in fact, the most fundamental of all powers. We can see it here at work.

There is little doubt that the situation along the northern frontier of Greece, bad as it is, would be far worse but for the fact that a United Nations committee was there to observe and report. Also, the facts that have been observed and publicly reported have influenced public opinion at least in the member state for which I speak. In consequence more is being done by the United States to help Greece than would otherwise be the case.

The representatives of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine have here devoted many hours to attempts to discredit the factual findings of the special committee. Why have they done so? Because they are afraid to let those findings go unchallenged. Their conduct here is unmistakable proof, if indeed proof were needed, that nations whose conduct threatens the peace do fear the consequences of exposure.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I hope that this Assembly will continue to exercise its power of expo-

sure and that this year's resolution will be clearer, in this respect, than was that of last year.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the United States Delegation believes that the Four Power proposal, with the addition I have indicated and with perhaps some changes to reflect constructive criticism, such as that of the Australian Delegation, constitutes the wisest course we can recommend to the General Assembly. It is in the main based upon the reports of the Special Committee for the Balkans, which was set up by the General Assembly last year for the very purpose of providing this session with findings and recommendations which would result from study of the situation on the spot.

The reports before us are the fruits of a difficult and testing experience. Violent efforts have been made to divert attention from them and torrents of abuse, ridicule and sarcasm have been poured upon them. But, as the general debate draws to a close, we can see that these findings and recommendations survive as the only solid foundation for future action. Nothing that has transpired here would justify this committee in setting aside the expert views on which the General Assembly expected us to act and substituting for them some inexpert improvisations of our own. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, the United States Delegation stands on the Four Power resolution which, in turn, stands on the findings and recommendation of our special committee. We think that that resolution can be improved in some respects by incorporating constructive ideas that have emerged in the course of the general debate. I have never known a general debate that did not add to the sum total of our wisdom, and I am glad to pay that tribute to the debate we now conclude. But in the main, we shall, I hope, stick to the lines of action that our special committee has recommended.

## U.S. Position on Palestine Resolution

### STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP<sup>1</sup>

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council

Mr. President, I wish to speak very briefly about the position of my Government on the resolution before us. In the first place, we should like to suggest certain amendments which we believe would improve and clarify the resolution. It is not our purpose to complicate the situation at this time but we hope that the proposers of the resolution will be able to accept the following suggested changes.

First, we suggest that the first word of the fourth paragraph, the word "endorses" be deleted and there be substituted the words "takes note of". The purpose of this change is to remove any inconsistency between the fourth and fifth paragraphs. The request of the Acting Mediator was stated in

<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 4, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

somewhat precise terms and, of course, could not reflect the discussions in the Council on the question of withdrawal, particularly the views expressed by the distinguished representative of France. That discussion has been reflected in the fifth paragraph. Although it is our view that the fifth and sixth paragraphs are the operative sections and the first four are preambulatory in character, nevertheless we believe it would be helpful to remove any misunderstanding which might arise on that point.

Secondly, we suggest there be added after the words "interested governments" in the fifth paragraph the following—"without prejudice to their rights, claims or position with regard to a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine or to the position which members of the Security Council may wish to take in the General Assembly on such peaceful adjustment". The purpose of this suggestion is to separate the issue of the truce from that of the final settlement. We believe there should be a clear understanding that the maintenance of a truce has from the beginning been without prejudice to the final political result and that we are not intending here in this resolution to prejudice in any way the political position of the parties or of the members of the Security Council.

Third, we believe that it might be helpful to substitute the following for the final paragraph:

"Appoints a committee of the Council, consisting of the five permanent members together with Belgium and Colombia to advise the Acting Mediator with regard to his responsibilities under this resolution, and in the event that either party or both should fail to comply with the preceding paragraph of this resolution, to study as a matter of urgency and to report to the Council on further measures it would be appropriate to take under Chapter VII of the Charter."

We make this last suggestion in order to afford the acting mediator an opportunity to consult a responsible body in connection with the very heavy responsibilities which are placed upon him by this resolution. Further, it would allow the committee to consider the situation in the light of chapter VII as a whole and would not restrict its work within the framework of article 41.

The one simple, clear element which has been constant throughout the tortuous history of the Palestine question before the United Nations has been the expressed determination on the part of the United Nations that, however men might differ about the final political result, such a result must be reached by peaceful means and not by war.

Today we are talking about a truce; we are not talking about the nature of a political settlement. When we talk about a truce, the parties are not merely Israeli and Arabs. There is another—and greater—party of interest, the entire international

community—the rest of the world. The interest of the international community in a peaceful settlement is paramount. Both great powers and small must confess to this overriding interest. It is fundamental to the Charter and is the principal reason for the very existence of the Security Council.

The General Assembly expressed itself on this aspect of the Palestine problem in its resolution of November 29, 1947, and, more particularly, in its resolution of May 14, 1948. The Security Council itself has devoted great effort to a truce, efforts which are reflected in resolutions of March 5, April 1, April 17, April 23, May 22, May 29, July 7, July 15, August 19, and October 19 of the present year. To these efforts have been added the loyal and devoted effort of the subsidiary bodies of both the Assembly and the Council which were given various responsibilities in Palestine. Many Governments Members of the United Nations supported these United Nations actions by strong counsel to the parties through diplomatic channels.

The result has not been a perfect truce, that no one can claim; but the result has not been all-out war. No one of the parties has found that the truce has always satisfied their own particular desires; at one time or another, in the variety of local situations arising in various parts of the country, all parties have felt the truce as a restraint upon the temptation to exploit a local or temporary advantage. But no one can doubt that both Jewish and Arab peoples have greatly benefited from the cease-fire, imperfectly observed as it has been. As those who are immediately and emotionally involved are unwilling to confess such benefits, the rest of the world community has no doubt of it.

The stake of the United Nations in this particular truce is established not only as a matter of principle but through the specific contribution made by the United Nations itself to the maintenance of a cease-fire. Servants of the United Nations, by the hundreds, have exposed themselves to hardship and danger in order to bring peace to Palestine. A number have lost their lives. Many Jews and many Arabs are alive today because of the disinterested and devoted effort of these men who have had no other purpose than to save the peoples of Palestine from war. In addition, the peace-making efforts of the United Nations have required a most substantial material and financial outlay.

We believe it essential to continue the truce until arrangements can be made to replace the truce by a more permanent peaceful settlement. Indeed without a truce, a peaceful settlement becomes impossible. We believe the present resolution is consistent with, and a necessary reinforcement of, the previous resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly concerning the truce. The United States supported each of these earlier

efforts to maintain a cease-fire in Palestine; we shall, therefore, support the resolution now before us which we hope will be adopted with the changes we have suggested.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat that we are dis-

cussing a truce, not a political settlement. Our action here in the Council is a necessary prerequisite to General Assembly consideration, but does not prejudice the result of such consideration in any way.

### TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION<sup>2</sup>

The Security Council,

HAVING DECIDED on the fifteenth July that, subject to further decision by the Security Council or the General Assembly, the truce shall remain in force in accordance with the resolution of that date and with that of twenty-ninth May 1948 until a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine is reached;

HAVING DECIDED on the nineteenth August that no party is permitted to violate the truce on the ground that it is undertaking reprisals or retaliations against the other party, and that no party is entitled to gain military or political advantage through violation of the truce; and

HAVING DECIDED on the twenty-ninth May that, if the truce was subsequently repudiated or violated by either party or by both, the situation in Palestine could be reconsidered with a view to action under chapter VII of the charter;

Endorses the request communicated to the Government of Egypt and the Provisional Government of Israel by the acting mediator on the twenty-sixth October (S/1058) following upon the resolution adopted by the Security Council on nineteenth October 1948; and

Calls upon the interested governments:

(1) To withdraw those of their forces which have advanced beyond the positions held on fourteenth October, the acting mediator being authorized to establish provisional lines beyond which no movement of troops shall take place;

(2) To establish, through negotiations conducted directly between the parties or failing that, through the intermediaries in the service of the United Nations, permanent truce lines and such neutral or demilitarized zones as may appear advantageous, in order to ensure henceforth the full observance of the truce in that area. Failing an agreement, the permanent lines and neutral zones shall be established by decision of the acting mediator; and

Appoints a committee of the Council, consisting of the five permanent members together with Belgium and Colombia, to examine urgently and report to the Council on the measures which it would be appropriate to take under article 41 of the charter if either party or both should fail to observe the conditions prescribed in the two subparagraphs of paragraph 5 of this resolution within whatever time limits the acting mediator may think it desirable to fix.

### Resolution on the Palestinian Question<sup>3</sup>

The Security Council

Having in mind the report of the Acting Mediator concerning the assassinations on 17 September of the United Nations Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte and United Nations Observer Colonel Andre Serot (document S/1018), the report of the Acting Mediator concerning difficulties encountered in the supervision of the truce (document S/1022); and the report of the Truce Commission for Palestine concerning the situation in Jerusalem (document S/1023);

Notes with concern that the Provisional Government of Israel has to date submitted no report to the Security Council or to the Acting Mediator regarding the progress of the investigation into the assassinations;

Requests that Government to submit to the Security Council at an early date an account of the progress made in the investigation and to indicate therein the measures taken with regard to negligence on the part of officials or other factors affecting the crime;

Reminds the governments and authorities concerned that all the obligations and responsibilities

of the parties set forth in its resolutions of 15 July and 19 August 1948 are to be discharged fully and in good faith;

Reminds the Mediator of the desirability of an equitable distribution of the United Nations observers for the purpose of observing the truce on the territories of both parties;

Determines, pursuant to its resolutions of 15 July and 19 August 1948, that the Governments and authorities have the duty:

(a) to allow duly accredited United Nations Observers and other Truce Supervision personnel bearing proper credentials, on official notification, ready access to all places where their duties require them to go including airfields, ports, truce lines and strategic points and areas;

<sup>2</sup> The foregoing comments of Dr. Jessup were addressed to a draft resolution reported by the Security Council subcommittee on the Palestine question, which was made up of Representatives of China, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Only the latter country dissented from the opinion of the subcommittee in presenting the draft resolution.

<sup>3</sup> U.N. doc. S/1045, Oct. 19, 1945, adopted at the 367th meeting of the Security Council on that date.

(b) to facilitate the freedom of movement of Truce Supervision personnel and transport by simplifying procedures on United Nations aircraft now in effect, and by assurance of safe-conduct for all United Nations aircraft and other means of transport;

(c) to co-operate fully with the Truce Supervision personnel in their conduct of investigations into incidents involving alleged breaches of the truce, including the making available of witnesses, testimony and other evidence on request;

(d) to implement fully by appropriate and prompt instructions to the Commanders in the

field all agreements entered into through the good offices of the Mediator or his representatives;

(e) to take all reasonable measures to ensure the safety and safe-conduct of the Truce Supervision personnel and the representatives of the Mediator, their aircraft and vehicles, while in territory under their control;

(f) to make every effort to apprehend and promptly punish any and all persons within their jurisdictions guilty of any assault upon or other aggressive act against the Truce Supervision personnel or the representatives of the Mediator.

## Appeal to the Great Powers To Renew Their Efforts To Compose Their Differences and Establish a Lasting Peace<sup>1</sup>

1. WHEREAS it is the essential purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security and to that end it must co-ordinate its efforts to bring about by peaceful means the settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace,

2. WHEREAS the United Nations should be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of this common end,

3. WHEREAS the United Nations cannot fully attain its aims so long as the recent war remains in process of liquidation and so long as all the peace treaties have not been concluded and put into force,

4. WHEREAS the Great Allied Powers, which bore the heaviest burden in the war and whose common sacrifice and effort were the prime cause of victory, have reaffirmed, on many solemn occasions, their determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace that unity of purpose and of action which has made possible the victory of the United Nations,

5. WHEREAS the aforementioned Allied Powers, which undertook at the second Moscow Conference responsibility for drafting and concluding the peace treaties, have not been able, after three years of effort, to obtain the full realization of their high mission by building a just and lasting peace,

6. WHEREAS the disagreement between the said Powers in a matter of vital importance to all the United Nations is at the present time the cause of the deepest anxiety among all the peoples of the world, and

7. WHEREAS the United Nations, in the performance of its most sacred mission, is bound to afford its assistance and co-operation in the settle-

ment of a situation the continuation of which involves grave dangers for international peace,

The General Assembly

1. *Recalls* the declarations made at Yalta on 11 February 1945 by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, in which the signatories

“reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in co-operation with other peace-loving nations a world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind”,

and proclaim that

“only with continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries, and among all the peace-loving nations, can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter ‘afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want’”;

2. *Endorses* these declarations and expresses its convictions that the Great Allied Powers will, in their policies, conform to the spirit of the said declarations;

3. *Recommends* the Powers signatories to the Moscow Agreements of 24 December 1945, and the Powers which subsequently acceded thereto, to redouble their efforts, in a spirit of solidarity and mutual understanding, to secure in the briefest possible time the final settlement of the war and the conclusion of all the peace settlements;

4. *Recommends* the aforementioned Powers to associate with them, in the performance of such a noble task, the States which subscribed and adhered to the Washington Declaration of 1 January 1942.

<sup>1</sup> Contained in U.N. doc. A/694, Oct. 26, 1948.

## Balkan Committee

The Political and Security Committee adopted by 48-6 vote on November 10 a resolution condemning the aid given to Greek guerrillas by Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria and providing for continuation of the Greek border watch by the Special Committee on the Balkans. The six opposing ballots were cast by the Soviet bloc.

The resolution, submitted jointly by the United States, Britain, France and China, also calls upon Greece's northern neighbors to cease their support of the Greek guerrillas and cooperate with Greece for peaceful settlement of the Balkan dispute in accordance with previous Assembly recommendations.

In corollary action, the committee also adopted unanimously an Australian resolution calling for an immediate meeting in Paris, under Assembly auspices, of representatives of the four Balkan states to explore possibilities of agreement on methods to resolve their differences.

Both resolutions will be sent to the Assembly for final action.

Later, the committee began, at Soviet request, a paragraph-by-paragraph consideration of a Soviet resolution, and immediately rejected a paragraph in the resolution calling for dissolution of UNSCOP. It also turned down the preamble attacking "foreign interference" in Greece.

Two paragraphs of the Soviet resolution, calling upon Greece and her northern neighbors to establish diplomatic relations and renew frontier conventions, were approved unanimously.

The adopted resolution on continuation of UNSCOP provides that the U.N. body shall "have its principal headquarters in Greece, and with the cooperation of the government or governments concerned, shall perform its functions in such places as it may deem appropriate for the fulfillment of its mission."

## Palestine

Final administrative details of the proposed \$29,000,000, nine-month program for relief of Palestine refugees are now being completed in a subcommittee of the General Assembly's Social Committee.

The subcommittee decided on November 10, by a vote of seven to three, to propose to the Assembly that the Secretary-General appoint a director of the relief program and that the Assembly President pick a seven-member committee to advise the Secretary-General on the program. The group had previously agreed that the plan for aid to Middle East refugees—sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the Netherlands—would be carried out through a spe-

cial fund to be made up of contributions from Member Nations, the fund to be under the direct supervision of the Secretary-General.

Anticipating a delay in final establishment of the program, the Assembly's Budgetary Committee last week approved an advance of \$5,000,000 from the working capital to cover the cost of immediate aid. This sum is to be repaid from future contributions.

Meanwhile, the first shipment of relief supplies sponsored by the International Children's Emergency Fund has arrived at Haifa from the United States, aboard the S. S. *Skagway Victory*. In this shipment, the UNICEF included 4,540 kilograms of dried milk, 1,225 kilograms of cod-liver oil, 1,816 kilograms of margarine, and 200 of rice.

The supplies are to be sent to Haifa, Tel Aviv, and Nazareth, where they will be distributed to mothers and children among both Arab and Jewish refugees. Supervising the distribution is Dr. Jean Mabileau, Deputy Director of UNICEF for the Middle East. Dr. Mabileau declared, upon the arrival of the supplies at Haifa, that: "A major battle has just been won in Palestine. The winners are some 25,000 babies, nursing mothers, and pregnant women among the Jewish and Arab refugees living in the Jewish part of Palestine. And in this battle, there are for once no losers."

This UNICEF relief program is in addition to the more extensive aid project first proposed to the Assembly by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, U.S. Delegate, and now being worked out in the Social Committee. This larger program is intended to cover the almost 400,000 refugees not eligible for UNICEF relief. Still other efforts are being made in the United States by private organizations, such as the American Red Cross and National Children's Fund, to assist 500,000 homeless Palestinians whose plight was brought to world attention by Ralph Bunche, acting U.N. mediator for Palestine.

On November 10 several more suggestions for effecting peace in Palestine were added to the November 9 proposals of Ralph Bunche, acting U.N. mediator for Palestine. Dr. Bunche asked for an armistice, for separations of the contending forces by broad demilitarized zones and for ultimate withdrawal of and reduction of Jewish and Arab armed forces. He wanted the parties to negotiate only through the good offices of the mediator.

Dr. Bunche submitted a tentative plan for provisional truce lines later at the first meeting of a seven-nation subcommittee of the Council.

The committee, appointed by the Council November 4, comprises the five major powers plus Belgium and Colombia. At the start of the November 10 meeting, Dr. Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez of Colombia was elected as chairman. The

task of the committee is to advise Dr. Bunche on Charter regulations respecting breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. This committee will meet again on November 12.

### **Economic Committee**

Willard Thorp, U.S. Delegate to the Assembly and Assistant Secretary for economic affairs, again on November 10 emphasized in the Economic Committee that United States trade policies are directed toward full cooperation in world recovery.

The statement was in answer to charges made by Soviet bloc representatives in the committee, alleging discrimination by the United States in granting export licenses and in general trade policies.

In reply to the charge that the volume of American exports was proof of expansionist character, Mr. Thorp asked: "Is it expansionist to rebuild countries with which we normally compete?" and added: "We are helping to raise the level of agriculture in countries which are taking American agriculture products. The people who suffer because of exports from us are not the receiving countries. Those who suffer are the American taxpayers."

On the allegation that one of the foundations of the recovery program is the United States right to control export trade of participating countries, Mr. Thorp said: "We have heard of the lame effort on the part of the Polish Delegate to find in bilateral agreements justification for this conclusion. The French Delegate has already refuted this."

In recalling the recent Danube conference, which was dominated by the Soviet Union and its satellites, he noted: "The so-called convention, while allowing freedom of navigation on equal terms, makes use of port facilities subject to agreement with certain transport companies with no adequate safeguards against discrimination. In Hungary and Rumania joint shipping companies—half Soviet-owned—have a substantial monopoly on all port facilities. Without explicit

guaranties of nondiscrimination of the use of these facilities, the principle of freedom of navigation is meaningless."

### **Berlin Currency Problem**

Secretary-General Tyrgve Lie is making a study of the currency problem in Berlin. In this connection he has consulted Mr. Evatt, and will consult Mr. Bramuglia on his return from London.

The Berlin currency problem is part of the Berlin issue, which was brought before the Security Council by the United States, France, and Great Britain. They charged that the Soviet blockade of the western sectors of the city constituted a threat to peace.

A resolution was drawn up by the six neutral members of the Council, calling for the immediate lifting of restrictions on traffic between Berlin and the four occupation zones in Germany and providing procedure for unification of Berlin currency by November 20.

This resolution, accepted by the three Western Powers, was vetoed on October 25 by the Soviet Union and the case is still on the Council's agenda.

On November 13 Mr. Evatt and Mr. Lie submitted a communication to the Four Powers concerned asking for immediate conversations to resume negotiations on the present crisis and on the remaining peace settlement for Germany, Austria, and Japan.

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### **CORRECTION**

#### **Functions of Control of Foreign Assets in United States Transferred**

In the BULLETIN of October 10, 1948, page 472, appeared an item announcing the transfer of functions relating to the control of foreign assets in the United States from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. The caption, "Control of Foreign Assets in U.S. Ended", should be changed to read "Functions of Control of Foreign Assets in U.S. Transferred".

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### Members of Tin Study Group To Consider Advisability of Agreement

[Released to the press November 1]

The Department of State received on November 1 the following statement, released at The Hague on October 29, 1948:

"The International Tin Study Group held its third session at The Hague from the 25th to the 29th of October.

"The group had before it the report of the Working Party which had met in June. The purport of this report was that it would be appropriate and practicable to conclude an international tin agreement on the lines set out in the report.

"The group modified these proposals in certain respects and has forwarded to the member governments a recommendation that after certain preparatory steps have been taken the member governments should be asked to inform the Secretary whether they would be disposed to enter into an agreement on the broad lines proposed and are willing to attend a conference to put the agreement into final form and to conclude it. If a sufficient number of affirmative replies is received, the Secretary General of the United Nations will be asked to convene an intergovernmental tin conference next spring".

Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Tin Study Group was Donald D. Kennedy, Chief, International Resources Division, Department of State.

### Ward M. Canaday Becomes U.S. Commissioner of Caribbean Commission

Ward M. Canaday took his oath of office as United States Commissioner and Chairman of the United States Section of the Caribbean Commission on November 5. The oath was administered by Stanley Woodward, Chief of Protocol, at the Department of State in the presence of a large group of associates and friends. Mr. Canaday was appointed by the President on October 30, 1948.

Mr. Canaday will attend the Third Session of the West Indian Conference, held biennially under the auspices of the Caribbean Commission, which will convene in Guadeloupe, F.W.I., on December 1, 1948, and the Seventh Meeting of the Caribbean Commission, which will be held concurrently with the West Indian Conference.

Mr. Canaday succeeds Charles W. Taussig of New York, who died on May 9, 1948. Mr. Taussig had been appointed by President Roosevelt in

March 1942 as United States Co-Chairman of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, which in December 1945 became the Caribbean Commission.

The Caribbean Commission, of which France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States are members, is a consultative and advisory body established to encourage and strengthen social and economic cooperation between the four metropolitan countries and their territories in that area.

### U.S. Delegation to ILO Textiles Committee

The Department of State announced on October 28 the composition of the United States Delegation to the second session of the Textiles Committee of the International Labor Organization, which session opened October 26, at Geneva, as follows:

#### *Government Representatives*

Arnold L. Zempel, Associate Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor  
Rene Lutz, Chief, Textile Section, Textile and Leather Branch, Department of Commerce

#### *Adviser*

Hersey E. Riley, Chief, Branch of Construction Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

#### *Employers' Representatives*

Herbert H. Schell, President, Sidney Blumenthal and Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.  
Edwin Wilkinson, Assistant to the President, National Association of Wool Manufacturers, New York, N. Y.

#### *Workers' Representatives*

Anthony Valente, International President, United Textile Workers of America, Washington, D. C.  
Francis M. Schaufenbil, Vice President, United Textile Workers of America, Lawrence, Mass.

The agenda for the meeting includes: (1) a general report dealing with action taken in the various countries to give effect to the resolutions of the first session of the Committee, held at Brussels in November 1946; (2) report on recent developments and events in the textile industry; (3) discussion of employment problems, with special reference to recruitment and training; and (4) problems of industrial relations.

The Textile Committee is one of eight industrial committees of the ILO established for the purpose of examining social and economic aspects of international labor standards in the respective industries and adopting resolutions for their improvements.

## Procedure for Transmitting Electors' Certificates

### LETTER FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE 48 GOVERNORS

[Released to the press November 3]

Acting Secretary Lovett on November 1, 1948, sent to the Governors of the 48 States a letter outlining the procedure laid down in the law for the receipt and transmission by the Department of State to the Congress of certificates of the appointment of the electors of the several States and of the votes of the electors.

Following is the text of the letter:

*November 1, 1948*

The Honorable

The Governor of

SIR: The laws of the United States relating to presidential elections require the performance of certain duties by State executives, electors of President and Vice President, and the Secretary of State of the United States. I send for your convenient reference copies of a publication of the Department of State entitled *Presidential Elections*, containing the relevant provisions of the Constitution and of the United States Code (Public Law 771-80th Congress). The number of copies transmitted is sufficient to enable you, if you so desire, to furnish one to each elector of your State and to each official having duties in that connection.

Title 3, Chapter 1, Section 6, United States Code, provides that the executives of each State shall, as soon as practicable after the conclusion of the appointment of electors in such State, communicate by registered mail, under the seal of the State, to the Secretary of State of the United States, a certificate of ascertainment of the electors appointed. This certificate shall set forth not only the names of the electors appointed and the votes received by each, but shall also list the names of all other candidates for elector of President and Vice President and the number of votes received by each of them. The Secretary of State of the United States is required to transmit copies of each such certificate to the two Houses of Congress. I shall therefore be grateful if you will be good

enough to furnish me with an original and two exact copies of such certificate.

The law provides that the electors shall meet and give their votes on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December next following their appointment, i.e. on December 13, 1948, and that the counting of the electoral votes in Congress shall proceed on January 6, 1949 (Title 3, Chapter 1, Sections 7 and 15, United States Code).

Title 3, Chapter 1, Section 11, United States Code, imposes on the electors of each State the duty of forwarding by registered mail to the Secretary of State of the United States two certificates of the electors containing the two distinct lists of the votes of electors for President and for Vice President respectively, in the form prescribed by Section 9 thereof.

If no such certificate of vote and list has been received from the electors of any State by the President of the Senate or by the Secretary of State by the fourth Wednesday in December, after the meeting of the electors shall have been held, i.e. by December 22, 1948, it is provided that the President of the Senate, or, if he is absent from the seat of government, the Secretary of State, request the secretary of state of the State to transmit by registered mail the certificate and list lodged with him by the electors of that State to the President of the Senate (Title 3, Chapter 1, Section 12). Under the same conditions, a like demand shall be made upon the judge of the District in which the electors shall have assembled for the certificate and list lodged with him by the electors of that State (Title 3, Chapter 1, Section 13).

It will be observed that for the performance of the duties imposed upon the Secretary of State of the United States by the provisions of law under consideration it will be necessary that State executives and electors cooperate promptly and this cooperation I earnestly request.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT A. LOVETT

*Department of State Bulletin*

## Mexican Architects Visit U.S.

Two professors of architecture, Alonso Mariscal and Eugenio Peschard Delgado, of the National University of Mexico City, have arrived in Washington to begin a two months' study of American methods of teaching architecture. Their visit here is being made under the travel-grant program of the Department of State.

Messrs. Mariscal and Peschard will visit the schools of architecture of Harvard and Columbia Universities, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Illinois Institute of Technology, and the Chicago Art Institute.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Assignment of First Social-Welfare Attachés

[Released to the press November 4]

In June 1948, a public-health attaché program was inaugurated by the Department in cooperation with the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency. The purpose of that program is to carry public health and medical developments of the United States to other countries and to bring their current research and activities in these fields to this country.

Miss Evelyn Hersey, graduate of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, formerly Assistant to the United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and, before that, service director for the American Committee for Christian Refugees, has left for her post as social-welfare attaché at New Delhi, India.

Irving J. Fasteau, graduate of the New York School of Social Work, formerly supervisor of social service of the State Board of Child Welfare, New Jersey, and immediately prior to that, Chief of the UNKRA Mission to Finland, took up his post as social-welfare attaché in the American Embassy in Paris in May 1948.

The idea of having a few specialists in the field of social welfare attached to foreign posts at selected points throughout the world originated several years ago. The idea grew from a recognized need of the Department of State and other governmental agencies for more technical information about social-welfare developments in foreign countries and a better knowledge of their relationship to the political and economic conditions in those countries. The Federal Security Agency, with its wide range of Federal social-welfare functions, has been the agency most instrumental in assisting in developing the social-welfare attaché program. Other Federal departments that have had varying degrees of interest in the program are the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Jus-

stice, the Department of Labor, the Office of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture. Nongovernmental agencies, which will find useful the kind of information which can be provided by these social-welfare specialists, include the American Association of Social Workers, the American Association of Schools of Social Work, the National Social Welfare Assembly, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., and the American Red Cross.

Although the functions of a social-welfare attaché vary according to conditions prevalent at the particular post, the duties include the following types of activity:

(1) Providing information for the Department and other governmental and voluntary agencies regarding social-welfare developments and conditions in foreign countries. Fields of interest include: social insurance, financial assistance to low-income groups, child welfare, care of the physically and mentally handicapped and the aged, vocational rehabilitation, and treatment of the delinquent and criminal and the social aspects of housing.

(2) Informing the Department and other governmental and private agencies about both official and unofficial attitudes in the country to which an attaché is assigned concerning the programs of international organizations in the social field, particularly the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

(3) Appraising the effect, as well as some of the welfare aspects of American overseas aid programs, both governmental and voluntary; facilitating and aiding in the coordination of the work of United States public and private welfare agencies engaged in overseas programs affecting that country.

(4) Serving as a consultant in the Embassy on social-welfare problems of United States citizens and alien dependents of citizens brought to the attention of foreign posts.

At the present time the program is limited to two attaché posts. As the program develops, it is hoped that, through a positive demonstration of the efficacy of the services which social-welfare attachés may provide, the number may be increased. The attachés are Foreign Service Reserve officers and are administratively responsible to the Ambassadors of the posts to which they are assigned and to the Director General of the Foreign Service. The social-welfare attachés, as is true for the labor attachés, receive technical guidance from the Division of International Labor and Social Affairs located in the Office of International Trade Policy under the Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs.

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# Contributors

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# NATURAL RESOURCES IN A WORLD OF CONFLICT

*by Paul H. Nitze*

Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs

There is today widespread concern as to the adequacy of natural resources to support the world's increasing population. Malthus has come back into fashion, and Malthusian gloom pervades many of our discussions of trends in other parts of the world and of the effectiveness of the international policies we adopt. It will perhaps give a little perspective to this problem if I recall a talk I had with Sir Montagu Norman in 1932, when he was Governor of the Bank of England. He felt then that the basic problem in the world was overproduction, that technical advances in production had been so rapid that the world as a whole was experiencing a crisis arising out of almost universal overproduction. Moreover, he thought that such a condition would be chronic for the foreseeable future.

It seemed to me then, and it seems to me now, that Sir Montagu's analysis was only a partial analysis of an extremely complex pattern of interrelated factors and that he overemphasized the abundance of resources and ignored the possibility of a well-functioning economy and a great war, causing a scarcity of resources. It seems to me that there is an opposite danger of a partial analysis based on an assumption that this scarcity of natural resources will be extreme. Oversimplification is a constant hazard in this infinitely complicated field.

One point is crystal clear, however, and that is that we should not shy away from the facts. We should examine such facts as are available to us to the best of our ability. Then, having ascertained the facts, or at least as many as we can, we should develop a positive program of action that holds out realistic prospects of accomplishment and attempt to carry it out. Although we must not hesitate to

develop a program and carry it out, we must all the time maintain a certain degree of humility as to our ability to foresee how the various interrelated factors will in fact work themselves out. Unpredicted and unpredictable events abound, especially when human beings are involved, and this problem of the relation of man to his resource environment is just as much a human problem as it is a natural-resource problem.

Considering first the nonrenewable resources, one of the hard facts of life is that the minerals necessary for a highly developed civilization can be drawn from the earth in only limited quantities. Some are located at such depths, at such places, and in such combinations as to make them extremely difficult or even impossible to obtain. Furthermore, the minerals that we do know about and can get at without too much difficulty are distributed around the world in a haphazard fashion, from the point of view of human use.

It would be comforting if, once we got minerals out of the ground, we could keep on using them indefinitely. But there is much permanent loss, ranging from total loss, in the case of fuels, to only slight loss—for example, in the case of lead used in storage batteries. At present rates of consumption, there is an appreciable drain on the known mineral resources of the world.

The facts about renewable natural resources are more complex, but it seems to be generally agreed that unless thoroughgoing conservation measures are widely employed, erosion, soil exhaustion, deforestation, lower water tables, silting up of streams, and related developments will soon bring results which would be even more serious than the permanent loss of certain of our mineral resources.

Against these broad natural-resource facts we have the facts of population. The world's population increased from 400 millions in the sixteenth century to some 800 millions in the nineteenth, and is now estimated at approximately 2,200 millions. Population growth generally changes only slowly and as a result of complex factors. A substantial change in world population trends in the next few decades is not probable. Even a decline in the annual increments is unlikely for a considerable time to come. By the end of this century, the world's population may be close to 3 billion people.

The situation is quite different in various parts of the world. First, there are the countries of incipient population stability, namely the countries of Western Europe and North America. Second, there are the countries of transitional growth, including the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe generally, much of Latin America, and Japan. Third, there are the countries with a high growth potential, especially China and India.

Certain interesting comparisons can be made among these three types of countries. The first and second types each have one fifth of the population of the world; the third type has three fifths. In type 1, the median age is about 35 years and the life expectancy at birth is about 60 years; in type 2, the median age is about 25 years and the life expectancy is about 50; in type 3, the median age is about 20 years and the life expectancy is between 30 and 40 years. These are striking differences. Birth rates are falling rapidly in types 1 and 2, but not in type 3. Death rates are low and fairly constant in type 1, falling rapidly in type 2, and continuing high in type 3. The likely developments of the coming years, namely declining birth rates and low or declining death rates in the more advanced countries, but mainly declining death rates in the less developed areas, which already have well over half the world's population, will mean a somewhat smaller percentage of the world's population for the type 1, or, generally speaking, the western countries, and a somewhat larger percentage for types 2 and 3, especially 3. This is a political-economic fact, or probable fact, that must always be borne in mind.

It is clear that the United States will gradually come to have a smaller percentage of the people of the world. This may make our own problem of adaptation to limited resources easier than for

the world as a whole, especially in view of the high productivity of our people.

There is another important aspect of the population and resources problem, which is sometimes overlooked. During the last 100 years or so, production and consumption, as well as population, have increased greatly. At the same time democracy and popular education have advanced rapidly. The result has been a tremendous rise in aspirations for the good things of life, in the material as well as the spiritual realm, on the part of the great mass of people over the world. People are not satisfied with their present lot. They want more things to eat, wear, and enjoy now. "Pie in the sky by and by" seems to have less appeal than it perhaps once did. Moreover, people in many countries have sufficient political power to make their wants felt. Governments are under obligation to do something to improve the lot of the common man. Whether the resource base exists for providing the rapidly increasing populations with the high levels of physical consumption they desire is a real question. If not, political stability will depend to a considerable extent on people adjusting their consumption sights to something within the range of practical possibilities.

Another factor bringing pressure on natural resources is of course the need for military establishments. War is expensive in terms of natural resources as well as human, and the exhaustible mineral resources are especially hard hit in this day of industrialized warfare. The present moment is not a happy one for predicting an immediate decline in the military drain on resources.

It is too bad that there is not an annual or quinquennial volume that lists all the natural resources of the world and tells where they are and how much there is of them. Such a volume would probably not be generally accepted as authoritative and for a very good reason. Natural resource is in part a relative term. It has meaning only in the context of the potential use to which we think the resource can be put. The nitrogen in the air, the gold in the sea, or the minerals of the core of the earth are not counted as part of our natural resources. In a very real sense, resources do not exist unless we are resourceful enough to find ways and means of using them. Differences of opinion as to what resources exist and the technical and economic possibilities of converting them to man's

use are such as to make authoritative cataloging difficult.

The relativity of the concept of "natural resources" must always be kept in mind. For example, titanium, which was formerly important largely because it was an obnoxious impurity in steel manufacture, has in recent years become an important substitute for lead in the manufacture of paint, and now that an economical process has been found for refining it into a pure metal, titanium ore deposits, once a drug on the market, may come to have strategic significance.

During the war the Office of Imports of the Foreign Economic Administration was largely concerned with the procurement of strategic materials abroad and the preclusive buying of materials to deny them to the enemy. Some consideration was also given, however, to the foreseeable raw-materials problems which would arise during the peace. In that connection, our various commodity experts were asked to estimate the remaining world resources of the various metals and minerals which they were engaged in procuring. The most competent were generally the most reluctant to set a figure down in black and white because of the almost interminable qualifying footnotes that would have had to be added to explain exactly what the figure meant and what it did not mean.

Quite apart from this problem of the relativity of natural resources are two other stumbling blocks to adequate knowledge about the quantity of natural resources. One is that it takes a considerable amount of high-quality human resources and some other facilities to collect resource information. The other, a sad one, is that certain governments shoot people who divulge even to their own citizens much about resources in their countries.

In spite of these difficulties, one can say something about the resource position of the world and the United States. It is convenient to continue the distinction between renewable and nonrenewable resources.

Of the renewable, nothing compares with soils in importance. The broad fact here is that topsoil builds up slowly, and through neglect and careless agricultural practices the world is losing a great amount of valuable topsoil. We in the United States, it is believed, take better care of our land than do people in many countries, although we are still behind a number of coun-

tries in soil-conservation practice. Despite this, the war and postwar years have seen tremendous accomplishments by United States agriculture, based on improved practices, better seeds, and new techniques that have made these accomplishments possible. Without them the United States would have been in no position to help other countries of the world avoid mass starvation and the resulting economic and political chaos.

The most immediate concern of the United States is the minerals field. In general this country is well endowed with mineral resources. It is this endowment which has, among other things, made it possible for the 7 percent of the world's population in the United States to produce 40 percent of the world's goods. Without this endowment we could not have shipped abroad some 140 million tons of military and other equipment during the war.

Today there are many shortages of mineral supplies in the United States. The Bureau of Mines has estimated our commercial mineral reserves in relation to the 1935-39 annual rate of use. The United States has no commercial reserves of flake graphite, quartz crystals, industrial diamonds, tin, and nickel. Our commercial reserves have been estimated at one year for chromite, 2 years for manganese, 3 for asbestos and mercury, 4 for platinum and tungsten, 7 for vanadium, 9 for bauxite, 12 for lead, 19 for zinc, and 34 for copper. Since that time prices have advanced substantially, probably throwing additional ore into the commercial class. On the other hand, further depletion has taken place, and the 1935-39 rate of use has been found to be at least 30 percent under current annual requirements, even with all the technological improvements in consumption that enable us to stretch our supplies.

The pressures arising from a growing shortage of high-grade mineral reserves are bound to have far-reaching effects on our domestic economy, and to some extent abroad. The case of the imminent exhaustion of the high-grade Mesabi iron ores is a good example. Already northern New York iron mines, once abandoned, are being reopened; experimental work is going forward rapidly in the beneficiation of lower grade iron ores; production from deposits in North Africa is increasing; projects are under way or under consideration in Brazil, in Venezuela, and in Liberia. The recov-

ery of iron and steel scrap has taken on a new importance, and negotiations have just been completed with the United Kingdom which should result in steel scrap moving from Germany to the United States. Improvements in the steel-making processes are being stimulated. The problem will be met, but only by the application of a vast amount of technical and other energies.

Similarly, in other segments of the metals field, serious problems are arising that require new technical developments, the substitution of a more plentiful metal for a less plentiful, more economical forms of utilization, and above all a far greater emphasis upon the recovery of scrap. In the long run we must reduce the wastage of nonrenewable resources to an absolute minimum. Such a reduction does not necessarily mean a halt in the increase in our standard of living; but it does mean a much more intelligent use of the resources which we have. As an illustration of what can be done, we remember our amazement and distress at discovering, just after the war, that Germany had been able to triple its war production between 1942 and 1945 with no substantial increase in its raw materials, but just by more efficient use of those materials. This effort was largely made by redesign of equipment and new techniques of production.

Our fuels are used up when they are burnt, and no recovery as scrap is possible. Fortunately, our coal reserves are very great, and by and large those of other countries are also of long life. Our oil reserves are not in such a happy position, although much has been done to improve extraction techniques. For the immediate future the rapid development of Middle Eastern reserves should ease the tight world petroleum situation. In the long run the problem would not be so great in the energy field if water, solar, atomic, or wind sources could be harnessed in adequate volume. It is clear that an increase in the energy base of the world economy is fundamental to sustained large-scale advance.

Up to this point only passing reference has been made to the ways of mitigating or actually improving what looks to some like the sad long-run plight of the human race. Now let us see what are or might become mitigating factors and how practicable they would appear to be.

Of the ways in which the seriousness of this world situation might conceivably be mitigated,

some are not within our power to do very much about at the present time. One is a rapid decline in population or even a rapid decline in the rate of increase of population. Another is large-scale movements of population. Another is a general reduction of people's desires for the things of this world which involve, directly or indirectly, drains on scarce natural resources. A fourth is a significant reduction of the amount of resources going to military establishments.

There are certain other ways of mitigating the impact of resource shortages that it is within our power to do something about. Improved techniques for resource development and conservation, even on the basis of current knowledge if widely applied, hold substantial prospects for mitigating the problem. The results of such application may not be estimated now statistically, but concern for natural resources would be much less panicky if existing knowledge were being fully put to practical use.

To accomplish this result, four basic things seem to be required. The first is knowledge; the second is wide dissemination of that knowledge; the third is the appropriate organizational techniques for efficiently implementing that knowledge; and the fourth is sufficient capital, or to put it another way, enough excess of productive effort over current consumption to enable us to execute the actual projects involved.

On all four counts, the United States is in a favorable situation, compared with the rest of the world. We are fortunate in one further respect, the freedom from internal barriers within the United States to a free movement of knowledge, of people, of goods, and of the capital necessary for resource development and conservation.

Optimum conservation and utilization of resources cannot, however, be adequately achieved by domestic measures alone, either in the United States or in any other nation. On the international front also there are important fields for action, involving international trade, international capital movements, and international diffusion of scientific and technical knowledge.

Consider trade first. Many of the particular resource shortages of the United States are today being met by imports from abroad. As resources are further developed in other countries, we hope that increased imports will be possible. The United States is today, however, exporting a far

larger total volume of goods than it imports. This is true not only in a dollar sense but also in the sense of the resources that go into the goods purchased with these dollars.

At the time of the congressional consideration of the European Recovery Program, the capacity of the natural-resource position of the United States to withstand the drain involved was considered. After consideration, it was felt that we could stand the drain, and the program was approved. The point is, however, that there are practical limits to the extent to which we can export our resources without receiving comparable imports.

Reflecting our concern on this point, both the Executive Branch of the Government and the Congress felt it wise to attach to the rendering of economic assistance to Europe the condition that the recipient countries cooperate with us in making available reasonable quantities of materials expected to be in long-term short supply in the United States. Again, our stockpiling program is part of our attempt to insure adequate supplies of strategic resources in case international trade should be disrupted by war. In any commodity agreements we may negotiate, it is obvious that our special interest will be that available supplies should be adequate for our needs.

In the long run it is our belief that not only we but all other countries stand to benefit from a relatively free and equitable exchange of goods in international trade. The uneven distribution of resources of each country is to some extent overcome by such trade. This is a major purpose of the projected International Trade Organization.

The importance of international trade in this whole problem area is also a result of the greater international specialization of labor that it makes possible. Development is thus concentrated on the most economic resources, with higher living levels brought about by the resulting greater productivity in all areas. Greater productivity may not lessen the total drain on resources, but it certainly lessens the impact of growing populations on particular resources. International trade has never been developed sufficiently to permit us to judge how large a contribution it could make to well-being. It is tempting to believe that the difference in the levels of living between Western Europe and the United States derives to a very large extent from the existence of barriers to trade among the Western European states, in contrast to

the comparative lack of such barriers between the States of the United States. This belief, of course, lies behind our strong encouragement of European economic cooperation.

In spite of the importance of international trade, it is going to be difficult in the coming years to maintain a large and increasing volume of international trade. It will be an uphill struggle, even with a functioning International Trade Organization. Many countries believe that their economic salvation lies in less, rather than more, trade, because they think more trade increases their vulnerability to instabilities elsewhere, specifically depressions or wars, and because they think they can develop themselves internally more rapidly by insulating themselves to a considerable extent. In attempting both to insulate themselves from international economic instability and to develop as rapidly as possible, many countries severely limit their imports of certain products, compete avidly for such other imports as steel, machinery, and equipment needed for industrialization and already in short supply; and soon face internal inflation which kills their exports, industrial bottlenecks arising in their extraordinarily complex economic development, and a desperate need for large-scale external financial assistance.

Most of these countries are due for disappointment. True, the Soviet Union—with a tremendous variety of natural resources and an iron discipline—has achieved a certain degree of autarchy; but this is no sign that many other countries—most of them much smaller—can do the same. By and large, most other countries simply lack the necessary resources. Also, to their great credit, they have a much greater concern for the freedom and aspirations of the individual. It is to be hoped that these countries will see the economic light before they add to their misery by going down the rugged path toward an autarchy that is certain to be austere.

The second international approach to the problem of resource development and conservation is through larger movements of international capital. In many countries adequate domestic capital just is not available to carry out programs which are clearly indicated as being desirable.

With adequate safeguards, the international movement of capital benefits both the recipient and the investor, because it helps to develop new resources and makes possible better utilization of

existing resources. International capital flow tends to be accompanied by managerial and technical skills and the latest technological knowledge and machinery, and for this reason may contribute to a wide sector of the economy to which it moves. Our policy is to encourage the maximum free movement of international investment capital. We ourselves know the benefits of foreign capital, for much of our early American economic development was made possible only by foreign investors. Today, most of the demands for international capital are centered on the United States, and we have made vast sums available to other countries, either as regular loans, governmental and private, as direct investments by private corporations, or as gifts.

In general, the field of development of natural resources seems to us more appropriate for private investors than for the United States Government, and we have encouraged borrowers to go to private sources of capital wherever possible. Unfortunately, many borrowers are less eager for private capital than for governmental capital, although the latter is strictly limited in amount and in approved uses. As a result of the many barriers to the entry of private capital into other countries, many countries of the world today have had and are continuing to have a much smaller flow of investment capital than they might otherwise receive. The consequence of this situation, of course, is that their resources contribute less than they are able, both because they are relatively undeveloped and because they are being wastefully developed. To repeat, we are convinced that both lender and borrower gain from a wise investment of capital, and it is our policy to encourage the flow of private investment capital both in the interest of our own lenders and in the interest of the economic development and wise resource utilization of the borrowing countries.

It is impossible to mention the potential gain from moving capital across national boundaries so that it can maximize the productivity of labor and land in other countries, without touching at least briefly on the possibilities of moving people so that they can work with existing resources. It is fairly clear that some redistribution of people could raise the productivity of workers and hence the total world product, both in the primary industries and in others. Within the United States, for example, the mobility of our labor force is

one of the great sources of our economic strength. There are, however, numerous difficulties in the way of migration in many parts of the world, although some measures have been carried out to bring workers from surplus areas to labor-shortage areas such as Canada, Australia, and Argentina.

The third and potentially most important international method of progressing toward these goals is the development, dissemination, and application of increasingly efficient technology. It is fair to say that the development of such techniques is far ahead of their application. This lag in application does not mean that we should slow up on development, but it underlines the imperative necessity of much more energetic measures to disseminate technical information on resource utilization and conservation. Much of this already takes place through private channels—through the press, the technical journals, the radio, the educational system, even the movies—and the more that can be done in this way the better. Certainly, we should help to destroy all governmental barriers not only to the free flow of news but also, so far as security considerations permit, of technical information. Capital rarely moves abroad these days without a substantial store of technical information and techniques moving with it, so our encouragement of capital flow is indirectly an encouragement to the diffusion of technical knowledge. A very interesting development of the last few years in this field has been the formation of development corporations, such as those in Latin America initiated by the Rockefeller interests, and the group working in Liberia under the aegis of former Secretary of State Edward Stettinius.

The times call for more than private communications and private capital, however, and there is widespread interest in and approval of governmental participation in the international sharing of one of our greatest resources—our knowledge of how best to utilize resources. United States Government funds in this field are administered through the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. A variety of technical missions and many interchanges of specialized personnel take place with the support of the Committee, one of whose guiding principles is the need to balance the development of physical resources with the development of human resources.

The Export-Import Bank provides engineers and technical advice in connection with the loans it extends. In addition, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs has worked out with many of our neighbors to the south a jointly supported and jointly operated device called the "Servicio", to assist in disseminating technical information and training, particularly in the health, agricultural, and educational fields. The Economic Cooperation Act provides specifically for the provision of technical and engineering assistance to participating countries in Europe. We are now experimenting with the assignment to our United States Embassies abroad of scientific attachés for the purpose of facilitating the exchange of scientific information and technology. Our Government—unlike those governments which censor not only the international transmission of information but even the expression at home of heterodox scientific opinion—our Government stands squarely behind the greatest possible development of completely objective science and technology, and its fullest possible sharing with other nations, except where security considerations prevent.

Many of the international organizations in which the United States participates have been or will be active in different phases of the dissemination of technical knowledge; for example, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the Organization of American States. The United Nations, and particularly the Economic and Social Council, are also active in this field and coordinate the work of the specialized agencies. It was the Economic and Social Council that took the initiative in calling the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and

Utilization of Resources, scheduled for May 16–June 3, 1949. This multilateral approach is supplemented and reinforced by the active bilateral technical assistance programs mentioned above.

Over and above the specific foreign-policy questions raised by specific resource problems is the fact that one of the fundamental purposes of our foreign policy is that the United States play an appropriate role in establishing political and economic peace in the world. In implementation of that policy, we have given our full support to the United Nations and to the specialized international agencies, including the Monetary Fund, the International Bank, and the projected International Trade Organization.

We have supplemented these efforts by concrete and material assistance to almost all countries of the world, including the Eastern European countries, in recovering from the economic dislocations of the war. We have been the leading factor in halting the advance of that totalitarian aggression that feeds on economic distress and political chaos. Currently, our major effort is the task of completing economic recovery in Europe.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the question of whether the world's resources will be adequate in the future to provide for essential human needs is to a large extent a matter of international relations. If there is no real settlement of the political and ideological tensions with which we are now afflicted, a large part of the resources which may be available will be wasted in maintaining huge security establishments or in the supreme waste of war itself. The full development of potential resources can occur only if international conditions are such as to facilitate the interchange of technical knowledge, the flow of goods, and the transfer of capital.

## General Assembly Considers Steps for Reduction of Armaments

### STATEMENT BY FREDERICK H. OSBORN IN COMMITTEE I<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

The resolution on disarmament before the Committee refers to the fact that "the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces can only be attained in an atmosphere of real and lasting improvement in international relations".

In my remarks today, Mr. Chairman, I should like to discuss what must be done to attain, first, this "atmosphere of real and lasting improvement in international relations" which we all desire, and, second, the facts about armaments in the world today.

Mr. Chairman, there has been too little analysis of why there is an atmosphere of fear and distrust in the world today. Soviet Representatives here, like their rulers in the Kremlin, seem to us to ignore the real causes for the present tension. They pass over lightly the history of the past three years. They seem to have forgotten the shift in their policies which has taken place since we were so recently comrades-in-arms, fighting side by side in a common cause.

During the war the American people sympathized with the Russian people, as we always have sympathized with a nation attacked by an aggressor. We gave the Soviet Union every help we could, without asking any questions.

The people of Russia fought heroically to defend their country. They were told that the war was a war of defense. They were not told that the war was about Communism. But after the war Stalin's interpretation of Communism was again made a major factor in international relations. It was only after the war that Soviet leaders reconstructed the dialectic of the early days of the revolution and with equal emphasis in 1947 and 1948 stressed the inevitability of a struggle between the Soviet brand of Communism and the so-called capitalist states. Examples of their present attitude are so numerous that they might be quoted for hours on end. Let me take only a single and very recent example. The New York *Times* of November 5th carries an article which states the following: In the current issue

of *Bolshevik*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, there is an extensive article which urges that the foreign Communist Parties transform themselves into revolutionary parties dedicated to preparing the way for armed revolt. According to the author, Mr. Burdzhhalov, this is a return to the original Leninist doctrine. He quoted Prime Minister Stalin as saying that the parliamentary struggle was only a school for organizing the extra-parliamentary revolutionary means of struggle. Mr. Burdzhhalov added that "direction of the revolutionary activities of the masses is the basic activity of the Communists". I will not go on with the rest of the article. But it is clear that such pronouncements, in which we may include Mr. Molotov's prediction of a year ago that "all roads lead to Communism", do not create an atmosphere of confidence.

Mr. Vyshinsky himself has not allayed our anxiety. He has quoted Lenin on "capitalist encirclement" and impressed upon us that Communism is the gravedigger of our so-called capitalism. These facts make clear that the Soviet Union is once again publicly professing the aim of world revolution.

Behind the tightly sealed borders of the Soviet state almost 10 percent of the world's people are kept ignorant of what goes on in the outside world. The people of the rest of the world are disturbed at the thought of what may be going on behind this veil of secrecy. They are forced to believe, from available information, that the Soviet Union has far more men under arms than any other nation.

With this strange background of arms and secrecy, the Soviet Union since the war has done things which have been bad for international relations.

The Soviet Union has forcibly annexed territory. The Soviet Union has destroyed the hopeful progress of representative government in the countries of eastern and central Europe. The Soviet Union has obstructed the negotiations of peace treaties with Germany and Japan. The Soviet Union has refused to accept the plan of the United Nations for the control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons which 46 other na-

<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 11, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Osborn is the Deputy U.S. Representative to the Atomic Energy Commission and is on the Commission for Conventional Armaments.

tions find acceptable in principle. Soviet Representatives have cast 28 vetoes in the Security Council, many of which specifically blocked the peaceful settlement of disputes. Their summary rejection of the neutrals' plan to settle the Berlin question is fresh in our memories. There is every evidence that the Soviet Union is actively trying to prevent the reconstruction and improvement of living conditions in western Europe.

These actions force us to believe that the Soviet Union is pursuing the aim of world revolution and of destroying the economic and political systems which other peoples have chosen for themselves. Thus the Soviet Union has created a spirit of inquietude in the rest of the world. The inquietude is made worse when the Soviet Union repeats over and over things that the rest of the world knows are not true.

It is pure nonsense to say that the United States desires to attack the Soviet Union. Any person who reads history knows that the people are masters of the government they have established in the United States; and that the people want peace. They would not permit a war of aggression. We constantly hear from the Soviet Union that the American "people" do not control their government. What nonsense! Certainly after the events of the past week Mr. Vyshinsky should know beyond the shadow of a doubt that the American people choose their leaders in free, unfettered elections and that no policy can be pursued which is not supported and sanctioned by the American people.

The Russian people themselves have no such opportunities to choose their own leaders. When they do, a milestone in human progress will have been attained.

In carrying out the mandate of the people, the United States has taken very specific steps to improve world confidence and to better the chances for peace.

The United States has offered to give up the atomic bomb, to turn over all its atomic plants to an international agency, and to accept the prohibition of atomic weapons under the conditions of strict control approved by the overwhelming majority of this General Assembly.

The United States, believing that lasting peace demands healthy economic conditions, has put into effect and is cooperating with the countries of western Europe in a program of economic reconstruction and rehabilitation. This cooperative enterprise has been closed to no nation and its terms have been dictated by no nation.

The United States has exerted its efforts to strengthen the United Nations. We are fully participating in all of its agencies. By contrast, the Soviet Union has refused to participate in most of the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

I am not trying to fix the blame or credit for

these things. I am only trying to place before you the facts as they appear to us in the United States and also apparently to most of the people of western Europe.

On the basis of these facts, it seems clear that we will not attain "an atmosphere of real and lasting improvement in international relations" as a prerequisite to disarmament, as required by this resolution, until the Soviet Union, not only by its words but in its actions, ceases to threaten the world with Communist aggression.

I now come to the facts about armaments. A realistic discussion of disarmament must be based on consideration of the status of the present production of armaments by the different nations as well as on their arms and armies. Let us consider first the state of arms production.

Much detail has been published in all the Western nations which shows the amounts of money now being spent on producing various types of arms for ground forces and air forces and naval forces. These sums of money are published in budgets voted by congresses or parliaments. And in the Western countries, budgets are scrutinized meticulously and frequently criticized and contested by elected representatives of the people.

The Western states, after enormous expenditures during the war, have reduced their appropriations for the production of arms and for military forces to a relatively normal peacetime figure. I am most familiar with United States statistics. At the peak of the war years, American military expenditures were more than 80 billion dollars a year. Today, three years later, and taking into account those military expenditures forced upon us by present conditions of world insecurity, the United States is spending approximately 13 billion dollars for defense purposes, or less than one sixth of the amount during a war year. Altogether, at the present time, the United States is spending approximately 6 percent of its total national income on defense.

The reduction in the number of men in our Army, Navy, and Air Force was even greater: from more than 12 million on June 30, 1945, to well less than a million and a half on December 31, 1947.

Immediately after the destruction of the Japanese and German armies, the overwhelming weight of American production, which had been concentrated on our common enemies, was turned at once to the peacetime uses of the American people. In addition, the industrial production of the American worker has provided goods and foodstuffs to help countries which had been occupied during the war, in order to restore their peacetime economies. These deliveries of goods and foodstuffs abroad were made through the contributions of the United States to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and more recently through the Marshall Plan.

Such a peaceful use of our productive capacities was a clear expression of the basic desire of the people of the United States. This desire remains unchanged. The American people want to produce for peace and not for war. But they are not ready to jeopardize their security. When during the past three years they realized that other nations remained heavily armed, indeed, appeared to be rearming, they took the steps necessary for their own protection. They began diverting some part of their production to defense. They did so with reluctance. They did so by necessity, not by choice. They realize only too well that any such decision means a corresponding reduction in the materials available for the economic and social improvement which is the road to world stability and to world security.

At the present time, 94 percent of the total national income of the United States is directed to peaceful purposes. This is the productive power which, when turned to other uses, has made the United States so powerful in two world wars. But it takes time to turn it from peaceful use into production for war. Its present use is clear evidence of our peaceful intent.

Now let us look for a moment at Soviet production of military supplies and at the Soviet armies. The Soviet Union does not follow the example of the countries of the Western world in publishing details regarding the strength of its armed services, or of monies spent on armaments. The Soviet Union does not have a congress or parliament containing an opposition free to analyze, dispute, and seek confirmation of government figures. We must therefore use the best published estimates available.

On the basis of such estimates, it appears that in the Soviet Union approximately 16 percent of the national income is now turned to munitions and the support of vast armies; which is more than double the proportion spent in the United States, or, indeed, in other Western European countries. This is a strange situation. The Russian people do not want war. The Soviet leaders do not need to convince us of that. The Russian worker, like the American worker, wants peace, security for his family, and the opportunity to improve his situation in life. We recognize that the Soviet Union has made progress in reconstruction and rehabilitation since the end of the war. In spite of the iron-clad restrictions placed on the travel of foreigners in the Soviet Union, our representatives there have seen an improvement in living conditions for Soviet citizens. But we know also that these conditions are not improving more rapidly because so much of the production of Soviet factories is going into war materials. This represents a huge drain away from peacetime improvements.

In order that the Soviet worker may accept this situation, he is kept in the fear and dread of war

by the government itself. He depends for his information upon his government-controlled and strictly censored press, radio, stage, and cinema. He hears only the news his rulers wish him to hear. It is distorted for their own purposes.

When Mr. Vyshinsky makes one of his violent speeches in a session of this General Assembly, every word he utters is printed in *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and the newspapers throughout the vast Soviet Union. His speech of October 13 took up a large part of three successive issues of the leading Moscow papers. We have no objection to that—the verbatim texts of Mr. Vyshinsky's speeches appear in the American press. But the Soviet citizen seldom, if ever, gets the chance to read the text of a speech by a representative of a Western power. Instead he can read only brief, tendentious, distorted reports of such speeches which effectively prevent him from getting an accurate picture of our debates here. As an example of such distorted and inaccurate reporting, the Moscow papers of October 13 stated that in Ambassador Austin's speech of October 12 he had made "a whole series of slanderous statements founded on the forged documents of the Hitlerites and used early this year by the United States State Department". I need only comment in passing that not one single sentence of that speech came from a German document. Stalin's congratulatory telegram to Ribbentrop, which Mr. Vyshinsky implied was a forged document, was published at the time in the Soviet press and in Communist newspapers throughout the world, including the issue of December 28, 1939, of the *Daily Worker*.

I am sometimes gravely apprehensive, Mr. Chairman, that the Russian man-in-the-street may not be the only Soviet citizen holding a warped and twisted view of the world outside the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. My misgivings arise from statements made in this committee by Mr. Vyshinsky and by recent public statements emanating from Moscow. I am led to wonder whether the rulers of the Soviet Union, the members of the Politburo themselves, may not come to believe the frightening and false propaganda picture of a world wanting to attack their country. I hope such is not the case, and I am reluctant to believe it so. I trust that the members of the Politburo, if not the Russian people, will have access to and will read carefully the verbatim records of this session of the General Assembly. If they are not then convinced of the good faith of non-Communist nations represented about this table and of the fact that these nations are not planning and will not undertake aggressive war against the Soviet Union, then I say these gentlemen are blind and impervious to the truth.

The Soviet citizen yearns for a better life. He would hope that he might live in less crowded conditions, that he might buy better clothes for his family, more books for his children, and even some

of the modern electrical appliances—toasters, irons, and refrigerators, which are beginning to appear on the shelves of Moscow department stores. The Soviet citizen would hope that the millions of political prisoners working in mines and factories might be replaced by free workers freely hired. He would hope that he might have freedom of choice in his work and place of employment.

But the Soviet Government through all its organs of publicity is telling the Soviet worker that he cannot have these things because the Western nations are threatening him with another war.

We may well ask, why does the Soviet Government tell its people things that no other people, no other nation, believes to be true? Why is it that the Soviet Government demands such a terrible sacrifice from the Russian people? Is it because the rest of the world is even more heavily armed and therefore is dangerous to the Russian people? Again, let us look at the facts as they are available.

It is our understanding from published figures which the Soviet Union has not denied, that the Soviet Union has under arms at the present time forces totaling around four million men, and its associated states another two million. Taking into account the proportion between service troops and combat troops and the size of Soviet divisions, this number would mean considerably more than 250 divisions of combat troops for the Soviet Union and the states under its control.

The Soviet states apparently have available combat troops at least five times more numerous than those of all Western European states put together. And bear in mind that it is combat troops which are the weapons of conquest and occupation. It is only the foot soldiers who can conquer, occupy, and subjugate the territory of neighbors. The rulers of the Soviet Union know this. They learned it from the Germans.

A reduction of one third would not change the disproportion in Soviet armies. So it would not relieve the anxieties of other nations. If the reduction in Soviet armies were to be carried out in secret behind the Soviet borders it would not remove from other nations the element of suspicion which is such a bar to peace.

Permit me again, Mr. Chairman, to underline one of the most fundamental points in this problem. How can we know which of the nations should reduce or have reduced their arms by one third or by one half or by three fourths without basic knowledge on which to make our decision, and without real knowledge of what goes on behind the Iron Curtain? How can we decide the relative strength of one nation vis-à-vis another, in terms of numbers of men and types of arms? We must have basic information.

The Soviet Union seems to look upon this elementary principle as an evil plot of non-Communist

states to spy out the Soviet land. The United States is built on the principle of national sovereignty and no nation asks another to do what it is not willing to do itself. Information in our countries is already available; in the Soviet Union it is not. The Soviet Representatives dare to deny the existence of the Iron Curtain. But Soviet citizens and diplomats in the United States have always been free to travel in our countries wherever and however they like; while the Soviet Union, except for three or four specified cities, is now hermetically sealed to the representatives of other governments as it is to their citizens. Even foreign diplomats are categorically prohibited from traveling beyond 50 kilometers from Moscow. They are not now allowed to set foot in eight districts within the 50 kilometer radius. They are thus literally imprisoned within the city limits of Moscow. The fact that these restrictions were imposed during this session of the General Assembly unfortunately does not testify to the present desire of the Soviet Government for cooperation and mutual understanding.

I repeat, none of us asks the Soviet Union to do more than our own governments are willing to do. But we fail to see how progress toward disarmament can be made until we all accept the basic, elementary principles of a mutual exchange and verification of information.

Let me return to consider that "improvement in international relations" which I mentioned at the beginning. How can we bring this about?

By accepting the principles of the Charter of the United Nations the Soviet Union pledged itself to cooperation for peace in the world community. Can it be that the Soviet Union, having signed the Charter, at the same time believes that war is inevitable unless some of the members of the United Nations change their systems of government?

Here then are the realities of the situation. The Soviet Union is heavily armed; it is at present kept in a position to carry on an aggressive war for the continuance of its conquest of the territory of other nations. The Soviet Union is spending a larger proportion of its manpower and its resources in preparation for war than are the Western nations. It is the Soviet Union alone that is carrying on a shrill government-directed propaganda to prepare its people for war. The Soviet Union alone is working behind a veil of secrecy. How then can the rest of the world disarm?

In this situation we meet to consider what steps might be taken by the General Assembly in the hope of bringing about a reduction of arms, and a sense of security among the peoples of the world. The Soviet proposal for a reduction of one third in the armaments of the five major powers without any verification would not bring about this result.

*(Continued on page 641)*

## Progress Report on Conditions of Refugees in Near East

[Released to the press November 4]

Ralph Bunche, United Nations acting mediator for Palestine, on October 18, 1948, submitted to the United Nations a progress report<sup>1</sup> on the conditions of refugees in the Near East. In his report he made reference to the statements of the late mediator, Count Bernadotte, who wrote on September 18:

The choice is between saving the lives of many thousands of people now or permitting them to die. The situation of the majority of these hapless refugees is already tragic, and to prevent them from being overwhelmed by further disaster and to make possible their ultimate rehabilitation, it is my earnest hope that the international community will give all necessary support to make the measures I have outlined fully effective. I believe that for the international community to accept its share of responsibility for the refugees of Palestine is one of the minimum conditions for the success of its efforts to bring peace to that land.

The acting mediator stated that the situation of the Palestine refugees is now critical, and the urgency of the need for assistance has been accentuated. He further stated that, unless adequate and effective aid comes quickly, the position of the refugees will become desperate within a few weeks. In his report he recalled that the figures cited in September on this situation tentatively placed the number of Arab refugees at 360,000, and the number of Jewish refugees at 7,000. He stated that the figure for Jewish refugees remains the same, but the figure for Arab refugees must be revised upwards to 472,000. The acting mediator called to the attention of the United Nations the critical shortage of food, the immediate need for clothing, and the fact that some 95,000 are without shelter of any sort.

The report of the acting mediator is borne out by numerous reports from American missions in the Near East. The refugees have been dependent upon the limited funds which they brought with them from their homes, and upon the resources of the governments in the states where they took refuge. Both of these sources are now almost completely exhausted. The situation is most critical in Palestine and Transjordan. It is estimated that 84,000 refugees in central Palestine are still without shelter, and roads are lined with people encamped

under trees or in the open. Hospital facilities are totally inadequate to meet the need; in one area of Palestine 20 suspected cases of typhoid were sent back from a nearby clinic to sleep under the trees because of the lack of hospital beds and medicines. In southwestern Syria, refugees average 20 to a fair-sized room. The infant mortality rate is high in this area, and no physician is regularly available. In many areas, preventive inoculations against diseases have not been undertaken because the limited supplies of vaccines must be reserved to fight actual outbreaks of disease.

The situation is particularly critical because the refugees include an unusually high proportion of "vulnerable" groups: it is estimated that 12 percent consist of infants; 18 percent are from 3 to 5 years of age; 36 percent are from 6 to 18 years of age; over 10 percent are pregnant women and nursing mothers; and 8 percent consist of aged, sick, and infirm people. The vulnerable total is, therefore, approximately 85 percent of the refugee population.

With a view to alleviating the increasingly critical conditions of Palestinian refugees of all communities, the United States Delegation to the General Assembly, in conjunction with the delegations of the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the Netherlands, introduced a resolution on October 29, 1948, calling for a United Nations program for the relief of Palestinian refugees. The acting mediator has estimated that a program to meet the minimum needs of these refugees until the next harvest is reaped will cost about \$30,000,000. The proposed resolution urges all Members of the United Nations to make voluntary contributions to meet this need, and calls upon the specialized agencies and voluntary organizations for supplies and personnel to assist in relieving the desperate plight of these refugees. The Department of State is deeply hopeful that the General Assembly will act speedily on this resolution.

American voluntary agencies have contributed supplies and funds for the relief of these refugees during the past few months and it is hoped that their efforts will continue to meet with success. The American Red Cross has already contributed large quantities of medical supplies and other items and has recently made a further contribution of blankets and clothing. The American Appeal for Holy Land Refugees, with headquarters at the Near East Foundation, 54 East 64th Street, New York, is continuing to mobilize American voluntary efforts.

<sup>1</sup> U.N. doc. A/689, Oct. 18, 1948, and A/689, Add. 1, Oct. 19, 1948.

## Reports of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans<sup>1</sup>

The General Assembly,

1. HAVING CONSIDERED the Reports by the Special Committee established by Resolution 109 (II) :

2. HAVING NOTED the conclusions of the Special Committee and in particular its unanimous conclusion that, despite the aforesaid Resolution of the General Assembly, "the Greek guerrillas have continued to receive aid and assistance on a large scale from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, with the knowledge of the Governments of those countries" and that the Greek guerrillas in the frontier zones have, as found by the Special Committee:

(1) "Been largely dependent on external supply. Great quantities of arms, ammunition and other military stores have come across the border, notably during times of heavy fighting. Strongly-held positions of the guerrillas have protected their vital supply lines from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and, in particular, from Albania. In recent months, there has been less evidence of receipt of supplies from Yugoslavia by the guerrillas".

(2) "Frequently moved at will in territory across the frontier for tactical reasons, and have thus been able to concentrate their forces without interference by the Greek Army, and to return to Greece when they wished".

(3) "Frequently retired safely into the territory of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia when the Greek Army exerted great pressure".

3. HAVING NOTED further the conclusions of the Special Committee that a continuation of this situation "constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and to peace in the Balkans" and "that the conduct of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia has been inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations";

4. HAVING NOTED the recommendations submitted by the Special Committee;

5. *Considers* that the continued aid given by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to the Greek guerrillas endangers peace in the Balkans, and is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

## The United States in the United Nations

### Control of Armaments

The General Assembly declared on November 19 that all nations should possess "exact and authenticated" data on the arms and armed forces of other nations and that "real and lasting improvement in international relations" is required before measures for international disarmament can be safely instituted.

The world body so declared by adopting the Belgian resolution on disarmament accepted by

6. *Calls* upon Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to cease forthwith rendering any assistance or support in any form to the guerrillas fighting against the Greek Government; including the use of their territories as a base for the preparation or launching of armed action;

7. *Again calls* upon Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with Greece in the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means in accordance with recommendations contained in Resolution 109 (II) ;

8. *Calls* upon Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with the Special Committee in enabling it to carry out its functions and upon Greece to continue to co-operate toward the same end;

9. *Recommends* to all Members of the United Nations and to all other states that their Governments refrain from any action designed to assist directly or through any other government any armed group fighting against the Greek Government;

10. *Approves* the activities of the Special Committee to date, continues it in being with the functions conferred upon it by Resolution 109 (II) and instructs it:

(a) To continue to observe and report on the response of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to the General Assembly injunction not to furnish aid to the Greek guerrillas in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 109 (II) and the present Resolution;

(b) To continue to utilize observation groups with personnel and equipment adequate for the fulfilment of its task;

(c) To continue to be available to assist the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia in the implementation of Resolution 109 (II) and of the present Resolution;

11. *Authorizes* the Special Committee to consult, in its discretion, with the Interim Committee (if it is continued) with respect to the performance of its functions in the light of developments;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with adequate staff and facilities to enable it to perform its functions.

[November 13-19]

the great majority in the Assembly Political Committee on November 13. The vote in the General Assembly was 43 to 6 with the Soviet and other Eastern European countries opposing.

John Foster Dulles, U.S. Delegate, termed the Belgian resolution a "sound foundation for the control of armaments."

<sup>1</sup> U. N. doc A/C. 1/352, Oct. 26, 1948, draft resolution by China, France, the U.K., and the U.S.

The resolution specifies that a condition for regulation and reduction of arms and armed forces is effective atomic controls under which atomic weapons will be banned. It calls on the Security Council's Conventional Armaments Commission to develop disarmament plans to be effected when the desired improvement in international relations is brought about and atomic controls are instituted. It calls for cooperation of all members of that Commission, which comprises the Security Council membership.

Under the majority proposal, the Commission's first task would be the formulation of procedures for checking and publishing data on national armaments.

Mr. Vishinsky, the Soviet Delegate, re-echoed his statement of November 13 that the Soviet Union would submit armaments data only to an international control agency. The Soviet resolution, which was rejected by a vote of 38 to 6 on November 13 by Committee I, however, made no provision for verification. In past discussions the Soviet Union has opposed verification by an international organ of data submitted by individual governments.

The Soviet proposal also called for prohibition of atomic weapons under an international control agency within the framework of the Security Council. However, this aspect was dealt with previously when the Assembly decisively endorsed the Atomic Commission plan for an international agency with broad powers to supervise all atomic materials and facilities to insure atomic energy for peaceful uses only.

Implementation of this atomic plan has been blocked by Soviet contention that it would usurp national prerogatives and generally open the way for interference by the rest of the world, and the United States in particular, with the Soviet economy.

Speaking for the Belgian resolution on disarmament, Mr. Dulles emphasized that the first requirement "is the ability to obtain complete and accurate, verified and comprehensive" information on world armaments.

"That ability would itself create confidence and avoid the present risk that nations will create armaments in order to meet the imagined armaments of others," Mr. Dulles observed, adding: "Ignorance, fear and suspicion can breed an armaments race that will itself be provocative of war".

Referring to Soviet objections, Mr. Dulles stated:

"Some nations in the name of sovereignty refuse to accept international controls. They contend national promises and national reports ought to be an acceptable substitution for international control and international verification. The fact is national promises and unverified official reports will not serve to allay suspicion. History has too

often proved their unreliability . . . Suspicion and fear will persist unless there are effective international controls. Any nation that refuses to do what is in fact necessary to allay fear and suspicion is itself a contributor to conditions that breed war."

#### **Palestine Refugee-Aid Plan**

A \$29,500,000 relief program for the half-million Palestine war refugees was approved unanimously on November 19 by the General Assembly. The program, which is based on a proposal made by the United States, Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands, also provides for an immediate advance of \$5,000,000 from working capital to start supplies flowing to the Near East refugee camps.

The \$29,500,000, plus an additional \$2,500,000 for administrative and operational expenses, would be raised through voluntary contributions from Member and non-Member states, and the \$5,000,000 advance is to be repaid from this total amount.

The program is to extend for nine months, ending on August 1, 1949, when the next harvest is expected to bring improved conditions.

The Assembly also authorized the Secretary-General to appoint a director for Palestine refugee relief. He is to be assisted by a seven-member advisory committee.

#### **Berlin Currency Problems**

As the President of the Security Council, Juan A. Bramuglia, pressed for a solution to the Berlin controversy by seeking to find agreement for the currency problem, U.S. Secretary of State Marshall on November 18 summoned to Paris financial and monetary experts from Washington and Berlin.

They will assist the U.S. Delegation in preparing answers to a questionnaire which President Bramuglia submitted to the Western powers and to the U.S.S.R. in his latest move to solve the impasse over Berlin. The questionnaire asks primarily for technical information on how to obtain Big Four control of the Soviet mark in Berlin.

Both Mr. Bramuglia and the Secretary-General have experts examining the currency question. The United States, hopeful that the studies will be coordinated in such manner as to avoid duplication, has expressed willingness to cooperate with either Mr. Bramuglia or Mr. Lie but has emphasized that its prime interest is in the Security Council's efforts.

As indicated in the August 30 directive agreed on at Moscow between envoys of the three Western powers and Soviet leaders, the United States always has been ready to seek a solution of the Berlin currency problem. Likewise, the United States assumes that the introduction of the Soviet

zone mark as the emreny for all of Berlin under Four Power control is technically feasible.

### **Assembly Approves Permanent Headquarters Report**

In a plenary meeting, the General Assembly on November 18 unanimously approved Secretary-General Lie's report on establishing permanent headquarters in New York City and noted with satisfaction the United States agreement to lend the international organization \$65,000,000 for building.

### **Interim Committee**

The United States on November 17 called for continuation of the Interim Committee for another experimental year and urged all members, including the Soviet bloc, to cooperate in the body's work.

The Interim Committee, set up to expedite and maintain continuity of Assembly work between regular Assembly sessions, has concerned itself mostly during the past year with study of the veto problem and advising the Korean Commission.

Great Britain, India, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador were among others supporting continuation of the Interim Committee and calling for participation by all members. Poland, however, reiterated its opposition.

Discussion of the Interim Committee's future was the first item on the agenda of the new *ad hoc* committee which was created to relieve the Political Committee of some of its work. On November 20 the Committee voted 44 to 6 to extend the Interim Committee for another year.

### **Palestine Armistice Proposal**

The Security Council on November 16 called on Israel and the Arab States to draw up an armistice covering all parts of Palestine. It adopted paragraph by paragraph a Canadian-sponsored resolution directing the warring parties to negotiate directly or through United Nations acting mediator, Ralph Bunche, regarding the establishment of demarcation lines and withdrawal or reduction of armed forces to insure maintenance of the armistice pending permanent settlement in Palestine.

Eight of the Security Council's member nations voted for the armistice order, with Syria opposing the operative part and the U.S.S.R. and the Ukraine abstaining. The Council rejected a Syrian amendment aimed at extending to Galilee, in northern Palestine, a previous order for withdrawal of Israeli forces in the Negev desert area. Only Syria, China, and Belgium supported this plan.

The armistice directive was approved after a Soviet resolution which would have called for immediate establishment of formal peace in Palestine was rejected.

Philip Jessup, United States Deputy Represent-

ative, termed the Soviet measure not yet practicable; however, he supported the armistice resolution, terming it the first transitional step from a truce to permanent peace.

### **Committee I Rejects Invitation to North Korea Delegates**

An attempt by the Soviet and Eastern European countries in Committee I (Political and Security) to have representatives of the so-called North Korean Peoples Government invited to participate in forthcoming discussion of the Korean question was rejected on November 15 by a vote of 38-0, with six abstentions.

The Committee supported the contention of the U.S. Delegate, John Foster Dulles, that the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea, as a kind of "credentials Committee", should be heard first. Mr. Dulles also reminded committee members that the U.N. Commission had been denied entrance to the northern, or Soviet zone of Korea, where the "Peoples Government" was established through "elections" which the Commission was not permitted to observe.

A nine-member delegation from the Republic of Korea whose capital is at Seoul in South Korea has made a formal request to participate in Committee and Assembly discussions of the Korean question.

### **Balkan States Discuss Greek Dispute**

Representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece in Paris held their first joint discussions with U.N. mediators on November 15 in an effort to settle the Balkan dispute through direct negotiation.

After having met separately with the U.N. officials on November 12, representatives of Greece and her three northern neighbors met collectively with the mediators for the first time. Officials serving as mediators were Herbert Evatt, President of the General Assembly, Secretary-General Trygve Lie, and Selim Sarper of Turkey, Rapporteur of Committee I.

### **Trusteeship**

The Assembly acted on November 18 on several resolutions relating to trusteeship of dependent areas. Two that were approved call on administering powers to accelerate progressive development toward self-government or independence of the trust territories under them. Another urges nations to increase the expenditure for education of the inhabitants of territories for which they are responsible and to provide free primary schooling for all. A fourth recommends that the Trusteeship Council investigate every aspect of the question of administrative unions between trust territories and adjacent political entities and suggest any safeguards it deems necessary to preserve the "distinct political status" of trust territories.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## U.S. Delegations to International Meetings

### ILO: Petroleum

The Department of State announced on November 9 that the following are representing the United States at the Second Session of the Petroleum Committee of the International Labor Organization (ILO) which opened on November 9 at Geneva for a period of approximately ten days.

#### GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

##### *Delegates*

Arnold L. Zempel, Associate Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor  
David E. Longanecker, Assistant Chief, Petroleum Division, Department of State

##### *Alternate Delegate and Adviser*

Robert E. Friedman, Associate Director, Oil and Gas Division, Department of the Interior

##### *Adviser*

Hersey E. Riley, Chief, Branch of Construction Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

#### EMPLOYERS' REPRESENTATIVES

##### *Delegates*

John C. Quilty, Manager of Industrial Relations, Shell Oil Company, Inc., New York City  
C. Francis Beatty, Director, Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., New York City

##### *Advisers*

Channing Rice Dooley, Training Within Industry Foundation, Summit, N.J.  
Valentine H. Ludwig, General Manager, Employee Relations Department, Gulf Oil Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
James W. Rees, Assistant Vice President, Pure Oil Company, Chicago, Ill.  
R. B. Roaper, Director of Safety, Humble Oil and Refining Company, Houston, Tex.

#### WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES

##### *Delegates*

Charles A. Evans, Business Representative of Local Union No. 12, International Union of Operating Engineers, Los Angeles, Calif.  
Alexis E. Laster, International Representative, International Union of Operating Engineers, El Monte, Calif.

The agenda for the meeting includes: (1) a general report dealing with the action taken in the various countries to give effect to the resolutions of the first session of the Committee, held at Los Angeles in February 1947, and recent events

and developments in the industry; (2) discussion of recruitment and training for the petroleum industry; (3) report on safety and health; and (4) the problem of industrial relations in the industry as effecting trade-union organization and recognition, developments in collective bargaining, and actual methods for handling disputes.

The Petroleum Committee is one of eight industrial committees of the ILO established for the purpose of examining social and economic aspects of international labor standards in the respective industries and adopting resolutions for their improvement.

### British Parliamentary Association

[Released to the press November 12]

United States congressional representatives to the British Parliamentary Association meeting which convened at Hamilton, Bermuda, on November 15 left Washington on November 13.

The chairman of the United States Delegation is Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin. Also included are Senators Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa and Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas. The chairman of the House Delegation is Representative Henry O. Talle of Iowa, the remainder including Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Senator-elect from that state, and Robert J. Corbett of Pennsylvania. In Bermuda they were met by heads of the Bermuda Government and United States consular officials on duty there.

This is the third such parliamentary conference attended by representatives from all the British Commonwealth Parliaments and delegates from the United States Congress which has been held in the Western Hemisphere. The first meeting took place during the war in Ottawa, Canada, and another conference was held again two years ago in Hamilton, Bermuda.

Heading up the list of British Delegates are John Wilmot, M.P., former Minister of Supply from the United Kingdom, Senator J. T. Haig, K.C., leader of the Progressive Conservative Party in the Canadian Senate, and Vernon H. Treatt, K.C., leader of the Opposition in New South Wales, Australia. Delegates are also in attendance from New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Bermuda.

Department of State Bulletin

## Air Navigation in Southeast Asia

The Department of State announced on November 10 the United States Delegation to the first International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) Regional Air Navigation Meeting for the Southeast Asia Region, convening at New Delhi, India, November 23, 1948, for an approximate duration of three weeks.

### Chairman

Clifford P. Burton, Chief of the Technical Mission, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

### Vice Chairman

Oscar Bakke, Flight Operations Specialist, Civil Aeronautics Board

### Alternates

James F. Angier, Chief of the Foreign Section, Civil Aeronautics Administration

Norman R. Hagen, Meteorological Attaché, American Embassy, London

Victor J. Kayne, Airways Operations Specialist (ICAO), Civil Aeronautics Administration

R. F. Nicholson, Representative, Flight Operations (ICAO), Civil Aeronautics Administration

Lt. Comdr. Clement Vaughn, Jr., Search and Rescue Agency, United States Coast Guard

Edwin L. White, Chief, Aviation Division, Federal Communications Commission

### Advisers

William B. Becker, Operations Division, Air Transport Association

Gene L. Brewer, Airways Radio Specialist (ICAO), Civil Aeronautics Administration

Capt. Etheridge Grant, USN, Head, Civil Aviation Branch, Department of the Navy

Maj. Grove C. Johnson, Civil Liaison Branch, Hq., Military Air Transport Service, Department of the Air Force

Winton E. Modin, representing Aeronautical Radio, Inc., and Pan American Airways, Calcutta, India

George L. Rand, airways operations specialist, representative for International Telecommunications—ICAO regional organizations, Civil Aeronautics Administration

Capt. Arthur Yorra, Chief, International and Interdepartmental Advisory Group, Hq., Air Weather Service, MATS, Department of the Air Force

### Secretary of Delegation

Stephen V. C. Morris, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

About 20 governments are attending this meeting which is examining problems of air navigation and operations in the Southeast Asian region. The delegates are preparing a plan of aids to navigation and are recommending navigation practices to raise the standards of civil aviation in the region to those advocated by the ICAO Council. The meeting is following the usual pattern of regional meetings of the ICAO and the principal committees formed include aerodromes, air routes and ground aids, air-traffic control, flight operations, communications, meteorology, and search and rescue. The practices and procedures recommended by the meeting in these fields are being forwarded to the

Council of ICAO at Montreal for consideration and approval.

A Fact Finding Group convened at New Delhi approximately a week prior to the regional meeting in order to examine and document operational data for the convenience and use of the main meeting.

The Southeast Asia meeting is the ninth in the original series of ten regional meetings scheduled by ICAO to survey aviation facilities throughout the world. Upon the completion of the series ICAO expects to have an index of facilities needed by international civil aviation on all the important air routes of the world.

The preceding regional meeting, the North Pacific Air Navigation Meeting, was held at Seattle in July. The remaining regional meeting projected by the ICAO is the African-Indian Ocean Meeting.

## Fourth Session of FAO

The President appointed on November 13 Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, as United States Member and Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Fourth Session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. This meeting opened in Washington, D.C., on November 15, 1948. Named by the President to serve as Alternate United States Members were: Albert J. Loveland, Under Secretary of Agriculture; Fred J. Rossiter, Associated Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture; and Edward G. Cale, Associate Chief, International Resources Division, Department of State.

The President appointed also the following five congressional advisers to the Delegation: George D. Aiken, United States Senate; Elmer Thomas, United States Senate; S. Otis Bland, House of Representatives; Harold D. Cooley, House of Representatives; and Clifford R. Hope, House of Representatives.

Other members of the United States Delegation as announced on November 13 by the Acting Secretary of State are as follows:

### Advisers

Edward W. Allen, United States Commissioner, International Fisheries Commission and International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission

Andrew W. Anderson, Chief, Branch of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior

Stanley Andrews, Food Agriculture and Forestry Representative, OMGUS

Miss Persia Campbell, Vice Chairman, National Association of Consumers

Wilbert M. Chapman, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary, Department of State

Phillip V. Cardon, Administrator, Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture

Charles R. Carry, Director, Fishery Products Division, National Canners Association

## ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPMENTS

- John H. Davis, Executive Secretary, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
- Mrs. Ursula Duffus, Economic, Financial and Communications Branch, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
- Foster F. Elliott, Associate Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture
- Carl N. Gibboney, Deputy Director, Commodities Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
- Tom H. Gill, Society of American Foresters
- Albert S. Goss, Master, The National Grange
- George Mason Ingram, Acting Chief, International Administration Staff, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State
- Charles E. Jackson, General Manager, National Fisheries Institute
- William A. Jump, Director, Office of Budget and Finance, Department of Agriculture
- William A. Minor, Jr., Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Agriculture
- Wesley R. Nelson, Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior
- W. Raymond Ogg, Director, Department of International Affairs, American Farm Bureau Federation
- James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union
- Miss Hazel K. Stiebeling, Chief, Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, Department of Agriculture
- Ralph S. Trigg, Administrator, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture
- Lyle F. Watts, Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture
- Oris V. Wells, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture
- Miss Faith M. Williams, Director, Office of Foreign Labor Conditions, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor
- Milburn L. Wilson, Director, Extension Service, Department of Agriculture

### *Technical Secretary*

- James O. Howard, Head, Division of Foreign Agricultural Information, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

### *Executive Secretary*

- Henry F. Nichol, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Since the first three sessions of the Conference were devoted primarily to problems of organization, the Fourth Session should mark an important step in the direction of devoting these annual meetings to discussion on world food problems and to specific proposals to deal with these problems.

It is expected that 57 member countries and a number of international organizations will be represented at the Fourth Session. Also a number of national organizations have been invited to attend open sessions of the Conference.

The meeting is concerned mainly with: (1) the world situation relating to the production, marketing, and consumption of food and agricultural products, including fish and timber; (2) the technical activities of the Organization during the past year and its program of work for 1949; and (3) major constitutional, administrative, and financial issues requiring decision by the Conference, including financial problems and the permanent site of FAO headquarters.

In regard to the headquarters site, the United States Government has recommended Washington as the permanent headquarters for the Organization and has made proposals concerning several available sites. President H. C. Byrd of the University of Maryland, after consultation with Governor William P. Lane, Jr., of Maryland, has offered a site and assistance in financing a building on the campus. Copenhagen and Rome have also made offers.

### **UNESCO: General Conference:**

President Truman designated on November 10 five United States Representatives and five alternates to the Third Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which convened at Beirut, Lebanon, on November 17.

#### *United States Representatives*

- George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, and Chairman of the Delegation
- Milton S. Eisenhower, President, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kans., and Vice Chairman of the Delegation
- Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress
- Waldo G. Leland, Director Emeritus, American Council of Learned Societies
- Anne O'Hare McCormick, *New York Times*

#### *Alternates*

- Kathleen Lardie, Division of Instruction of the Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Mich.
- W. Albert Noyes, Jr., National Research Council, Washington, D. C.
- Frederick D. G. Ribble, Dean, School of Law, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- Joseph Rosier, President Emeritus, Fairmont State Teachers College, Fairmont, W. Va.
- George F. Zook, President, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

#### *Special Adviser to the Chairman*

- Charles A. Thomson, Director, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State

#### *Advisers*

- Herbert J. Abraham, Assistant Director, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State
- Esther C. Brunauer, Assistant Director, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State
- Ben M. Cherrington, Director, Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
- John Duffy Connors, Director, Workers Education Bureau of America, New York, N. Y.
- Samuel De Palma, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
- Frederick Sherwood Dunn, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Frank Grasso, Secretary-Treasurer, United Paperworkers of America, Washington, D.C.
- Michael Richard Hanna, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- George Kenneth Holland, Counselor on UNESCO Affairs, American Embassy, Paris
- Charles M. Hulten, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of State
- Kendric N. Marshall, Director, Division of International Educational Relations, United States Office of Education
- Richard P. McKeon, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Otis E. Mulliken, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Stephen B. L. Penrose, President, American University,  
Beirut, Lebanon

George D. Stoddard, President, University of Illinois,  
Urbana, Ill.

Louise Wright, Director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,  
Chicago, Ill.

*Executive Secretary of the Delegation*

Henry J. Sabatini, Division of International Conferences,  
Department of State

In accordance with the UNESCO constitution, the Executive Board of UNESCO, at its meeting at Paris last February, prepared the draft agenda for the Third Session of the General Conference. Among the items on the agenda are: (1) report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization in 1948; (2) consideration of reports submitted by member states in 1948; (3) discussion of certain items in the program for 1948 and of new activities proposed for 1949; (4) the Organization's budget; (5) matters which have been raised by member states, the United Nations, or other specialized agencies; (6) organizational questions including the National Commissions of UNESCO; (7) election of seven members to the Executive Board; (8) appointment of the Director-General; (9) consideration of recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the admission of new members to the Organization; and (10) consideration of recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the admission of observers of international nongovernmental organizations to the Third Session of the General Conference.

The First Session of the UNESCO Conference was held at Paris in 1946, and the Second at Mexico City in 1947. Forty-four member countries are expected to send representatives to the Third Session.

UNESCO's Executive Board, on which George D. Stoddard is United States Representative, will meet at Istanbul prior to the opening of the Beirut conference.

The UNESCO program in the United States is largely the responsibility of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, established by law to advise the Department of State on matters relating to UNESCO. Milton S. Eisenhower is chairman of the National Commission, which is composed of representatives of 60 national organizations and some 40 members selected as individuals active in UNESCO's fields of education, science, and culture.

**Second Inter-American Congress on Brucellosis**

Dr. James H. Steele, Chief of the Veterinary Public Health Section, States Relations Division of the United States Public Health Service, was appointed on November 12 Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Second Inter-American Congress on Brucellosis, held at Mendoza and Buenos Aires November 17-26, 1948. Dr. C. K. Mingle of the Tuberculosis Eradication Division of the Bureau of Animal Industry,

Department of Agriculture, was named delegate.

The Brucellosis Congress, called by the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, is discussing the epidemiology of the disease and proposes measures for its control. Brucellosis, as it affects humans, is popularly known as "undulant fever" and "Malta fever". It is transmitted to human beings through animals. According to the Department of Agriculture, the disease among animals results in monetary losses of approximately 90 million dollars a year in this country. It has been even more widespread in some of the Latin American countries.

The Congress meets first at Mendoza from November 17-20 for discussions on the control of the disease; it reconvenes at Buenos Aires from November 22-26 for sessions on the clinical aspects and research developments. The First Inter-American Congress on Brucellosis was held in October 1946 at Mexico City.

**Reduction of Armaments—Continued from page 633**

It would perpetuate the present Soviet superiority in aggressive forces. It would not reduce the threat of Soviet aggression; it might indeed increase that threat. It would not raise the veil of secrecy behind which the rulers of the Soviet Union operate and which constitutes such an injustice to the Russian people and such a cause of suspicion among nations.

In this situation the General Assembly should seek by every possible means a release from the tensions arising from the factors we have here described. In the field of armaments the General Assembly should develop as rapidly as possible under the forms and through the agencies set up in the United Nations for that purpose a plan for the reduction and control of conventional arms and armaments. Such a plan should provide a full system of inspection, verification, and publication and other safeguards to guarantee against violation. Having set up such a plan, we may hope that the moral force of world opinion, together with the evident advantages of operating within the law in cooperation with other nations, may bring the Soviet Union to change its attitude. This is the proposal embodied in the resolution now before this committee. The United States will vote for this resolution and will work loyally toward carrying out its purposes.

Real progress toward peace can only be made by slow, careful steps. I have not despaired and I hope none of us in this committee has despaired. The resolution before us takes us one step toward the control of armaments and toward those other objectives we all seek. I hope that the unanimity which came as a breath of fresh air when we accepted the Mexican resolution, will again come to us here.

### Announcement of Intention To Enter Tariff Negotiations

The Interdepartmental Trade Agreements Committee issued on November 5 formal notice of the United States intention to participate in negotiations with 11 foreign countries for reciprocal reduction of tariff and other trade barriers, looking toward accession of those countries to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade concluded at Geneva on October 30, 1947, by the United States and 22 other countries. The forthcoming negotiations are scheduled to begin at Geneva on April 11, 1949. Plans for the negotiations were developed, and the date was set, at the second session of the contracting parties to the General Agreement, held at Geneva in August and September of this year. Announcement of these plans was made on September 22, 1948.<sup>1</sup>

The 11 countries which have expressed their desire to accede to the General Agreement and to participate in the forthcoming negotiations are: Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay. The countries which participated in the 1947 negotiations were: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia, Syria, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States. All of these countries except Chile had put the General Agreement into provisional effect by July 31, 1948.

The countries participating in the 1947 negotiations and the additional countries expected to participate in the 1949 negotiations together account for some two thirds by value of total United States exports and almost three fourths of United States imports, on the basis of 1947 figures.

The Trade Agreements Committee also made public on November 5, as required by Executive Order No. 10,004 of October 5, 1948, a list for each country with which the United States proposes to negotiate, of all products imported into the United States on which possible tariff concessions may be considered in the negotiations. The practice of publishing such lists has been followed since 1937.

The procedure to be followed by the United States Government in preparing for and carrying out the negotiations is in line with that which has been followed in previous trade-agreement negotiations, with such modifications as are made necessary by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of

1948. Under section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended, interested persons are afforded an opportunity to present their views concerning the proposed negotiations. Executive Order 10,004 designated the Committee for Reciprocity Information as the agency to receive such views. The representative of the Department of Commerce on the Trade Agreements Committee is the chairman of the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information announced November 5 that public hearings will be held beginning December 7. Applications to be heard at the public hearings will be received until November 29, and the application must indicate the product or products, or other aspect of the negotiations, regarding which testimony is to be presented. The closing date for receiving written briefs and statements will be December 7.

In accordance with the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948 the lists of products on which possible United States tariff concessions may be considered have been transmitted by the President to the Tariff Commission which is required to investigate, hold hearings, and report to him within 120 days, in regard to each such item, (1) the extent to which United States tariffs or other import restrictions may be reduced without causing or threatening serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or similar articles; and (2) what, if any, additional import restrictions would be required to prevent such injury.

Since the statute specifically imposes on the Tariff Commission the obligation of holding its own hearings, parties who wish to be assured that their information will be considered by the Tariff Commission, must present it directly to the Commission either at the hearings or in writing before the close of the hearings.

In order to minimize duplication, arrangements have been made so that information submitted to the Tariff Commission in written statements and at public hearings, in accordance with its rules of practice and procedure, other than that which has been accepted by the Commission as confidential, will be made available to the Committee for Reciprocity Information. Thus, persons wishing to testify only with respect to articles on the public lists may, but need not, appear before the Committee for Reciprocity Information. However, those persons wishing to present information concerning possible import concessions different

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1948, p. 445.

from that presented to the Tariff Commission or wishing to present views with respect to export concessions to be obtained by the United States should present their information to the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

The hearings to be held by the Tariff Commission and those to be held by the Committee for Reciprocity Information will run concurrently, but the hearings relative to particular commodities will be scheduled so as to avoid conflict in cases of persons wishing to appear at both hearings.

No United States tariff concession will be made on any import product not appearing on the lists made public November 5 unless it is subsequently included in a supplementary published list. Inclusion of a given product on such a published list does not necessarily mean that a concession is to be made on that product. Recommendations by the Trade Agreements Committee to the President on concessions to be offered will not be made until after the information received through the Committee for Reciprocity Information and the Tariff Commission has been studied, together with all other data available to the trade-agreements organization. Concessions actually made will, of course, depend on the outcome of the negotiations.

The lists of possible concession products made public November 5 are based upon the language of the Tariff Act of 1930. The published lists do not include the rates of duty now in effect on the items

enumerated. Those rates are shown in *United States Import Duties (1948)* and Supplement 1 thereto, published by the Tariff Commission. Copies of these documents and of the published lists of possible concession products may be obtained at the Tariff Commission, the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, and from the district and regional offices of the Department of Commerce.

Each new country which completes tariff negotiations with existing contracting parties will accede, in its own right, to the concessions negotiated by those contracting parties in 1947. Furthermore, each new acceding country must extend to all other countries with which it has completed tariff negotiations, in their own right, all concessions which it negotiates in the forthcoming meeting. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that such extension of previously negotiated concessions is a bargaining factor in the forthcoming negotiations.

The General Agreement includes the so-called escape clause, required by executive order, which permits the United States to modify or withdraw a concession if it is found that, as a result of unforeseen developments and of the concession, imports are entering this country in such increased amounts and under such circumstances as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or similar products.

## Procedure To Be Followed by the United States

### Committee for Reciprocity Information

*Trade-Agreement Negotiations with Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay; possible adjustments in preferential rates on Cuban products*

#### SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION TO THE COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION

Closing date for application to be heard, November 29, 1948.

Public hearings open, December 7, 1948.

Closing date for submission of briefs, December 7, 1948.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements has issued on this day a notice of intention to conduct trade-agreement negotiations with each of the following countries: Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay. Annexed to this public notice are lists of articles imported into the United States to be considered for possible concessions in the negotiations with each of the above countries.

It is stated by the Trade Agreements Committee

that it is proposed to enter into these negotiations with a view to the accession of the countries named above as contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Trade Agreements Committee has also announced in such notice that, in the case of an article in one or more of these lists with respect to which the corresponding product of Cuba is now entitled to preferential treatment, a modification of the rate in the negotiations referred to will involve the elimination, reduction, or continuation of the preference, perhaps in some cases with an adjustment or specification of the rate applicable to the product of Cuba.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information hereby gives notice that information and views in writing in regard to the foregoing proposals with respect to any of the named countries (including areas for which any of these countries has authority to conduct trade-agreement negotiations) shall be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information not later than 12:00 noon, December 7, 1948, and all applications for oral presentation of views in regard thereto, including a statement as to the import product or products, if any, on which the applicant wishes to be heard, shall be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Infor-

mation not later than 12:00 noon, November 29, 1948.

Such communications shall be addressed to "The Chairman, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C." Ten copies of written statements, either typewritten or printed, shall be submitted, of which one copy shall be sworn to.

Public hearings will be held before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, at which oral statements will be heard. The first hearing will be at 10:00 a. m. on December 7, 1948, in the auditorium of Department of Commerce Building at 14th and E Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C. Witnesses who make application to be heard will be advised regarding the time and place of their individual appearances. Appearances at hearings before the Committee may be made by or on behalf of those persons who have within the time prescribed made written application for oral presentation of views. Statements made at the public hearings shall be under oath.

Persons or groups interested in import products may present to the Committee their views concerning possible tariff concessions by the United States on any product, whether or not included in any of the lists annexed to the notice of intention to negotiate which has been issued by the Trade Agreements Committee, and concerning any other matters relating to the proposed negotiations. Copies of these lists may be obtained from the Committee for Reciprocity Information at the address designated above and may be inspected at the field offices of the Department of Commerce. As indicated in the notice of intention to negotiate, no tariff concession will be considered on any product which is not included in a list annexed thereto unless it is subsequently included in a supplementary public list.

Persons or groups interested in export products may present their views regarding any tariff or other concessions that might be requested of any of the foreign governments with which it is proposed to undertake trade-agreement negotiations.

A written statement submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information may relate to articles contained in one or more of such lists or to other matters relating to the proposed trade-agreement negotiations with one or more of the countries listed above, and oral statements may also relate to one or more such lists or negotiations, subject to any scheduling that may be made by the Committee in advising as to the time and place of individual appearances.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 5th day of November 1948.

EDWARD YARDLEY  
Secretary, Committee for  
Reciprocity Information

November 5, 1948

## Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements

*Trade-agreement negotiations with Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay; possible adjustments in preferential rates on Cuban products*

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act approved June 12, 1934 (48 Stat. (pt. 1) 945, ch. 474) as extended and amended by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948 (Pub. Law 792—80th Cong.) and to paragraph 4 of Executive Order 10004 of October 5, 1948 (13 F. R. 5853), notice is hereby given by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements of intention to conduct trade-agreement negotiations with each of the following countries, including in each case areas in respect of which the country has authority to conduct trade-agreement negotiations: Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay. It is proposed to enter into negotiations with these countries with a view to their accession as contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

There is annexed hereto a list<sup>2</sup> of articles imported into the United States to be considered for possible modification of duties and other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or specific continuance of existing customs or excise treatment in the proposed trade-agreement negotiations with each of the above countries, each of which lists has been approved by the President and transmitted to the United States Tariff Commission, pursuant to paragraph 4 of Executive Order 10004. In the case of an article in one or more of these lists with respect to which the corresponding product of Cuba is now entitled to preferential treatment, a modification of the rate in the negotiations referred to will involve the elimination, reduction, or continuation of the preference, perhaps in some cases with an adjustment or specification of the rate applicable to the product of Cuba.

No tariff concession will be considered in the negotiations with any country on any article which is not included in the annexed list relative to such country unless it is subsequently included in a supplementary public list approved by the President and transmitted to the Tariff Commission. No duty or import tax imposed under a paragraph or section of the Tariff Act or Internal Revenue Code other than the tariff paragraph listed with respect to such article will be considered for a possible decrease, although an additional or separate duty on an article included in an annexed list, which is imposed under a paragraph or section other than that listed, may be bound against increase as an assurance that the concession under the listed paragraph or section will not be nullified.

<sup>2</sup> Not printed.

Pursuant to section 3 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948, information and views as to the matters specified in that section may be submitted to the United States Tariff Commission in accordance with the announcement of this date issued by the Commission. Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, and paragraph 6 of Executive Order 10004 of October 5, 1948, information and views as to any aspect of the proposals announced in this notice may be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information in accordance with the announcement of this date issued by that Committee. Arrangements are being made to coordinate the hearings to be held by the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information in order to facilitate the

convenience of persons desiring to appear at both hearings. Information and views submitted to the Tariff Commission, except those accepted by the Commission as confidential, will be made available to the Committee for Reciprocity Information although, on account of the statutory requirement as to the investigation by the Tariff Commission, persons and groups who wish to be assured that their information and views will be considered by the Tariff Commission should present them directly to the Commission.

By direction of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements this 5th day of November 1948.

WOODBURY WILLOUGHBY  
Chairman, Interdepartmental  
Committee on Trade Agreements

## U.S. Interest in Revival of Japanese Economy on Peaceful Self-Supporting Basis

STATEMENT BY MAJOR GENERAL FRANK R. MCCOY<sup>1</sup>

U.S. Representative on the Far Eastern Commission

I have noted the various statements on the subject of FEC-320 made by the Soviet Ambassador before the Far Eastern Commission.<sup>2</sup> I have also noted his statement released to the press on September 24. In the light of the resolution by the Soviet Representative and the ensuing discussions in the Commission, it appears to me desirable at this juncture to state the views of my Government on this matter.

As will be recalled, the Allies and the Far Eastern Commission have on several occasions announced policies dealing with primary and secondary war facilities and, in principle, war-supporting industries. Insofar as the peaceful economy of Japan is concerned, the United States, you will recall, has never expressed the view that restrictions should be placed on peaceful Japanese production. On the contrary, the United States has repeatedly advocated measures which would have the effect of stimulating the early revival of the peaceful Japanese economy. For example, it will be recalled that the basic position of my Government on this matter was summarized as far back as January 21 of this year when I said to this Commission:

"My Government believes that the Japanese Government and people, the Far Eastern Commis-

sion and its member states, and the Supreme Commander . . . should take all possible and necessary steps, consistent with the basic policies of the occupation, to bring about the early revival of the Japanese economy on a peaceful self-supporting basis."

It would be highly inconsistent for my Government to take any other view when at the same time it is pursuing in other parts of the world programs designed primarily to alleviate suffering and to bring about economic revival. We are making great efforts to contribute, in cooperation with other nations, to the raising of economic well-being and to bring about economic revival wherever possible.

Accordingly, we welcome that part of the statement of the Soviet Representative which draws attention to the need for an early Japanese revival and which indicates support for the policies of the United States Government.

The second Soviet proposal, as explained by the Soviet Representative, calls for the establishment and exercise of international controls over war

<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 11, 1948, at the meeting of the Commission and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> Not printed.

industries in Japan after the treaty of peace comes into effect. Determination of post-treaty arrangements, as the Commission is aware, falls outside its terms of reference. I am certain that you are fully aware how thoroughly the demilitarization of Japan has been carried out. It should be unnecessary to reiterate that the United States is determined that Japan shall not again be able to undertake aggression.

In conclusion it is the view of my Government that the Soviet resolution would serve no useful purpose, would in substance only reiterate Far Eastern Commission and Allied policy decisions of long standing, and would in part be beyond the acceptance of the Far Eastern Commission.

### Procedure for Filing War Claims in U.S. Zone of Germany

[Released to the press November 12]

The Department of State refers to the Joint State-Army announcement of November 10, 1947,<sup>1</sup> regarding the promulgation of Military Government law no. 59, an internal restitution law providing for the restitution of identifiable property located in the U.S.-occupied zone of Germany (excluding U.S. sector of Berlin) which was taken from its rightful owners by the Nazis during the period from January 30, 1933, to May 8, 1945, through transactions under duress arising from discrimination because of race, religion, nationality, ideology, and political opposition to National Socialism.

All claims under the law must be filed on or before December 31, 1948. The Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) has informed the Department of State that no extension of the filing period provided for in Military Government law no. 59 has been authorized or is anticipated. Claimants are not precluded from filing claims before the deadline by reason of lack of complete information, since article 58 of this law provides that the period of limitation shall be deemed to have been complied with by filing a written statement with—

Zentralanmeldeamt (Central Filing Agency)  
Bad Nauheim, Germany

Such a statement need not be under oath but should contain a description of confiscated property, stating as exactly as possible, the time, place, and circumstances of the confiscation; and in addition, so far as is known to the claimant, the names and addresses of all persons having or claiming to have an interest in the property.

Claims should not be sent to the Department of State, to Military Government offices, or to local German government officials.

<sup>1</sup> Not printed. Refer to BULLETIN of Feb. 8, 1948, p. 185.

### Murder of Irving Ross in Austria Under Investigation

[Released to the press November 11]

The Department has received a preliminary report from the American Legation at Vienna concerning the murder of Irving Ross, Assistant to the Economic Cooperation Administrator for Austria.

The information in the report is limited to the fragmentary account given Austrian police by Miss Dana Sopevina, who was with Mr. Ross at the time of the attack. Miss Sopevina, who was gravely injured and is now in an Austrian hospital in the Soviet zone of Vienna, stated that she and Mr. Ross had attended a dinner party, following which they drove another guest to his residence in the Soviet zone. On their return they were accosted in the Soviet zone by four armed men in Soviet uniform. They were forced to drive to an outlying district, where both were badly beaten. Miss Sopevina was thrown from the car. Ross' body was found by Austrian police in his car in the Soviet zone early on the morning of October 31.

Lieutenant General Geoffrey Keyes, the United States High Commissioner to Austria; Mr. John G. Erhardt, the United States Minister; and Mr. Westmore Willcox, Chief of the ECA Mission to Austria, are cooperating in a thorough investigation of the case.

### Ratification Instruments Exchanged Between U.S. and Norway

[Released to the press November 9]

Acting Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett and Wilhelm Munthe de Morgenstjerne, Norwegian Ambassador in Washington, have formally exchanged the instruments of ratification of a claims convention between the United States and Norway which was signed in Washington on March 28, 1940. The convention provides for the disposition of a claim of the Government of Norway against the Government of the United States on behalf of Christoffer Hannevig, a Norwegian subject, and a claim of the Government of the United States against the Government of Norway on behalf of the late George R. Jones, an American citizen.

The convention provides for an exchange of pleadings and evidence in relation to the two claims in the hope that by thus more clearly bringing to light the facts and the law relied upon by the two Governments in support of their respective contentions a diplomatic settlement may be possible. It is further provided that in the event that such a settlement is not reached the Hannevig

claim shall be submitted to the United States Court of Claims for adjudication and the Jones claim to a sole arbitrator for decision.

The convention entered into force upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification thereof.

The Hannevig claim arose by virtue of the requisitioning by the United States of ships under construction in the three partially completed Hannevig shipyards in 1917. The shipbuilding companies had been organized as American corporations by Christoffer Hannevig in 1916 and 1917. After requisitioning the partially completed ships the then United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation advanced the capital necessary to complete the financing of the shipyards. After the three companies were organized into one corporation known as the Pusey & Jones Company, relations between that corporation and the Emergency Fleet Corporation became increasingly complicated. An award was made to the Pusey & Jones Company in 1920 which the Emergency Fleet Corporation considered to be just compensation, but it was not accepted. During the ensuing litigation Hannevig was adjudged bankrupt and the Pusey & Jones Company forced into receivership. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, which had intervened in the receivership proceedings as a mortgage creditor, reached a compromise settlement in 1926 with the receivers, which was approved by the United States District Court for the District of Delaware. The Pusey & Jones Company released the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States from all further claims.

Hannevig's case, based upon allegations that the Pusey & Jones Company had not been paid just compensation, was brought to the attention of the Department of State by the Norwegian Government in 1926 and again in 1935. The amount of the claim was stated as approximately 68 million dollars.

The claim against Norway on behalf of the late George R. Jones is based upon losses amounting to more than \$100,000 suffered by the George R. Jones Company in connection with several shipments of shoes sent to Norway in 1920 pursuant to a contract between the company and a Norwegian purchaser. Payment for the shoes was guaranteed by a Norwegian bank. The shoes arrived in Norway at a time when prices were falling and Norwegian money was depreciating in terms of dollars. The purchaser refused to accept some of the shoes on the alleged ground that they did not conform to sample and were of inferior quality. The Norwegian bank refused to pay or to admit liability upon its guaranty. The American company brought suit against the bank in the Norwegian courts. The lower court decided in favor of the company but the Supreme Court of Norway reversed the decision. The company has taken the position that the decision of the Supreme Court of Norway constituted a denial of justice.

## Procedure for Filing Claims With Finland

[Released to the press November 8]

Reference is made to a State Department announcement of July 15, 1948, concerning claims for losses caused by transferring so-called German property in Finland to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.<sup>1</sup>

The Department is now in receipt of further information to the effect that by a decision of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Finland dated September 24, 1948, the time limit for submitting claims for losses incurred through the transfer of German property by Finland to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been extended to January 24, 1949, in the case of persons permanently residing abroad and to November 24, 1948, in the case of persons residing in Finland. If the loss is incurred after September 24, 1948, claims from persons residing abroad must be submitted within four months of the date of loss and claims from persons residing in Finland must be submitted within two months of the date of loss.

As stated in the Department of State announcement, claims from abroad should be filed through the Finnish Legations or Consulates, the chiefs of which are career officers. The offices in the United States which may receive claims are the Legation of Finland, 2144 Wyoming Avenue, Washington, D. C., and the Finnish Consulate General, 53 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

It is suggested that American claimants inform the Department of any claims which they may file under the above procedure.

## International Commission for Scientific Investigation of Tuna Recommended

The Department of State announced on November 9 the result of the discussions between officials of Mexico and of the United States on fishery-conservation matters of common concern. The discussions, which commenced October 25 in Mexico City, were concluded on November 4 with the signing by both delegations of a joint report to the two governments in which it was recommended that there be concluded a convention for the establishment of an international commission for the scientific investigation of tuna.

The joint report of the meeting, which contains the text of the proposed convention, is included in Department of State press release 896 of November 9. The report urges the governments to establish a joint commission for the investigation of the tuna resources of the Pacific Ocean with a

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 1, 1948, p. 148.

view to maintaining the resource at a level which will assure a reasonable maximum utilization, year after year, without depletion. The report concludes that such convention would result in positive benefit to the fishing industries of both countries and would contribute to conservation of food resources.

### Visas Not Required for Americans on Temporary Visits to U.K.

[Released to the press November 12]

Effective November 12, 1948, American citizens in possession of valid American passports may enter the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland without British visas for a temporary period of stay provided they comply with other laws and regulations of the United Kingdom concerning the entry, residence, and employment or occupation of foreigners or travelers.

Statutory and other restrictions preclude the United States from granting full reciprocity, but British subjects resident in the United Kingdom in possession of valid British passports who are eligible to enter the United States as *bona fide* non-immigrants will be granted effective November 12, 1948, gratis passport visas, and in cases of qualified temporary visitors, visas may be valid for 24 months provided the passports of the bearers remain valid for that period of time. All other nonimmigrant passport visas granted British subjects resident in the United Kingdom will, as at present, have a maximum period of validity of 12 months provided the passports remain valid for that period of time.

This arrangement will be put into effect outside the United Kingdom for British subjects residing therein but who are temporarily absent therefrom and who are proceeding to the United States as nonimmigrants, as soon as American diplomatic and consular officers can be notified.

### International Joint Commission To Study Passamaquoddy Power Project

[Released to the press November 9]

The Department of State announced on November 9 that the Governments of the United States and Canada have agreed to refer certain matters in connection with the Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project to the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada.

The Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project as originally proposed in the 1920's would involve damming Passamaquoddy Bay, on the Maine-New

Brunswick border, and Cobscook Bay, which lies wholly within the State of Maine, and—by means of a controlled flow between the two basins thus formed—utilizing the great tidal range in the Bay of Fundy for the generation of hydroelectric power.

Under the terms of reference which have now been transmitted to the United States and Canadian Sections of the International Joint Commission by the United States Department of State and the Canadian Department of External Affairs, respectively, the Commission is asked to review existing plans for the project, to report how large and expensive an investigation would be required to determine whether any of these or other plans would be practicable, and to recommend a division of the expenses of such an investigation between the two countries. The reference does not ask the Commission to undertake the investigation, and both Governments have made it clear that they are not committed, by the present reference, to any later reference to the Commission for full investigation of the project itself.

A copy of the terms of reference follows:

*November 9, 1948*

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with Article IX of the Boundary Waters Treaty of January 11, 1909, the Governments of Canada and the United States have agreed to refer to the International Joint Commission the following matters for joint examination and advisory report, including recommendations and conclusions:

1. To review existing plans for the construction of hydro-electric power plants at Passamaquoddy and Cobscook Bays, arms of the Bay of Fundy, which are located at the mouth of the St. Croix River, a boundary stream between the State of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick.

2. To report on the scope of the investigation which would be necessary, together with the estimated cost thereof, to enable the Commission to report whether any of these or other plans for using these waters is practicable, and is desirable from the point of view of public convenience and necessity.

3. To report its recommendations as to the basis on which the costs of the investigation shall be apportioned to each country.

In the conduct of its examination, and otherwise in the performance of its duties under this Reference, the International Joint Commission may utilize such information and technical data as has been acquired by the technical agencies of either Government or which may become available during the course of the investigation, thus avoiding duplication of effort and unnecessary expense.

Very truly yours,

R. A. LOVETT  
*Acting Secretary*

**Department of State Bulletin**

## Fulbright Study Grants Available to 47 U.S. Citizens

Opportunities for 47 United States citizens to receive grants for study, research, and teaching in Greece and the Philippines under the Fulbright program were announced on November 3 by the State Department and the Board of Foreign Scholarships.

Candidates for all grants will be selected on the basis of scholastic and professional achievement. In addition, grants for research work will be based on the research project proposed. Persons receiving grants will normally be expected to remain in Greece for one academic year. Veterans will be given preference provided that their qualifications are approximately equal to those of other candidates.

### Greece

The awards will be in Greek currency and vary in amount with the type of grants. Benefits to students may include tuition, maintenance, and travel, and those to researchers and teachers may include travel, maintenance, and a stipend.

Six grants will go to American graduate students to study at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Study may be undertaken in the fields of ancient history, classics and classical archeology, medieval and modern Greek history, and literature. Application for these student grants should be made to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York. The closing date for filing applications for the student grants is December 15, 1948.

Eight research scholar grants are available for work under the direction of the American School of Classical Studies in connection with archeological excavations of the agora, the ancient market place in Athens.

Grants are also available to three American college or university teachers to instruct at universities and advanced schools in Greece. The following fields are available: American life and history at the University of Athens and home economics and rural sociology at the Superior School of Agriculture. The work of the rural sociologist will involve field work in cooperation with the Near East Foundation. Applications for these grants and for the research-scholar awards should be made to the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue NW., Washington 25, D.C.

At least six grants are available for teaching at American-sponsored secondary schools and junior colleges in Greece. The teaching opportunities are primarily for instruction in the English language at the following schools: Pierce College, Athens College, and Anatolia College. It is likely that

opportunities for other fields of instruction may be available at a later date. Application for these grants should be made to the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D.C.

In addition to the above grants offered to American citizens, it is expected that a number of scholarships will soon be made available to Greek students attending American schools in Greece, and that a limited number of travel grants to Greek nationals will be made to enable the recipients to attend colleges and universities in the United States.

### Philippines

All awards are in Philippine currency. Benefits to students may include tuition, maintenance, and travel. Recipients of grants for teaching or advanced research may be awarded travel, maintenance, and a stipend.

Four grants are available for American graduate students to engage in study or research in the Philippines. Application blanks for these grants may be obtained from the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York. Closing date for filing applications is December 15, 1948.

Sixteen grants are available for American college or university teachers to instruct at universities and advanced schools in the Philippines in the fields indicated.

#### *University of the Philippines*

- Economics
- Higher education
- Political science
- Psychology
- English
- Physics

#### *Silliman University*

- Agriculture

#### *Santo Tomás*

- Secondary education

#### *Atenco de Manila*

- Social science
- Biological science

#### *Philippine Women's University*

- Nutritional chemistry
- Educational psychology
- Institutional management

#### *Philippine School of Arts and Trades*

- Vocational education

#### *Philippine Normal School*

- English language
- Adult education

Four grants are available for advanced research: Two at Silliman University in the field of biological sciences with emphasis on microphotography, and two at the University of the Philippines, one in the field of rural sociology, and the other in the general field of Far Eastern anthropology.

Applications for the research grants and the grants to American college or university teachers should be made to the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D.C.

The remainder of the Fulbright program approved for the Philippines consists of forty travel grants to enable Filipino students to attend colleges and universities in the United States. All but six of these grants have been awarded. Four grants are available for Filipino students to attend American institutions in the Philippines.

### Surplus Property Agreement on Educational Exchange With France Signed<sup>1</sup>

The French Government and the United States Government, represented, respectively, by Messrs. Schuman and Yvon Delbos on the one hand, and by Mr. Jefferson Caffery on the other hand, signed on October 2 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs an agreement regarding exchanges in the field of higher education. This agreement prescribes the methods for applying the Blum-Byrnes agreements of May 28, 1946, and the American law which resulted from the initiative of Senator Fulbright, which provides for the allocation of a portion of the sums in francs owed by the French Government for war surplus for the purpose of setting up a program of inter-university relations between the two countries. The United States Government has just concluded similar agreements with Great Britain and Belgium. For the purpose of carrying out the program in question, the agreement sets up a committee, of which the United States Ambassador is the honorary chairman, to be composed of six French and six American members. The funds placed at the disposal of the committee by the American Government will make it possible to finance the living expenses of a certain number of American teachers, students, and researchers who will come to France to pursue their work at institutions of higher education; the funds will also cover the traveling expenses of a certain number of French teachers, students, and researchers who will go to the United States for a similar purpose. The total amount of the sums allocated to the carrying out of this plan may reach a maximum of five million dollars, distributed over five years.

<sup>1</sup> Printed from telegraphic text.

### Colombian Anthropologist Visiting U.S. Museums

Luis Duque Gómez, Director of the National Ethnological Institute and of the National Anthropological Museum, Bogotá, has arrived in Washington for a three months' visit in the United States under the travel-grant program of the Department of State in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. Duque Gómez is interested in studying museum techniques and Latin American collections in this country and in encouraging specialists and students in the field of anthropology to visit and study in Colombia. After approximately two weeks in Washington, he will visit museums in various other cities in the East, on the Pacific Coast, and in the Southwest.

After completing his visit in the United States, Mr. Duque Gómez plans to continue his study and observations for a month in Mexico and Guatemala and possibly in other Central American countries before returning to Colombia next March.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

Elbert G. Mathews as Chief of the Division of South Asian Affairs, effective October 3, 1948.

### Final Volume in "Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression" Series Released

The Department of the Army announced on October 31 that with the release of a volume containing the high lights of the defense made by the major Nazi war criminals, as well as their interrogations by the prosecution, publication of all the essential documents pertaining to the international trial at Nürnberg is completed.

The new volume, supplement "B", in the "Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression" series, is being sold with supplement "A" as a six-dollar set by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Supplement "A", completed several months ago, contains the six closing arguments for the Allied prosecution and prosecution documents introduced in cross-examination.

This is the eleventh and final volume in the international trial series. The Department pointed out that the preceding volumes in the series were devoted largely to prosecution documents, whereas the final volume presents the defendants' side of the case, thus achieving for the series both sides of this historical record.

The publication includes the texts of defense counsels' extensive summations of the evidence in favor of their clients; the final pleas made to the International Military Tribunal by each defend-

ant in person at the close of the evidence; defense arguments challenging the Tribunal's jurisdiction and the criminality of aggressive war; and some of the documents offered by defendants Hess and Speer which are possessed of unique significance.

This final volume, like the others in the series, has been edited by former members of the American prosecution staff at Nürnberg and has been approved for release by Justice Jackson.

## 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.*

**Inter-American Coffee Agreement.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1768. Pub. 3247. 18 pp. 10¢.

Protocol Between the United States and Other American Republics Modifying and Extending for One Year From October 1, 1947, the Agreement of November 28, 1940, as modified and amended—entered into force with respect to the United States May 24, 1948, effective October 1, 1947.

**Settlement of Lend-Lease and Reciprocal Aid Accounts And Intergovernmental Claims.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1770. Pub. 3249. 8 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Modifying and Supplementing Agreement of March 27, 1946—Signed at Washington July 12, 1948; entered into force July 12, 1948.

**Mutual Aid Settlement.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1779. Pub. 3264. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Yugoslavia signed at Washington July 19, 1948; entered into force July 19, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With Ireland Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1788. Pub. 3269. 42 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Ireland—Signed at Dublin June 28, 1948; entered into force July 2, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With Belgium Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1781. Pub. 3279. 55 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Belgium—Signed at Brussels July 2, 1948; entered into force July 29, 1948.

**Civil Aviation Mission to Ecuador.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1774. Pub. 3285. 7 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Ecuador—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Quito October 24 and 27, 1947; entered into force October 27, 1947.

**Economic Cooperation With Sweden Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1793. Pub. 3287. 52 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Sweden—Signed at Stockholm July 3, 1948; entered into force July 21, 1948.

**National Commission News, November 1948.** Pub. 3321. 10 pp. 10¢ a copy; \$1 a year domestic; \$1.35 a year foreign.

Features the Boston meeting of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

**Mutual Aid Settlement: Joint Installations in the Middle East.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1769. Pub. 3248. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—Signed at Washington July 12, 1948; entered into force July 12, 1948.

## *Documents and State Papers for October 1948*

Contains the following items:

**The Present Status of the Saar**

**Coordination of European Inland Transport, 1941—48**

**Calendar of International Meetings With Annotations**

Copies of this publication are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at 30 cents a copy; subscription price for 12 issues is \$3.00 a year.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

*Vol. XIX, No. 491*

*November 28, 1948*

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JAN 30 1949

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# THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

## U.S., France, U.K., and U.S.S.R. Urged To Solve Berlin Question

### JOINT COMMUNICATION FROM PRESIDENT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL<sup>1</sup>

*November 13, 1948*

SIR:

We have the honor to address this communication to the chairmen of the delegations of the powers signatory to the Moscow agreement of 24 December 1945, and to request that it be transmitted to the respective chiefs of government for their urgent consideration.

On Wednesday 3 November 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations sitting in plenary session at Paris, unanimously adopted an "appeal to the great powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences and establish a lasting peace".

In this resolution the General Assembly declared that the disagreement between the great powers "in a matter of vital importance to all the United Nations is at the present time the cause of the deepest anxiety among all of the peoples of the world . . ." and that "the United Nations in the performance of its most sacred mission is bound to afford its assistance and cooperation in the settlement of a situation the continuation of which involves grave dangers to international peace".

The resolution then "recommends the powers signatory to the Moscow agreement of 24 December 1945 and the powers which subsequently acceded thereto, to redouble their efforts, in a spirit of solidarity and mutual understanding, to secure in the briefest possible time the final settlement of the war and the conclusion of all the peace settlements".

The representatives of all the powers signatory to the Moscow agreement spoke in unqualified support of this resolution and voted for it. They have accepted the recommendation and the world rightly expects them to take active steps toward carrying it out without delay.

We believe the first step is to resolve the Berlin question. This case is still pending before the Security Council. We believe the history of the Security Council's consideration of this case demonstrates that it can be solved.

Every day that the deadlock over Berlin con-

tinues the danger to the peace and security of all nations continues undiminished. Fear of another war is crippling the effort of all nations to repair the damage of the last war and return once more to the ways of peace. The work of the General Assembly and of the United Nations as a whole in every field of its endeavor is being delayed and undermined.

It is within the power of the leaders of the great nations to which this communication is addressed to end this danger to the peace.

We therefore respectfully urge upon the Governments of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States, signatories to the Moscow declaration, the desirability of immediate conversations and of taking all other necessary steps toward the solution of the Berlin question, thus opening the way to a prompt resumption of negotiations for the conclusion of the remaining peace settlements for Germany, Austria and Japan.

We also believe the great powers should lend their full and active support to the efforts at mediation of the Berlin dispute by the president of the Security Council. For ourselves, we stand ready to lend all further assistance, such as the currency study now being made by the United Nations General Assembly which seems most helpful to the great powers in the solution of the problem.

We await an early reply to this communication in order that the members of the United Nations now assembled here in Paris may be informed of the progress in the implementation of the General Assembly's unanimous "appeal to the great powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences and to establish a lasting peace".

We have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servants,

HERBERT V. EVATT,  
*President of the General Assembly.*

TRYGVE LIE,  
*Secretary General.*

<sup>1</sup> Printed from telegraphic text.

## TEXT OF THE UNITED STATES REPLY

[Released to the press November 17]

Hotel d'Iéna  
PARIS, FRANCE  
November 17, 1948

DEAR SIRs:

I have the honor to transmit the reply which the President of the United States has asked me to make to your letter of November 13, 1948.

The Government of the United States endorsed the resolution approved by the General Assembly on November 3, 1948 with every desire that its end and purpose should be accomplished as soon as possible in the interest of achieving an early settlement of issues still outstanding as a result of the war and of bringing about a definite peace. The Government of the United States wants a solution of the Berlin question. It continues to seek such a solution through the United Nations. We have supported the efforts of the Security Council and its President to remove the danger to the peace arising from the Soviet blockade of the Western Sectors of Berlin. I desire to assure you that this remains our course and objective.

The resolution proposed to the Security Council by the Representatives of Argentina, Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, and Syria was a sincere and statesman-like effort to bring about a settlement. The Government of the United States remains ready to carry out loyally this resolution and stands by its expressed willingness to be guided by the principles embodied therein. The resolution was accepted by all of the members of the Council except the Soviet Union and its member republic, the Ukraine. It failed to bring about a settlement only because of the Soviet veto.

The Government of the United States has repeatedly affirmed its readiness to engage in conversations as soon as the Soviet Union has lifted the blockade against Berlin so that negotiation can take place under conditions free from duress.

We again reaffirm this position, which is in accord with the resolution proposed by the six members of the Security Council.

The United States did, at the outset, in accordance with the Charter, resort to direct discussion with the Soviet Union. These discussions continued until it became apparent that the illegal blockade was established by the Soviet Union for the purpose of obtaining political objectives to which it is not entitled. We therefore referred the question to the Security Council as a threat to the peace which it still remains. To compromise the principle of the Charter that force shall not be used for the attainment of national objectives would endanger the peace of the world.

There is a basic issue in relation to Berlin—that is whether or not the Soviet Government can be permitted to use force, whether by way of blockade, or of economic pressures involving currency, credit or trade, or otherwise, to deprive the Western Powers of participation in the administration of Berlin.

It is a source of deep regret that up to the present, conditions unilaterally imposed have impeded the fulfillment of the purposes of the Assembly resolution. As has repeatedly been made clear, both in direct discussion and before the Security Council, the United States is ready to take part in the efforts of the Security Council to solve the Berlin problem, and to participate in any efforts made to meet the fundamental issues inherent in this problem which will remove the threat to the peace and which can be accepted in good faith by the parties concerned.

Since this matter is, as you have noted, on the agenda of the Security Council, copies of your letter and this reply thereto are being transmitted by me to the President of the Security Council.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE C. MARSHALL

# Discussion of the Palestine Situation in Committee I

## STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP<sup>1</sup>

### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

Mr. Chairman, I wish to make a preliminary statement on behalf of my Delegation, reserving an opportunity to speak again at a later stage in our discussion. We are speaking in response to your desire, Mr. Chairman, to get as many views before the Committee as early as possible, even though we shall not be able to express our final views until we have had an opportunity to study the statements made by other delegations and, particularly, to study more carefully the resolution offered by the Representative of the United Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

We seek here in this session of the General Assembly a further step in establishing friendly relations among the governments and peoples of the Near East. The United States for its part wishes to maintain the historic ties of friendship which it has had with all these governments and peoples and to see them reconcile their differences either by direct discussions among themselves or through some assistance from the United Nations.

As we see it, there have been three basic objectives which underlie the efforts of the United Nations to find a settlement of the Palestine question. They are (1) the establishment and maintenance of peace in that area; (2) the early attainment of a constructive political settlement which will itself contribute to stability, and to economic well-being throughout the Middle East; and (3) reconciliation between the Arab and Jewish communities in matters affecting Palestine.

The United Nations has exerted itself both through the General Assembly and through the Security Council to reach these objectives. The first notable action taken by the General Assembly was the recommendation of November 29, 1947,<sup>3</sup> which was based upon the majority report of a special committee of the Assembly. My Government supported that recommendation as a fair and reasonable settlement of a complicated and explosive problem.

When it became apparent that the recommendation of November 29, 1947, would not in fact meet the situation arising in Palestine upon the termina-

tion of the mandate, the General Assembly appointed a United Nations mediator to use his good offices to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine. The United States supported that resolution and had the honor to support the nomination of Count Folke Bernadotte as the United Nations mediator.<sup>4</sup>

That effort of the Assembly is still in process. We have before us the progress report of Count Bernadotte as well as the oral report to this Committee by the acting mediator.<sup>5</sup>

Before turning to the progress report of the mediator, we should note the strenuous efforts made by the Security Council to bring about a truce and to prevent the outbreak of violence and bloodshed throughout Palestine.

The Security Council adopted a series of resolutions the first of which was passed on March 5<sup>6</sup> and the last of which was adopted on November 16. Under these resolutions and specifically those of May 29<sup>7</sup> and July 15,<sup>8</sup> both Arabs and Jews were called upon, first, to cease fire for a period of four weeks and then were ordered subsequently to cease fire indefinitely. No fighting personnel or war materials were to be imported into the Near East. On August 19 the Security Council decided, among other things, that "No party is entitled to gain military or political advantage through violation of the truce".<sup>9</sup>

Under these resolutions the Security Council succeeded in establishing conditions of a truce for Palestine. Under the subsequent resolution of November 16, the Security Council called upon the parties to negotiate either directly or through the

<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 20, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> U.N. doc. S/1080, Nov. 16, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> U.N. doc. A/516, Nov. 29, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> U.N. doc. A/648, Sept. 18, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 24, 1948, p. 517.

<sup>6</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1948, p. 344.

<sup>7</sup> BULLETIN of June 6, 1948, p. 729.

<sup>8</sup> BULLETIN of July 25, 1948, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> U.N. doc. S/983, Aug. 20, 1948.

acting mediator with a view to the immediate establishment of an armistice, including the delineation of permanent demarcation lines and such withdrawal and reduction of their armed forces as will insure the maintenance of the armistice during the transition to permanent peace in Palestine.

No one can seriously doubt that the effort of the Security Council to maintain a truce has been exerted with persistence and with impartiality. On some occasions, the action of the Security Council appeared disadvantageous to one side, on other occasions to another. The main object was to prevent fighting and in the pursuit of this object the Security Council properly took no account of the temporary or local advantages which one side or the other might have had from a military point of view.

Fighting has in fact occurred but much fighting has been stopped. There has not been large-scale war in Palestine. Even in the midst of high tension and bitter hatred, the parties themselves have assisted the Security Council in limiting the scale and extent of the fighting.

These continuous efforts of the Security Council, culminating in the declaration of a need for an armistice on November 16, opened the way for a further constructive effort by this Assembly toward a lasting political settlement.

I wish to turn, Mr. Chairman, to the progress report of the mediator which is now before us. None of us can consider this report without sober and grateful reflection upon the services of the man who produced it. Count Bernadotte was a peacemaker, acting always in the high tradition of duty and public service. Courage, patience, and perseverance were not the least of his contributions to the settlement of the problem before us. He traveled the length and breadth of the Near East and did all that he could to persuade Arabs and Jews to seek the path of peace in the Holy Land. He has founded a tradition in these opening years of the United Nations which will represent a permanent contribution by him to the peace of the world.

My Delegation wishes to express its regard and appreciation to his successor, the acting mediator. We were particularly interested in his opening statement to this Committee on October 15. We venture to suggest that all delegates might profitably refresh their memories of the closing sections of his statement. We believe that statement reflected the spirit in which Count Bernadotte rendered his report and makes valuable suggestions about how it can be used to further a final settlement.

Dr. Bunche issued a challenge to us all with his statement that "It is unthinkable that Arabs and Jews should be permitted to resume hostilities in Palestine. The threat to the peace of the Middle East generally and even to the world from

conflict in Palestine is far too great." This led him to insist upon the need for an assurance that neither party will again resort to force in order to make its views prevail and as a means of gaining its objectives.

The second need to which Dr. Bunche called our attention was for the establishment of a General Assembly position on certain fundamental political issues with respect to Palestine. I shall not list these issues here because they appear in the mediator's report which is before us. Our present task is to consider these issues. We believe there is great wisdom, however, in Dr. Bunche's observation that "It would not appear essential in this regard that a detailed plan, a blueprint, be devised for this purpose. Indeed", he continued, "any such detailed scheme, in view of all the developments since last November, and the present situation in Palestine, might well be undesirable. Assuming always that the parties do not again resort to force, it would seem that a somewhat general treatment of the subject which, while making clear the position of the United Nations on major issues, would leave to the parties the burden of peaceful adjustment, might have great merit".

The progress report of the mediator contains seven basic premises. My Delegation supports the general principles contained in these basic premises. We have no doubt but that all present can accept the first one, namely, that "Peace must return to Palestine and every feasible measure should be taken to insure that hostilities will not be resumed and that harmonious relations between Arab and Jew will ultimately be restored."

The second basic premise is that "A Jewish state called Israel exists in Palestine and there are no sound reasons for assuming that it will not continue to do so". This premise was stated even more positively by the acting mediator when he referred to its "vibrant reality". The United States gave prompt and full recognition to the state of Israel. We are confident that Israel and its people will continue the remarkable progress they have already shown in the firm establishment of their governmental institutions, in the development of their economy, and in the resettlement and rehabilitation of its immigrants. We invite special attention to that portion of the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Israel in which he asked for the admission of Israel to the United Nations. The United States looks forward to the admission of the state of Israel to the United Nations and to its active participation in our work. To this end, we hope that the Security Council will be able in the near future to recommend Israel as a state duly qualified for membership.

The third basic premise of the mediator was that "The boundaries of this new state (meaning Israel) must finally be fixed either by formal agreement between the parties concerned or failing that, by

the United Nations". This raises a vital and decisive issue which confronts this Assembly. We must decide, among other things, whether we are to seek a basis of agreement among the parties or whether we shall try to fix boundaries at this session of the Assembly. We shall wish to discuss this point at a later stage, but our general view is that we must continue to seek further agreement between the parties rather than attempt at this time to draw specific boundary lines. We are inclined to the view that the Conciliation Commission which Count Bernadotte recommended should undertake further effort to bring about a settlement of boundary questions.

On another point the attitude of my Government is clear. The United States approves the claims of the state of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29 and considers that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the state of Israel. This means that reductions in such territory should be agreed by Israel. If Israel desires additions, it would be necessary for Israel to offer an appropriate exchange through negotiations.

This brings us to the fourth basic premise of the mediator, which stressed the principle of geographical homogeneity and integration, applicable equally to Arab and Jewish territories.

We have noted from the statements made before this Committee by the representatives of the governments concerned, that none of them is now satisfied with the boundaries of the original partition plan. Count Bernadotte believed that mutual exchanges could make them more generally acceptable and more workable. Clearly, the way is open for further consideration of boundaries by the parties and by the United Nations. The United States believes that the progress report of the mediator provides a basis for renewed efforts to bring about a peaceful adjustment of differences. We hope that by using this report as a basis of negotiations, the conflicting claims of the parties can be settled.

Again, Mr. Chairman, we shall wish to return later to a more detailed consideration of this part of our problem, but we believe that an equitable and workable boundary adjustment can be found which will meet the essential needs of the parties and contribute to the peace and development of the Near East.

The fifth basic premise deals with the repatriation of the refugees who have been driven from their homes during the recent disorders in Palestine. We believe that they should be permitted to return to their homes and that adequate compensation should be arranged for the property of those who choose not to return.

The sixth basic premise is that "the City of Jerusalem, because of its religious and international significance and the complexity of interest involved, should be accorded special treatment". We accept this premise and will wish to discuss later some of the detailed problems which are involved.

The final basic premise deals with international responsibility with respect to guaranties with respect to boundaries and the maintenance of human rights. The practical application of this basic premise will require our careful consideration since it is obvious that the essential guaranties which are involved must be those provided, if possible, by the United Nations itself.

It is not my present purpose, Mr. Chairman, to make a detailed review of the specific conclusions contained in the mediator's report. What has already been said about the basic premises will indicate a general approach which we take toward the specific issues discussed in the mediator's conclusions.

The United States is in general agreement with those conclusions, but I have already called attention to certain principles concerning boundaries, about which I shall have more to say later. We have noted that Mr. Shertok's statement indicates that a workable arrangement for free access through the port of Haifa and the airport of Lydda might be found. The mediator's views with respect to the disposition of Arab Palestine, to arrangements for the city of Jerusalem, to rights of access to Jerusalem, to the treatment of the Arab refugee problem, to the rights of minorities, and to the establishment of a Conciliation Commission are, in our view, solid contributions to a settlement.

Mr. Chairman, my Delegation has studied with much interest the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom. We believe that it contains many positive and constructive elements which would bring us substantially nearer the solution we seek. If we find ourselves unable to accept it in all its particulars, because of some of the considerations we have already mentioned, we shall nevertheless continue to give it our careful consideration. The distinguished Representative of the United Kingdom has presented it with an invitation to amendment, and we might wish to avail ourselves of this invitation at a later date. Meanwhile, Mr. Chairman, we believe it makes a most useful contribution to our work and might well be considered the basis of our common deliberations.

In an effort to assist the work of the Committee as best we may, we shall try to present more specific suggestions without delay; meanwhile, we would welcome the views of other delegations, to all of which we shall give most attentive interest.

## Discussion of Armistice Resolution in Security Council

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP<sup>1</sup>

U.S. Deputy Representative in the Security Council

Mr. President, I should like to address my remarks particularly to the draft resolution submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, and France. The substance of this resolution is not futile. It is largely based, as has been noted by its sponsors, on the proposals made by the acting mediator. In our opinion, it is an improvement upon that original text. The acting mediator has himself pointed out that he is not wedded to the particular phraseology of the proposal which he submitted.

I quite agree with the distinguished Representative of France that at least two of the principal points noted by the Representative of the Soviet Union in his amendments to the proposal of the acting mediator are met in this joint proposal of the three delegations. In our view, the chief merit of this proposal is that it looks forward and not backward. Its philosophy is that we should no longer ask the parties to continue under an uneasy truce. This resolution will offer the parties new hope. Its adoption should give them new confidence in the future.

I would appeal, Mr. President, to the distinguished Representative of Syria to recognize that this is progress and not retrogression. It is not an abandonment of Security Council efforts, but a continuation of those efforts. As some of the previous speakers have pointed out, here is a new program, a program of armistice and of negotiated peace. It is of the utmost importance to the parties themselves, to the United Nations, and to all members of the United Nations that we should now move forward toward the paramount purpose of securing peace. We should move not under the shadow of detrimental warfare but in the light of negotiations and discussions. That was the United Nations way.

The adoption of this resolution, Mr. President, would also inspire and assist the efforts of the General Assembly which, as has been noted through its First Committee, has today begun the consideration of the Palestine question. When the fighting broke out some six months ago, we had to have some quick decisions. We had cease-fire orders. We moved into a truce. We have adopted a number of resolutions relevant to that truce, including

<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 15, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

as our last action that which we took on November 4. We have found that type of action is not enough.

The attitude of the United States in regard to the truce and to repeated resolutions dealing with it has been made very clear. We summarized that position on November 4 in this Council. We were opposed to the use of force as a means of settlement of disputes, and we have supported all of the steps looking toward a truce, and we will support this new proposal which has a like but greater purpose.

I think we must recognize, Mr. President, that the Security Council under this resolution would be effecting two transitions. In the first place, there is a transition from the truce to the armistice, and secondly, there is a transition from armistice to permanent peace. In regard to the transition from truce to armistice, I think this is more than a change of words. It marks a change in attitude and a change of attitude can produce an actual change of facts.

I am not going to try, Mr. President, to avoid speaking very frankly of what seems to me to be a very important question which is raised by this resolution which is placed before us, and that is, its effect upon the resolution of November 4. I should like to recall that paragraph 5 of that resolution of November 4 contains two subparagraphs. Subparagraph (1) refers to withdrawal of forces and to provisional lines, which the acting mediator is authorized to establish. I repeat, provisional lines. The acting mediator in discharge of his responsibilities under that subparagraph (1) has consulted with the Committee of the Council, also appointed by the resolution of November 4. The resolution which we are now considering, namely that introduced by the three governments, says that this resolution is without prejudice to the actions of the acting mediator regarding the implementation of that resolution of November 4.

As I interpret this resolution, therefore, the action which the acting mediator has taken in delimiting lines in accordance with that subparagraph (1) still stands. Compliance with the resolutions of the Council would require compliance with that provision in regard to these provisional lines. But, in subparagraph (2) of the resolution of November 4, the Council also spoke of further negotiations. At that time, we suggested that

those further negotiations should be directed toward the establishment of permanent truce lines and neutral or demilitarized zones. The effect of this new resolution if adopted by the Council would be to suggest a new direction for those negotiations. Those negotiations, whether conducted directly or through the United Nations acting mediator, would have as their purpose not the continuation of the truce and the delimitation of truce lines, but the delineation of permanent armistice demarcation lines. They would have also as their purpose such withdrawal of armed forces as will insure the maintenance of the armistice during the permanent peace in Palestine. In other words, they are free to the actual establishment of peace in Palestine.

Because this new resolution, therefore, passing from the provisional stage of the truce as it has been established by the Security Council to a further stage on the road to peace, because that is the intent and purpose and effect of this resolution, we find it much more satisfactory than the resolution tabled by the United Kingdom at our last meeting, and we hope very much that the United Kingdom will itself find that this new approach is a more satisfactory one to that extension of the truce which was contemplated by the resolution which they have tabled.

I think it is clear to all of us, Mr. President, that

we are not now discussing the actual political settlement in Palestine, but I think it is equally clear that we could help pave the way to it. No one disagrees with the objective of this resolution introduced by the three members of the Council. Opinions may and do differ as to the best methods to use to achieve that objective. For example, the distinguished Representative of the Soviet Union has suggested an even bolder course, namely, that we should move at once into the stage of final peace. For our part, we do not feel that it is practicable to move immediately into that stage and we do think that the intermediate stage of the armistice is a feasible and necessary step on the way to the final goal. On the other hand, if I have understood him correctly, the distinguished Representative of Syria suggested that we could not take this new step forward along the road to peace without first perfecting our previous stage of truce. I find that also an unacceptable position since I believe that the time has come when we must move forward out of that truce stage into a more advanced and hopeful stage.

Therefore, Mr. President, the Delegation of the United States finds the method proposed in this resolution of the three governments a well-conceived, a just, and a hopeful plan. We shall vote for it and we hope that the Security Council will adopt it this evening.

## Third Session of the General Conference of UNESCO

### STATEMENT BY GEORGE V. ALLEN<sup>1</sup>

#### Chairman of the United States Delegation

In rising to comment, Mr. Chairman, on the report of the Director General, I beg the indulgence of the General Conference for a few remarks concerning the host country. We Americans feel particularly close to Lebanon, though separated physically by many miles of geographic distance.

Many thousands of Lebanese have gone to make their homes in the United States and in many other countries of the Western Hemisphere. They have made good citizens and have enriched our civilization by their energy, their intelligence, and their culture. They have taken especial advantage of the opportunities offered for themselves and their children in the fields of educational and cultural development. The intellectuals from Beirut and the peasants from the villages of Mount Lebanon have alike shown their innate ability for personal development of the highest order.

It is not difficult for those who know this country to understand why the individual Lebanese has so

great a capacity for mental achievement. The Lebanese people have never been isolated or insular in their outlook. From earliest times, they were travelers, colonizers, and merchants. They instructed the unlettered peoples of the northern Mediterranean in the use of the alphabet centuries before the silks of Cathay and the spices of the Indies began pouring across this land bridge between Europe and Asia to make Beirut an entrepôt of the world.

Ever creative in its art and architecture, Lebanon still reveals its ancient contacts with Egypt and Arabia on the one hand and with Greece and Rome on the other. In the valley between the ranges of the Lebanon mountains stands that world-famous temple of Baalbek—the place where

<sup>1</sup> Made at Beirut, Lebanon, in plenary session on Nov. 19, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Allen is Assistant Secretary for public affairs.

European motifs in stone were devoted to the Baal, or Lord, of Bekaa' in a synthesis of East and West rarely paralleled in any other historic site. Our host town, founded as the Roman colony of Berytus just before the time of Christ, soon became famous as the seat of one of the most distinguished schools of law in the Roman world. "Lux ex oriente" and "lex ex occidente" combined to enrich the ancient world.

We in America have seen convincing evidence, from the Lebanese who have come to our shores, that the modern-day inhabitants of Lebanon retain that same capacity for great achievement which their ancestors so abundantly demonstrated. Nor has it been necessary for the people of Lebanon to leave their own country to demonstrate these capacities. Many of them have taken advantage of opportunities for intellectual and cultural advancement in schools and institutions in their own country.

I am proud, as an American, that outstanding among such schools is the American University at Beirut, which for 75 years has provided classrooms and instruction not only to Lebanese but to students from every part of the Near and Middle East. That institution, I am also proud to proclaim, has never been an institution for political or economic or cultural imperialism. It has maintained the high standards of academic and intellectual freedom which characterize the universities of all countries where democracy is practiced and where the minds of men are not encased in a strait jacket by political dictatorship.

The fact that a liberal institution such as the American University at Beirut has been able to continue and to grow through many years of political strife in this area is a tribute to the freedom-loving nature of the Lebanese people and to their yearning for intellectual development.

I would be less than fair if I did not pay tribute to the contribution which other cultures, notably that of France in the field of arts and sciences, and Britain in the field of government, have made to this part of the world. But my principal concern is to emphasize not the contribution of Europe and America to the Near and Middle East, but the reverse. I wish to acknowledge, on behalf of the American Delegation, our debt for the contributions we have received from the Middle East, and our recognition of the capacity and possibilities of this area to contribute much further to the advancement of knowledge and the betterment of mankind.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization holds its present meeting in a land of ancient glory and of future greatness. At the moment, this area is unfortunately torn with political difficulties of a tragic nature. The solution of a specific political problem is not the immediate concern of UNESCO. I know not how

the present difficulties of this area will be solved. But I do know that all of the problems which beset the world today will be well on the way to solution if the UNESCO concept of the essential oneness of humanity can be brought nearer to acceptance. It is to this task that we at this meeting must address ourselves with every ounce of energy and urgency we possess.

The General Conference of UNESCO meets here to discharge its constitutional responsibility for determining the main lines of work of the organization. But this session of the Conference—and every session of the Conference—is more than a business meeting. We meet to rededicate ourselves to those great principles of intellectual freedom and mutual understanding which UNESCO's constitution proclaims, and on which the advancement of civilization rests. UNESCO seeks through devotion to these principles to liberate humankind from mutual fear and suspicion, and to release man's creative energies for the constructive arts of peace. On behalf of the Delegation of the United States, on behalf of the Government and of the people of my country, I wish to affirm our unwavering support for UNESCO in the pursuit of this high aim.

The members of the U.S. Delegation have read with close attention the report of the Director General on the work of UNESCO during the past year. The report will be carefully reviewed by the Commissions of this Conference and my observations here will therefore be directed to the work that lies ahead.

The Delegation of the United States endorses the view of the Executive Board that the program of UNESCO for 1949 should be a continuation with only minor modifications of the program approved last year at Mexico City. We should strive for a high degree of continuity and consistency in the program. Moreover, UNESCO must provide basic services of a continuing character which will not require reaffirmation by successive sessions of the General Conference. At the same time we must allow for necessary change and growth in the program. We may agree that some activities require expansion or redirection; others will be terminated or discarded. The newly appointed Director General should be given full opportunity to review the existing program and to submit his considered proposals at the next session. Accordingly, while at this session we refrain from major changes in the present program we may well look to the future and encourage discussion of new ideas for the guidance of the Director General and the Executive Board. In this connection I am sure we shall wish to give consideration to the imaginative and provocative suggestions made by Dr. Huxley in his report.

I should like to congratulate Dr. Huxley and Dr. Laves on the clarity of the 1949 budget esti-

mates. It will be well understood that the United States Delegation, like every other delegation, has an inescapable responsibility to subject the budget to the most careful scrutiny. The people of my country wish to be assured that the financial contributions they are making to international organizations are expended for projects which are well conceived and efficiently executed and which make definite contributions to the cause of peace. My colleagues and I hope to give that assurance concerning UNESCO in good faith and with sincere conviction. The General Conference will do well, therefore, to examine with particular care the proposed increase in the budget of the Organization and to ascertain whether certain economies cannot be achieved without impairing the effectiveness of the program.

In the view of our Delegation, it is essential that UNESCO should be able to point to a number of concrete and significant accomplishments. The report of the Director General gives ample evidence that the Secretariat has done a great deal of work; it is somewhat less convincing that that work has yet resulted in concrete accomplishments. People generally are not interested nor impressed by an account of committee meetings or conferences that have been held. They are impressed by finished jobs. I hope that this Conference will set a good example in one matter within its competence by opening to signature the first convention which UNESCO has drawn up—the convention to facilitate the exchange of visual and auditory materials of an educational character. It is now two years since this convention was drawn up at Paris, and the Director General was instructed to circulate it to member countries with a view to signature. It is high time we brought this matter to a successful conclusion. Our Delegation considers this to be a critical test of UNESCO's ability actually to accomplish a specific task.

I wish also at this point to urge that this Conference should state precisely and clearly the aim and method of each UNESCO project. When we approve a project, let us inform ourselves how it will be carried out and how it will be followed up, in order that it may enter into the stream of popular action. Let its contribution to peace and welfare be clearly understood by us, if we would insure that our work be understood and approved by our people.

UNESCO draws its strength from its association with the United Nations and the other specialized agencies, from international voluntary organizations, from national commissions and cooperating bodies in each member state, and from the millions of people who hold UNESCO as both a symbol of the world society they desire and as an instrument for helping them to realize that aspiration.

The United States Delegation, therefore, be-

lieves that it is essential to review relationships between UNESCO and other international organizations. UNESCO may immeasurably augment its effectiveness by closer cooperation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies. It must cooperate at every stage of planning and of executing projects which are of common concern to other bodies. I would commend the efforts put forth during the past year to work out practical methods of cooperation, but I would urge that the General Conferences should not fail to review previous practice in this matter and to lay down policies for the future.

Alongside the agencies established by governments to forward international cooperation are the international organizations created by the voluntary efforts of private individuals. Here is another field where UNESCO may multiply its effectiveness many fold by sharing cooperatively its responsibilities and opportunities. The General Conference and the Executive Board have given much thought particularly to UNESCO's financial and administrative relationships with international nongovernmental organizations. Nonetheless, these relationships are still governed largely by historical accident and vary, without good reason, from organization to organization and from one department of UNESCO to another. The United States Delegation believes that in the coming year UNESCO should make a systematic study of these organizations in order that a consistent policy may be adopted and that UNESCO may fully utilize their resources for achieving its aims and carrying out its program.

Mr. Chairman, I want to make it clear that what I have been saying does not refer merely to the smooth functioning of administrative machinery. I am saying that this program of UNESCO which we shall approve must always be viewed as one piece in a vast program of world-wide cooperative endeavor. We believe that people throughout the world want to work together for peace and would welcome any opportunity to take part in this UNESCO program. I urge that all members of this Conference, as they sit in commissions and sub-commissions, search out opportunities for these millions of people to join in this work.

No article in the constitution of UNESCO is of more significance than article 7 under which member states undertake to establish national commissions or national cooperating bodies. The United States has proved in its own experience that a national commission can be an agency which unites the organized forces of labor unions, our farm population, religious and civic organizations, together with the intellectuals and the savants, in the service of UNESCO. We have from the first included representatives of such organizations on our National Commission. They have been a source of great strength. They carry the message

of UNESCO to every town and county in the country. They make insistent demand that we give them practical work to do to advance the aims of the program of this organization.

I must admit that we cannot always give a satisfactory response to this demand. It is the earnest hope of the Delegation of the United States that the program of UNESCO will develop steadily in the next few years along lines which not merely allow, but require, the active participation of the people in all lands. We hope, too, that we can make a significant start in this direction at this session of the General Conference.

I draw particular attention to the fact that the United States Delegation at the present Conference includes advisers from those two great organizations of labor in the United States, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. We regard adequate labor representation as an indispensable part of any UNESCO Delegation from the United States.

Understanding among peoples means understanding among all the people. Intellectual cooperation, in our view, must not be confined to cooperation among intellectuals. We must bring UNESCO to the masses and the masses to UNESCO.

Members of the Conference—UNESCO, like every organ and agency of the United Nations, has a heavy obligation to contribute, in its own sphere, to the central purpose for which the whole United Nations structure was created. This central purpose is the maintenance of peace and the betterment of mankind.

UNESCO's role in this general task is a vital one. UNESCO is *not* a luxury or a side issue, as some observers are inclined to believe. I am convinced that if UNESCO fails, the United Nations itself cannot succeed. UNESCO's particular task is to bring about better human understanding and sympathy among *all* the peoples of the world. I regret profoundly, as I know you do, that circumstances have prevented UNESCO from accomplishing more in this direction than it has. But I am fully convinced that UNESCO is one of the principal pillars on which a solid United Nations structure must rest.

I am aware that this view of UNESCO's importance is not universally accepted. Some people, in my own country as well as elsewhere, are inclined to think that UNESCO's contribution, while desirable, is not essential or even of major importance. Some, including persons as devoted to the United Nations as you or I, appear genuinely to believe that if a sufficiently powerful political and military organization can be built around the General Assembly and the Security Council, the question whether different peoples understand each other or cooperate will not matter very much, since, they contend, peace will be maintained by force anyway. Many of these self-styled "realists" think that we who are concerned with UNESCO are wast-

ing our time. They believe that understanding among widely divergent groups and interests is impossible of achievement and that the only effective peace machinery is one of force.

My colleagues and I on the United States Delegation emphatically reject that thesis. We believe that no political or military organization, however powerful, can impose a lasting peace unless there exists at the same time a considerable measure of mutual understanding and sympathy among the peoples of the world. Enough troops could not be found to accomplish the task unless they were aided by a large number of people of good will in whose minds the defenses of peace had been constructed. UNESCO's task is to foster these defenses of the mind which, once constructed, are more potent than all the concrete and steel that can ever be poured.

We believe, furthermore, that despite the present outlook the necessary degree of understanding among men *can* be developed and that the vital challenge to UNESCO can be met.

We are equally convinced, however, that human understanding can be achieved on one, and only one, basis—that of democracy. And we mean by democracy that body of concepts of human liberty and respect for the dignity of the individual personality which the world has always meant to us. It has been perverted during recent years by totalitarian movements which, in their police-imposed dictatorships, are the antithesis of democracy, but we do not intend to abandon the word merely because others may seek the advantage of its high connotation while destroying it in practice.

I do not refer, in speaking of democracy, to differing concepts or experiments in the production of wealth. I am not concerned, for example, with the decision of any people that their coal should be mined under government rather than private ownership, or with any other economic experiments which a free people may wish to undertake. We Americans are attached, by and large, to private enterprise, but if any nation can demonstrate a better method than has yet been found for producing wealth and distributing the fruits of a man's labors, the world will make a path to its door. Freedom to try new methods is one of the essential characteristics of democracy itself.

What *does* concern the United States Delegation is that human beings everywhere be given full freedom either to approve or to criticize the economic system in force or the administration in power. Human beings everywhere must enjoy the basic rights of free speech. Scientists and scholars must retain intellectual freedom to pursue their investigations. Creative artists must be free to express themselves. Ideas must gain acceptance in the free competition of the market place and not from the dictates of a governmental bureaucracy. Biological principles may no more be controlled

by political dictatorship today than the discoveries of Galileo could be altered by religious dogma four centuries ago. We are prepared, under democracy, to tolerate every idea except intolerance.

The conviction of the United States Delegation that UNESCO can succeed only on the basis of intellectual freedom is founded not on theory but on hard and bitter experience. Efforts were made, following the First World War, to achieve cooperation among the intellectual leaders of the world, and machinery was set up to accomplish this purpose. High hopes arose for its success. Gradually, with the suppression of thought by the Nazi and Fascist authorities, cooperation and understanding with scholars and scientists under these regimes grew progressively more difficult until it finally became impossible.

After the Second World War, UNESCO was established for the similar but broader purpose of achieving cooperation and understanding among all peoples. Its doors have always been open and will always remain open to those who subscribe to its purposes. Its success will depend upon the number of doors UNESCO can keep open to the free flow of thought and expression throughout the world.

Despite the varying degrees with which democracy is practiced in the world (and my countrymen make no claims to Utopia in this respect), UNESCO must continue to strive diligently to bring all peoples together and to reduce the tensions con-

ducive to war. We regard the condition of the world today not as a cause for despair, but as a challenge, to UNESCO. Large numbers of governments and peoples are willing to cooperate, through UNESCO, on the basis of the democratic principles which motivate its Charter, and progress *can* be made, with steadfastness and courage, in bringing closer together minds which are now poisoned with hatred through misunderstanding.

But the minds of men in which the defenses of peace are built must be free minds. The human intellect will not be *chained*, and those who attempt it today are sowing the wind as recklessly as all tyrants who have tried it since the world began. It is strangely difficult for some people to understand this simple truth of history, but we of UNESCO should. We are the one agency of U.N. where this principle must be most clearly manifest. The future progress of UNESCO, the United States Delegation is convinced, lies along the path of freedom. Any other road leads to certain and dismal failure. Present-day quarrels are caused by bigotry and ignorance, and are fostered by governments which tell their people what they must believe and isolate them against other ideas. The free flow of ideas is our only salvation and UNESCO was created to bring this about.

Let the mind of man be free, and it will soar to undreamed heights of majesty. Let people understand each other and they will create a world order of peace and human betterment.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 and the United Nations

November 19-26

## Four Power Currency Control in Berlin

### Trade Discrimination

An effort by Poland to get the General Assembly to condemn political use of "international trade discrimination" was defeated in the plenary session of November 26 by a vote of 33 to 6, with 8 abstentions. Only the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European nations cast affirmative votes for the resolution, which was aimed at discrediting the European Recovery Program.

In arguing for the resolution, identical to one recently defeated also in the Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee, the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Czechoslovakia alleged that the United States discriminates against Eastern Europe in its allocation of export commodities and is attempting through the ERP to prevent the growth of East-West European trade.

Willard Thorp, United States Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs and alternate delegate to the Assembly, branded the Polish charges "highly inaccurate". He explained that such controls as the United States still maintains over exports "are administered to achieve equitable distribution of commodities in short supply, to make effective our efforts to assist ERP, and in the interest of our national security".

Recalling Soviet-bloc attacks on ERP in the Economic Committee, Mr. Thorp commented that ERP results "are already so evident, its promise so great, that those countries which more or less voluntarily decided not to join this cooperative effort seem increasingly compelled to explain over and over again their constantly changing reasons for their nonparticipation. At the same time, they complain increasingly that they cannot share the benefits of this cooperation, that they too cannot enjoy some of the assistance from the United States (called 'enslavement' in their new terminology) which they simultaneously attack and envy".

He accused Poland of trying to gain acceptance of "new concepts of what constitutes nondiscrimination in international trade" in direct conflict with those adopted by 50 nations in framing the Havana Charter for proposed International Trade Organization. What Poland was really seeking, Mr. Thorp asserted, was "approval of narrow bilateralism in all international trade and rejection of the multilateralism which alone can assure true equality among all nations large and small. If the United States or any other country wished to practice discrimination, whether for political or other purposes, then the clearly indicated course would be for it to base all its trade relations on bilateralism, for by that means trade pressures can be most easily applied".

The United States, Great Britain, and France feel that Four Power control of Berlin's currency will be difficult to exercise in a city in which the previous unified municipal administration under Four Power supervision is not fully functioning at present and is indeed being rapidly diminished.

This feeling was expressed in the Western powers' joint reply to Security Council President Juan A. Bramuglia's questionnaire to the four occupying powers on how quadripartite control of Berlin's tangled currency might be achieved. Mr. Bramuglia made the Western nations' reply public on November 26 along with the Soviet answer to the questionnaire.

"The representatives of the Western powers are anxious to provide all possible assistance in your examination of the Berlin currency problem", the joint reply notified Mr. Bramuglia. "They are continuing their study of possible solutions in the light of current developments in Berlin. If you or your colleagues desire to enter into technical discussion on the details to be worked out, our experts will be at your disposal."

The answers to President Bramuglia's questions were as follows:

*Question 1:* "What organizations will exercise the quadripartite control of the financial arrangements on behalf of the four occupying powers?"

Western powers and the U.S.S.R. agree that a financial commission composed of representatives of the four Military Governors should be established. The West added that the commission should be responsible to the Military Governors.

*Question 2:* "What will be the functions of these quadripartite control organizations?"

The Western powers listed six functions: To control money, credit, and banking matters; to control banking and credit institutions to assure adequate, uniform facilities throughout Berlin without discrimination; to supervise and control the arrangements for introduction and continued use of the East mark as Berlin's sole currency; to supervise and control the Berlin government's fiscal policies and budgetary arrangements; to supervise and control the East mark's introduction as the sole currency and withdrawal of the Western B mark from circulation in Berlin; to supervise and control issuance of import and export licenses by the Magistrat.

The Soviets replied only that the commission should exercise functions envisaged in an agreement reached at Moscow on August 30 between Western envoys and Soviet leaders. (The directive never was placed in effect because the Soviet Military Governor in Berlin insisted on preemptive authority which was not provided for in the

Moscow agreement, including control of the air-lift operated by the United States and Great Britain.)

*Question 3:* "Over what operations and in what area will the quadripartite control be exercised?"

The West answered that quadripartite control should cover all operations mentioned in the reply to question 2 and also cover the issuing bank's operations pertaining to the East mark's introduction and use as Berlin's sole currency.

The Soviet Union replied that the commission should insure that there be no discrimination in the exchange of Western marks, equal treatment and accessibility to banking and credit facilities in all sectors of Berlin, observance of guaranties envisaged in the August 30 directive, maintenance of net balance of trade between Berlin and the Western zones and third countries, and provision of sufficient currency for budgetary purposes and for occupation costs, and also the balancing of the Berlin budget.

*Question 4:* "What is the exact working of the directive that must be issued to bring the quadripartite control into operation?"

The West said the four Military Governors should issue the necessary legislation, explaining that "in the absence of sufficient agreement with the Soviet Government upon the content of this legislation, the Western powers have not at this time attempted to draft it in detail".

The U.S.S.R. said the wording should correspond to the August 30 directive.

*Question 5:* "How will trade between Berlin and the Western zones and third countries be controlled, including the issuance of import and export licenses?"

The Western powers replied that they "should be able freely to import food and fuel into their sectors of Berlin in fulfilment of their responsibilities for the health and welfare of the population, and should control the proceeds of the sale in Berlin of these imports". They added that other trade should be conducted in accordance with licenses issued by the Magistrat. "The Soviet authorities would automatically grant transit licenses through the Soviet zone in respect of such trade", they wrote.

The Soviet answer asserted that the proposed quadripartite commission should control trade and "should also issue licenses for the import and export of goods on the basis of observance of the net balance, excluding the deliveries of food, fuel, and electric power intended to supply the Berlin population in the form of aid".

#### **Palestine**

The General Assembly Political Committee on November 16 named an informal working group to report on points of similarity in the various resolutions aimed at a political settlement in Palestine which are now before it. In the group are

delegates of U.S., U.K., Australia, Colombia, Poland, Guatemala, Syria, and the Soviet Union.

The Committee, in adjournment until November 27, plans to resume the Palestine debate when the working group produces a paper "on which intelligent discussion can continue".

Under consideration now are five separate proposals submitted by the United Kingdom, Australia, Colombia, Poland, and the Soviet Union. In addition, the United States has submitted a series of amendments altering the original British text, and the United Kingdom has come forward with a revised plan designed to meet some of the U.S. suggestions. Guatemala also introduced an amendment to a U.S. amendment.

Three of the proposed resolutions—those of the United Kingdom, Colombia, and Australia—call for establishment of a conciliation commission charged with working out a permanent settlement. The United States, in its amendments, supported this move, urging that the commission be given wide latitude in direct mediation of the Palestine dispute.

Other U.S.-proposed changes in the original British text would eliminate consideration of the report of the late Count Folke Bernadotte as the only basis for settlement, emphasizing that both the Assembly partition plan advanced last year and the mediator's proposals offer useful guides for a negotiated agreement between Israel and her neighbors.

Acting mediator Ralph Bunche transmitted to the Security Council and to the Arab Governments an Israeli letter accepting the Council's November 16 resolution calling for armistice talks. The Israeli Government expressed a preference for direct negotiations with the Arabs, to begin as soon as possible, but said if this is impracticable, it is prepared to negotiate through U.N. intermediaries. Dr. Bunche said that Egypt had refused to talk peace either directly or indirectly until Israeli forces withdraw to the positions they occupied on October 14, the date when they launched a successful drive to win control of the Negev desert. Other Arab states have not replied.

The revised British proposal would authorize the projected commission to consider any territorial settlement "mutually acceptable to the parties", and suggests that delimitation of frontiers take into consideration both the original Palestine partition resolution and the Bernadotte report. However, it calls for a General Assembly endorsement of "the specific conclusions" of the mediator as "providing a practical means of giving effect to the principles" of the partition resolution.

The Bernadotte report would require the Jews to give up the southern Negev desert area in exchange for all of Galilee. The partition plan would have awarded Israel the Negev, and assigned Western Galilee to an Arab state.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### The Eighteenth International Geological Congress

BY ELIOT BLACKWELDER

After having been postponed for eight years, because of World War II, the Eighteenth International Geological Congress met at London, from August 7 to September 19, 1948. For the past 70 years the geologists of the world have been holding such conferences at periodic intervals. The first of these meetings was at Paris in 1878, and the seventeenth at Moscow in 1937.

Each of the Geological Congresses is a unit, having only slender ties with the others. The initiative usually comes from a geological society or survey bureau of a particular country. The geologists request their own government to extend an official invitation to the Congress to hold its next meeting in their country. After the acceptance of such an invitation, the local geologists form a general organizing committee, which is widely representative of all the geologists and members of closely related professions in the country. This committee then sets up a practical organization to prepare for the Congress, to conduct it, and to issue its reports. Invitations are sent out by the host government to other countries, as well as to universities and other scientific institutions, asking them to appoint delegates to the Congress. At the opening meeting of the Congress these delegates meet under the chairmanship of the president of the preceding Congress or his representative and elect officers for the current session. Membership in the Congress is open to all geologists and to workers in related fields sufficiently interested to attend.

The formal meetings of the Eighteenth Congress occupied the last seven days in August 1948. Out of the 1,756 registered members, more than 1,400 actually attended the sessions. Among them were delegates from 57 countries, representing also 290 universities and other scientific institutions. Japan was represented by a geologist from the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers, and Germany (British zone) by two eminent German geologists, whose attendance was arranged by British geological organizations. Of the 124 members registered from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, seven came to the Congress—all official delegates of the Soviet Government. Next to the United Kingdom contingent, the largest was the 73-man group from the United States. The number would have been greater but for the difficulty

of obtaining transportation. Unfortunately, the American delegation did not include the leading officers of the United States Geological Survey or the Geological Society of America, who were unable to attend. In contrast to previous Congresses, the representation from such geologically important countries as Germany, Austria, and Finland was very small. This was due largely to currency and travel restrictions. In spite of such difficulties, however, there were several delegates from China and India and even one from Burma.

In order to facilitate the presentation of nearly 400 technical papers, the meetings at London were divided into 12 sections, which met in the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines, and the Royal Geographical Society, all of which were near the Congress headquarters at the Geological Survey building at South Kensington. The sections dealt with such subjects as the geology of the sea bottom, the geology and ore deposits of lead and zinc, the chemistry of the earth, the geology of petroleum, and the effects of earth movements on organic evolution.

To consider special problems there were various standing commissions and temporary committees which held meetings, reviewing the progress made in correspondence since the last Congress and laying plans for carrying on their work during the interim until the next Congress. Some of the commissions made reports and recommendations to the Council. One of them is working on the preparations of a geological map of the world, another on the geological aspects of the early history of man, and others on still more specialized subjects. One of the temporary committees considered ways and means of reviving one of several journals of geomorphology, all of which had ceased publication as a result of the war.

Before and after the meetings at London most of the members took advantage of the numerous excursions which had been arranged under the guidance of local experts in the various localities. The British Isles are a classic area for the geologist, since much of the early development of the science took place there; and it is also a region of unusual geologic interest. Some of the excursions took the members to Scotland; others to southern England, the Lake District, Wales, Ireland, and other districts. The excursions had been carefully planned

in advance, and the participants were supplied with special maps and printed guide books. The fruitful discussions of geologic problems in the field were, as always, one of the most profitable parts of the Congress. The opportunities covered many aspects of geology from the very ancient rocks of northern Scotland to the Pleistocene formations along the Norfolk coast and their close link with archeology.

A proposal to establish an International Union of Geology under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was vigorously debated but finally deferred until the next Congress.

In response to an invitation from the French Government, the next Congress is scheduled to be held at Algiers. While the Nineteenth Congress is unlikely to be as large as the one at London, it may be very instructive to geologists, especially those who are interested in the more arid regions.

Within the next year or two the Eighteenth Con-

gress will issue to its members one or more volumes of reports, containing the papers presented at the Congress. There will also be a special volume on the geology and ores of lead and zinc that should be timely in view of the critical shortage of these metals which now faces the industrial world, for the present supplies seem unlikely to last more than a quarter of a century.

The utility of such conferences as the International Geological Congress are plain enough to scientists in general. For the progress of geology it is necessary that geologists of the whole world meet from time to time to learn what they severally have been doing and to discuss their results. It is important that geologists be acquainted with each other so that they can better evaluate their own contributions. It is not the main purpose of the Congress to reach decisions on policies or scientific questions, but rather to promote the interchange of facts and ideas, which in turn makes for general progress.

## Conservation of Fishery Resources in Northwest Atlantic To Be Discussed

The Department of State announced on November 15 that in view of the serious depletion of certain commercially important species of fish in the Northwest Atlantic, an international conference will be convened by this Government in Washington on January 26, 1949, for the purpose of discussing the development of means for formal international cooperation in the investigation and, where necessary, the conservation of the fishery resources in question.

As a result of an informal approach to various governments to determine the extent of current international interest in the fisheries of the Northwest Atlantic, invitations to participate at the January conference have been issued to the following countries: Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Newfoundland, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

In its consideration of the need for international cooperative action, this Government has, of course, been particularly interested in the condition of those species in the Northwest Atlantic area fished by United States nationals. The backbone of the New England fishing industry is the otter-trawl fishery. This fishery brings to port the various species of very valuable bottom-living fishes. At the present time, the stocks of these species on the New England banks are at a relatively low average level of abundance.

The abundance of marketable-sized haddock is now at an all-time low. In an effort to continue bringing in haddock to satisfy the large demand, the industry has been forced to resort to fishing for immature and baby fish. This development is extremely unfortunate, for although admittedly it is increasing the present catch to a certain extent, it is seriously decreasing the potential production of this fishery.

Fishing for rosefish has been very heavy in recent years, and the abundance of this fish has been gradually reduced to the point where United States vessels have to steam much farther from port in order to find commercial quantities. Ten years ago, even five years ago, the bulk of the catch of rosefish was taken within 150 miles of Gloucester and Boston, in the Gulf of Maine and South Channel. Now many vessels are forced to travel to Sable Island and Banquero Bank, 500 to 600 miles from port, in order to return with a payload.

Catches of halibut have gradually dwindled through the years until today they constitute an insignificant quantity. The catches of cod from the New England banks are likewise reduced and accordingly an increasing number of lengthy and expensive trips to the Nova Scotian banks have become necessary.

The general scarcity of groundfish on the New England banks has not been disastrous to the fish-

ing industry only because of the very high prices being paid for fish since the end of the war. Should a more bountiful supply of meat cause the price of fish to drop, the value of the United States groundfish landings, if they remain at the present low level, may be so small as to have a serious financial effect upon the domestic industry.

The United States otter-trawl fleet is at present larger than at any other time in history and, with protein food so much in demand, indications are that it will become even larger. In addition, the fleets of many foreign countries are rapidly expanding operations in an attempt to satisfy the great world food demand. The North Sea and other important European fishing areas have apparently become depleted to such an extent that they produce only a fraction of former poundages. It is possible that the depletion of European banks will result in a shift in the operations of many European vessels to the Northwest Atlantic. With the expected heavy exploitation of the fisheries of the Northwest Atlantic, the question of maintaining the highest possible level of productivity becomes increasingly important and urgent. The present scarcity of fish on the New England banks, and the probable increase in fishing pressure by our own and by foreign vessels, indicates the extreme value of providing means for determining if the decline of the fisheries can be stopped and if production can be increased in the future. For example, our fishery biologists are certain that the protection of small haddock would substantially increase the future landings.

A great deal of research would of course be necessary to find out how other increases, for haddock and for other species, could be obtained. To put into effect any changes which, as a result of such research, are found to be useful in increasing the production of these fisheries, some sort of regulation would be necessary inasmuch as voluntary changes have little chance of success.

The off-shore fishing banks of the Northwestern Atlantic are fished by nationals of many countries besides the United States. Thus, if the various New England States, or the Federal Government, regulated the fishing methods to be used by United States fishermen, while the other countries were free to use whatever methods they wished, little help would be afforded the fisheries. Regulations, therefore, must be put into effect by agreement of the various countries who, at present and in the future, fish the banks of the Northwest Atlantic.

Scientific study of these fisheries, a prerequisite to any regulations, would also be undertaken best on an international scale, with a pooling of scientific facilities and the knowledge of fishery experts of all the interested countries.

It is emphasized that the purpose of any regulations which might grow out of scientific study following an international fisheries agreement would be to increase the sustained production of these fisheries. It is not contemplated that any regulation would be recommended without adequate scientific evidence proving that the proposed measure will actually serve that purpose.

International interest in certain fisheries of the North Atlantic Ocean is evidenced by the fact that for centuries the nationals of North American and western and southern European countries have fished portions of this important area. As a result of such interest, a number of treaties dealing with accessory rights on shore and in adjacent waters have been developed and adjusted from time to time over the years. Until recently, however, consideration was not given to the desirability of formal international cooperation in the conservation and development of the fishery resources.

The increasing recognition of the seriousness of the existing and potential depletion of commercially important species of fish in the North Atlantic resulted in an international conference in London in 1937. It was at that time considered feasible to treat the entire North Atlantic as a single conservation unit. The international convention for the regulation of meshes of fishing nets and the size limits of fish which was concluded at this conference was accordingly designed to apply to the entire North Atlantic.

The 1937 convention did not enter into force and the British Government, therefore, convened other international conferences in London in October 1943 and April 1946 to reconsider this general problem. The United States was represented by an observer delegation at these international over-fishing conferences. After discussions with the other states contiguous to the Northwest Atlantic, the United States suggested that there were actually two areas in the North Atlantic which were readily separable because of the nationals concerned and the problems involved. It was therefore proposed that consideration be given to the desirability of separate treatment for the Northeast and Northwest Atlantic. The agreement of the 1946 conference to this concept is evidenced by the fact that the convention which resulted from the work of the conference set the western boundary of the convention area at 42 degrees west longitude.

Since it has been agreed that it would be preferable to give separate consideration to the Northwest Atlantic, the United States Government, after consultations with the interested States of the United States and the New England fishing industry, has prepared a draft convention for use at the forthcoming conference.<sup>1</sup> The draft convention will be used only as a basis for discussion, and does not necessarily represent the position to be taken by this Government at the conference.

<sup>1</sup>Not printed. For text of the draft convention see attachment to Department of State press release no. 901 of Nov. 10, 1948.

## Ninth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art

The Ninth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art was held at Venice August 19–September 4, 1948.

This exhibition, the Festival of Music, and the Festival of the Theatre composed the “Biennale of Venice” for 1948 and were under the patronage of the Italian Government. The purpose of the exhibition was to give public acknowledgment to those films which testify to a genuine effort toward progress in this field as a means of artistic expression and the spread of culture between nations.

Chester A. Lindstrom, Chief of the Motion Picture Service, Office of Information, Department of Agriculture, represented this Government at the exhibition. The United States sent 24 specialized nontheatrical films for display, 11 of which were U. S. Government films. Other films were sent by the American Motion Picture Association.

Twenty nations took part in the exhibition: Austria, Argentina, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Mexico, Morocco, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the Free Territory of Trieste, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Although the United States submitted only about 5 percent of the specialized films, it received about 8 percent of the awards. These awards were made by a jury composed of leading artists, critics, and journalists selected by the president of the Biennale from among Italian nationals and persons in no way connected with the production or exploitation of motion pictures.

Silver medals were awarded to *Naval Photography in Science* (Navy) and *Hurricane Circuit* (State). The United States won the second and third International Grand Prix with *The Fugitive* by John Ford and *Louisiana Story* by Robert J. Flaherty. The Grand Prix for musical score went to Max R. Steiner of the United States for his work in *Treasure of Sierra Madre*. David O. Selznick's *Duel in the Sun* won the “Coppa Cinecitta” (Movie City Cup) without specification. Walt Disney's *Melody Time* and Frenchman Paul Grimault's *Le Petit Soldat* tied for the best cartoon.

During the exhibition, the United States Delegate requested a meeting of the various foreign representatives to discuss and formulate recommendations for the future guidance of exhibition authorities in setting up film categories. Prior to the meeting, the United Kingdom and the United States Representatives drew up a set of suggested rules and regulations, and at the meeting these suggestions were presented and, with some additions and modifications, were adopted.

The categories, as moved on and adopted are:

- (1) education (instructional teachers' films for classroom use, and informational background films);
- (2) medical films (including teaching and research films);
- (3) scientific films (for higher education or research);
- (4) propaganda films (including industrially sponsored films);
- (5) entertainment films (made specifically for children);
- and (6) art films (films of a cultural type on music, art, literature, and drama).

### U.S. Delegation to Preparatory Committee Meeting of IMCO

On November 19 the Department of State announced that Huntington T. Morse, Special Assistant to the Commission, United States Maritime Commission, has been named United States Delegate to the second meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (Imco), scheduled to open at Lake Success, New York, November 30, 1948. John W. Mann, Assistant Shipping Adviser, Department of State, has been named alternate, and John M. Cates, Jr., Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, will serve as adviser.

Delegates from the following 12 member countries of the Preparatory Committee are expected to attend: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, India, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The Committee was established to function until the convention on the International Maritime Consultative Organization comes into force. The convention was drawn up at the United Nations Maritime Conference at Geneva, February–March, 1948, to which 32 governments sent representatives. It will come into force when ratified by 21 countries, 7 of which must have at least one million gross tons of shipping each. President Truman has transmitted the convention to the Senate with a view to United States ratification.

The agenda for the second session of the Preparatory Committee includes administrative and budgetary problems, the planning of a program for the implementation of the Committee's functions, and discussion of the draft agreement between the United Nations and the Imco. The first meeting of the Preparatory Committee was held at Geneva, March 1, immediately following the Conference which drew up the maritime convention.

### Helping the World To Know Us Better

BY HOWLAND H. SARGEANT<sup>1</sup>

Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

"How can American education best promote international understanding?" is no ordinary query. It is a challenge to every one of us who believes in the vital role American education must play in the struggle to assure a free and democratic world. This is a subject which is receiving a great deal of careful—and I might say prayerful—attention in Washington. The United States Government is currently engaged in one of the most absorbing and exacting tasks in our history, the task of decisively defeating a powerful effort to destroy our way of life and at the same time preserving the peace of the world. It is because we hope, despite all the difficulties and dangers, to win this all-important struggle by peaceful means that education is one of the most effective weapons at our command. If we can succeed in preventing a resort to arms, we are confident that the peoples of the world will ultimately choose democracy as the system that assures them more freedom and greater material benefits than any other.

Here I want to emphasize that this is a task in which we all are involved and in which you who are engaged in foreign trade can play a doubly important part. The stakes are high. The brunt of the battle may be borne by the Government, but like modern war, this is a total effort in which we are all equally engaged, whether in a commanding or a supporting role. Whether as Government officials or businessmen, we must make our maximum effort in the same cause. We must find how we can coordinate our respective efforts to greatest advantage.

The best antidote for Communism is a universal sense of security and economic well-being. Therefore, the primary objective of the United States is the promotion of stability and recovery as the first prerequisites of a peaceful and prosperous world. This country is the principal source for the financial aid and the agricultural and industrial production required to restore war-wrecked economies and build up underdeveloped areas. But if world recovery achieved by these means is to continue and

yield maximum returns, a third ingredient is indispensable.

Only through the utilization of modern technical and administrative "know-how", of which the United States also is the primary source, can many of the peoples we aid capitalize fully on the reconstruction and development which they are so eager to carry forward. This third form of assistance is essential to make the first two most effective. Our partners in this cooperative enterprise need to build up a considerable corps of trained and competent technicians, specialists, and administrators to carry on the programs once they are well begun. Otherwise the gains first made with the impetus of American aid may be lost. Fortunately, this kind of help is far less expensive than the first two. Although our capital and production that can be spared for use abroad are definitely limited, our supply of exportable "know-how" is proportionately much larger. And even by the narrow standard of American self-interest, the benefits, both tangible and intangible, are considerable.

#### U.S. Experience in the Educational-Cultural Fields

How do we know? Because we have tried it. For ten years, the United States Government has engaged in a successful program of educational, technical, and cultural exchange with the other 20 American republics and the Philippines. This is the "pilot plant" for what is now becoming the world's greatest venture in educational exchange as a means of promoting international understanding, material well-being, and the conditions requisite for peace.

That undertaking is made possible by the enactment by the Eightieth Congress of the Smith-Mundt Act, now known as Public Law 402. The passage of this legislation constitutes congressional recognition that the world-wide struggle between democracy and Communism makes it imperative that the United States Government conduct a vigorous information and education program in support of our foreign policy. In the educational sphere, Public Law 402 authorizes the Department of State to extend to other parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Made before the National Foreign Trade Convention in New York City, on Nov. 8, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

world the exchange arrangements hitherto limited largely to the other American republics and the Philippines. Another major phase of the educational exchange program is carried on under authorization of the Fulbright Act, which makes proceeds from the sale of surplus equipment abroad available to facilitate the exchange of students, teachers, and researchers.

### **Western Hemisphere Program**

Let's look first at how the general program in the Western Hemisphere has operated. I won't bore you with the statistics, though they are impressive. The program has developed along several broad lines. This Government has participated with the Latin American countries in a number of scientific and technical projects on a cooperative basis. These cover a wide range of subjects. The test in each case is whether the project will further the aims of both the United States and the country involved. The usual method of operation is that this Government provides the services of technicians and specialists and the other country furnishes the physical facilities, such as land and buildings, and assigns personnel to work with our people. The programs have been carried out by many governmental and private agencies through the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs.

### **Coffee Pulp**

Some specific illustrations may be helpful. For example, Latin America produces a lot of coffee. The pulpy residue from the coffee bean was known to be good feed for cattle, but it remained a waste product because cattle didn't like the taste of it and therefore wouldn't eat it. At a cooperative experiment station in El Salvador, American and Salvadoran researchers mixed other ingredients with the coffee-bean pulp and evolved a formula that made the material palatable to milk cows. So this waste material can now be used as a substitute for corn. If all the coffee pulp in Latin America were converted to cattle feed, it would provide the equivalent of about 34 million bushels of corn a year. This is significant for both the health and the economies of those countries which are now producing only a small percentage of the milk their people need.

### **Civil Aviation**

American civil-aviation technicians have been at work in a number of Latin American countries for several years, helping them develop airports and other aspects of their air-transport systems. We can see how important these projects are when we realize that some parts of Latin America have jumped almost overnight from the era of the ox-cart to the era of the airplane, because of the general lack of railroads and highways.

### **Population and Agriculture Census**

American statistical experts are now in the countries to the south helping plan for the first comprehensive hemisphere-wide census of population and agriculture to be taken in 1950.

The start of adequate periodic censuses in all the American republics, covering population, agriculture, mining, industry, exports and imports, and other important economic data, is of course tremendously important to us all.

This kind of practical and effective assistance is provided only after the other government has requested it and after the proposal has been carefully examined and approved by this government. The proportion of the total cost borne by the other governments has progressively increased. During the last fiscal year their aggregate contributions were more than double the contribution made by the United States.

### **Exchange of Professors and Specialists**

The two-way transfer of knowledge and culture between this country and the other American republics is accomplished in still other ways. This Government facilitates the visits of outstanding professors, specialists, and graduate students of the other Americas to the United States for work and study in educational, governmental, and private institutions. During the 1947-48 academic year, nearly 5,000 students from Latin America were studying in the United States. Of this number, 162 were given grants-in-aid by our Government. Many others who received no direct financial aid were assisted in countless ways through the missions abroad, the reception and orientation centers in this country, and the skilled staffs of the United States governmental and private agencies working together in this important field. Similar assistance is provided to enable industrial and government personnel to come to this country for on-the-job training. Those who are selected usually take an orientation course upon their arrival and then are assigned to an educational institution, an industrial plant, or a government agency for intensive practical training for several months.

Not only are we bringing the people of Latin America—as many as possible—to us. We are taking ourselves, in some measure, to them. Professors, research scholars, and students from the United States are encouraged and assisted to travel and work in Latin America. The libraries and cultural centers maintained partly with the financial support of this Government throughout Latin America are focal points of contact between increasing numbers of the people of those countries and the United States. The libraries emphasize reference services and the lending of American books. The heaviest demand in many places is for material of a scientific and technical nature.

*Cultural Centers*

The 28 cultural centers are literally that—places where the peoples of our neighboring countries gather with Americans resident there, become acquainted with American literature, American music, American art, hear visiting American lecturers, and learn English in classes taught by both American and local teachers. These classes are important for several reasons. They are one of the chief attractions. At São Paulo, 5,000 Brazilians are learning English from American textbooks at the center. They, and their counterparts in other centers, pay for these lessons. The revenue from the classes and other local sources now provides more than 60 percent of the money for maintaining the cultural centers, leaving about 40 percent to be paid by this Government. I think you will agree that this substantial degree of local support entitles the centers to the autonomy they enjoy by virtue of being controlled by local boards, usually composed of an equal number of resident Americans and nationals of the country.

*American-Sponsored Schools*

The United States Government provides assistance to some 270 American-sponsored schools in Latin America, and in the case of the independent-type schools, provides modest financial aid. These schools offer an American-type education primarily for the children of the countries in which they are located. In addition they furnish schooling for children of American residents, thus serving as an additional means of educational exchange.

This, in brief outline, is the educational-exchange program that we have been conducting with the American republics for the past ten years. What have we got out of it? Obviously, anything like an exact estimate in dollars and cents is impossible, though the material benefits have been considerable. I could cite instances of orders being placed for American road-building machinery as a result of a visit of Latin American highway engineers to this country under Government auspices. I could point to sales of laboratory and hospital equipment to Latin American institutions directed by professional people who have studied in this country as recipients of government grants. But these are merely by-products. I could point to the several million people who have learned English at the cultural centers. I could refer to definite economic gains made in certain regions and countries as a result of cooperative research and demonstrations by teams of North American and Latin American technicians.

*Estimate of the Program*

The greatest, most valuable, benefits cannot be measured because they are intangible. They exist in the minds of the people who have been influenced in some degree and in some way by these

activities—both our own people and the people of our neighbors to the south. We know that the ties of friendship and respect between our countries have grown immeasurably stronger, because they are based on greater understanding and more extensive personal experience.

A representative of the State Department recently made a short visit to the Caribbean and the upper part of South America. She noted that in Venezuela the Foreign Minister was a man who had traveled in the United States in 1944 by means of a grant by this Government. She found that the director of the National Library had studied here in 1947 and was applying North American library techniques in his own country. The Venezuelan Ambassadors to Colombia, Cuba, and the Court of St. James are all men who visited the United States on travel grants in 1943.

This representative found that the present Foreign Minister of the Dominican Republic had investigated the universities and state educational systems of this country on a grant made in 1943. The director of the Municipal Library at Habana spent three months at the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress in 1944 while receiving a grant. After studying museum management and techniques here in 1944, a public-spirited Colombian woman returned home to take the lead in founding the new National Museum and is now its director.

Perhaps you will say that I am partisan and that my estimate of the program should be discounted. Let me quote a few of the comments made at the first meeting of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange by Dr. Jorge Basadre, of Peru. He is now director of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union, and is himself a former recipient of a travel grant.

Dr. Basadre commended the quality of the teaching of English in the cultural centers and observed that, as a result of this activity, among others: "The dream of a boy or girl in our growing middle class nowadays is to travel in the United States." As a consequence of the program as a whole, Dr. Basadre said: "The United States has now among the best professional, academic and specialized groups of Latin America, real friends who have worked side by side with American scientists, technicians, scholars and administrators, and who have seen the way Americans live and how they think."

The effect has been to create in Latin America a climate of opinion more favorable to the United States and more enduring, because it is more broadly based on the personal interests and experiences of a larger element of the population.

The best proof from our own viewpoint of the practical value of the broad program of educational exchange with the other American republics—the ultimate accolade, in my opinion—is the

decision of the Eightieth Congress to authorize its extension to the rest of the world. And what the rest of the world—that part which is free to express an opinion, at any rate—thinks of this prospect is best measured by the fact that the requests to this Government for cooperative exchange projects are many times greater than can be met from our present budgets. The recommendation of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, reporting out this legislation last January, is worth recalling:

“. . . the committee believes that the enactment of the bill is essential if we are to have mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other nations which will serve as a firm and lasting foundation for world peace.”

#### **World-Wide Program Under Smith-Mundt Act**

Some people, even in this country, overlook the fact that the Smith-Mundt Act authorizes a world-wide educational exchange program on the part of this Government, but is not an appropriation act. Therefore, as a practical matter, any large-scale expansion of the program beyond the Western Hemisphere depends on the future appropriation of funds for that purpose. However, a number of foreign governments are so eager to take advantage of the enabling legislation that the exchange of persons with other countries has already begun. Their governments are reimbursing our government agencies for the services of American specialists on loan and are paying the way of the first wave of their specialists sent here for training.

It is true also that we already have libraries and reading rooms in a number of other countries outside this hemisphere, as a result of the wartime activities of the OWI, and these are being expanded and increased. Please do not think of these libraries as mere collections of books. That would be a serious mistake. Libraries are people. Our librarians are ambassadors of ideas. Through their work, thousands of people in many countries have developed the habit of going directly to United States information libraries—as well as a high degree of confidence in what they find there. It is true also that even with our present budget we are able to cooperate with private institutions and agencies in effecting an exchange of persons with a number of countries. The fact is that educational institutions and private agencies were the pioneers in this kind of exchange, and when the Government entered the field as a latecomer it was primarily as a supplementary and facilitating agency.

Although the Smith-Mundt Act throws the full weight of the Government behind this work and makes possible an increase in its scope in keeping

with the requirements of present world conditions, we will continue to utilize the experience, the organization, and the programs of private agencies to the greatest possible extent. Last year, for example, the State Department branch for voluntary programs assisted some 400 organizations, including groups concerned with industrial training of people from other countries. The Government will continue to play a supplemental role.

#### **Benefits Under Fulbright Act**

The benefits of cooperation between Government and private agencies are well illustrated by the initial undertakings under the Fulbright Act. You will recall that the funds made available by this act consist only of the currencies of other countries and do not include dollars. The foreign exchange funds can be used to finance the studies of American students and the work of American teachers and researchers at educational institutions, either American or local, in the countries which sign the Fulbright Act agreements with the United States. Foreign nationals studying in American institutions in other participating countries also may be aided. Foreign nationals studying, teaching, or doing research in this country, however, can be aided only to the extent of travel expenses payable in foreign currencies. To receive such aid, the recipient must show that he can maintain himself with dollar funds while in this country studying at or working in connection with an approved educational institution.

This Government has now signed Fulbright Act agreements with eight countries and is working toward agreements with twelve more. Thus far, every applicant found eligible for a travel grant to this country on Fulbright funds has been able to qualify as to maintenance here, thanks to scholarships, grants, and other forms of aid from private agencies. This sort of practical cooperation makes both Government and private funds go further and swells the flow of the exchange of persons.

I would hesitate to hazard a guess as to the number of Americans and other nationals who will eventually benefit from the Fulbright program, but it will run into the thousands. So far, about half the beneficiaries have been Americans going abroad and about half, foreign nationals coming here. We hope that something like this ratio can be maintained throughout the life of the program.

#### **Reciprocal Nature of the Educational Exchange Principle**

I want to emphasize this two-way nature of the educational exchange principle. Perhaps my discussion of the programs already in effect has given the impression that the United States is in a position to give much more than it receives—that it is

largely a question of exporting our technicians and know-how to other countries. If I have inadvertently given that impression, let me hasten to correct it. By its very nature the exchange program provides benefits to both sides, and if we in the United States do not take full advantage of our opportunities, it will be our own fault. We of all people—we whose culture, science, institutions, even ourselves, are the composite products of all nations and people—should appreciate how much we stand to gain through the enrichment of our own lives by what we can learn from others. Our whole country will benefit immensely from the new viewpoint and increased understanding acquired by the thousands of Americans studying and teaching in other lands under the Fulbright program, as well as from our contacts with the thousands of foreign nationals who live among us for a while.

### Primary Aims

What is the real purpose of all this effort? Is it the spread of knowledge and skills—the teaching of ingenious techniques of which we are justifiably proud—the cultivation of an insubstantial though comforting aura of good will? Is it the stimulation of a greater demand for American products? These are worth-while by-products. They are not our primary aims.

Our paramount purpose, I submit, must be the cultivation at home and the encouragement abroad of the living, dynamic spirit of democracy. We do not invite these guests into our national home to indoctrinate them with ready-made opinions or to spoon-feed them prescribed doses of American culture or thought. We welcome them so that they may partake with us, on equal terms, of a way of life which we believe offers the greatest opportunities for the growth and development of the individual, the nation, mankind. We invite them to experience and to observe American democracy with an inquiring mind and a discerning eye. They are free to judge us as they see fit. They are exposed, as we are, to the clash of contending views. They may examine our defects, and appraise the sincerity and vigor with which we strive to correct them.

In encouraging throughout the world the political principles of democracy, education and educational exchanges are and will continue to be of tremendous importance. I am personally concerned that the present conflict in the world is a clash between two political systems. One is based on democracy, the dignity and freedom of the individual. The other is based on the police state, the concentration camp, thought control, and suppression of human liberties. Many of us today believe that we should maintain and broaden educational contacts, among both democratic and totalitarian nations. For education can lead

strongly and vigorously in the ultimate transformation of the present precarious peace into an enduring peace.

The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, under the chairmanship of Chancellor Harvie Branscomb of Vanderbilt University, has been energetically studying this problem. At its October meeting, the Commission advised the Secretary of State—

1. The greatest usefulness of educational exchange programs will be in relation to the free and democratic countries of the world, which are glad to avail themselves of its reciprocal advantages;

2. Since for the present most of the eastern European governments are unwilling to reciprocate, and the Smith-Mundt Act laid down the principle that all official exchanges should be upon a reciprocal basis, it is not recommended that the United States sponsor government-supported exchanges with them “until their governments give evidence of cooperation in the mutually helpful and friendly spirit of the Act”;

3. But the Department of State should not close the door to the many unofficial opportunities for contacts and exchange of persons with these countries, the Department should facilitate these exchanges initiated and supported by voluntary agencies.

The Commission, pointing out that such interchange will require careful control, said eloquently:

“To cut off contacts with the totalitarian nations of the world because of fears as to what might happen to democratic institutions through such contacts would imply a weakness which has no justification in fact. No army ever burned its bridges except in retreat. The democratic way of life is not now in retreat.”

We must never forget the distinction that has been drawn by Chairman Branscomb—that our objective is cultural and educational *exchange*, not *penetration*. The philosophical basis of our effort is the assumption that the other parties to this arrangement are as well qualified and as determined as we are to shape their thinking by the democratic process. Not by the imposition from without of preconceived, inflexible dogma, but by access to information, interpretation and opinion from a wide variety of sources. We are dedicated, in our dealings with other peoples as well as with ourselves, to maintain and defend the free competition of ideas. We are dedicated to guarantee the individual the right to reach his own conclusions by the process of unfettered reason and the exercise of his own judgment. The continuous operation of this process is basic to democracy.

(Continued on page 681)

## Oklahoma Submits First Electors' Certificate

[Released to the press November 19]

The Department of State received on November 19 the first certificate of ascertainment of electors for President and Vice President as a result of the national election held on November 2.

The first certificate received in Washington is from Governor Roy J. Turner of Oklahoma and is dated November 15. The certificate, under the seal of the State, gives the names of all candidates appearing on the State ballot to be electors of President and Vice President, and the votes received by each party's candidates. Certificates which will by law be received from all States will contain the same information, so that the 48 certificates from the States will together show the total national vote, for President and Vice President, as determined by the laws of each State.

The lapse of time between the known result of the election and the preparation of the certificate of ascertainment of electors is due to the official accuracy required in the certificate. The election authorities in the voting units of each State must be certain of their counts before reporting them to the State Board of Elections or other officials in accordance with the State law. The certificate cannot be made until the records are complete for each State as a unit. This usually takes several weeks. In 1944 the national election was held on

November 7 and the first certificate was received on November 29, while the last one was delayed until January.

The purpose of the certificate of ascertainment of electors is to provide necessary information to the Congress, which canvasses the votes of electors and declares therefrom the names of the persons chosen to be President and Vice President. The certificate designates, under seal of the State, the persons chosen by majority vote of the electorate to perform the function of electors. The electors, who equal in number the delegation of the State in Congress, will sign and certify their separate ballots for President and Vice President at their meetings in each State next December 13.

The Secretary of State will transmit to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives copies of the certificate of ascertainment of electors.<sup>1</sup> This provision of the law enables each House of Congress to assure itself that the ballots for President and Vice President have been cast by the duly appointed electors.

The certificate of the Governor of Oklahoma shows that only two parties participated in the election of November 2 in that State. The Democrats polled 452,782 votes and the Republicans 268,817, a total of 721,599.

### TEXT OF CERTIFICATE

STATE OF OKLAHOMA EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

#### *Certificate*

WHEREAS, there has been certified to me by the State Election Board of the State of Oklahoma, as the result of the final ascertainment, under and in pursuance of the laws of the State of Oklahoma, of the general election held in said State, on the 2nd day of November, 1948, to elect Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electors as provided by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, from an examination of said certificate I find that the law covering such election has, in all things, been observed, and that such election was duly and regularly held, and

WHEREAS, it appears that in said election the following named persons, who constitute all the candidates for Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electors, for whose election any and all votes have been given or cast, each received the number of

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 7, 1948, p. 587.

votes set opposite their names for Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electors, viz :

Name	Politics	Votes Received
Tom G. Drake	} DEMOCRATS	452,782
W. D. Hastings		
Johnson D. Hill		
S. D. Williams		
Oscar E. Wyatt		
Ray A. Martin		
Johnston Murray		
John E. Turner		
Floyd W. Ball		
Tom C. Greer		
Wayne Anderson	} REPUBLICANS	268,817
Perry F. Brown		
Robert E. Lee		
Charles C. Hawk		
Homer L. Biggerstaff		
Thomas G. Jackson		
Roy B. Hall		
Warren B. Morris		
John Adams		
John Fry		

Now, therefore, I, Roy J. Turner, the Governor of the State of Oklahoma, by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, do hereby declare, proclaim and certify that:

Tom G. Drake	} DEMOCRATS
W. D. Hastings	
Johnson D. Hill	
Oscar E. Wyatt	
Ray A. Martin	
Johnston Murray	
John E. Turner	
Floyd W. Ball	
Tom C. Greer	
S. D. Williams	

each having received the greatest number of votes for the offices of Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electors of the State of Oklahoma, are each and all of them duly elected to such offices, and by virtue thereof, are entitled to all the rights, privileges, immunities, and emoluments pertaining to said offices.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused these presents to be attested by the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma, this the 15th day of November, in the year of our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Forty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Seventy-third.

ROY J. TURNER

*The Governor of the State of Oklahoma*

Attest:

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT

*Secretary of State of the  
State of Oklahoma*

## President Asks for Legislative Programs

[Released to the press by the White House November 8]

*Text of a letter which the President has sent to the heads of departments and agencies of the Government*

*November 6, 1948*

"DEAR—

You are requested to submit to me by November 29, 1948, the subjects which you would propose for inclusion in the State of the Union message and the Economic Report of the President to be presented to the Congress in January, 1949, together with a brief explanation of each subject, its relationship to the current activities and plans of the Commission, and the relative emphasis which you would recommend. You should include any views which you may care to present at this time concerning special Presidential messages during the forthcoming session of the Congress. Your reply should be forwarded directly to me at the White House.

You are also requested to submit by November 29, a report on the proposed legislative program of your Commission. Your report should show (1) the subject matter of all legislation which you desire to propose for consideration at the forthcoming session, (2) the state of readiness of legislative drafts and supporting material, (3) reference to the bills and House or Senate reports in the 80th Congress concerning the subjects covered in your program, together with a brief appraisal of the adequacy of these bills, (4) your views on the timing of introduction and Congressional consideration, and (5) the names of other departments and agencies which, in your judgment, are interested in the same subjects. While these reports should be as complete as possible, supplementary listings may be submitted until December 15, 1948, but it is expected that your legislative program will be fully developed by that date. These legislative reports should be forwarded to me through the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. They will not, of course, replace the individual submissions required by Budget Circular No. A-19.

Ten copies of your replies to these requests will be required for use in the Executive Office. The White House staff, the Council of Economic Advisers, or the Bureau of the Budget may make additional requests for material or arrange for discussions with your representatives to whatever extent may be required.

Very sincerely yours,



## Registration Regulations of Polish Securities Held by Americans

[Released to the press November 19]

The attention of American owners or custodians of Polish securities issued to bearer prior to September 1, 1939, is called to regulations of the Polish Government whereby these documents must be registered prior to March 15, 1949, in the names of the owners thereof, or become invalid. The regulations apply to all shares, bonds, notes, and other evidence of indebtedness except documents issued to bearer by the Government, documents issued outside of the country, coupons, bank notes and other documents payable at sight, and documents containing a nonannulment reservation.

The uniform text of the pertinent decree-law as last amended on April 14, 1948, is contained in the Polish Journal of Laws No. 22, as Item No. 88. Article (4) thereof provides that the registration of documents abroad will be conducted by consular offices of the Polish Government, the locations of which in the United States are:

49 East Cedar Street, Chicago, Ill.;  
1864 National Bank Building, Detroit, Mich.;  
151 East 67th Street, New York, N. Y.;  
49 North Craig Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Registration requires the full name, address, and signature of the owner, his or her nationality, citizenship, and statement regarding when and from whom the documents were purchased. The documents themselves should be presented for the pertinent information concerning registration to be noted thereon. If lost or destroyed while in the possession of juristic persons recognized by public law, registration may be effected by certificates issued by such entities on the basis of preserved books or other written proofs. These certificates should include an exact description of the lost or destroyed documents including their serial numbers and other pertinent information. Certified copies of these certificates are to be attached to the registration records.

The decree-law further provides procedure for the invalidation of any bearer documents lost, destroyed, or stolen between September 1, 1939, and December 17, 1945, if application is made prior to March 15, 1949. A full description of these documents with proof of possession and loss must be presented for final determination by competent Polish courts to whom lists of registered documents are to be delivered by the registrars.

## Mexico Pays Seventh Annual Claims Convention Installment

[Released to the press November 19]

The Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Mexico, Rafael de la Colina, has presented to Paul C.

Daniels, Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, the Mexican Government's check for \$2,500,000 (United States currency) representing the seventh annual installment due to the United States under the claims convention concluded November 19, 1941. Mr. Daniels requested the Chargé d'Affaires to convey to his Government an expression of this Government's appreciation.

Under the terms of the convention, Mexico agreed to pay the United States \$40,000,000 (United States currency) in settlement of certain property claims of citizens of the United States against the Government of Mexico as described in the convention. Payments heretofore made amount to \$21,000,000. With the present payment of \$2,500,000, the balance remaining to be paid amounts to \$16,500,000 to be liquidated over a period of years by the annual payment by Mexico of not less than \$2,500,000 (United States currency).

## Status of Treaties To Avoid Double Taxation

The Department of State announced on November 15 that discussions will open in Washington before the end of February between American and Norwegian technical experts looking to the conclusion of treaties for the avoidance of double taxation and for administrative cooperation in prevention of tax evasion with respect to income taxes and to taxes on estates of deceased persons.

On November 19 it was announced that similar discussions are contemplated at an early date between American and Italian technical experts.

If the discussions are successful and bases for agreements are found, they will result in the preparation of draft treaties which will be submitted by the negotiators to their respective Governments for consideration with a view to signing.

In preparation for the discussions, the American delegation will welcome conferences with interested parties or statements and suggestions from them concerning problems in tax relations with the two countries. Communications in this connection should be addressed to Mr. Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington 25, D. C.

In effect at the present time are six tax conventions with four different countries—treaties dealing with income taxes with Sweden, France, Canada, and the United Kingdom, and those covering death taxes with Canada and the United Kingdom. Treaties for the avoidance of double taxation of income have been signed with the Netherlands and

Denmark and approved, with reservations, by the United States Senate. The treaties have been approved by the Parliaments of the Netherlands and Denmark.

A treaty with France, revising the income tax treaty of 1939, which will remain in effect, and covering estate taxes in addition, has also been approved by the United States Senate. Similar action has not yet been taken by France.

A draft income tax convention with Belgium, which was formulated in 1946, was signed October 28.<sup>1</sup> Final agreement on a similar convention with Luxembourg is anticipated in the near future.

A convention for the avoidance of the double taxation of incomes by the United States and the Union of South Africa was signed in December 1946. Another on the double taxation of estates was signed by the two countries in April 1947. These two treaties, as well as one with New Zealand, are now pending before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

### General Marras of Italy To Visit United States

[Released to the press November 18]

General Omar Bradley, Chief of Staff, U. S. A., who last year visited Italy, has now invited General Efisio Marras, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, to visit, in turn, the United States.

General Marras will be in the United States for about 15 days and will visit the principal military schools and training centers.

### Panamanian Journalist and Educator Visits United States

The Department of State announced on November 19 that Gil Blas Tejeira, prominent newspaperman, writer, and educator of Panama, has arrived for a three months' visit in the United States, during which he will visit educational institutions and observe the functioning of the American press and radio. His visit has been arranged under the travel-grant program of the Department.

After two weeks in Washington, Mr. Tejeira will visit Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. He has been invited to give addresses at Colgate University and Tipp City, Ohio, and will later visit Chicago and points in the southwest. The remainder of his itinerary as now planned includes Chicago, Salt Lake City, the Grand Canyon, San Francisco and Los Angeles, the Palomar Observatory, points in New Mexico and Texas, and New Orleans.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 7, 1948, p. 585.

### Educational Exchange Program for 1950 Reviewed

[Released to the press November 16]

An item-by-item review of the State Department's plans for educational exchange during the fiscal year 1950 was undertaken by the United States Advisory Commission during its two-day session in Washington on November 15 and 16.

Scrutinizing the various cooperative projects of scientific, technical, cultural, and educational exchange sponsored or assisted by the United States Government, the Commission commenced review of the Department's 1950 program plans with a view to making its recommendations to Congress.

"It is our purpose to determine as nearly as possible the relative needs for and the relative value of each phase of the exchange program," explained Dr. Harvie Branscomb, Chairman of the Commission. "This requires evaluation of the extent and scope of each operation of the entire program. And we want to be assured that the government is utilizing existing private agencies wherever possible. We want to be satisfied that we are getting the maximum value for every dollar spent".

The Commission devoted major attention to plans this year which call for additional funds to make possible the extension of cooperative educational and cultural projects to Europe, the Near East, and Africa, and the Far East. These projects were authorized by the Smith-Mundt Act, which was passed by the last Congress. Prominent among the activities planned in this expansion is an increase in the number of United States libraries abroad and an enlarged program of exchange of students, teachers, and specialists. The methods by which these programs will be set up on a two-hemisphere basis received serious study by the Commission.

Key officials of the Department having responsibility for administration of the exchange program attended the sessions to answer queries of the Commission and to supply technical data. Among those present were Howland H. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, and Dr. William C. Johnstone, Jr., Director of the Office of Educational Exchange.

In addition to Dr. Branscomb, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, the Commission includes Mark Starr, Educational Director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Harold Willis Dodds, President of Princeton University; Karl Taylor Compton, President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Martin P. McGuire, Professor at Catholic University. Mr. Starr serves as vice chairman.

The Commission will convene again on December 13 and 14, and it is expected that final recommendations will be forthcoming at that time.

## U.S. Education Foundation Makes Plans for 1949

[Released to the press November 18]

Alan G. Kirk, American Ambassador to Belgium and Luxembourg, announced on November 18 that the board of the United States Education Foundation, established to carry out student exchanges under the Fulbright agreement, has held its first meeting and was able to reach tentative agreement on its program for the calendar year 1949.

The act was signed by the United States, Belgium, and Luxembourg on October 8.

The Ambassador, who acts as honorary chairman, also made public the names of the directors of the Foundation and its officers. They are: for the United States, Douglas MacArthur, first secretary of the American Embassy, chairman; Eric Kocher, labor attaché of the American Embassy, treasurer; Mrs. Alice R. Hager, press and cultural attaché of the American Embassy; Col. Robert P. Pflieger, education member; William Burr Gregg, business member. For Belgium, Gaston Vande Veegaete, general director for Higher and Secondary Education, Ministry of Public Instruction; Jean Willems, director Belgo-American Educational Foundation for Luxembourg; Dr. Henri Loutsch, surgeon, and director of State Veterinary Research Station in Luxembourg.

The board will open an office in the Fondation Universitaire, 11 Rue d'Egmont, Brussels, about the first of the year and has appointed Jacques Marie-Ghislain van der Belen, secretary, Belgo-American Educational Foundation, as executive officer.

The program for exchange of students during 1949 will be submitted to the Secretary of State of the United States for his approval as is required under the act. When final negotiations are completed, public announcement will be made of the time and place for receipt of applications from candidates for up to \$150,000 in Belgian francs which will be available each year for the fellowship awards.

## American To Teach Public Health Course at University of Chile

[Released to the press November 18]

Social medicine and public health will be the subjects of a course of lectures at the University of Chile to be given by Brigadier General Edgar E. Hume, U.S. Army, who is visiting Chile for this purpose at the special invitation of the University Rector, Sr. Juvenal Hernandez.

General Hume arrived in Chile on November 17 and on November 19 he will open a new 120-bed

Chilean Army tubercular hospital which will bear the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The institution, which is located at Guayacan, about 25 miles from the capital city, Santiago, was constructed jointly by the Chilean Government and the Institute of Inter-American Affairs at a cost of \$300,000, to meet a keenly felt demand for such medical facilities.

## Helping the World To Know Us Better—Continued from page 676

I doubt very much whether anyone, however gifted, can really teach democracy. It can only be learned—often by ways we know not of. A Brazilian industrialist came to this country recently to study our rural free delivery system, an institution unknown in Brazil. He lived with a farm family and observed the life of their community. He learned the intricacies of R. F. D. with little trouble. But when I attended a luncheon with him in Washington before he returned home, the impression that kept recurring to his mind, with undiminished vividness, was something we take for granted—the way the trustful postman leaves letters, newspapers, even packages in open, unattended country mailboxes, from which they are taken only by the rightful owner. To my Brazilian acquaintance that was the clincher for American character.

By all means, let us open our doors, as wide as we can, to our neighbors, and invite them to join with us in the search for truth and understanding. But let us never swerve from one steadfast purpose in promoting international understanding—the encouragement of the spirit and principles of democracy itself. There is no room for compromise and a middle ground on the basic principles of democratic freedom. The individual must be free to choose his religion and confess it openly; the scientist free to accept unfettered the evidence of test tube and microscope; the journalist to report the facts as he sees them; and the editor to comment as he chooses.

Each one of us must remember that to preserve our own liberties, we must champion the right not only of our neighbors and fellow countrymen to be free, but of all humanity to be free. We are free save in one respect: we are not free to condone those practices and principles which lead to the destruction of freedom itself.

So long as the basic purpose of American education in promoting international understanding is firmly rooted in this, our democratic testament, we need never fear the outcome of a larger and larger volume of educational exchanges.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Departmental Regulations

**205.2 Development of the Administrative and Budgetary Implications of Proposed Program Legislation:** (Effective 9-8-48) This regulation provides for the timely consideration of the administrative and budgetary implications of proposed program legislation by the officers concerned and establishes the procedure for the preparation of legislative proposals.

**I CONSIDERATION.** Frequently, in drafting program legislation, insufficient attention is given to the eventual management of the program. Programs can be carried out effectively and within acceptable time schedules, only if the enabling legislation and Executive orders are so drawn as to facilitate, rather than hamper, administration. To insure this result close working relationships are required between program proponents, legislative drafting officers, and the organization and budget staff for the development of the legislative plan, as well as its eventual execution.

**II PROCEDURE.** The procedure for the preparation of new or modified legislation is as follows:

**A** When program officers have determined the need for new or modified legislative authority they will, at that time and in accordance with DR 205.1, advise C-LC of the proposals to be made.

**B** Upon request of C-LC the appropriate staff members of the Division of Organization and Budget (OB) will assist the program officers and the Legal Adviser (L) to insure that the draft legislation is such as to facilitate effective and economical administration. OB staff members will not be concerned with the timeliness or substantive aspects of proposed program legislation, but will be responsible to the Assistant Secretary-Administration for its organization, budget, personnel, and related aspects. Through the organization and budget staff, the technical advice of other units concerned with general administration will be secured.

**C** When legislative proposals involve activities of the Foreign Service, OB will call upon the Office of the Foreign Service (OFS) and its divisions for staff assistance necessary to insure that adequate consideration is given to administrative problems in the field.

**D** C-LC will keep OB currently informed as to the progress of the legislation through the Congress so that timed and concerted action may be taken, if necessary, to insure that contemplated changes adversely affecting eventual administration are brought to the attention of the cognizant committees by C-LC.

**E** When the legislation has been enacted, OB will assist the program officers (including OFS when foreign operations are involved) in drafting and clearing any necessary Executive Orders and other required documents on organization, delegations of authority, program and administrative procedures, and the Departmental or Foreign Service regulations and materials necessary to the administration of the program.

**F** If, in its analysis of operations, OB finds that changes in existing authority of law will facilitate effective and economical operation of programs, it will propose changes and, in collaboration with the appropriate program officers and L, take appropriate action and secure clearances through established channels.

**205.1 Development of Program Legislation:** (Effective 9-8-48) This regulation defines the responsibility for recommendations regarding the legislative program of

the Department, the consideration of draft legislation by all interested offices, and the securing of comments on legislative proposals referred to the Department.

**I CONSIDERATION OF LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS.** Legislative proposals which the Office of the Counselor (C) recommends as to timeliness, relationship to the Department's total legislative program, appropriateness from the standpoint of Congressional relations, and consideration of the interests of affected areas of the Department will be referred to the Secretary or Under Secretary for decisions and, if approved, for transmission to the Bureau of the Budget, the Congress, or the President, as the case may be.

**II PROPOSALS FOR NEW OR MODIFIED LEGISLATION.** When officers have determined the need for new or modified legislative authority they will, at that time, inform the Legislative Counsel (C-LC). C-LC, upon receipt of such information, will insure that the interests of all affected areas of the Department will be considered. C-LC will advise and assist the officer in discharging his responsibility for the prompt and complete coordination of the proposals within the Department. For the procedure governing the development of administrative and budgetary implications of proposed program legislation, see DR 205.2.

**III PROPOSALS REFERRED TO THE DEPARTMENT.** Legislative proposals originating outside the Department and referred to it for comment will be routed to C-LC. C-LC will obtain the comments from all interested offices before preparing a statement covering the Department's position on the proposal.

### Appointment of Officers

John M. Allison as Deputy Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, effective November 1, 1948.

Max W. Bishop as Chief of the Division of Northeast Asian Affairs, effective November 1, 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.*

**Educational Exchanges Under the Fulbright Act.** International Information and Cultural Series 2. Pub. 3197. 6 pp. 10¢.

Gives background, benefits, and administration of Act with "supplementary reports" listing members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships and countries now participating.

**Aspects of United States Participation in International Civil Aviation.** International Organization and Conference Series IV, International Civil Aviation Organization 2. Pub. 3209. 118 pp.

A collection of 18 recent BULLETIN articles on the subject.

**Economic Cooperation With the French Zone of Occupation of Germany Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1784. Pub. 3268. 58 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the French Zone of Occupation of Germany—Signed at Paris July 9, 1948; entered into force July 9, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With Luxembourg Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1790. Pub. 3270. 55 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Luxembourg—Signed at Luxembourg July 3, 1948; entered into force July 3, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With Turkey Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1794. Pub. 3274. 58 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Turkey—Signed at Ankara July 4, 1948; entered into force July 13, 1948.

**International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea.** April 23—June 10, 1948. International Organization and Conference Series I, 6. Pub. 3282. 201 pp. 55¢.

Report of the United States Delegation including final act and related documents.

**Challenges and Opportunities in World Health—The First World Health Assembly.** International Organization and Conference Series IV, World Health Organization 2. Pub. 3311. 9 pp. 10¢.

An article by Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, U.S. Representative, Executive Board, World Health Organization.

**Economic Cooperation With Austria Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1780. Pub. 3265. 63 pp. 20¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Austria—Signed at Vienna July 2, 1948; entered into force July 2, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With the United Kingdom—Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1795. Pub. 3273. 42 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—Signed at London July 6, 1948; entered into force July 6, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With the United States/United Kingdom Occupied Areas in Germany Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1785. Pub. 3275. 42 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the United States/United Kingdom occupied areas in Germany—Signed at Berlin July 14, 1948; entered into force July 14, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With Denmark Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1782. Pub. 3286. 49 pp. 15¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Denmark—Signed at Copenhagen June 29, 1948; entered into force July 2, 1948.

**Economic Cooperation With Greece Under Public Law 472—80th Congress.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1786. Pub. 3291. 95 pp. 25¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Greece—Signed at Athens July 2, 1948; entered into force July 3, 1948.

**Commercial Foreign Policy of the United States.** Commercial Policy Series 116. Pub. 3300. 4 pp. 5¢. Bulletin reprint.

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# Contributors

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The Department of State

# bulletin

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## U.S. Amendments to U.K. Resolution on Palestine

### STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP IN COMMITTEE I<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

Last Saturday the United States Delegation presented to the Committee a preliminary statement of its views on the progress report of the mediator on Palestine.<sup>2</sup> Today we wish to offer some additional views with particular reference to the United Kingdom resolution.

The United States Delegation supports the preamble of the United Kingdom's draft resolution as it stands. We fully agree that reference should be made to the General Assembly's resolutions of November 29, 1947, and May 14, 1948, as they represent the previous recommendations of the General Assembly with regard to the Palestine question and are fundamental to our present consideration. We also believe that reference should be made in the preamble to the progress report of the United Nations mediator in Palestine because it sets forth the results of Count Bernadotte's activities in Palestine undertaken pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of May 14, 1948. The progress report of the mediator is presently the point of departure for the work of this Committee.

We are likewise in full accord with the United Kingdom Delegation in believing that specific reference should be made in the preamble to the resolutions of the Security Council concerning the truce in Palestine and to the Council's resolution of November 16 concerning the establishment of an armistice. It will be recalled that the first of Count Bernadotte's seven basic premises dealt with the return to peace and that the first of Count Bernadotte's specific conclusions is framed in the following language:

"(A) Since the Security Council, under pain of Chapter VII sanctions, has forbidden further employment of military action in Palestine as a means of settling the dispute, hostilities should be pronounced formally ended either by mutual agreement of the parties or, failing that by the United Nations. The existing truce should be superseded by a formal peace, or at the minimum, an armistice which would involve either complete withdrawal and demobilization of armed forces or their wide separation by creation of broad demilitarized zones under United Nations supervision."

The United States Delegation is of the opinion that the Security Council's resolution of November 16 is a long step in the direction of the goal which Count Bernadotte has described in the first of his specific conclusions. We hope that the parties will, in the near future, be able mutually to agree to the terms of an armistice and rapidly thereafter to establish a formal peace.

The United States Delegation supports the first numbered paragraph of the draft resolution of the United Kingdom Delegation. We consider that Count Bernadotte made a lasting contribution toward a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine and that the acting mediator and his staff have faithfully continued the work which Count Bernadotte commenced.

The United States Delegation believes that the second numbered paragraph of the draft resolution of the United Kingdom should be given particularly careful consideration. We fear that if it is adopted with its present wording, the Conciliation Commission—which is provided for in the third numbered paragraph—will not have a sufficiently clear mandate from the General Assembly.

A member of the Conciliation Commission under instructions to carry out the will of the General Assembly under the second numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom's draft resolution, might not know, for example, whether the General Assembly's resolution of November 29, 1947, was even to be taken into consideration. The present draft does not cancel it; nor does the present draft state that Count Bernadotte's specific conclusions represent the definitive view of the General Assembly. It merely "endorses" them. We recall Mr. McNeil's analysis on November 18 of the relationship between the resolution of November 29 and the United Kingdom resolution. He reasoned that, first, the Assembly had reached the conclusion that Palestine ought to be partitioned; second,

<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 23, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1948, p. 656.

the Assembly had attempted to strike a just balance between Arab and Jewish claims; third, it had become clear before the mandate ended that the resolution of November 29 would not carry out the Assembly's intentions; fourth, although the mediator was not instructed to promote a peaceful adjustment within the framework of the resolution of November 29, that resolution was not repealed by the later resolution of May 14 and the mediator must consequently have felt that he was obliged to pay particular attention to the considerations which had led to the Assembly's earlier decision. Mr. McNeil concluded with the view that Count Bernadotte translated into terms of practical politics the wishes expressed by the Assembly in November 1947.

It would seem essential to me, therefore, that the General Assembly now make clear, in any resolution it passes, the relationship between the November 1947 resolution and any resolution we now adopt.

It would seem logical that such relationship might more appropriately be defined in the third numbered paragraph which establishes a Conciliation Commission and defines its functions and in the fifth numbered paragraph which deals with the question of boundaries. I shall return to this subject later. Meanwhile, we would suggest that the present paragraph 2 of the United Kingdom draft be deleted.

The United States Delegation suggests that the draft resolution of the United Kingdom would be considerably strengthened if there were included in it the principle which has already been established in the Security Council. I refer to the Security Council's resolution of November 16 which called upon the parties directly involved in the conflict in Palestine to seek agreement forthwith, either directly or through the acting mediator on Palestine, with a view to the immediate establishment of an armistice including the delineation of permanent armistice demarcation lines and such withdrawal and reduction of their armed forces as will insure the maintenance of the armistice during the transition to permanent peace.

We are therefore proposing that a new second numbered paragraph be added which would read as follows:

"2. Calls upon the governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of the negotiations provided for in the Security Council's Resolution of 16 November 1948, and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either directly or through the Conciliation Commission with a view to a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> U.N. doc A/C.1/397, Nov. 23, 1948.

It is our opinion that the experience which we and the peoples directly concerned with Palestine have gained during the past year clearly indicates the need for an early assumption by the parties themselves of responsibility for the achievement of a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem. It is not too much to expect the governments and authorities directly concerned to assume this responsibility. It is not too much to expect that they will be able to broaden the discussions contemplated by the Security Council resolution of November 16 to include definitive political arrangements. My Delegation believes that the United Nations Conciliation Commission contemplated by this draft resolution can be of genuine assistance in reaching this objective.

The expansion of armistice discussions is imperative. For over a year strife has torn the Holy Land. This conflict has drawn into it many countries of the Near East. The political and economic lives of the peoples of this region have been disrupted. The previous progress of the states and peoples of this area has been retarded. It would be difficult to calculate the loss in any terms. The United Nations is perhaps in a better position than any single state or international organization to halt this deterioration and to make it possible for the states and peoples again to turn their attention to constructive pursuits. The United Nations may be able to accomplish this purpose by calling upon the governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of their presently proposed negotiations.

The United States Delegation supports, in general, the third numbered paragraph of the draft resolution of the United Kingdom but believes, as I have indicated earlier, that it should be amended to give more accurate and clearer instructions to the Conciliation Commission which is established.

It seems essential to us that the Commission's functions should be enumerated. If a Conciliation Commission is being established, a United Nations mediator for Palestine appears to us no longer required in his mediatory capacity. The Conciliation Commission should, therefore, assume the functions given to the United Nations mediator in Palestine by the resolution of the General Assembly of May 14.

The Conciliation Commission should also carry out the instructions contained in the present resolution and such additional instructions as may in the future be given to the Commission by the General Assembly or the Security Council.

Another duty of the new Conciliation Commission would be the most important one of consulting the governments and authorities concerned with a view to achieving a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them. If we call upon the parties to extend the scope of the negotiations—as is suggested through the addition of

## U.K. DRAFT RESOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 18, 1948<sup>1</sup>

The General Assembly,

HAVING ADOPTED on 29 November 1947 a resolution (A/516) regarding the future government of Palestine and providing a plan of partition with economic union;

HAVING ADOPTED on 14 May 1948 resolution 186 (S-2) empowering a United Nations Mediator in Palestine to exercise certain functions including the use of his good offices to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine;

HAVING RECEIVED AND EXAMINED the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine (A/648) submitted by the late Count Folke Bernadotte;

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the resolutions of the Security Council concerning the truce in Palestine and of the resolution of 16 November 1948 concerning the establishment of an armistice by means of negotiations conducted either directly or through the Acting Mediator on Palestine;

1. *Expresses* its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late United Nations Mediator in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine for which cause he sacrificed his life; and *extends* its thanks to the Acting Mediator and his staff for their continued efforts and devotion to duty in Palestine;

2. *Notes* with satisfaction Part I of the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator and *endorses* the specific conclusions contained in Part I of that report as providing a practical means of giving effect to the principles contained in the resolution of 29 November 1947 and as a basis for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question;

3. *Establishes* a Conciliation Commission consisting of (three States Members of the United Nations) which shall have the following functions:

(a) To assume the functions given to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine by the resolution of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948;

(b) To carry out the specific functions and directives given to it by this resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council;

(c) To enter into consultations with the Governments and authorities concerned with a view to achievement of a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them, including in particular the questions dealt with in the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 and in Part I, section VIII, paragraph 4 of the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine;

(d) To undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all the remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of the Mediator shall be terminated;

4. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission in pursuance of paragraph 3 (c) above to enter into consultations with the Governments and authorities concerned with a view to delimiting the frontiers in Palestine as part of a final settlement, taking into account the following general considerations, without excluding any territorial settlement mutually acceptable to the parties:

(a) That there are important elements common to both the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November 1947 and the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine;

(b) That the delimitation of frontiers in areas not covered by (a) above should be carried out in the light of the general equilibrium envisaged in the resolution of 29 November, the Mediator's comments thereon in paragraph 3 (d) of Part I, Section VIII of his report, and his specific conclusions in paragraph 4 (b) of the same section, with a view to contributing to the peaceful adjustment of difference between the parties;

5. *Endorses* the recommendation contained in paragraph 4 (c) of the Mediator's conclusions concerning the disposition of the territory of Palestine not included within the boundaries of the Jewish State or the City of Jerusalem, and *instructs* the Conciliation Commission, in full consultation with the inhabitants of Arab Palestine, to assist the Governments of the Arab States concerned to arrange for the disposition of this territory in accordance with the aforesaid recommendation;

6. *Resolves* that the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine would be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice; that arrangements to this end should be under effective United Nations supervision; that the United Nations Conciliation Commission in presenting to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly its detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem should include recommendations concerning the Holy Places in that territory; that with regard to the Holy Places in the rest of Palestine the Commission should call upon the political authorities of the areas concerned to give appropriate formal guarantees as to the protection of the Holy Places and access to them; and that these undertakings should be presented to the General Assembly for approval.

7. *Resolves* that in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, as defined in the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control with the maximum feasible local autonomy for the Arab and Jewish communities; *invites* the Security Council to take further steps to secure the demilitarization of Jerusalem with the least possible delay; and *instructs* the Conciliation Commission

(a) To take all feasible steps to facilitate the effective administration of the area, co-ordinating to the fullest extent possible the organs of self-government and administration of the Arab and Jewish communities of the Jerusalem area,

(b) to report to the Security Council for appropriate action any attempt to interfere with its functions with respect to Jerusalem, and

(c) to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area.

To assist it in carrying out these functions, the Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint a United Nations Commissioner for Jerusalem who shall be responsible to the Commission;

8. *Resolves* that, pending agreement on more detailed arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerning, unimpeded access to Jerusalem by road, rail, or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Pales-

(Continued on page 715)

<sup>1</sup> U.N. doc. A/C.1/394/Rev. 1, Nov. 18, 1948.

our new paragraph—it will be essential to authorize the Conciliation Commission to enter into consultations with the parties with a view to the establishment of a final settlement of all questions. It is our belief the scope of the negotiations should include any matters dealt with in the November 29 resolution and in part I, section VIII, paragraph 4, of the mediator's report. It seems clear that there are many questions other than territorial which might be the subject of negotiations, such as Haifa, Lydda, and guaranties of minority rights.

A further duty of the new Conciliation Commission would be to undertake upon the request of the Security Council any of the tasks now assigned to the United Nations mediator or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council presently in effect. During the present transition period in Palestine there may be some overlapping between the existence of a Conciliation Commission and the continuing activities of the United Nations mediator. With the appointment of the Conciliation Commission by the General Assembly, the position of the United Nations mediator will no longer be required to carry out the instructions of the General Assembly. The United Nations mediator should, however, continue the functions which the Security Council has already entrusted to him for such time as the Council considers necessary. It may be envisaged at some near future date, however, that the Security Council may request the United Nations mediator to transfer the functions which he is exercising for it to the new Conciliation Commission. It is believed that such transfer might take place, for example, after the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 16 have become effective.

The United States Delegation is, therefore, proposing that the third numbered paragraph of the draft resolution of the United Kingdom should be amended as follows:

"3. Establishes a Conciliation Commission consisting of (three States Members of the United Nations) which shall have the following functions:

"(a) To assume the functions given to the United Nations Mediator in Palestine by the Resolution of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948;

"(b) To carry out the specific functions and directives given to it by this Resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council;

"(c) To enter into consultations with the governments and authorities concerned with a view to achievement of a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them, including in particular the questions dealt with in the General Assembly Resolution of 29 November 1947 and in Part I, Section VIII, Paragraph 4 of the Progress Re-

port of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine;

"(d) To undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations Mediator in Palestine or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all the remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of the Mediator shall be terminated";

We do not believe that our amendment is in basic conflict with the third numbered paragraph of the draft resolution. Our amendment is merely more specific and contains the general and specific framework of instructions for the guidance of the Conciliation Commission.

The Committee will note that the content of the fourth numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom draft resolution has been included in paragraph 3 (D) of our amendment. It would appear, therefore, that the United Kingdom paragraph might be deleted.

With regard to the fifth numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom draft resolution, the United States Delegation suggests that in line with our proposed amendment calling upon the parties to negotiate, the Conciliation Commission should be instructed to enter into consultation with the governments and authorities concerned with a view to delimiting the frontiers in Palestine, taking into account the following general considerations without excluding any territorial arrangements mutually acceptable to the parties:

A. That there are important elements common to both the resolution of November 29 and the mediator's report.

B. That certain modifications in the territorial arrangements of the resolution of November 29 should be considered through negotiations taking into account part I, section VIII, paragraph 4 (B), of the progress report of the United Nations mediator in so far as it may contribute to a peaceful adjustment of differences between the parties.

As I stated on November 20: "We must decide point by point whether we are to seek a basis of agreement among the parties or whether we shall try to fix boundaries at this session of the Assembly." We are of the opinion that this function should be left to the Conciliation Commission, which, under this resolution as amended, could assist the parties in reaching an agreement with regard to a territorial settlement.

The United States Delegation also reaffirmed on November 20 that "the United States approves the claims of the state of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29, and considers that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the state

of Israel. This means that reductions in such territory should be agreed by Israel. If Israel desires additions, it would be necessary for Israel to offer an appropriate exchange through negotiations."

It may be noted in this connection that the November 29 resolution contemplated that almost all of the Negeb would go to the state of Israel and it contemplated that Jaffa and western Galilee would go to an Arab state. If, as now seems probable, there are to be agreed readjustments of the November 29 boundaries, there should, on the part of all concerned, be a fair measure of reciprocity and mutual interest.

There are certain features of the frontiers which are common both to the November 29 resolution of the Assembly and to the mediator's report. There are other features in which the Assembly resolution and the mediator's report differ. From statements made before this committee it is evident that serious differences exist among the interested parties on this subject. We believe that these points of difference ought to be settled by processes of negotiation and conciliation and that the Conciliation Commission can play a valuable role in assisting the parties in a final delimitation of frontiers. In this connection, my Delegation considers that, to the extent that the boundaries of the November 29 resolution need modification, the report of the mediator provides a useful basis for renewed efforts on the part of the United Nations to bring about the necessary adjustments.

The United States Delegation proposes that the fifth numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom draft resolution be amended to read as follows:

"4. Instructs the Conciliation Commission in pursuant of paragraph 3 (c) above to enter into consultations with the governments and authorities concerned with a view to delimiting the frontiers in Palestine, taking into account the following general considerations, without excluding any territorial settlement mutually acceptable to the parties;

"(a) that there are important elements common to both the Resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November 1947 and the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine;

"(b) that certain modifications in the territorial arrangements of the General Assembly Resolution of 29 November 1947 should be considered taking into account Part I, Section VIII, Paragraph 4 (b) of the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator in so far as it may contribute to a peaceful adjustment of differences between the parties;"

Through our amendments to the third and fifth numbered paragraphs of the United Kingdom draft resolution we believe that the resolution as a whole has been strengthened, and that the second

numbered paragraph as proposed by the United Kingdom Delegation is not essential.

The United States Delegation supports the sixth numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom draft resolution as providing a means whereby the disposition of the territory of Palestine not included within the boundaries of the Jewish state or the City of Jerusalem may be accomplished.

The seventh numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom resolution deals with the Holy Places, a subject in which the interest of my Government has frequently been evidenced in the debates in the General Assembly. We believe that the phraseology suggested in this seventh numbered paragraph is satisfactory for the accomplishment of the objectives which we desire to obtain.

The United States Delegation supports the eighth numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom draft resolution. Under this provision the Conciliation Commission is instructed to take all feasible steps to facilitate the effective administration of the Jerusalem area, and in so doing to coordinate to the fullest extent possible the organs of self-government and administration of the Arab and Jewish communities. The Commission is authorized to appoint a United Nations Commissioner for Jerusalem to assist it in carrying out this task. This portion of the resolution provides further that the Conciliation Commission shall present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area. We do not believe that a more ambitious program should be attempted at this time. During the course of the coming year full consideration can be given to the difficult problems of the maintenance of law and order in Jerusalem and the cost of administration. It is also our hope that during the coming year political stability in the Palestine area will be achieved to the degree that the responsible authorities of the Arab and Jewish communities can contribute far more than they could today to the operation of a special regime for Jerusalem. It is our belief that the Jerusalem area should be integrated, in so far as is consistent with its special international character, with the people and institutions of the remainder of Palestine. My Delegation considers that the General Assembly at its fourth session will be able to make lasting decisions with regard to an international regime for Jerusalem as a result of the proposals which the Conciliation Commission will present at that time.

The ninth numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom draft resolution contains an important concept with regard to access to Jerusalem and has our full support.

The tenth numbered paragraph of the same draft resolution is a restatement of the principle of territorial integrity contained in the Charter,

and has our full support in the belief that it will provide reassurance to the governments and authorities concerned with regard to frontiers in Palestine established through negotiations.

The eleventh numbered paragraph of the United Kingdom resolution with regard to Arab refugees has our full support in that it endorses a principle which all of us recognize and provides a means whereby this principle may be implemented.

It is our view, however, that reference need not be made in the resolution itself to the highly technical question of compensation for losses incident to the recent fighting in Palestine. This problem can be far better dealt with in detail by the parties concerned, perhaps with the assistance of a claims commission, having regard to the suggestions made in the mediator's progress report. The Conciliation Commission under this resolution will be available to the parties for consultation in working out this problem. We are, therefore, submitting an amended paragraph which will be substituted for paragraph 10, which we do not believe is necessary. The amended paragraph reads:

"10. *Resolves* that the Arab refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest possible date and that adequate compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return; and instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the Arab refugees and the payment of compensation;"

The administrative and procedural arrangements set forth in paragraphs 12, 13, 14, and 15 of the United Kingdom draft appear to us to be sound, and we therefore support these paragraphs also.

The various amendments suggested by my Delegation have been submitted to the Secretary, and have been distributed to the members of the Committee for their consideration. We hope that they will be helpful in assisting the committee to reach a final and valuable conclusion to its consideration of this important item.

## DISCUSSION OF PALESTINE QUESTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL: RESOLUTION

### ESTABLISHING AN ARMISTICE<sup>3</sup>

#### The Security Council

REAFFIRMING its previous resolutions concerning the establishment and implementation of the Truce in Palestine and, recalling particularly its Resolution of 15 July 1948 which determined that the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter;

TAKING NOTE that the General Assembly is continuing its consideration of the future government of Palestine in response to the request of the Security Council of 1 April 1948 (document S/714);

WITHOUT PREJUDICE to the actions of the Acting Mediator regarding the implementation of the Resolution of the Security Council of 4 November 1948;

*Decides* that, in order to eliminate the threat to the peace in Palestine and to facilitate the transition from the present Truce to permanent peace in Palestine, an armistice shall be established in all sectors of Palestine;

*Calls upon* the parties directly involved in the conflict in Palestine, as a further provisional measure under Article 40 of the Charter, to seek agreement forthwith, by negotiations conducted either directly or through the Acting Mediator on Palestine, with a view to the immediate establishment of the Armistice including:

(a) the delineation of permanent armistice demarcation lines beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties shall not move;

(b) such withdrawal and reduction of their armed forces as will ensure the maintenance of the armistice during the transition to permanent peace in Palestine.

<sup>3</sup> U.N. doc. S/1080, Nov. 17, 1948; adopted by the Security Council on Nov. 16, 1948.

## Discussion of the Membership Problem

### STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN V. COHEN IN AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

The problem now before us is a familiar one to the members of this Committee. For the third year we are confronted with a situation where a number of applicant states which the General Assembly regards as fully qualified for membership are denied admission because of a veto exercised by one of the permanent members of the Security Council. In our view the United Nations was intended to represent a world community of peace-loving, law-abiding states. It was not intended to be a mere alliance among the original members to which they would admit other members only as it suited their desires or special interests.

It is not necessary to review in detail the discussions on this subject in the Security Council and in this Committee of the General Assembly. In the Security Council every effort to secure a recommendation for the admission of qualified member states has been frustrated by the repeated use by the Soviet Union of its power to veto. In most instances no explanation for these vetoes has been offered which can reasonably be deemed valid under the provisions of article 4 of the Charter or within the purposes and principles of the Charter. Soviet Representatives have gone far outside the Charter to find reasons for their action. They have maintained that states lacking diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., or states whose behavior during the war might not have been fully satisfactory to the U.S.S.R., were not, on these grounds, qualified for membership. And when the Security Council considered and reconsidered the application of Italy in 1947, a favorable recommendation on the admission of that state was blocked by the Soviet Union for a reason which had nothing whatever to do with the qualifications of Italy for membership: namely, because of Soviet insistence on making the admission of Italy dependent on the acceptance of other states not qualified in the opinion of the Security Council for membership. Thus, the Italian Government and people, through no fault of their own, have been denied the representation in this Organization to which they are fully entitled.

In an attempt to remedy this situation, the General Assembly at its last regular session adopted

a series of eight resolutions on the membership problem. Five of these resolutions recorded the view of the General Assembly that five of the applicants—Ireland, Portugal, Transjordan, Italy, and Finland—are qualified for, and should be admitted to, membership in the United Nations, and that opposition to their admission has been based on grounds not included in article 4 of the Charter. A sixth resolution expressed the Assembly's opinion that Austria is a peace-loving state within the meaning of article 4 and, in the case of Austria as in the other five cases, the General Assembly requested the Security Council to reconsider the applications of the states concerned in the light of the Assembly's views.

The seventh and eighth resolutions adopted by the General Assembly envisaged other action which might be taken to break the deadlock on the admission of applicant states to the Organization. One recommended that the permanent members of the Security Council engage in consultations with a view to reaching agreement on the admission of new members. A fruitless consultation did take place in April 1948. The other resolution requested the International Court of Justice to render an advisory opinion on certain questions of law which arose as a result of the Soviet effort to refuse the admission of qualified applicants unless certain other candidates were accepted.

Since these resolutions were passed, and in part pursuant to their terms, a number of additional developments have taken place.

First, shortly before the second special session

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<sup>1</sup> Made on Nov. 22, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the third regular session of the General Assembly on the same date. The *ad hoc* Political Committee, upon which all members are represented, was established by the General Assembly on Nov. 15 to consider and report on certain items from among those referred to Committee 1 by the General Assembly. Items to be referred to the *ad hoc* Committee are: report of the Security Council; admission of new members; the problem of voting in the Security Council; advisability of establishing a permanent committee of the General Assembly; study of methods for the promotion of international cooperation in the political field; and United Nations guard (an item proposed by the Secretary-General).

of the General Assembly last April, the applications of Italy and the other applicant states were reconsidered in the Security Council at the initial instance of the Representatives of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Again there was a Soviet veto.

Second, the Security Council last summer considered for the first time an application from Ceylon. Nine members of the Security Council agreed that Ceylon was an independent state which fulfilled the conditions for membership in the United Nations. But again, the admission of a qualified applicant was prevented by a Soviet veto.

Third, the International Court of Justice, in response to the Assembly's request for an advisory opinion, held on May 28, 1948, that a member of the United Nations is not juridicially entitled to make its consent to the admission of an applicant state dependent on conditions not expressly provided for by paragraph 1 of article 4 of the Charter:

“. . . and that, in particular, a Member of the Organization cannot, while it recognizes the conditions set forth in that provision to be fulfilled by the state concerned, subject its affirmative vote to the additional condition that other States be admitted to membership in the United Nations together with that State.”

The situation today appears, therefore, to have reached an impasse. On the one hand, we see the U.S.S.R. firm and unyielding in its determination to prevent the admission of duly qualified states to the United Nations, on grounds which are to us unconvincing. On the other hand, we see the majority of the membership of the Security Council and of the General Assembly standing powerless before the Soviet veto. This great majority of the Members of the United Nations is confirmed in its position by the advisory opinion handed down by the proper international tribunal. In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that members of this Assembly should express their deep concern at this willful and continued frustration of the majority's desire to take action necessary to give a moral basis to the right of the United Nations to speak for the world community of nations.

The United States fully appreciates the strength of this sentiment in the General Assembly. It is sympathetic to the desire for remedial action. On September 17, 1947, the Secretary of State of the United States declared that, for its part, the United States was willing to accept, by whatever means might be appropriate, the elimination of the unanimity requirement with regard to the admission of new members. The United States has maintained this position in the studies undertaken by the Interim Committee on the question of voting in the Security Council.

Furthermore, my Delegation stated at the last

regular session of the Assembly that it would not exercise its right of veto in the Security Council to exclude from the United Nations any of the applicants then under consideration which the Assembly determined to be qualified for membership.

I call attention to these points because they still represent the policy of the United States.

The basic question before us here is what the United Nations can do to contend with the existing situation. In our view, there are several steps which the Assembly might usefully take at this juncture.

1. It might take note of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and call it to the attention of the Security Council and of member states as an authoritative determination of the rights and duties of members in voting under article 4 of the Charter. The General Assembly might also express the view that the Court's conclusions should be applied in the consideration of membership applications.

2. The General Assembly might reaffirm the General Assembly resolutions of 1947 requesting reconsideration by the Security Council of the applications of Transjordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Finland, and Austria, and might request renewed consideration of these applications in the light of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

We note that the Delegation of Australia has introduced resolutions in this sense with regard to all of these countries except Austria. We will support these resolutions. The United States will itself introduce a resolution requesting reconsideration of the application of Austria as it did last year. We consider Austria to be fully qualified for membership. We ask that Austria's application should be reconsidered and approved.

Certain other proposals for action by the General Assembly will undoubtedly be made in the course of this debate. The Representative of Argentina has, as you know, placed on the agenda a proposal that the General Assembly admit to membership Italy and every other applicant state which has received seven or more affirmative votes in the Security Council.

It seems clear that the underlying purpose of the Argentine Government in making this proposal is to express dissatisfaction with Soviet obstruction of the admission of qualified applicants. The United States, of course, shares that dissatisfaction. The United States has attempted to reach agreement with all the permanent members of the Security Council on procedures which would bring to an end the stalemate on this question. We are continuing our efforts to reach that objective.

But while we seek a purpose identical with that

of the Argentine Representative, we are regretfully forced to part company with him as regards the method of procedure which he appears to advocate. Last year there was a thorough discussion in this Committee of Dr. Arce's views on the constitutional history of the process of the admission of new members to the United Nations. At that time, we gave careful consideration to the position which he presented.

We felt then, and we continue to feel, that the evidence conclusively supports the view that the General Assembly cannot admit a state without a prior recommendation of the Security Council. Both the legislative history of the drafting of article 4 of the Charter, and the practical construction given to this article by the General Assembly and the Security Council in the adoption of their rules of procedure and in their action on membership applications, support this thesis.

Our Delegation cannot disregard this weight of evidence and experience. It cannot agree to any action of the General Assembly which it does not consider valid and proper under the Charter.

In this connection it is appropriate to take note of the proposal contained in the report of the Interim Committee that in considering membership applications in the Security Council, the permanent members agree that a recommendation on the admission of an applicant state shall be made by the vote of any seven members of the Council. In the opinion of my Delegation, this suggestion represents perhaps the most promising method now available for dealing with the problem with which we are confronted. It provides a fair means of accommodation. It involves no dictation on the part of any state or group. It requires only a decent respect for the aggregate opinion of the world community.

Other suggestions may be made in this Committee looking toward the admission of all the present applicant states with a view to insuring that all states may become members of the Organization. We would agree generally that universality of membership is a highly desirable and proper objective. We know from experience that the United Nations cannot function with greatest effectiveness unless all properly qualified states are cooperating in its work.

Our own willingness to accept the judgment of any seven members of the Security Council as to the qualifications of applicant states for membership is evidence of our desire for a broadly universal representation of states in the Organization. It is indicative of our hope that, through discussion in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, the members of the Organization may reach a better understanding of the common requirements for membership. This is the road along which the United Nations can travel toward

the broadest possible association of sovereign states. It is the road along which the United Nations must travel if it is to act effectively in the name and on behalf of the world community of nations.

This does not mean that we need or should ignore the rudimentary requirements of article 4 as essential conditions of membership. To be admitted into the organized community of nations, states should, by their conduct prior to admission, give proof of their readiness and willingness to eschew force as an instrument of national policy, to have regard and respect for the laws of nations, and to assist in their development and enforcement. Any state which possesses the essential attributes of statehood can readily conform its policies to the requirements of article 4. But such requirements, rudimentary as they are, are not satisfied by paper assurances that, as of the date of its admission, an applicant state will accept the obligations contained in the Charter. The Organization is entitled to greater proof than this that applicants will fulfil the obligations of membership.

Let those states regarding whose admission the majority of the Security Council and the General Assembly have doubts give tangible proof of their desire for membership.

Let the Mongolian People's Republic open its doors to the outside world sufficiently to permit a real establishment of the facts regarding its independence.

Let Albania and Bulgaria cease their assistance to the guerrilla forces in Greece in accordance with the terms of the General Assembly resolutions in the Greek question. Let Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary observe the provisions of their treaties of peace by abolishing the repressive, tyrannical practices of their Governments. These treaty provisions insuring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are not old and obsolete provisions from old and obsolete treaties. They are the provisions incorporated in the peace treaties to carry out the solemn promises made to the peoples of these countries by the Allied powers before the end of the war. The callous disregard and flagrant violations of these treaties by governments seeking admission into the United Nations cannot be ignored.

If action is taken to remedy these difficulties, the serious doubts regarding these states entertained by our Delegation—and, I believe, by most of the other Delegations here present—might be minimized, and their admission to membership accepted. Let me assure the Assembly that the United States would not stand in the way of the admission of any applicant if it were satisfied that it was qualified for membership. We will do our part to make the United Nations truly representative of the world community of peace-abiding, law-abiding nations.

## Resolution on Reduction by One Third of Armaments and Armed Forces<sup>1</sup>

The General Assembly,

DESIRING to establish relations of confident collaboration between the States within the framework of the Charter and to make possible a general reduction of armaments in order that humanity may in future be spared the horrors of war and that the peoples may not be overwhelmed by the continually increasing burden of military expenditure;

CONSIDERING that no agreement is attainable on any proposal for the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces so long as each State lacks exact and authenticated information concerning the conventional armaments and armed forces of other States, so long as no convention has been concluded regarding the types of military forces to which such reduction would apply, and so long as no organ of control has been established;

CONSIDERING that the aim of the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces can only be attained in an atmosphere of real and lasting improvement in international relations, which implies in particular the application of control of atomic energy involving the prohibition of atomic weapons;

BUT NOTING on the other hand that this renewal of confidence would be greatly encouraged if

States were placed in possession of precise and verified data as to the level of their respective conventional armaments and armed forces;

*Recommends* the Security Council to pursue the study of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces through the agency of the Commission for Conventional Armaments in order to obtain concrete results as soon as possible;

*Trusts* that the Commission for Conventional Armaments, in carrying out its plan of work, will devote its first attention to formulating proposals for the receipt, checking and publication, by an international organ of control within the framework of the Security Council, of full information to be supplied by Member States with regard to their effectives and their conventional armaments;

*Invites* the Security Council to report to it no later than its next regular session on the effect given to the present recommendation with a view to enabling it to continue its activity with regard to the regulation of armaments in accordance with the purposes and principles defined by the Charter;

*Invites* all nations in the Commission for Conventional Armaments to co-operate to the utmost of their power in the attainment of the above-mentioned objectives.

## Resolutions of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans<sup>1</sup>

### Appointing Conciliators To Meet With Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece<sup>2</sup>

The First Committee

HAVING IN MIND paragraph 5 (1) of Resolution 109 (II) by which the General Assembly called upon Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece on the other to co-operate in the settlement of their dispute by peaceful means, and to that end recommended that they establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations among themselves as soon as possible;

HAVING IN MIND that representatives of the Gov-

ernments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia are present in Paris during this session of the General Assembly;

NOTING that the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans unanimously recommended that the General Assembly consider ways and means of obtaining the co-operation of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with the Special Committee;

*Asks* the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the First Committee to act in the capacity of conciliators jointly to convene immediately in Paris a meeting of representatives of the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia to explore the possibilities of reaching agreement amongst themselves as to the methods and procedure to be adopted with a view to resolving present differences between them.

<sup>1</sup> U.N. doc. A/C.1/393, Nov. 15, 1948, draft resolution adopted by Committee I on Nov. 13, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> U.N. doc. A/C.1/385, Nov. 11, 1948; adopted by Committee I on Nov. 10 and by the General Assembly on Nov. 27, 1948.

**Continuing UNSCOB**

The draft resolution by China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States presented to Committee I and printed in the BULLETIN of November 21, 1948, p. 635, was adopted by the General Assembly on November 27, 1948, except for the changes in the following paragraphs indicated in italic:

8. Calls upon Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with the Special Committee in enabling it to carry out its functions, *in particular the function of being available to assist the Governments concerned in accordance with article 10 (c) of this resolution,*

10. (c) To continue to be available to assist the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and

Yugoslavia in the implementation of Resolution 109 (II) and of the present Resolution; *and for this purpose, in its discretion to appoint, and utilize the services and good offices of one or more persons whether or not members of the Special Committee.*

11. Decides that the Special Committee shall have its principal headquarters in Greece, and with the co-operation of the Government or Governments concerned, shall perform its functions in such places as it may deem appropriate for the fulfilment of its mission.

12. Text of paragraph 11 of the draft becomes No. 12.

13. Text of paragraph 12 of the draft becomes No. 13.

**The United States in the United Nations****Berlin Currency**

The United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union have accepted a proposal that neutral experts study Berlin's currency and trade problems with a view to recommending possible settlement of the controversy which has caused the Western powers to complain that the Soviet-imposed land blockade threatens world peace.

Juan A. Bramuglia of Argentina who, as president of the Security Council during November, initiated efforts of the council's six member nations which are not parties to the Berlin dispute to find a solution, reported that the U.S.S.R. had accepted his proposal for a 30-day survey.

Earlier, the United States, Great Britain, and France made public their official acceptance in a statement welcoming the plan for a neutral study and pledging continued cooperation in attempts to solve the Berlin problem, while reserving their position on the study's outcome.

In a joint reply to President Bramuglia, the Western powers reaffirmed their right to take such measures as may be necessary to maintain their position in Berlin pending outcome of the proposed currency and trade study.

Pointing to the Soviet Union's tactics which have split Berlin into two cities, the three Western powers stressed that they would have to consider any resolution which might be submitted to the Security Council as a result of the general circumstances prevailing at that time.

"The three western powers cannot agree that they should be bound to submit to all Soviet measures which add to and intensify the Soviet blockade or which interfere with the city administra-

tion, while the Soviet remains wholly uncommitted to any restraint", the joint reply notified Mr. Bramuglia, adding, "The three governments therefore repeat the reservation of their right, declared to the Security Council when the Berlin question was submitted to that body, 'to take such measures as may be necessary to maintain in these circumstances their position in Berlin' pending the outcome of the further efforts of the President of the Security Council".

**"Little Assembly"**

The General Assembly in plenary session on December 3 voted to extend the life of its Interim Committee for a second experimental year. The vote was 40 to 6, the Soviet bloc comprising the opposition.

Boycotted by the Soviet-bloc nations since its inception, the Interim Committee, the so-called Little Assembly, was set up to provide continuity of work between the regular sessions of the Assembly. This action enables the Committee to continue operations at Lake Success through 1949, studying problems relating to the maintenance of peace and security, conducting investigations, and helping the General Assembly in its work. The Interim Committee was given the added power of seeking advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, but was again expressly forbidden to consider matters before the Security Council.

Arguments by the Soviet-bloc delegates against extension of the Little Assembly, on the grounds that it was an attempt to circumvent the Security Council and its unanimity rule failed to influence

the General Assembly. These nations have indicated that they will again refuse to participate in the Interim Committee.

#### **Israeli Membership**

The Security Council on December 2 referred to its membership committee Israel's application for admission to the United Nations. The United Kingdom served notice immediately that it would purpose in committee a deferment of action on the application, and Syria expressed a similar view. France and Canada also suggested that the membership committee should await the final recommendations of the Political and Security Committee regarding a permanent settlement of the Palestine problem before passing on the admission request.

Meanwhile, on December 4, Committee I passed a resolution establishing terms of reference for a Conciliation Commission.

#### **Indonesia**

The Security Council's Good Offices Committee in the Indonesian dispute reported on December 2 that direct talks now commencing between Netherlands and Indonesian Republic Representatives are a "serious and possibly final attempt" to resolve the political issues between the two parties.

The Committee informed the Security Council that there is a possibility of a general breakdown in the current truce in Indonesia as a result of the delay in achievement of a political settlement. The truce was agreed to by both parties last January in the Renville agreements which called for the parties to conduct further negotiations for an agreement covering Indonesia's political future. The Committee was instrumental in achieving the truce and has worked since then to encourage a political settlement.

The Committee pointed out that the delay in working out a settlement has stalled economic rehabilitation in Indonesia as a whole, particularly in Republican areas, increasing their political diffi-

culties. No political negotiations under Good Offices Committee auspices have taken place since the end of last May.

The report noted that the Netherlands Representatives have been reluctant to consider proposals put forward by U.S. and Australian members of the Good Offices Committee, who, along with a Representative of Belgium, comprise the three-nation conciliation group.

#### **Freedom of Information**

The United States and eight other countries (the Philippine Republic, China, the Netherlands, Bolivia, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Argentina) have submitted a resolution to the General Assembly calling for the convening of a second Conference on Freedom of Information at Lake Success.

The proposed Conference would have as its sole purpose the review of the three draft conventions and their submission to governments concerned for accession and ratification. All nations represented at the first meeting would be invited to send delegates to the Lake Success meeting.

The conventions were drawn up at Geneva in April 1948. They include one on gathering and international transmission of news, another on international right of official correction, and a third, and more general one, on freedom of information.

#### **Italian Colonies**

With adjournment of the current Assembly session tentatively set for December 11, final action this year by the United Nations on disposition of the former Italian colonies is deemed unlikely.

The colonies issue was automatically referred to the Assembly this year, according to the terms of the Italian peace treaty, when agreement was not obtained by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Referred, in turn, to the Political and Security Committee, discussion of the colonies question may begin following completion by the Committee of work on the Palestine issue.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## Calendar of Meetings<sup>1</sup>

Adjourned during November 1948	Site	Date
<b>ILO (International Labor Organization):</b>		
Industrial Committee on Textiles: Second Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 26–Nov. 5
Industrial Committee on Petroleum: Second Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 9–19
Preparatory Conference of Labor Inspection in the Asian Countries . . . . .	Kandy, Ceylon . . . . .	Nov. 15–20
<b>WHO (World Health Organization):</b>		
Second Session of Executive Board . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 25–Nov. 15
Expert Committee on International Epidemic Control . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 17–21
Fourth Pan American Consultation on Cartography . . . . .	Buenos Aires . . . . .	Oct. 12–Nov. 14
Second Meeting of South Pacific Commission . . . . .	Sydney . . . . .	Oct. 25–Nov. 2
<b>GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade): Meeting of Com- mittee on Special Exchange Arrangements.</b>	London . . . . .	Nov. 1–8
<b>FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):</b>		
Fourth Session of Council . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Nov. 8–13
Fourth Session of Annual Conference . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Nov. 15–
<b>IMO (International Meteorological Organization): Meeting of Regional Commission for Asia.</b>	New Delhi . . . . .	Nov. 10–17
Empire Parliamentary Association . . . . .	Hamilton, Bermuda . . . . .	Nov. 15–24
Second Inter-American Congress on Brucellosis . . . . .	Mendoza, Argentina . . . . .	Nov. 17–26
<b>In Session as of December 1, 1948</b>		<b>1948</b>
<b>United Nations:</b>		
General Assembly: Third Session . . . . .	Paris <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	Sept. 21–
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council): Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.	Glenbrook, Australia . . . . .	Nov. 29–
<b>German External Property Negotiations With Portugal (Safehaven) .</b>	Lisbon . . . . .	Sept. 3–
<b>ITU (International Telecommunication Union):</b>		<b>1948</b>
Provisional Frequency Board . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 15–
International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 22–
Bolivian International Fair . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Oct. 20–
<b>ILO (International Labor Organization):</b>		
Joint Maritime Commission . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 25–
Governing Body: 107th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 29–
<b>UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Or- ganization): General Conference: Third Session.</b>	Beirut . . . . .	Nov. 17–
<b>ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization): Southeast Asia Regional Air Navigation Meeting.</b>	New Delhi . . . . .	Nov. 23–
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization: Meeting of Preparatory Committee.	Lake Success . . . . .	Nov. 30–
<b>Scheduled for December 1, 1948</b>		<b>1948</b>
West Indian Conference: Third Session . . . . .	Guadeloupe . . . . .	Dec. 1–
Seventh Meeting of the Caribbean Commission . . . . .	Guadeloupe . . . . .	Dec. 1–
First Pan American Congress of Pharmacy . . . . .	Habana . . . . .	Dec. 1–8
<b>IRO (International Refugee Organization): Meetings of Executive Council.</b>	Rome . . . . .	Dec. 7–10

<sup>1</sup> Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> During the Third Session of the General Assembly, the Security Council is meeting in Paris.

# Meeting of Fourth Session of the Food and Agriculture Organization

## ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN<sup>1</sup>

I am delighted to be here this afternoon and to have this opportunity of meeting with the Delegates to the Fourth Session of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. There could be no more appropriate time for the United States to be host to a United Nations meeting than during our cherished Thanksgiving holiday.

Those of you of the Food and Agriculture Organization know the importance to nearly all nations of the harvest-time celebration. We in the United States are only one of many peoples who celebrate the gathering of the harvest each year. Other peoples have been celebrating in their own way since ancient times. But there is one feature of our Thanksgiving celebration to which I should like to call your attention.

Our Thanksgiving traditions were begun by some of the earliest settlers of this country. They thought of the Thanksgiving holiday as much more than an occasion for a big dinner, and for thanks to God that the earth had produced an abundant harvest. There was another spirit behind the first Thanksgiving dinner. The colonists invited the Indians to join with them in their celebration. Around that first Thanksgiving table, differences were forgotten, and enemies became friends.

This year our harvest is greater than it has ever been. We have much to be thankful for.

But thanks for a record-breaking harvest is only the beginning of our Thanksgiving, just as it was only a part of Thanksgiving more than 300 years ago. The real spirit of our holiday is in the sharing of this harvest, and in a feeling of warm friendship and good will for others less fortunate.

That is the same spirit in which the Food and Agriculture Organization has brought many nations together.

I know that FAO has many problems ahead of it. Perhaps I should say that the world has many food problems ahead of it, and the peoples of the world are counting on FAO for a major part of the work in solving those problems.

One of the first and most difficult problems is the rebuilding of nations which suffered heavily during the war.

We are making a great deal of headway through

the combined efforts of many nations in the European Recovery Program.

But rebuilding countries that were once self-supporting and prosperous is not nearly so difficult as building up the economies of countries where there is comparatively little to build on. Underdeveloped countries offer a challenge to the ingenuity of those nations which have greater resources.

FAO has clearly recognized the importance of this problem and the responsibility of all countries in helping to solve it.

We have found our Agricultural Extension Service essential to a high level of farm production in our own country. Through our Extension Service, we make sure that our farmers learn about the latest advances in production techniques. This means furnishing practical information and help right on the farm. I know that FAO is already interested in an extension service, but I wish to emphasize that the United States stands ready to help in developing such systems in other countries.

Here in the United States, we have also learned that financial credit is as much a tool of farm production as is a plow, or a bushel of seed. Our system for making agricultural credit available to farmers is one of the keystones of our great farm program. It protects every farmer in the ownership of his land and in the planting of his crops. That is why we have such hopes for the role that another international agency can play in building up the agricultural resources of underdeveloped countries. I refer to the International Bank. The credit needs of underdeveloped countries are great, however, and there is room for all kinds of help. This is a job for private lenders and cooperatives as well as for government institutions.

The achievement of our world goal of abundant food will mean an enlarged flow of commerce in all directions.

An abundant food supply will tear down many artificial trade barriers. Some of these barriers have been erected by those who hoped for protection against low commodity prices elsewhere, but this short-sighted move has led to a slow form of trade strangulation. We must look to food as a common tool for lowering such barriers. We must look to it as a sort of international language for modifying some of the short-sighted policies which have been hampering the commerce of the world.

A few months ago, I urged the Congress of the United States to ratify the international wheat

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Fourth Session of FAO in Washington on Nov. 24, 1948, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

agreement which would have stabilized the price and volume of wheat in world trade for five years. Many of the nations represented here today participated in that agreement, and many of your delegates are familiar with its provisions. I regret that this agreement was not ratified, but I pledge that if another one can be negotiated, I will send it to the new Congress, which convenes in January, for approval.

Moreover, I look to the general pattern of the wheat agreement as one which might be followed for other commodities. Stability is one of the foundations of peace. National emotions too often rise and fall with changes in commodity prices. We are counting on the Food and Agriculture Organization to remove some of the instability from farm production and farm prices around the world, and thus to remove some of the causes of international friction.

The United States is happy to join with other countries in FAO in giving freely of our technical experience and knowledge in the job of agricultural improvement—making grass grow where it never grew before, irrigating dry land, developing crops for special purposes, and combating crop plagues and pests. I can promise you that this country will continue to send its experts wherever FAO believes they are needed.

## U.S. Delegations to International Meetings

### First Pan American Congress of Pharmacy

The Department of State announced on November 23 that Robert Philipp Fischelis, Secretary of the American Pharmaceutical Association, has been named Chairman of the United States Delegation to the First Pan American Congress of Pharmacy. The Congress is scheduled to be held at Habana December 1-8, 1948.

#### *Delegates*

George F. Archambault, Chief, Pharmacy Section, Hospital Division, Bureau of Medical Services, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency  
 Cmdr. William Paul Briggs, MSC, Head, Pharmacy Section, Professional Division, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Department of the Navy  
 Don Francke, Editor, Bulletin of the American Society of Hospital Pharmacists, and Chief Pharmacist of the University of Michigan Hospital  
 Edward Burns Geiger, Chief, Pharmacy Division, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration  
 Col. Othmar Frank Goriup, MSC, Chief, Medical Service Corps, Department of the Army  
 Ernest Little, President of the American Pharmaceutical Association  
 Justin Lawrence Powers, Editor, Scientific Edition of the Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association

The main objectives of the Pharmacy Congress are to stimulate interchanges and contributions to

One of the ways to restore stability to the world is to produce plenty of food and see that it is distributed fairly.

Hunger has no nationality.

Abundance should have none, either.

I hope that every country, old or new, will become a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization. I should like to see that large agricultural country, Argentina, become a member. I wish that the Soviet Union would also join. I think that if we could discuss with the Russians our mutual interest in agriculture, it would not be so difficult to discuss our differences in some other fields. It is most heartening that several Eastern European nations are members of FAO. I hope this will continue to be true.

I am very glad to learn that so many delegates to this session have accepted the invitations of farm families near Washington to share their Thanksgiving dinners tomorrow. This is the kind of simple, human experience which makes for lasting international good will.

I hope that you will carry back to your homes our Thanksgiving spirit of thanks to God and good will to men, and I know that your American hosts will be the richer for having had you as their guests. From these solid foundations of personal friendship and understanding, we can go on to build the kind of peaceful world we all want.

both scientific and industrial pharmaceutical progress and to intensify relations and exchange of information among the pharmaceutical organizations of the Americas.

This meeting has been organized by the Asociación Farmacéutica Nacional (National Pharmaceutical Association, of Cuba) in cooperation with a number of Cuban scientific and social organizations, both private and official.

### Fourth Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

The Department of State announced on November 26 that Myron M. Cowen, American Ambassador to Australia, has been designated as Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Fourth Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which will begin at Lapstone, New South Wales, Australia, on November 29.

ECAFE is one of the three regional economic commissions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the other two being the Economic Commission for Europe and the Economic Commission for Latin America.

ECAFE was established by resolution of Ecosoc on March 28, 1947, for the purpose of facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of the region and raising the level of its economic activity. The Commission may make or sponsor studies of economic and technical problems and development within the area and undertake or sponsor the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of data in the area.

In addition to Ambassador Cowen the United States Delegation will include two officials of the Department of State: Roswell H. Whitman, Assistant Chief of the Division of Investment and Economic Development, and Edward E. Rice, Assistant Chief of the Division of Philippine Affairs. Also on the Delegation will be William W. Diehl, representative of the United States Treasury in Manila, and other officers from United States Missions throughout the region.

### **Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations Elected Director General of UNESCO**

Jaime Torres Bodet, Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico, has been elected Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for a term of six years, the

Department of State was advised on November 26. His nomination by the UNESCO Executive Board was confirmed by a vote of 30 to 3 by the General Conference, which is being held at Beirut, Lebanon. Sr. Torres Bodet succeeds Dr. Julian Huxley, world-renowned British scientist.

Assistant Secretary Allen is chairman of the United States Delegation to the UNESCO conference. In advising the Department of the nomination of Sr. Torres Bodet, Mr. Allen stated:

"The election of Jaime Torres Bodet is an event of profound satisfaction to the United States Delegation and the United States Government. It is a tribute to his country, as well as to him. He won the gratitude of his countrymen and international recognition by his outstanding services as Minister of Education when he provided the leadership for a fundamental education program which has few parallels.

"His achievements since as Foreign Minister have won the respect and friendship of all nations seeking closer relationships and better understanding. His capabilities as an administrator and his intellectual leadership, together with his deep devotion to a peoples movement should be invaluable to UNESCO and contribute immensely to the achievement of its goals."

## **Freedom of the Road**

### **ACTIONS ON ROAD AGREEMENTS**

During the three months that elapsed between the December 1947 and March 1948 sessions of the Working Party on Short Term Problems, Subcommittee on Road Transport, Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe, a further step toward freedom of road transport in Europe was noted by adherence of the Governments of Austria, Luxembourg, Norway, and the United Kingdom to the agreements reached at the first session.<sup>1</sup> At the second meeting, in December, the Governments of the three Western zones of Germany, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia agreed to grant or maintain freedom of transit for all road transport of goods; the Governments of the three Western zones of Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland also agreed to grant or maintain freedom of movement for all other international transport of goods which permitted shipments of goods from one country directly to another; and the Governments of the three Western zones of Germany, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark,

France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland were prepared to maintain all facilities existing for international passenger transport by road. These agreements were to become effective January 1, 1948, and continue for a period of six months.

At the third session, in March of 1948, it was agreed that the freedom of transit for all road transport of goods, all other international transport of goods by road, and facilities for international passenger transport by road would be extended through December 31, 1948. Another important agreement which points to a further achievement in eliminating restrictions on freedom of the road was the granting or maintaining of freedom for international tourist traffic by road. The Governments of Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the three Western zones of Germany adhered to this agreement, commencing April 1, 1948, and continuing through December 31, 1948.

These agreements all remain subject to the following conditions:

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 4, 1948, p. 27.

*(Continued on page 715)*

## U.S., France, and the U.K. Discuss Controls for Inspecting German Industry in the Ruhr

### STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL

[Released to the press November 24]

I believe that everyone recognizes that the great industrial region of the Ruhr is essential to the recovery of Europe as well as that of Germany itself. Also I believe the American people recognize the justifiable fears of the French that there should be built up a war potential that might again menace their peace and freedom.

The United States Government would never knowingly be involved in any procedure which in our opinion would reestablish a military menace through the industrial development of Germany. I had a long discussion of this general subject last Friday afternoon with the French Foreign Minister, Dr. Schuman, and with Mr. Hector McNeil, the Representative of the British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin. Dr. Schuman expressed the concern of the French Government regarding the recent announcement made at Frankfurt by the Military Governors of the British and American occupied zones in Germany regarding the Ruhr.<sup>1</sup> The decisions announced by the two Military Governors were in keeping with the decisions taken at the previous London conference and had previously, at least so far as General Clay was concerned, been formally approved by this Government. Nevertheless there was a feeling of deep concern on the part of the French Government as I have already stated.

The whole Ruhr issue is one of extreme complexity. It carries in the minds of the French a threat to their peace and security. It involves the great problem that this Government has been facing of providing the large appropriations to meet the deficiencies of the German economy, not only of the American zone but that of the British and now of the French.

There is another consideration which is somewhat lost sight of today. At the end of the First World War the treaty of peace was concluded within, I think, ten months of the end of that war. We are now more than three years past the conclusion of the European war and no treaty of peace is yet in sight. Meanwhile there is an urgent necessity for the restoration of the economy of Europe, of Western Europe in particular, for reasons that anyone can understand and also for very

special reasons with which you are familiar. At the end of this last war, ownership in the Ruhr industries was set aside because of its identification with large combines and the Nazis. Management was made responsible solely to the military government. It is thus impossible for these plants to secure loans for the purpose of rehabilitation and many of them have been operating at a financial loss which has been made up by subsidies indirectly borne by the United States. Hence, it was urgently necessary in the interest of Europe to reorganize the industry under a pattern which would permit responsible enterprises to be under at least a substantive or responsible ownership. This is the basic purpose of the trustee plan announced by the Military Governments. Big combines and property forfeited under the Nürnberg decisions are to be regrouped into smaller self-sustaining units which would be capable of competing in the market place. These small enterprises would be placed under German trusteeship which would be responsible for their efficient and economic operation directly under Allied supervision. Assets and liabilities would be determined and distributed among the enterprises thus formed so that they may be placed on a sound financial basis as rapidly as possible. Procedure is much the same as that under bankruptcy proceedings except that it is being applied to a vast and complex coal and steel industry in one of the great production centers of the world. Obviously completion of this procedure will require several years and it is important that the trustees have a feeling of continuity of policy during this period.

The United States Government believes that adequate security controls can be maintained and provisions are being made for this purpose by the establishment of a Security Commission which will be charged with continued inspection of the German industry. It is obvious that the final determination of the security measures against possible resurgence of German military power must be incorporated in the peace treaty. Security actually does not become a problem during the period of military occupation.

The United States Government has already expressed its willingness to consider further meas-

*(Continued on page 715)*

<sup>1</sup> Printed in this issue, p. 704.

# Reorganization of German Coal and Iron and Steel Industries<sup>1</sup>

## Military Government—Germany, U.S. Zone of Control Law No. 75

WHEREAS it is the policy of Military Government to decentralize the German economy for the purpose of eliminating excessive concentration of economic power and preventing the development of a war potential

WHEREAS Military Government has decided that the question of the eventual ownership of the coal and iron and steel industries should be left to the determination of a representative, freely elected German Government

WHEREAS Military Government has decided that it will not allow the restoration of a pattern of ownership in these industries which would constitute excessive concentration of economic power and will not permit the return to positions of ownership and control of those persons who have been found or may be found to have furthered the aggressive designs of the National Socialist Party

WHEREAS it is expedient that those industries should forthwith be reorganized with a view to the promotion of the recovery of the German economy

WHEREAS the Military Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the British and United States Zones of Occupation have agreed on the measures to be taken in their respective Zones for these purposes; and

WHEREAS the Military Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British Zone is promulgating Law No. 75 in order to give effect to this agreement

*It is therefore ordered:*

### Article I

#### Decentralization

1. The enterprises enumerated in Schedule A of this Law are hereby declared to be excessive concentrations of economic power or otherwise deemed objectionable and therefore subject to reorganization within the purview of Military Government Law No. 56 Prohibition of Excessive Concentration of German Economic Power. The

controlling companies in each of these enterprises shall be put into liquidation forthwith and a liquidator appointed, or current liquidation proceedings confirmed, as the case may be.

2. The title to assets located in the U.S. Zone owned or controlled by undertakings listed in Schedule B hereof is hereby declared to be subject to seizure by Military Government. Pending a determination on their seizure, these assets, if not already under such control, are hereby placed under control pursuant to the provisions of Military Government Law No. 52. The functions of exercising the powers of control over such assets as provided in Law 52 are hereby vested in the UK/US Coal Control Group.

### Article II

#### Reorganization of the Coal Industry

3. The title to assets located in the U.S. Zone and owned or controlled by undertakings possessing colliery assets as defined in Article XII hereof is hereby declared to be subject to seizure by Military Government. Seizure of such assets shall be effected by nomination by Military Government or its designated agency whereupon the assets so seized shall be transferred by Military Government and title thereto vested in companies which shall be formed for the purpose under German law. These companies shall be formed by and shall have for their shareholders such persons of German nationality as may be designated by or under the authority of Military Government after consultation with appropriate German bodies. The persons thus designated shall be known as trustees and shall hold the shares allotted to them in the companies on behalf of the owners of the collieries and associated undertakings affected by this article in accordance with instructions issued by Military Government.

4. Pending a determination on their seizure, the assets described in paragraph 3 above, if not already so subject, are hereby made subject to the provisions of Military Government Law No. 52. The function of exercising the powers of control provided by Military Government Law No. 52 over such assets is hereby vested in the UK/US Coal Control Group. On completion of the transfer of the title of colliery assets to a new company, as provided for in paragraph 2 hereof, such assets shall cease to be subject to the provisions of Military Government Law No. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Released to the press by OMGUS in Berlin on Nov. 10, 1948. Law no. 75 will apply to the U.S. Control Area of Germany. A similar law applicable to the British Control Area of Germany was issued simultaneously by British Military Government. It is emphasized that this is not necessarily the final version. The law will be formally promulgated within the next few days and it is possible that minor alterations will be made before final promulgation.

tary Government Law No. 52. The remaining assets of enterprises having colliery assets shall, in the case of enterprises not enumerated in Schedule A or Schedule B, cease to be subject to the provisions of Military Government Law No. 52 and shall, in the case of enterprises enumerated in Schedule A, be transferred to the liquidator referred to in Article I hereof who shall dispose of them in accordance with the orders of Military Government.

5. The Deutsche Kohlenbergbau-Leitung shall be reorganized as an Aktiengesellschaft with the Deutscher Kohlen Verkauf and Bergbaubedarf Beschaffungs Zentrale as subsidiary companies. The Aufsichtsrat of the reorganized Deutsche Kohlenbergbau-Leitung shall be selected from the Trustees mentioned in paragraph 3 and as provided for in Article IV.

6. Military Government will provide by Regulation for—

(a) the rules governing the formation of companies pursuant to paragraph 3, the allocation of assets to such companies, the number of trustees, their powers and duties, their relationship to Military Government, to German agencies, to the companies referred to in paragraph 5 hereof, and to the previous owners of the affected undertakings;

(b) the organization and functions of the companies referred to in paragraph 5, their relationship to Military Government, to German agencies and to the companies to be formed under paragraph 3.

### *Article III*

#### **Reorganization of the Iron and Steel Industry**

7. The title to assets located in the U.S. Zone, owned or controlled by undertakings listed in Schedule A hereof and not affected by Article II hereof and title to the assets owned or controlled by Roechling-Buderus AG and Buderusche Eisenwerke-Wetzlar, are hereby declared to be subject to seizure by Military Government. Pending a determination on their seizure, the assets described in this paragraph, if not already under such control, are hereby placed under control pursuant to the provisions of Law No. 52. The function of exercising the powers of control over such assets, as provided in Law 52, is hereby vested in the UK/US Steel Group.

8. A Steel Trustee Association consisting of German nationals shall be established for the purpose of assisting in decentralizing and reorganizing the iron and steel industry. The members of the Association shall be appointed by or under the authority of Military Government, after consultation with the appropriate German bodies.

9. Title to the assets declared subject to seizure by paragraph 7 of this law will, upon notice, be seized by Military Government and, upon seizure, shall be transferred to and vested in the Steel

Trustee Association or the new companies provided for in paragraph 10 below.

10. The Steel Trustee Association shall as soon as possible submit for the approval of Military Government plans for the further reorganization of the Iron and Steel Industry. The plans shall provide for the formation of new companies (hereinafter referred to as unit companies) to which shall be transferred assets seized as provided in paragraph 8 hereof and may provide for the merger or amalgamation of such assets and for the absorption of additional assets which may include assets outside the field of the Iron and Steel Industry.

11. On the approval of the plan for each unit company, with such modifications as Military Government may direct, the title to the assets affected shall be transferred to and vested in the new unit company which shall have as its shareholders such persons of German nationality as may be designated by or under the authority of Military Government, after consultation with appropriate German bodies. The persons thus designated shall be known as Trustees and shall hold, in accordance with regulations or orders issued by Military Government, the shares allotted to them on behalf of the owners of the iron and steel undertakings affected by this Article.

12. On completion of the transfer of the title to assets to a unit company, such assets shall cease to be subject to the provisions of Military Government Law 52. The remaining assets of the enterprises brought under control by paragraph 7 hereof shall, in the case of enterprises not enumerated in Schedule A or Schedule B, cease to be subject to the provisions of Military Government Law No. 52 and shall, in the case of enterprises enumerated in Schedule A, be transferred to the liquidator referred to in Article I hereof who shall dispose of them in accordance with the orders of Military Government.

13. Military Government will provide by regulation for—

(a) the organization and functions of the Steel Trustee Association, its powers and duties, its relationship to Military Government, to German agencies and to the German Iron and Steel Industry, both before and after the formation of unit companies;

(b) the rules governing the number of unit companies to be formed, the allocation of assets to such companies, the number of Trustees, their powers and duties, their relationship to Military Government, to German agencies, to the Steel Trustee Association and to the previous owners of the affected undertakings.

### *Article IV*

#### **United Nations Interests**

14. Except for those enterprises enumerated in Schedule A, as subject to reorganization within the

purview of Military Government Law No. 56, enterprises, the share capital of which before 1st September, 1939 was owned to the extent of more than 50 per cent by United Nations nationals, shall not be subject to the provisions of Articles II and III hereof. Provision shall, however, be made by regulation for the representation of such enterprises on the Aufsichtsrat of the reorganized Deutsche Kohlenbergbau-Leitung.

15. United Nations interests in the Coal and Iron and Steel Industries acquired before 1st September 1939 may be represented by persons holding powers of attorney for the owners.

16. The provisions of this Article shall not in any way limit or affect the powers of the UK/US Coal Control Group or the Deutsche Kohlenbergbau-Leitung, in its present or future form, over production and distribution in the Coal Industry.

**Article V**

**Liabilities**

17. Assets, the title to which is seized and transferred under the provisions of Articles II and III, hereof, are hereby declared to be free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

18. The proceeds which may become available from the eventual sale of shares in companies formed under Articles II and III hereof shall be made over to the undertakings, the assets of which have been transferred, or their successors in interest, or liquidators, in proportion to the value of the transferred assets, and shall be available for the satisfaction of creditors in accordance with their original rights under the provisions of German law, provided that Military Government may order priorities for the satisfaction of debts arising during the period of Military Government control.

**Article VI**

**Former Reich and Prussian State Interests**

19. Enterprises and holdings of the former Reich or Prussian State shall be subject to the provisions of this Law. Interests of the former Reich or Prussian State in companies formed pursuant to this Law shall be represented by the Trustees referred to in Articles II and III hereof and shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of such regulations and orders as may be issued under Article XI hereof or other relevant legislation.

**Article VII**

**Amendments and Repeals**

20. Insofar as the provisions of Military Government Law No. 52 or 56 are inconsistent with the provisions of this Law, this Law shall prevail.

21. This Law, and all regulations and orders issued thereunder, shall prevail over provisions of German law inconsistent therewith.

**Article VIII**

**Tax Provisions**

22. Taxes and other duties shall not be imposed in connection with any transfer pursuant to Articles II and III of this Law, nor shall any taxes or other duties be imposed in connection with the formation of new companies as provided herein.

23. The vesting in Trustees of ownership interests in the companies formed pursuant to Articles II and III hereof shall not affect the computation of the tax liabilities of such companies. The assessment of all taxes on such companies shall be according to the principles of German tax law which would be applicable to them in the absence of trustees.

**Article IX**

**Attestation**

24. The appropriate German authority shall register transfers made pursuant to this Law without any attestation upon presentation by Military Government of a certified list of the assets to be transferred.

**Article X**

**Penalties**

25. Any person violating or evading or attempting to violate or evade or procuring the violation of any provision of this Law or of any regulation or order issued thereunder shall, upon conviction, be liable to a fine of not more than DM 200,000 or to imprisonment for not more than five years or both.

**Article XI**

**Regulations**

26. Military Government may from time to time issue regulations and orders in implementation or amplification of this Law.

**Article XII**

**Definitions**

27. For the purpose of this Law and any regulation or order issued thereunder—

(1) "Colliery assets" shall mean assets located on or physically connected with a colliery or economically essential to the operation thereof and include the following properties and interests of the coal mining industry—

(a) Coalmines and unworked coal.  
"Coal" includes steinkohle, pechkohle and braunkohle, together with such other minerals as are normally mined by colliery undertakings in association with the foregoing.

"Mine" includes quarry, opencast, drift and deep mine workings and borings associated therewith.

(b) Fixed and movable property used for colliery activities and the following ancillary activities: coal carbonization, coal products distillation

processes allied with colliery activities and processes associated with briquetting plants, manufactured fuels, hydrogenation plants, synthetic plants, nitrogen and ammonia plants, plants for the provision of gas to the gas grids, brick, tile and similar works and property used for the supply of water from or to a coal mine.

(c) Property used for generating and transmitting electricity, consumed exclusively or mainly in the course of colliery and ancillary activities.

(d) Railways, aerial ropeways, canal waterways and other fixed and movable property used exclusively or mainly for inland or water transport, loading, discharging, handling or storing of products of colliery and ancillary activities, or articles required for colliery or electricity activities and ancillary activities, when such equipment is used exclusively for internal transport within the area of a colliery.

(e) Fixed and movable property of the colliery undertaking used exclusively or mainly for the purposes of the sale or supply by colliery concerns of products of colliery and ancillary activities.

(f) Fixed and movable property of the colliery undertaking used for such welfare activities as hospitals, baths, canteens or for the provision of benefits for the staff employed in colliery and ancillary activities.

(g) Patents in respect of inventions relating to processes applied in the course of colliery and ancillary activities or to production in connection with these activities and trade marks used or intended for use in relation to such production.

(h) Stocks of products of colliery and ancillary activities.

(i) Consumable or spare stores available for use for colliery and ancillary activities.

(j) Interests of colliery undertakings in dwelling houses and land used to provide housing accommodation for the workpeople and staff employed in colliery and ancillary activities.

(k) Interests of colliery undertakings in forests, farms, farming stock and other agricultural property, and all land owned by colliery undertakings, including land to be used for the enlargement of surface installations and similar activities.

(l) Interests of colliery undertakings in technical organizations, all organizations engaged in research for the colliery industry and ancillary activities, testing stations designed to secure safety in mines and in allied activities, and schools and institutes engaged in training for the mining and ancillary activities.

(m) Liquid assets, including accounts receivable and cash in hand which are attributable to the operation of the assets specified herein.

(2) "Coal carbonization and coal products distillation processes" shall mean the distillation of coal by any process, and the treatment, rendering

and distillation of salable products arising from the distillation of coal.

(3) "Electricity property" shall mean power stations, transformers, transmission lines and other fixed and movable property used in connection with the generation or transmission of electricity.

(4) "Fixed property" shall mean all buildings, works, fixtures and fixed machinery and plant and the sites thereof.

(5) "Movable property" shall mean all movable machinery and plant, wagons and other vehicles, engines, tractors, vessels, animals and movable equipment of any kind.

(6) "Undertakings" shall mean enterprises of any nature whatsoever.

### Article XIII

#### Effective Date

28. This Law shall become effective in the Laender of Bavaria, Hesse, Bremen, and Wuerttemberg-Baden on 10 November 1948.

BY ORDER OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

#### Schedule A to U.S. Military Government Law No. 75

*Enterprises Declared To Be Excessive Concentrations of Economic Power, or Otherwise Deemed Objectionable and Therefore Subject to Reorganization Within the Purview of—*

MILITARY GOVERNMENT LAW No. 56	{	PROHIBITION OF EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION OF GERMAN ECONOMIC POWER
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1. Vereinigte Stahlwerke Aktiengesellschaft
2. Fried. Krupp
3. Mannesmannrohren-Werke
4. { Kloeckner-Werke Aktiengesellschaft  
Kloeckner & Co.
5. Hoesch Aktiengesellschaft
6. Otto Wolff
7. { Gutehoffnungshuette Aktienverein fuer Berg-  
bau und Huttenbetrieb  
Gutehoffnungshuette Oberhausen Aktiengesellschaft
8. Ilseeder Huette
9. Reichswerke Complex
10. Flick Complex
11. Thyssen-Bornemisza Group
12. Stinnes Complex
13. Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Kohlen-Syndikat
14. Niedersaechsisches Kohlensyndikat Gesellschaft mit beschaenkrter Haftung
15. Rheinisches Braunkohlen-Syndikat Gesellschaft mit beschaenkrter Haftung
16. Westfaelische Kohlenhandelsoges Gastroek & Co.
17. Kohlenhandelsgesellschaft "Hansa," Kallmeier & Co.
18. Kohlenhandelsgesellschaft "Mark," Siepmann, Schrader & Co.

19. Westfaelisches Kohlenkontor Naht, Emschermann & Co.
20. Kohlenhandelsgesellschaft "Niederrhein," Weyer, Franke & Co.
21. Kohlenhandelsgesellschaft "Westfalia," Wiesebrock, Schulte & Co.
22. Kohlenhandelsgesellschaft "Gluckauf" Abt. Beck & Co.
23. Deutsche Kohlenhandelsgesellschaft Lüders, Meentzen & Co.
24. Kohlenkontor Weyhenmeyer & Co.
25. Westfaelische Kohlenverkaufsgesellschaft Vollrath, Weck & Co.
26. Kohlenwertstoff A. G.

**Schedule B to U.S. Military  
Government Law No. 75**

*Enterprises Declared To Be Subject to Seizure by Military Government, the Assets of Which Are Placed Under Control Pursuant to Military Government Law No. 52*

1. Vereinigte Elektrizitäts-und Gewerks-A. G.
2. Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Elektrizitätswerk A. G.
3. Vereinigte Elektrizitaetswerke Westfalen A. G.
4. Vereinigte Industrieunternehmungen A. G.

**OUTLINE OF DECISIONS<sup>2</sup>**

The U.S. and U.K. Military Governors have had under review the structural reorganization and the pattern of ownership in the coal and iron and steel industries. The following constitutes an outline of the decisions which have been reached and which will be put into operation in the near future and which are embodied in the laws and schedules which have been made available to you today.

In the first place the Military Governors wish to make it clear that the restoration of a pattern of ownership in these industries which would constitute an excessive concentration of economic power will not be allowed. Nor will the return to positions of ownership and control of those individuals who permitted and encouraged the aggressive designs of the national socialist party be permitted. Secondly the Board considers the question of socialization to be one that is properly within the competence of a representative freely elected German Government, the sovereignty of which may extend over the whole of Germany or may be confined to Western Germany only. Accordingly the Board will not take any action in regard to the coal and iron and steel industries in the Combined Area which will prejudice a decision by such future German Government as to the pattern of ownership to be established for those industries. At such a time as a representative freely elected Government either for Germany as a whole or Western Germany alone is constituted it shall be at liberty to resolve this question within the limitations of Military Government policy already expressed.

The Board considers that in the meantime an

<sup>2</sup> Released to the press by OMCUS in Berlin on Nov. 10, 1948. This statement relative to the U.S. and U.K. plans for the "Reorganization of German Coal and Iron and Steel Industries" was issued simultaneously on Nov. 10, 1948, to German representatives of the Economics Council; of the Länderrat and the Bizonal Executive Committee in Frankfurt; of the steel industry and its trade-union leaders at Düsseldorf; and of the coal industry and its trade-union representatives in Essen.

interim reorganization of these industries is essential in the interests of the recovery of the German economy. Accordingly, the Board has decided to take certain steps which, without prejudicing the ultimate settlement of ownership have the purpose (a) to transfer the custody of the assets in these two industries and the exercise of ownership functions to German hands (b) to strengthen and improve existing German organizations and to provide German organizations where none exist and the need is considered as established (c) to encourage a return to a more normal method of working, under which directors and management will have the motive and the opportunity to assume their proper responsibilities and liabilities (d) to provide or adjust Military Government organizations in these industries on a Bipartite basis.

In formulating the plan to give effect to these objectives, The Board has decided that undertakings in the coal and iron and steel industries in which Allied interests as at 1st September 1939 owned the share capital to the extent of more than 50 per cent should be excluded from the application of these decisions.

Enterprises which fell within this definition and which are not subject to reorganization under decartelization legislation will be released from the control at present exercised by Military Government under the provisions of the relevant orders issued under Law 52 and the owners of such enterprises will be at liberty to resume their normal functions except that in the case of the coal industry the powers of Military Government which are vested in the UK/US Coal Control Group and the powers over the production and distribution of coal allotted by Military Government to the DKBL in its present or future form shall in no way be limited or affected by these arrangements.

The following is a summary of the steps which will be taken in the coal industry.

The colliery undertakings within an established definition will be withdrawn from their parent

enterprises and set up under new companies to be formed for the purpose under German Law. Military Government will decide in broad outline the assets which will be allotted to each new company and will seize and transfer the title to such assets to the new companies. In grouping these colliery interests for the future, care will be taken to group in accordance with the requirements of efficient operation and to avoid undue dislocation.

German nationals will be appointed as Trustees for each new company by Military Government after due consultation with the appropriate German bodies. Three to five Trustees will be appointed per company and will hold the shares of the company in equal proportion. The shares will be held on behalf of the owners but the rights of the owners will be limited to receiving appropriate proceeds arising from the eventual disposal of the shares and shall not include the right to influence or affect the acts of the Trustee.

Trustees will be responsible to Military Government for the efficient discharge of their duties. The managements of the new companies will be subject to the over-all authority assigned to the DKBL. The Trustees will exercise the functions of ownership except that they shall not distribute earnings and shall not be entitled to dispose of the shares or the capital assets of their companies without the approval of Military Government.

The DKBL and its subsidiary companies the DKV and BBZ will be formed into Aktiengesellschaften. The shares of DKBL will be held by Military Government, and DKV and BBZ will be fully owned subsidiaries of the DKBL. Members of the Aufsichtsrat of the DKBL will be appointed from Trustees of the new coal companies by Military Government who will ensure that the constitution of the Aufsichtsrat is broadly representative and who will arrange for the inclusion of appropriate representation of Allied-owned mines in the Aufsichtsrat.

The reconstitution of the DKBL will be delayed until a sufficient number of Trustees appointed to the new coal companies are available for nomination to the Aufsichtsrat. In the meantime the DKBL will continue under its present constitution.

Steps of a similar nature will be taken in the iron and steel industry. In this case the programs envisaged consist of two phases. In the first phase a steel trustee association will be formed consisting of 12 members who will be appointed by Military Government after due consultation with appropriate German bodies. The shares of the new companies which have already been formed to operate the steel-producing industry will be transferred to the association and the assets at present operated by these companies, including assets at present held on lease from the owners, will be seized by Military Government and the title thereto transferred to the association.

During this phase the association will exercise the functions of ownership except that it shall not be entitled to distribute earnings or to dispose of either the shares or the assets which it holds and shall be subject to the over-riding authority of Military Government through the Agency of a Bipartite Steel Group which will be formed for the purpose. In the fields of current production and distribution the association will have advisory functions only. Other iron and steel-producing assets as may be approved by Military Government may also be transferred to the association.

During the first phase the association will have as its primary task the proposal of measures for the further reorganization of the iron and steel industry with the object of combining the assets now held by the steel producing companies into a fewer number of companies in order to obtain production units of optimum efficiency. In formulating their recommendation the association will be at liberty to propose the inclusion of additional assets of the former iron and steel and coal complexes in order to provide sound economic units of a size and range capable of sustaining the steel fabricating industry in competition with the world markets. Such additional assets may include colliery assets and particular attention will be directed to the treatment to be accorded to the iron ore mining industry. The criteria which will govern the proposals for this further reorganization will be purely economic and the former ownership groupings will be ignored entirely.

The second phase envisages the completion of the formation of new unit companies and the appointment to them of German nationals as Trustees in a manner similar to that adopted in the coal industry. At this stage the Trustee association will cease to exercise the powers of ownership which will be vested in the hands of the Trustees for each unit company. The association will then assume the normal functions of a trade association except that, for the time being, membership will be compulsory on the basis that each unit company will nominate one of its trustees as a member of the association.

Finally as a complementary step to the reorganizations plans for the coal and iron and steel industries it has been decided to take action in these fields in order to apply the decartelization policy which has been adopted in the Combined Area. Accordingly the exceptions from the application of Ordinance 78 which were made at the time of promulgation of the decartelization legislation in the case of the coal and iron and steel industries and the firm of Friedrich Krupp will be cancelled. The undertakings involved will become subject to the provisions of the implementing regulations of this Law except that Military Government has decided without further delay to declare a number of the original combines to be

excessive concentrations of economic power or otherwise to be objectionable. The controlling companies in each of these enterprises will be put into liquidation or current liquidation proceedings confirmed as the case may be. The names of concerns which will be dealt with in this manner are shown in schedule A of the Law.

In conclusion I am instructed to emphasize that the Military Governors have special responsibility in regard to the coal and iron and steel industries, of which they cannot divest themselves at this stage. These industries, the bulk of which is located in the British Zone, have been in the control of the British Commander-in-Chief. By agreement between them the Military Governors are now transferring the powers of ownership, with certain qualifications, to German Trustees. The Military Governors however are retaining certain control powers. They are bound to do this on account of international agreements to which their Governments are party and they are bound to retain a

measure of control until the final disposition of ownership has been determined. Therefore the decisions which are being announced to you today are necessarily decisions of the Military Governors taken by them in the light of their special responsibilities for these industries.

Before these decisions were reached the views of the various interested German authorities and organizations, which are well known to Military Government, were given full consideration, and, as far as possible and as far as it is compatible with Military Government policy, these views have been incorporated in the plan. The Military Governors are confident that this development will be welcomed by German opinion in general, and look forward to the whole-hearted cooperation of all affected Germans in the implementation of the plan, and to the attainment by joint effort, of the common objective of increased production and an effective German contribution to the recovery of Europe as a whole.

## U.S. Charges Bulgarian Trials Violate Peace Treaty

After a trial which followed the familiar Iron Curtain pattern and was predicated on the usual vague charges and "confessions", severe sentences have been meted out to a small group of Independent Socialist deputies led by Kosta Lulchev, who constituted the last parliamentary opposition to the Bulgarian Communist Government. The sentences ranged from life imprisonment for one defendant (*in absentia*) to a minimum of 10 years. Mr. Lulchev was given 15 years. Accompanying these prison terms were severe monetary fines.

Prior to the arrests of these men their fate was foreshadowed by Prime Minister Dimitrov, who warned them in Parliament on January 12, 1948: "If you do not attempt to grow wiser, you will receive from the people a lesson which you will remember up to 'St. Peter'".

In thus terminating the final pretense of Bulgarian democracy by eliminating these remaining elected representatives of the opposition, the Bulgarian regime has again violated its covenanted obligation under article 2 of the treaty of peace to assure its citizens basic fundamental freedoms.

During the trial, the Bulgarian prosecutor endeavored to implicate United States official personnel in Bulgaria in the improper activities charged against the defendants. The United States Minister has delivered the following note to the Bulgarian Foreign Minister in connection with the prosecutor's assertions:

I refer to accounts of the trial of Kosta Lulchev and others published in *Otechestven Front*, containing statements alleged to have been made in

the course of the trial concerning relations of the defendants with American officials and personnel.

According to those accounts, the prosecution endeavored to demonstrate that various conversations between the defendants and the United States Political Representative in Bulgaria in 1945 and 1946 constituted treasonable activity. The prosecution further alleged subversive involvement with Bulgarian political forces on the part of an enlisted United States soldier.

With regard to conversations between the defendants and the United States Political Representative, the Bulgarian Government is reminded that Bulgaria was at that time under an Armistice regime, and when requested, free discussions of Bulgarian political affairs with representatives of the Armistice powers was accordingly incumbent upon Bulgarians. It may be added that no discussions have taken place between United States officials and Bulgarian nationals during the Armistice period or subsequently which could be regarded as improper then or following the conclusion of peace. As for the prosecution allegation regarding an American enlisted soldier, the absurdity of the charge should have been apparent. The individual was a mess sergeant whose duties comprised the procurement of food for members of the Allied Control Commission.

The United States Government, in registering its objection to these preposterous assertions of the public prosecutor, takes exception to this irresponsible conduct of a Bulgarian official toward the United States.

# Contribution of Western European Countries to Economic Recovery

BY WILLARD L. THORP<sup>1</sup>

Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs

Three years ago, in 1945, your nation and mine emerged from one of the greatest cataclysms of history. The peoples of our countries, of all the Allies, groped from the darkness of war to the light of peace expecting something changed, something new.

The statesmen who were preparing the peace were not unmindful of this deep-rooted sentiment among all peoples who stood in the battle lines. They planned the postwar period with a thoroughness which probably has never been equalled before in history. For example, well before the war's end the concept of the United Nations began to take form, with a Charter designed to provide machinery for the preservation of the peace. The process of postwar planning did not stop there. UNRRA was blueprinted for the immediate emergency period. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was mapped out to provide the capital for long-range recovery. The International Monetary Fund and the International Trade Organization were to guide and guard economic health. Other organizations were conceived to develop international cooperation in specialized fields, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the like. In a word, a careful groundwork was laid and it was hoped that these new international instruments would serve as a solid foundation for the future, that recovery would not be long delayed, and that the peace would promise well.

Unfortunately, the difficulties in the way of economic recovery, which is the true basis of social and ultimately of political security, were underestimated. The destruction was greater than the human mind had been able to grasp. The dislocation was more severe. Markets were disrupted; normal trade channels were blocked; the customary patterns of trade balance and the means of foreign payment for countries whose economic life had been built on the expectation of international trade were destroyed.

As time went on, the interdependence of the recovery of the countries in the Western area became increasingly clear. In other words, the recovery

of a country depends not alone on what it would and could do itself; it depends also on the behavior of other countries.

I need not tell you in Belgium this. You were the first to take bold steps towards economic recovery, and you were in the forefront of those cutting with a surgeon's knife the impediments to economic recovery. You moved forward towards economic health well ahead of many other countries, and the limiting factor on your accomplishment in substantial part has come from without rather than from within. In a word, your international economic relationships failed to keep pace with your domestic development, and you suffered the consequences. Recovery must be a joint product.

Until about a year ago, the United States dealt with the problem of assistance for recovery, nation by nation. There were UNRRA, with 70 percent of the cost borne by the United States, and two subsequent fully U.S.-financed assistance programs, whose operations were based on country allocations. There were loans by the United States Export-Import Bank on a case-by-case basis, as were the loans by the International Bank. These separate and individual efforts just did not seem to be fully effective, and the American Congress became less and less satisfied with the piecemeal approach to the problem while, concomitantly, in Europe the need for an interdependence of planning became more and more clear. From this thinking on both sides of the ocean the European Recovery Program was born.

The European Recovery Program is a great experiment in economic cooperation, and I am sure that all of us who are involved can be very proud of it as a demonstration of the finest kind of constructive international undertaking. For the United States, it is, to put it very simply, a matter of giving you assistance so that you can help and strengthen yourselves. Unfortunately, although you and men of good will throughout Western

<sup>1</sup> An address made before the Rotary Club in Brussels on Nov. 23, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the third regular session of the General Assembly on the same date. Mr. Thorp is Alternate Delegate of the United States to the General Assembly.

Europe understand our purposes, there are countries and political groups which have deliberately misconstrued our aims and are exerting their utmost to sap and sabotage the European Recovery Program and to poison with vicious lies and violent charges the atmosphere in which it must accomplish its creative effort. Since they chose, or were directed, not to join in the great effort, they continually appear to be under a strange compulsion to justify that decision. To those who knew the facts, these interpretations of the ERP by its enemies are clearly in the realm of fiction.

I should like to emphasize the fact that the European Recovery Program is *European*. I mean to say that although the original initiative was American, the major part has been played, is being played, and will be played by the participating European governments. Over a year ago, the representatives of the 16 European governments blocked out the fundamental analysis which underlies the program. They next signed an agreement defining their joint purposes. They then set up the OEEC, the Organization for European Economic Co-operation—which is the operative organ in this field—of which the United States is not even a member. Through this organization the 16 undertake a major part of and all the initial planning. The United States enters the picture largely to match the requirements as developed by the European governments with the availabilities in the United States and from other sources. In short, the United States services a European program. It is the greatest of injustices to the European countries themselves to picture ERP as an American concept—I shall not insult you by picking up the propaganda word “plot”—when it is Europeans who have done so much to found and implement and vitalize the project.

Now, the peoples of what for the present we must limit to Western Europe have characteristics and institutions and traditions in common with the people of the United States. They have protective procedures with regard to the development of their public policies which assure the maximum of freedom and independence. Thus, those public policies are arrived at openly. There is public discussion of current issues. There is a free press. Multiple political parties represent the various shadings of opinion. There are free elections, which make it essential for the Government holding power in trust for the citizens to be responsive to their will if it wishes to survive. In short, in Western Europe as in the United States there is an open, untrammelled, democratic society which both Americans and Europeans wish to preserve as the principal source of their strength and the surest armor against interference and domination from the outside. I mention this because it has been suggested that your governments, under the pres-

sure of economic necessity, have transferred great areas of authority and control over your affairs to the United States. Not only has no government in Western Europe done any such thing, but from our side, we in the United States wish the most independent and strong kind of Europe and one which will withstand all pressure from without, preserving for its children that kind of good society in which alone free men can hope to survive.

Anyone who takes the trouble to read the bilateral agreements setting up the European Recovery Program will speedily recognize that the basic commitments by the European countries are those which they had already taken among themselves in their own organization—to use their best efforts to achieve recovery, and their obligations to the United States are primarily directed to providing assurance that the American assistance will be used efficiently and effectively for the same purpose. These agreements are written against the knowledge that the participating countries of Western Europe are as jealous as we are in the United States of their rights and freedoms and open in their procedures. It is our most earnest hope that they, as we, will so remain.

Indeed the European Recovery Program clearly has as its objective not to increase European dependence on the United States but to reduce that dependence. We are living in a world of shortages. There are shortages everywhere, but fortunately American productive machinery which escaped war's destruction is able to operate at a high level. It produces goods which are needed in Europe and which, under the European Recovery Program, are sent to Europe even though there is no prospect of payment. It is obvious that this cannot continue indefinitely. Therefore, the object of this mission must be not to set up an American monopoly or a market but to raise European production and adjust trade to the point where participating countries can be self-supporting once more and where any so-called dependence on other areas will disappear.

I am certain that you know as well as we do in the United States that one of the most earnest prayers in the wishful thinking of those who want the ERP to fail is that our country will run into another economic crisis and that the workers of the United States will be without employment with destructive social consequences. Day after day this theme has pervaded the propaganda of those who wish us ill.

Strange to say, however, their prophecies are not fulfilled, and in order to justify their failure as social and economic Cassandras they have launched the comforting thought—to them—that the United States is sending tremendous shipments of goods to Europe in order to ward off a crisis. Let me

say to you that even if all shipments of goods were to stop, there would be little more than a readjustment in our economy and certainly no crisis. The shipments to Europe, although heavy, are still only a small percentage of our total production, and we still have shortages in the United States. There are tremendous demands upon our industry from our domestic economy and many areas of the world other than Europe remain to be served. We are not seeking markets abroad for surplus goods. We have no need to expand our trade to maintain our economy and certainly not on a grant basis.

Moreover—in form as well as volume—Europeans are directing their recovery, and we are happy to help them to this end too. As you know, the programing is done by each European country in the first instance itself and then through the OEEC with other European countries, and finally with the United States. This applies to agriculture as well as industry. The United States is wholly sympathetic with the European wish to place agriculture at the top of all needs and will, so far as possible, contribute to the expansion of agriculture in all European countries. In the industrial field European governments felt that they could provide a large part of their requirements and this decision is respected by us.

In a word, it is the ardent wish of all Americans that agriculture, industry, and trade in Europe will be stimulated by our aid and will expand to the outside limits of possibilities in present conditions.

The principles which underlie the European Recovery Program are basic principles for economic progress anywhere in the world. No one can deny that improved standards of living and steady and secure employment rest upon increased production, financial stability, and the expansion of trade. Nor can one deny that the efforts of many countries working cooperatively can achieve much more than the same amount of energy expended separately in countries acting in isolation.

Your country and my country have been leaders in the effort to see that these economic objectives be steadily pursued not merely in the European Recovery Program, but in the broader operations of the United Nations.

I am sure that this is perfectly clear to men as well informed in economic matters as you must be, and as I have found your compatriots to be in the last several years as I have worked with them on many economic problems. I need only mention with a sense of real appreciation the leadership which M. Camille Gutt has given to the International Monetary Fund and the part which your representatives played in developing the Havana Charter with its program for trade expansion and the establishment of the International Trade Organization. In fact, every day in the various

phases of the economic program under the United Nations I sit down with the delegates and experts of Belgium and find that we can always work happily and constructively together.

My specialty is the economic phase of our international responsibility, and as a consequence my special concern is with economic recovery and the progress towards constantly higher standards of living. I have therefore dwelt on the economic aspects of the postwar and the march to economic unity. It cannot be overlooked, however, that there are clear relationships between economic health and political stability. They are closely interrelated and while we may say that "Man cannot live by bread alone", neither can he live without it. Promises and panaceas seem brightest to the hungry and dissatisfied and dispossessed. Calm heads do not usually go with empty stomachs. Evolution instead of revolution takes place only when the economic atmosphere is one of hope, not fear.

The winning of the great freedoms—freedom in economic terms, freedom in political terms, freedom from war and threat of war—is the paramount problem of our time. Some of us, therefore, are working to promote economic security; others in a parallel operation are putting together the sticks and stones of political security.

I am happy to record that in the last months there has been a real progress in the direction of political as well as economic security. There is a definite trend towards real accomplishment, in deeds, not only words. Benelux is a growing reality. Under the Brussels pact, to which our Senate has given a sympathetic accolade, practical steps have been taken to integrate security measures through a unified Western command. Conversations are now taking place which will have the effect of enlarging the scope of these measures to the whole Atlantic area. Unity is coming in the Western world, in short, and the kind of unity that is the peoples' due. Your distinguished statesman, Foreign Minister Spaak, has been one of the moving spirits in this accomplishment and it has been a privilege to follow the course at close range of his eminent leadership.

There is, in short, a blueprint today with economic aspects and with political aspects and even with military aspects, from which we can construct a stronger West. Day by day the graph on this blueprint mounts and achievement is recorded. The contribution of the United States to this accomplishment is a small part compared to what Europeans are doing themselves for themselves. But what the American people give they give with the fullest measure of good will and with the sincerest hope that the darkest days of fear and insecurity will soon be behind and that ahead will lie a future bright with the promise of prosperity and the assurance of enduring peace.

## Entry Into Force of International Whaling Convention Proclaimed

[Released to the press November 26]

The international convention for the regulation of whaling, which was signed at Washington on December 2, 1946, was proclaimed by the President on November 19, 1948. The President's proclamation is effective from November 10, on which date the Netherlands Government deposited with the Department its instrument of ratification of the convention. Since instruments of ratification had been previously deposited by the United States, Australia, Norway, the Soviet Union, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom, this action by the Netherlands was the last step required to bring the convention into force between those Governments. In addition, Iceland, which had not signed the convention, has given to the Department notification of its adherence to the terms of the convention, and Panama has informed the Department of its intention to apply the convention provisionally pending definitive approval in accordance with its constitutional requirements. These notifications became effective on November 10, 1948, the day on which the convention entered into force.

Advice and consent to the ratification of the convention on behalf of the United States was given by the Senate on July 2, 1947.

The principal objective of the convention is to provide long-range regulation for the whale fisheries in order to secure proper and effective conservation of whale stocks, to prevent further depletion of certain species of whales which have for some time been subject to overfishing, and to promote the orderly development of the whale fishery with due regard to all pertinent conservation, economic, and nutritional considerations. In order to carry out its purposes and objectives, the convention provides for the establishment of an International Whaling Commission composed of one member from each contracting government. The Commission is empowered to undertake study and investigation of the present and future problems of the whale fishery and, within strictly defined limits, to amend the schedule which is annexed to the convention and which contains specific regulations upon such matters as protected species, open and closed seasons, open and closed waters, and size limits. It is anticipated that the first meeting of the Commission will be held at London in the near future.

Whaling operations during the forthcoming Antarctic season, scheduled to open on December 15, 1948, will be governed by the provisions of the schedule as they now stand, since any new regulations which may be adopted by the Commission may not become effective prior to July 1, 1949.

## Discussions With Ireland on Double Taxation

The Department of State announced November 23 that discussions will be opened at an early date between American and Irish technical experts looking to the conclusion of treaties between the two Governments for the avoidance of double taxation and for administrative cooperation in prevention of tax evasion with respect to income taxes and to taxes on estates of deceased persons.

If the discussions are successful and a basis for agreement is found, they will result in the preparation of draft treaties, which will be submitted by the negotiators to their respective Governments for consideration with a view to signing.

In preparation for the discussions, the American Delegation will welcome conferences with interested parties or statements and suggestions from them concerning problems in tax relations with Ireland. Communications in this connection should be addressed to Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington 25, D. C.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### U.S. and Ceylon Exchange Diplomatic Representatives

#### *Ceylon Ambassador Presents Credentials*<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press November 24]

The presentation of credentials to President Truman on November 24 by George C. S. Corea, first Ambassador of Ceylon to the United States, gives full effect to the agreement to exchange diplomatic representatives entered into by the United States and Ceylon shortly after the latter gained fully self-governing status early this year. The first American Ambassador to Ceylon, Felix Cole, presented his letters of credence to Sir Henry Monck-Mason Moore, the Governor General of Ceylon, on August 3 this year. It is a source of satisfaction to this country to have thus inaugurated the closer relationship which accompanies this exchange of ambassadors.

Ambassador Corea has had a wide and extended career in law, politics, and international affairs. He has held cabinet posts in Ceylon and was Ceylon's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom from 1946 until his present appointment to the United States.

<sup>1</sup> For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 944 of Nov. 24, 1948.

**U. K. Draft Resolution**—Continued from page 689

tine; and *instructs* the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council for appropriate action by that organ any attempt by any party to impede such access;

9. *Recommends* to the Security Council that after the frontiers have been established in accordance with this resolution the Security Council considers, in conformity with the Charter, any attempt to alter these frontiers by force as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression;

10. *Endorses* the principle stated in Part I, section V, paragraph 7 of the Mediator's report and *resolves* that the Arab refugees should be permitted to return to their homes at the earliest possible date and that adequate compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for property which has been lost as a result of pillage, confiscation or of destruction; and *instructs* the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the Arab refugees and the payment of compensation, and to enter into contact with the Director of United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees;

11. *Authorizes* the Conciliation Commission to appoint such subsidiary bodies and to employ such technical experts, acting under its authority, as it may find necessary to the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under this resolution;

12. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to Members of the United Nations;

13. *Calls upon* all Governments and authorities concerned to co-operate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of this resolution;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide the necessary funds required in carrying out the terms of this resolution.

**Consulate at Suva To Be Closed**

[Released to the press November 26]

The United States Consulate at Suva, in the Fiji Islands, is to be closed December 31, 1948, according to an announcement by the Foreign Service.

The closing has been ordered primarily for administrative reasons, as the amount of business done there on behalf of Americans in recent times does not justify the Consulate's continuation during a period of strict economy. The work of the office will henceforth be performed by periodically sending to visit Suva a Foreign Service officer familiar with conditions in the South Pacific Islands.

**Freedom of the Road**—Continued from page 702

(a) The road services of countries and occupation zones granting such facilities shall enjoy equal privileges in the beneficiary countries;

(b) The carriers shall respect existing laws and regulations of a technical or administrative character now in force.

By the end of May 1948, the Governments of Luxembourg and Norway had adhered to the agreements for international passenger transport by road and international tourist traffic by road.

At the fourth session in May, 1948, the invitation was renewed for other participating governments

to accede to the agreements on lifting of restrictions on freedom of the road. As a further step toward the desired objective, the governments were in the process of providing information on their laws and regulations and agreements in force so that the Committee would be able to make a study of the difficulties with which international road transport is confronted and thereby facilitate a better approach to the problem.

The fifth session convened October 5, 1948, at Geneva. Adherences to a one-year extension, commencing January 1, 1949, on freedom of road agreements to which they are now signatories, were made by the Governments of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, France, and the three zones of Western Germany.

This session recommended that those governments not yet adhering to the agreement on freedom of transport of goods other than in transit should reconsider their position in order that they might be able to take favorable action before the sixth session, in March 1949. In regard to the international tourist-traffic agreement the Representative of Italy reported that a favorable decision from his Government would be received within a short time. Other accomplishments of the Working Party toward the ultimate goal of freedom of the road can be evidenced by approval of reciprocal annulment of customs duties on gasoline carried by commercial and tourist vehicles throughout Europe and the agreement on the part of Sweden to liberalize restrictive national laws covering the movement of commercial vehicles.

**The Ruhr**—Continued from page 703

ures which may need to be taken to insure security against possible future German aggression. I stated to Dr. Schuman that this Government was ready now to welcome French participation in the control groups established over coal and steel without waiting for the final fusion arrangements. But the principal consideration is that the final determination of the security problem of Europe in relation to the future of the Ruhr must await the terms of the peace treaty which will be conclusive in the matter.

I might add one more thought to this matter, which is that it must be very hard for our public to reach a full understanding of this complicated problem not only because it is complicated but also because in the political strife now occurring in France many things are said—or claimed—to have a definite political purpose quite apart from the future of the Ruhr. The present Government has this additional difficulty to deal with.

<sup>1</sup>For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 938 of Nov. 23, 1948.

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The Department of State

# bulletin

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## Proposal To Establish Committee To Study Berlin Currency Problem

### TEXT OF PROPOSAL OF PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

[Released to the press December 2]

The President of the Security Council, in the exercise of his powers, has decided:

(1) To invite the Governments of Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, and Syria, each to nominate a financial or economic expert, who, together with an expert nominated by the Government of Argentina, shall meet in Paris, and whose task shall be to consider and make recommendation to the President of the Security Council upon the most equitable conditions, taking into account the directive of August 30, 1948, as well as information concerning events subsequent thereto, for the agreement among the occupying powers relating to introduction, circulation and continued use of a single currency for Berlin under adequate four-power supervision and import and export regulations in connection with outside trade of Berlin.

(2) To invite the Secretary General to nominate a financial or economic expert to work with the committee mentioned in paragraph one above; and to cooperate fully with the committee and supply in addition all information and all the facilities and staff that the said committee may require.

(3) The committee is fully empowered to consult with the economic or financial experts representing each of the four occupying powers in Berlin, and also, if they deem it convenient, with other economic or financial experts.

(4) This study must be definitely finished within thirty days as from the date of this resolution. How must the experts carry out its task?

The Commission will fix its plan of work and immediately after will get in contact with the

representatives, specialists in economy assigned by the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. in order to end their task within the period established in paragraph four of the resolution.

Which items will the technicians cover in their studies?

The technicians appointed, acting jointly in all circumstances, will try to arrange with the parties in conflict the adequate terms to enforce the directives of August 30, 1948, in the matter related with the introduction in Berlin of the Soviet mark as well as the control on emission, supply and circulation of the sole currency, the adequate rules to regulate banking and credit facilities and the exterior trade of Berlin, and the consideration of other subsequent facts which could bring difficulty to the implementation of the draft agreements or recommendations.

How will the recommendations submitted to the President of the Security Council be adopted?

The recommendations submitted to the President of the Security Council will be adopted by the technicians representing the six countries appearing in paragraph one of the previous resolution, which should meet with the conformity of the technicians of the United States, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.

In case of not reaching agreement among the parties the commission of technicians will submit to the President of the Security Council a detailed report of the performances carried out, the studies made, the propositions submitted, and the causes that on every one of the items prevented from reaching the corresponding agreements.

### TEXT OF THREE-POWER REPLY

[Released to the press December 2]

*The following communication was handed on behalf of the Governments of the United States of America, France, and the United Kingdom on November 30 to Juan Atilio Bramuglia, President of the Security Council*

The Representatives of the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom wel-

come the proposal of the President of the Security Council to establish a Committee of Neutral Experts to study the Berlin currency and trade problems.

In welcoming the proposal to establish the Committee of Neutral Experts, the three representatives desire to make it clear that they must reserve entirely the position of their governments as re-

gards any resolution which may subsequently be submitted to the Security Council after the Committee have reported. They would require to consider any such resolution in the light of the Committee's report and of the general circumstances prevailing at that time.

The three western powers accepted the proposed Security Council resolution of October 25 and have reiterated their willingness to abide by its principles; the Soviet Union has rejected it. The Soviet Union during the period since October 25 has consistently and continuously resorted to further measures directed against the city administration which have brought about an increasing split in the city.

### TRIPARTITE COMMUNIQUÉ TO COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS<sup>1</sup>

In the reply recently presented by the three Western powers to the President of the Security Council's questions on the Berlin currency problem, it was pointed out that it would inevitably be difficult in practice to exercise four-power control of currency in a city in which the previous unified administration under four-power control was not fully functioning at present and was indeed being rapidly diminished. In disregard of the expressed wish of the President of the Security Council that any steps should be avoided, which would lead to a complication of the Berlin crisis, developments instigated by the Soviet command in Germany have now still further detracted from the unified character of the city administration.

On the afternoon of 30 November the Soviet authorities countenanced, and indeed encouraged a series of events in their sector, which have completed the exclusion of the legal city administration from its proper seat in the Soviet sector and from the exercise of its legal authorities in the areas of Berlin which are under Soviet occupation. A carefully stage-managed meeting of Communists and Communist front organizations (including a handful of former members from the other legal Berlin political parties) brought into being a body for which no legal basis exists, but which claims to be the provisional government for the entire City of Berlin.

Although this illegal body will be excluded from usurping any functions of the legal city government as far as the Western sectors of Berlin are concerned, its existence in the Soviet sector will

The three western powers cannot agree that they should be bound to submit to all Soviet measures which add to and intensify the Soviet blockade or which interfere with the city administration, while the Soviet remains wholly uncommitted to any restraint. The three governments therefore repeat the reservation of their right, declared to the Security Council when the Berlin question was submitted to that body "to take such measures as may be necessary to maintain in these circumstances their position in Berlin" pending the outcome of the further efforts of the President of the Security Council with which efforts France, the United Kingdom and the United States have cooperated and will continue to cooperate.

end all possibility of the legal, unified administration functioning on a city-wide basis. This is a development that the Western powers have constantly striven to avoid. It is obvious that the *de facto* political division of the city makes the establishment of a single currency extremely difficult.

The representatives of the Western powers have assured the President of the Security Council that they are anxious to provide all possible assistance in the Council's examination of the Berlin currency problem. They consider that the experts who are attempting to work out a plan for the solution of this problem must take into account the existing position in Berlin and will find it useful to be given information on the underlying political background of the existing division of the city administration. A chronology of the events which have taken place since June, 1948, leading to the present situation is therefore attached.

*[This chronology lists incidents in Berlin since June 23, the details of which have been published.]*

The following short historical summary will, it is hoped, enable it to be more readily understood.

The historical basis and the international agreements setting forth the rights, duties and obligations of the four occupying powers in Berlin have been fully stated in the presentation of the Berlin case to the Security Council and in the White Papers on the Berlin problem published by the United States and the United Kingdom Governments.

In order to establish a democratically elected government to succeed the administration, which had been appointed by the Soviet authorities at the time of their sole occupancy of the city, a temporary constitution under which the city government was to be returned to elected German officials was approved by the Allied Coordinating Committee on 2 August 1946 and issued by the

<sup>1</sup> Delivered on Dec. 5, 1948, by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to the Security Council's Committee of Experts on the Berlin currency problem. Released to the press in Paris on Dec. 6, 1948, and in Washington on Dec. 7, 1948. Printed from telegraphic text.

Kommandatura on 13 August 1946 to become effective in October 1946.

The four occupying powers agreed that elections for the City Assembly under the approved temporary constitution should be held in early October, 1946. In these elections the Socialist Unity party (the Soviet-sponsored Communist party) was decisively defeated, receiving only 19.5 per cent of the votes.

The Magistrat (City Council) appointed by the newly elected Assembly was charged, under the general control of the Allied Kommandatura, with the duty of governing the city, and for this purpose fourteen executive departments were formed. German City Councillors, drawn from all the parties represented in the City Assembly, but with a majority from the Social Democratic party, were appointed as heads of these departments.

The relationship of the departments of the Magistrat and of the Magistrat itself to the Allied Kommandatura was complicated. Since unanimous approval of the Allied Kommandatura was required for any major action taken by the Magistrat, the Soviet authorities by withholding their consent could and did hamper the conduct of the city's affairs.

For example, in June, 1947, they opposed the appointment by the City Assembly and the Magistrat of Herr Reuter as Mayor of Berlin. Reuter was a Social Democrat with an outstanding record as an administrator against whom no serious case was ever made by the Soviet authorities. Interference such as this had an increasingly serious effect upon the administration of the city and indeed progressively tended to split it in two.

Soviet methods were not always the same. In cases where a department head of the city government was a member of the Socialist Unity party, they took the form of encouraging him to disregard the wishes and instructions of the Magistrat, whose servant he was, and to issue orders nominally applicable to the whole city which were acceptable neither to the Magistrat nor to the Western powers but only to the Soviet authorities. In self-defense, in such cases, either the Magistrat had to suspend the head of the department for defying their orders or the Western powers had to take measures limiting the authority of the department in the Western sectors.

A typical example of such Soviet tactics is the case of Berlin's former Police President Paul Markgraf, a member of the Socialist Unity party who consistently pursued a policy contrary to the wishes of the Magistrat. The Magistrat therefore sought to dismiss him in March, 1948, subject to the approval of the Kommandatura. This was never obtained because on the very day on which this matter was to be discussed the Soviet element refused to participate any longer in its activities. The Magistrat then took the only course open to

it under the circumstances and suspended Markgraf, an act not requiring Kommandatura approval, and appointed in his stead as acting Police President, Dr. Stumm. This appointment was subsequently confirmed by the three Western commandants. The Soviet commandant in Berlin refused to recognize the suspension and demanded Dr. Stumm's dismissal.

Markgraf continued to occupy the police offices in the Soviet sector and Dr. Stumm was forced to establish his headquarters in the Western sectors of Berlin. Hence, since July, 1948, there have been two police forces operating in Berlin, the one in the Soviet sector having no legal basis whatever and able to operate there only because of the support of the Soviet authorities.

In other cases where the head of the department concerned was a member of one of the non-Communist parties, intervention by the Soviet authorities was even more direct. In such cases, the Soviet military administration, assuming a power which it did not have, took unilateral action and either dismissed the official concerned (an illegal action whose practical effect was to remove the Soviet sector from his jurisdiction) or set up a rival office within his department whose authority was exclusively recognized in the Soviet sector. In addition, the Soviet authorities in some cases went so far as to arrest non-Communist German officials.

For example, in August, 1948, the Soviet Military Administration unilaterally ordered the dismissal of the director of the Central Coal Organization of the Magistrat's Department of Economy. The Magistrat refused to recognize this Soviet order, pointing out that such orders were only valid if approved and duly transmitted by the four-power Kommandatura. The Soviet Military Administration thereupon promptly arrested the director, whose office was located in the Soviet sector, and appointed its own designee as his successor.

Earlier, on July 26, 1948, the Magistrat had been ordered by the Soviet authorities to establish a separate section in the Central Food Office to carry out the Soviet offer of food rations to all inhabitants of Berlin provided that they registered with shops in the Soviet sector. The following day the Soviet authorities informed the personnel of the Central Food Office that they had one hour in which to decide whether to work with them on the Soviet program. The result was a division in the food office in which Soviet sector food distribution was controlled by the Soviet Military Administration while the Magistrat's Central Food Office continued to have jurisdiction over food distribution in the Western sectors.

The Soviet authorities also introduced other measures dividing the Soviet sector from the Western sectors in connection with the blockade of Berlin; and the City Assembly was obliged long before

the events of 30 November to move its headquarters to the Western sectors because of the Soviet failure to provide protection against mob demonstrations organized by the Socialist Unity party. Many of the departments of the Magistrat were likewise compelled to move to the Western sectors.

The above are examples of Soviet actions extended over a period of many months to bring about a piecemeal (and finally a total) division of the city by constant interference in the normal processes of the unified German city administration. The Western powers, on the other hand, have constantly maintained a policy of non-interference with the legitimate and quadripartite authorized functioning of the city government. It has been their conviction that interference is unfortunate because (a) it destroys the unity upon which the constitutional administration of the city of Berlin depends, and (b) believing as they do in the basic importance of the role of law in democratic life, they cannot countenance the systematic and arbitrary actions of the Soviet Military Administration to set aside laws adopted by the people and approved by quadripartite agreement.

A case in point is the city elections which must take place during 1948 as provided by the temporary constitution approved by all four occupying powers under the terms of which the city administration has been operating since 1946. Although the Soviet authorities professed agreement

as to the desirability of free democratic elections throughout Berlin, the Soviet commandant stipulated conditions precedent to the holding of an election which were known to be unacceptable to the city assembly.

The purpose of these conditions was clearly revealed when, following their rejection by the City Assembly, the Soviet authorities forbade the holding of the elections in the Soviet sector. The Western Allies, on the contrary, regard the elections as a purely German matter and as such they will take place in the Western sectors on December 5, the date arranged by the proper German authorities.

The Soviet authorities have refused to recognize the validity of the elections on December 5 and instead have proceeded since November 30 as previously described to the establishment in the Soviet sector of an unconstitutional body with no claim whatever to represent the people of the city of Berlin or even of the Soviet sector. These developments pose new and grave problems for the solution of Berlin's currency difficulties.

These new problems have arisen because of interference on the part of Soviet authorities with the normal workings of the Berlin constitution; they could even now be set aside if the Soviet authorities were to disown the unconstitutional body created in the Soviet sector on November 30, 1948, and in conformity with the constitution permit elections to be held on a city-wide basis.

## Resolutions on the Special Committee on the Balkans <sup>1</sup>

### Conventions and Refugees

#### B. The General Assembly

*Recommends* that Greece, on the one hand, and Bulgaria and Albania, on the other, establish diplomatic relations with each other, the absence of which is harmful to the relations between these countries;

*Recommends* the Governments of Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to renew the previously operative conventions for the settlement of frontier questions or to conclude new ones, and also to settle the question of refugees in the spirit of mutual understanding and the establishment of good neighbour relations;

*Furthermore recommends* the Governments of Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the end of six months, for communication to

<sup>1</sup> Contained in U.N. doc. A/728, Nov. 18, 1948, and A/728/Corr.1, Nov. 19, 1948. Parts B and C of the resolution were adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 27, 1948. For the text of Part A, see the BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1948, p. 697, and Nov. 21, 1948, p. 635.

Member States of the United Nations, of the fulfilment of the above-mentioned recommendations.

### Greek Children

#### C. The General Assembly

*Recommends* the return to Greece of Greek children at present away from their homes when the children, their father or mother or, in his or her absence, their closest relative, express a wish to that effect;

*Invites* all the Members of the United Nations and other States on whose territory these children are to be found to take the necessary measures for implementation of the present recommendation;

*Instructs* the Secretary-General to request the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to organize and ensure liaison with the national Red Cross organizations of the States concerned with a view to empowering the national Red Cross organizations to adopt measures in the respective countries for implementing the present recommendation.

## Discussion of Israeli Application for Membership

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP<sup>1</sup>

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council

Mr. President: I believe that it is quite appropriate and useful that you should have called the Council's attention to the provision of rule 59 which you have just read. This is a statement of the rule which the Security Council follows in connection with matters involving applications for membership in the United Nations. I should like to comment also, Mr. President, upon the provisions of rule 60. It is true that under rule 60, in the normal course of events, it is contemplated that applications for membership may be received at any time during the year and that the Security Council should take action upon such applications for membership sufficiently in advance of a session of the General Assembly to enable its recommendation to be considered by members of that body before they meet. However, in the last paragraph of rule 60, namely, in the fifth paragraph of rule 60, we read that in special circumstances the Security Council may decide to make a recommendation to the General Assembly concerning an application for membership subsequent to the expiration of the time limit set forth in the preceding paragraph. In other words, that they may deal with applications for membership in the Council in special circumstances.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that in connection with the application for membership of the Provisional Government of Israel the Security Council is confronted with "special circumstances" and it is for that reason that I wish to speak upon this subject even in advance of the normal reference of this matter to the committee of the Council in accordance with rule 59 which you have read.

It is well known, Mr. President, that the United States fully supports and will vote affirmatively on the application of the state of Israel for membership in the United Nations. It is our hope that the Security Council will shortly approve this application so that the Provisional Government of Israel can attain favorable action by the General Assembly and may be admitted as the 59th Member of the United Nations before the end of the Assembly's present session.

We are all aware, Mr. President, that even while we are meeting here in the Security Council, the First Committee of the General Assembly is also devoting itself to the question of the future situation of Palestine and that their deliberations are closely connected with our consideration here of

Israel's application for membership. The attitude on the part of my Government in full support of the admission of the state of Israel in the United Nations is certainly not a matter which will cause any surprise to any member of this Council. Over a year ago the United States gave its support to the principles of the majority plan proposed by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. That plan envisaged the creation of both a Jewish state and an Arab state in Palestine. We gave our support to the resolution of November 29, 1947, by which the General Assembly recommended a plan for the future government of Palestine involving as one of its elements the establishment of a Jewish state in part of Palestine.

Following the proclamation of the independence of Israel on May 14, 1948, the United States extended immediate and full recognition to the state of Israel and recognized the Provisional Government of Israel as a *de facto* authority of the new state. On frequent occasions since that date American officials, including the President and the Secretary of State, have affirmed that the United States looks forward to the admission of the state of Israel to the United Nations. In the remarks which I had the honor to make on behalf of my Delegation in the First Committee of the General Assembly on November 19th, I invited the attention of the Committee to the statement which the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Israel had made asking for the admission of Israel to the United Nations, and I then said on behalf of my Delegation:

"The United States looks forward to the admission of the state of Israel to the United Nations and to its active participation in our work. To this end we hope that the Security Council will be able, in the near future, to recommend Israel as a state duly qualified for membership."

The Charter of the United Nations in article 4 specifies that membership in the United Nations is open to—and I quote the words of the Charter—"peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations". This formulation

<sup>1</sup>Made before the Security Council in Paris on Dec. 2, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

comprises the requirements laid down by the Charter for admission of new members to the United Nations. Reduced to their essence these requirements are as follows: The political entity in question must be a state; it must be a "peace-loving" state; it must accept the obligations contained in the Charter; and it must be able and willing, in the judgment of the United Nations, to carry out these obligations. My Government considers that the state of Israel meets these Charter requirements.

The first question which may be raised in analyzing this fourth article of the Charter and its application to the membership of the state of Israel is the question whether Israel is a "state", as that term is used in article 4 of the Charter. It is common knowledge, Mr. President, that while there are traditional definitions of a state in international law, the term has been used in many different ways. We are all aware that under the traditional definition of a state in international law all of the great writers have pointed to four qualifications:

First: There must be a people.

Second: There must be a territory.

Third: There must be a government.

Fourth: There must be capacity to enter into relations with other states of the world.

So far as the question of capacity to enter into relations with other states of the world is concerned, learned academic arguments can be and have been made to the effect that we already have among the Members of the United Nations some political entities which do not possess full sovereign freedom to form their own international policy which traditionally has been considered characteristic of a state. We know, however, that neither at San Francisco nor subsequently has the United Nations considered that complete freedom to frame and manage one's own foreign policy was an essential requisite of United Nations' membership. I dwell upon this point, Mr. President, not because anyone has ever questioned that in this respect Israel is free and unhampered; in this respect I believe that there would be unanimity that Israel exercises complete independence of judgment and of will in forming and in executing its foreign policy. The reason I mention the qualifications of this aspect of the traditional definition of a state is to underline the point that the term "state" as used and applied in article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations may not be wholly identical with the term "state" as it is used and defined in classic textbooks of international law. When we look at the other classic attributes of a state we find insistence that it must also have a government. No one doubts that Israel has a government. I think the world has been particularly impressed with the way in which the people of Israel have organized their government

and have established a firm system of administration and of lawmaking under the most difficult conditions. Although, pending their scheduled elections, they still modestly and appropriately call themselves the "Government of Israel", they have a legislative body which makes laws; they have a judiciary which interprets and applies these laws; and they have an executive which carries out the laws and which has at its disposal a considerable force which is responsive to its will.

According to the same classical definition, we are told that a state must have a people and territory. Nobody questions the fact that the state of Israel has a people. It is an extremely homogeneous people: a people full of loyalty and of enthusiastic devotion to the state of Israel.

The argument seems chiefly to arise in connection with territory. One does not find in the general classic treatment of this subject any insistence that the territory of a state must be exactly fixed by definite frontiers. We all know that historically many states have begun their existence with their frontiers unsettled. Let me take as one example my own country—the United States. Like the state of Israel it had at its origin certain territory along the seacoast. It had various indeterminate claims to an extended territory westward, but in the case of the United States, that land had not even been explored and no one knew just where the American claims ended and where French and British and Spanish claims began. To the north, the exact delimitation of the frontier with the territories of Great Britain was not settled until many years later. And yet I maintain, Mr. President, that in the light of history and in the light of a practice and acceptance by other states, the existence of the United States of America was not in question before its final boundaries were determined.

Although the formulas in the classic treatises vary somewhat one from the other, both reason and history demonstrate that the concept of territory does not necessarily include precise delimitation of the boundaries of that territory. The reason for the rule that one of the necessary attributes of a state is that it shall possess territory, is that one can not contemplate a state as a kind of disembodied spirit. Historically the concept is one of insisting that there must be some portion of the earth's surface which its people inhabit and over which its government exercises authority. No one can deny that the state of Israel responds to this requirement.

Similarly, Mr. President, it is the view of my Government that Israel is a peaceloving nation. The Jewish community in Palestine which created the state of Israel expressed its willingness and readiness a year ago to accept the General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947, and to cooperate loyally in carrying it out. Members of the Council in reflecting upon the efforts of this

body over the past year to maintain peace in Palestine will recall the degree to which the Provisional Government of Israel has extended its cooperation to the implementation of proposals made by the Security Council or by the mediator. For instance, when the first truce in Palestine was about to expire on July 9, 1948, the Provisional Government of Israel indicated its willingness to observe the truce under substantially the same conditions as those governing the truce then in existence. When this proposal, which had been made by the mediator, was not found acceptable by all the governments and authorities concerned, the Provisional Government of Israel indicated its willingness to accept a further proposal of the mediator for an unconditional cease-fire in Palestine for a period of ten days. Since that date, representatives of the Provisional Government of Israel have repeatedly made clear in this form, and elsewhere, their willingness to seek a settlement, through the processes of negotiation and with appropriate assistance of United Nations mediatory or conciliatory bodies, of all outstanding problems between Israel and other governments and authorities.

As to the third of the Charter requirements, the state of Israel in the terms of its application for membership has indicated its acceptance of the obligations contained in the Charter. There is no reason for the Security Council to question the solemn assurance of Israel that it does accept the obligations of the Charter. One of these obligations is stated in article 25 under its terms, and I quote them: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." If Israel is admitted to the United Nations, this Charter obligation will be binding upon Israel just as it is binding upon the United States and all other Members of the United Nations.

Article 4 of the Charter also requires that a state which is admitted to membership in the United Nations be able and willing, in the judgment of the United Nations, to carry out the obligations contained in the present Charter. It is the judgment of the United States, as one of the Members of the United Nations, that the state of Israel is able and willing to carry out the obligations imposed by the Charter. The willingness of Israel to carry out these obligations is made clear in its letter of application for membership. My Government is also satisfied as regards the ability of the state of Israel to carry out the obligations of the Charter. The state of Israel is a functioning political entity with firmly established governmental institutions exercising effective internal administration and able to conduct the foreign relations of the state. It is clear to me that, judged by whatever standards of political and social organization, Israel is able to carry out the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations

and to assist the United Nations in achieving the high purposes set forth in the Charter.

Mr. President, as a result of this inspection of the requirements for membership in the United Nations as set out in article 4 of the Charter and of their application to the specific situation of Israel, my Delegation reaches the definite conclusion that the state of Israel is qualified for membership and that its application should be endorsed by the Security Council.

There is one other point, Mr. President, to which I should like to refer since it is a matter which arises in consideration and in debate on questions involving applications for membership. The matter to which I refer is the relationship between action by the Security Council or by the United Nations upon application for membership and the problem of recognition of a Government or State.

We are aware, Mr. President, that there are Members of the United Nations who do not maintain diplomatic relations with other Members of the United Nations. Full membership in the United Nations does not necessarily involve bilateral diplomatic relationships among those Members.

I think, Mr. President, that confusion has arisen on this subject of the relationship of the recognition of governments and the admission of states to membership in the United Nations.

I would like to remind members of the Council that the same problem has come to our attention that has caused debate in this body in regard to the appearance of various political entities at this table in matters where their affairs have been discussed. The case of Indonesia comes to mind. We have had similar debates in regard to the seating of the representatives of the state of Israel at this table, and I believe, Mr. President, that the Security Council has fully recognized in that connection through a series of discussions, debates, and practices that the admission of a representative to this table and participation in the discussions does not involve the question of recognition of governments.

Similarly, Mr. President, it is my opinion that just as the existence of diplomatic relations among Members of the United Nations on a bilateral basis is not a feature inherent in full membership in the organization, so the question of the extension of bilateral diplomatic recognition or relationships between a Member of the United Nations and a new Member of the United Nations is not a question which lies at the root of action upon application for membership. Therefore, Mr. President, it seems to me that that issue is not one which should confuse our consideration of the applicability of article 4 of the Charter to any applicant for membership.

Now, Mr. President, I have discussed the question of the application of Israel for membership

in the United Nations in terms of legal analysis of the provisions of the Charter which are relevant to this particular suggestion. But I believe, Mr. President, that we all realize, all of us, members of the Council and all Members of the United Nations, that we are dealing here with something more than questions of legal concepts and of provisions in a document, although we desire and will be guided by the terms of that instrument.

We are dealing here with a desire of a people who have laboriously constructed a community, an authority, and finally a government operating in an independent state to see the state which they have thus arduously built take its place among the Members of the United Nations.

The United States has watched with sympathy and interest the birth of the state of Israel and the development of its political and social institutions. We are looking toward the first general elections to be held by the state of Israel early in the new year. We shall await with anticipation the full development of the state of Israel, of political institutions and practices in the best of the democratic tradition.

My Government, Mr. President, supports the application of the Government of Israel for membership in the United Nations not merely because we consider that Israel fulfils the technical requirements of the Charter in this regard, but because we believe that the state of Israel, its government, and its people will contribute substantially to the work and development of the United Nations organization.

Finally, Mr. President, as I began with a ref-

erence to the last paragraph of rule 60 of the rules of procedure of the Council, I wish to close with a reference to the procedural aspects of this question. There is no use, Mr. President, in any of us avoiding the clear recognition of the fact that we are approaching the closing days of the session of the General Assembly. I have already mentioned the fact that the First Committee is in the midst of its consideration of the future situation of Palestine. Surely, Mr. President, it is of great importance, it is of great value in reaching that final adjustment, a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question, that Israel should take its place among the Members of the United Nations equally bound by the Charter, equally responsible to the obligations of the Charter.

It is my opinion therefore, Mr. President, and the opinion of my Government, that these are special circumstances within the meaning of the last paragraph of rule 60 and that the Security Council should so decide and I should hope, Mr. President, that as this matter is automatically referred to the Committee under rule 60 of our rules of procedure that you as President would indicate to that Committee on Admissions the urgency of this problem and that that Committee will report back to this body certainly not later than Monday of next week their conclusions upon this question, in order that the Security Council may take its action, and I should hope a favorable action, which would enable the General Assembly in turn to approve the application of Israel for membership in this organization.

Thank you, Mr. President.

## Resolution Establishing Conciliation Commission for Palestine<sup>1</sup>

The General Assembly,

HAVING ADOPTED ON 29 November 1947 resolution 181 (II) regarding the future government of Palestine and providing a plan for partition with economic union;

HAVING ADOPTED ON 14 May 1948 resolution 186 (S-2) empowering a U.N. Mediator in Palestine to exercise certain functions including the use of his good offices to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine;

HAVING RECEIVED and examined the progress report of the U. N. Mediator on Palestine (A/648) submitted by the late Count Folke Bernadotte;

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the resolutions of the Security Council concerning the truce in Palestine and of the resolution of 16 November 1948 con-

cerning the establishment of an armistice by means of negotiations conducted either directly or through the Acting Mediator on Palestine;

1. *Expresses* its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late U.N. Mediator in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine for which cause he sacrificed his life; and

*Extends* its thanks to the Acting Mediator and his staff for their continued efforts and devotion to duty in Palestine;

2. *Establishes* a Conciliation Commission consisting of (three states members of the United Nations) which shall have the following functions:

(A) To assume, insofar as it considers necessary in existing circumstances, the functions given to the U.N. Mediator on Palestine by the resolution of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948;

(B) To carry out the specific functions and di-

<sup>1</sup> Adopted by Committee I on Dec. 4, 1948, by a vote of 25 to 21 with 3 absentees. Printed from telegraphic text.

rectives given to it by this resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council;

(C) To promote good relations between the state of Israel, the Arabs of Palestine and the neighbouring Arab states;

(D) To undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the U.N. Mediator on Palestine or to the U.N. Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all the remaining functions of the U.N. Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of the Mediator shall be terminated;

3. *Decides* that the three members of the Conciliation Commission shall be chosen by a committee of the Assembly consisting of the representatives of China, France, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and United States of America;

4. *Requests* the Commission to begin its functions at once, with a view to the establishment of contact between the parties themselves and the Commission at the earliest possible date;

5. *Calls* upon the governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of the negotiations provided for in the Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948 and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either through the Conciliation Commission or directly with a view to a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

6. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to take steps to assist the governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

7. *Resolves* that the holy places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice; that arrangements to this end should be under effective U.N. supervision, that the U.N. Conciliation Commission in presenting to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly its detailed proposal for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem should include recommendations concerning the holy places in that territory; that with regard to the holy places in the rest of Palestine, the Commission should call upon the political authorities of the areas concerned to give appropriate formal guarantees as to the protection of the holy places and access to them; and that these undertakings should be presented to the General Assembly for approval;

8. *Resolves* that in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, as defined in the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, should be accorded special and

separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective U.N. control;

*Requests* the Security Council to take further steps to ensure the demilitarization of Jerusalem at the earliest possible date;

*Instructs* the Conciliation Commission:

To present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which will provide for the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area;

The Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint a U.N. representative who shall cooperate with the local authorities with respect to the interim administration of the Jerusalem area;

9. *Resolves* that, pending agreement on more detailed arrangements among the governments and authorities concerned, the freest possible access to Jerusalem by road, rail or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Palestine; and

*Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council for appropriate action by that organ any attempt by any party to impede such access;

10. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to seek arrangements among the governments and authorities concerned which will facilitate the economic development of the area, including arrangements for access to ports and airfields and the use of transportation and communication facilities; in this connection, the conclusions contained in part I, section VIII, paragraph 4 (E) and (F) of the progress report of the U.N. Mediator should be taken into account;

11. *Endorses* the conclusions stated in part I, section VIII, paragraph 4 (I) of the progress report of the U.N. Mediator in Palestine, and

*Resolves* that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which under principles of international law or in equity should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible; and

*Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation and to maintain close relations with the director of the U.N. relief for Palestine refugees, and through him with the appropriate organs and agencies of the U.N.;

12. *Authorizes* the Conciliation Commission to appoint such subsidiary bodies and to employ such technical experts, acting under its authority, as it may find necessary to the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under this resolution.

The Conciliation Commission will have its official headquarters at Jerusalem. The authorities responsible for maintaining order in Jerusalem will be responsible for taking all measures necessary to ensure the security of the Commission. The Secretary-General will provide a limited number of guards for the protection of the staff and premises of the Commission;

13. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Sec-

retary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to members of the U.N.;

14. *Calls upon* all governments and authorities concerned to cooperate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of this resolution;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide the necessary funds required in carrying out the terms of this resolution.

## The United States in the United Nations

[December 4-12]

### U.N. Recognizes Republic of Korea

The General Assembly passed on December 12 the resolution approved by the Political and Security Committee on December 8 which "declares that there has been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea)"; this action recognizes the "South Korean Government" and also urges the continuation of the work of the Temporary Commission. The resolution further recommends the withdrawal of occupation forces from Korea as early as practicable.

The resolution follows closely the draft submitted by the United States, China, and Australia on December 6 to Committee I, but which was amended by Canada in the discussion before the General Assembly.

The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, established by the General Assembly in November 1947, will continue to seek means for bringing about the unification of Korea and the integration of all Korean security forces. The Commission is to proceed to Korea within 30 days of adoption of the resolution, and according to the resolution, will observe the withdrawal of the occupying forces.

The debate on Korea began in Committee I on December 6 with the question of participation of Korean representatives in committee discussions. The Soviet bloc efforts to seat representatives of the North Korean regime were rejected by 34 to 6 with 8 abstentions; on the other hand, a Chinese resolution inviting participation without vote by representatives of South Korea was approved by 39 to 6 with 1 abstention. China replied to a Czech proposal for North Korean participation on the grounds that, since elections in the north had not been supervised by the U.N. Commission, to invite North Korean representatives would have a bad psychological effect throughout Korea. The

United States supported China and recalled that the General Assembly last year decided to invite only "duly elected representatives of the Korean people".

John Foster Dulles stated the U.S. position on Korea before Committee I on December 7; he pointed out that the Republic of Korea, whose capital is at Seoul in the southern or U.S. zone, was established through free, U.N.-observed elections last May. By contrast in the northern or Soviet zone Mr. Dulles said "there has been brought into being a Communist-controlled regime that asserts pretensions to govern all Korea and that threatens to back those pretensions by force and violence". He urged adoption of the joint resolution and pointed out that the United Nations cannot consider its task completed. "Further measures are required", he said. "First of all, the United Nations ought to put the seal of legitimacy on what has been done under its auspices. The Government of the Republic of Korea needs that in order to maintain its prestige and authority at home and abroad. . . . In the second place, we believe that the United Nations should continue a commission on Korea in order to help the new Government of Korea to end the wartime military occupation of Korea. . . . In the third place, we believe that the United Nations Commission should help the Korean people to reunite and to end the economic dislocations, the fears of civil war, that now gravely disturb the life of the people. As in the case of Greece, Communist elements seek, by violence, to impose their will and there is danger that these efforts will be supported in one form or another by neighboring Communist regimes. . . . We also believe the United Nations commission may be able through good offices to help break down peacefully the barrier to friendly intercourse caused by the present division of Korea."

## Genocide Convention

An international convention on genocide outlawing mass extermination of religious, racial, and national groups was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9.

President Herbert Evatt termed approval of the convention as an epoch-making event and a "significant advance in the development of international criminal law". Mr. Evatt urged that it "be signed by all states and ratified by all parliaments at the earliest date in order that basic human rights may be given the protection of international law for the sake of social progress and international peace". The convention was opened for signature on December 11.

Ernest Gross, U.S. Delegate, announced that the United States was prepared to sign the convention and expressed the hope that all member states would do likewise. The convention was adopted by a vote of 55 to 0, with only Costa Rica, El Salvador, and the Union of South Africa absent.

Of the two resolutions adopted relating to the implementation of the convention and applying to it, one urged extension of its provisions to dependent territories as soon as possible and the other asked that the International Law Commission study the desirability and possibility of establishing a Criminal Chamber of the International Court of Justice.

## Human Rights

Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) approved on December 7 a universal declaration of human rights, two and one-half years after detailed work first began on the document. The vote was 29 to 0, with 7 abstentions. Also approved was an amended French resolution calling for wide publicity for the declaration, to include its reading in schools and publication in all languages as well as a New Zealand proposal asking the Economic and Social Council to give priority to preparation of a draft convention on human rights.

The declaration was further approved when the General Assembly voted its adoption on December 10 by a vote of 48 to 0, with 8 abstentions, with one amendment by the United Kingdom incorporated.

## Assembly Asks Security Council to Reconsider Membership Applications

In a series of resolutions approved at a plenary session on December 8 the General Assembly called upon the Security Council to reconsider the applications of 12 nations for membership in the United Nations. The Assembly placed particular emphasis on the applications which have been vetoed by the U.S.S.R., after having been approved by the required majority of the Security Council's members.

The Assembly asked the Security Council to review the Soviet-vetoed requests of Austria,

Ceylon, Ireland, Finland, Italy, Portugal, and Transjordan, along with the applications of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, which failed to get the necessary majority when brought before the Council.

Prior to voting, Benjamin Cohen, U.S. Delegate, told the Assembly that the United States would not veto the application of any nation which is approved by seven of the 11 members. "We cannot abdicate our own judgment", Mr. Cohen said, "but we will not, on matters of membership, put our judgment above the judgment of the world community of nations. We shall not falter in our efforts to insure the admission of every qualified state to this organization."

Mr. Cohen expressed the U.S. support of Ceylon's application but added that the United States would support the application of any nation that could fulfill the requirements of the Charter. The United States, he said, would support the requests of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania when those nations could show that they are living up to their obligations under the treaties of peace. Albania, he indicated, could expect U.S. acceptance when it could show that Bulgaria and she are complying with the General Assembly resolutions calling for cessation of aid to the Greek guerrillas; the Mongolian Peoples' Republic would have to prove it is truly independent before it would receive U.S. support.

The Assembly also approved an Australian resolution asking all Security Council members to act in accordance with an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice which said that consent to the admission of an applicant may not be dependent upon conditions other than those specified in the Charter.

## Four-Power Veto Proposal

After a week of debate Committee I approved on December 4 by a vote of 33 to 6 with 4 abstentions, a resolution recommending that the General Assembly ask the Security Council to limit use of the voting privilege which the U.S.S.R. has employed to obstruct the work of that body.

The resolution proposed by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and China, lists 35 kinds of decisions as procedural and therefore not subject to the rule of the unanimity of the permanent members. It also asks those members not to use the veto on proposals which have been approved by any seven members of the Council and recommends that the veto be used as little as possible on all other proposals. The only negative votes cast on the resolution were those of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

In completing discussion on Security Council voting procedure, the committee did not pass an Argentine proposal that a special general conference be called to amend the Charter to abolish the

veto. The vote on this question was 12 for and 23 against. A Soviet resolution affirming that the rule of unanimity is an important condition to maintaining peace and security was defeated by 23 to 6 with 9 abstentions. Final action on this item of the agenda was the defeat of an Australian proposal limiting use of the veto to occasions when there has been a breach of the peace, aggression, or a threat to the peace, by a vote of 22 to 9 with 10 abstentions.

#### **Aid for Underdeveloped Nations**

Four proposals aimed at giving new economic and technical aid to needy nations have been adopted by the General Assembly as recommended by Committee II (Economic and Financial).

One proposal, intended to focus attention on the problem of economic life in the underdeveloped areas of the world urged the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies to give "further and urgent consideration to the whole problem of economic development" of handicapped countries.

Another urged the Economic and Social Council to expedite its consideration of establishing a Middle East Economic Commission similar to those already formed for Europe, Latin America, and the Far East.

A third resolution called for the provision of technical assistance to countries in need of it by such means as United Nations organized international teams of experts to advise nations on their economic development programs.

A fourth resolution requested the International Labor Organization to examine the most appropriate means of gaining admission to the world's technician training centers of apprentices and workers from countries lacking enough technicians and specialists for their adequate economic development. All the recommendations were given approval at the December 4 session of the General Assembly.

#### **UNAC Extended Through 1949**

On December 8 the General Assembly by a vote of 32 to 0 with 5 abstentions extended the United Nations Appeal for Children for another year. The resolution defined the appeal as "a world-wide voluntary appeal for non-governmental contributions to be used for the benefit of children, adolescents and expectant and nursing mothers without discriminations on account of race, religion, nationality or political belief."

In continuing the UNAC, the General Assembly specified that "proceeds of the collections in each country shall be for the benefit of the U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund." The idea for the appeal originated in a resolution approved by the Assembly in December 1946, urging the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of world-wide voluntary contributions of "one day's

pay" to aid the ICEF. Thereafter the Economic and Social Council established the UNAC to assist in raising funds. Last month, contributions had reached \$30,755,841.

#### **Conciliation Commission for Palestine**

On December 11 the General Assembly passed an amended resolution establishing a Conciliation Commission for Palestine consisting of three states. China, France, the U.S.S.R., the U.K., and the U.S. were named to submit a proposal for the membership of the commission.

#### **Relief for Palestine Refugees**

Stanton Griffis, U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, was appointed by the Secretary-General as Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees. The appointment was made public in Paris on December 4. The refugee-aid program approved by the General Assembly, will cover the period from December 1, 1948, to August 31, 1949; it consists of \$29,500,000 for aid and \$2,500,000 for administrative expenses.

#### **Israeli Membership**

The membership committee of the Security Council referred on December 7 back to the Council with no recommendations the application of the Provisional Government of Israel for membership in the United Nations.

#### **Spanish Made a Working Language**

Spanish has been adopted as a working language by the General Assembly. Meeting in a plenary session on December 7 a proposal to make Spanish a working language along with English and French was adopted by a vote of 32 to 20 with 5 abstentions.

#### **Agenda Items Pending**

To be discussed at the next regular session of the General Assembly are: proposed conventions on freedom of information, disposition of the pre-war Italian colonies in Africa, and a resolution on the marital rights of women introduced by Chile.

#### **Adjournment**

The General Assembly adjourned its present session the night of December 11-12 and will reconvene in New York on April 1, 1949. The following is the text of the resolution on adjournment adopted:

"The General Assembly decides that the present session in Paris adjourn on 11-12 December, 1948, and that a second part of the session be held at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York to complete consideration of the items on the agenda, the resumption in New York to take place on 1 April, 1949."

## Eighth World's Poultry Congress

BY W. D. TERMOHLEN

The Eighth World's Poultry Congress was held at Copenhagen August 20-27, 1948. The Congress, the first held since the end of World War II, resulted in the re-establishment of international cooperation, which had been so beneficial to the world's industry since the First World's Poultry Congress was held at The Hague in 1921.

Representatives of 35 countries, representing all areas of the world, met to discuss problems and the results of scientific work and practical experimentation which have occurred since the Seventh Congress, held at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1939. From the 35 countries represented, there were almost 900 persons present, nearly 90 of whom were from the United States. Twenty-one countries were represented by official delegations; these were: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Eire, Finland, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

To the poultrymen of Europe the Congress was of inestimable value for the reasons so aptly expressed by Kristen Bording, Minister of Agriculture for Denmark, who said in his welcoming remarks at the opening of the Congress:

"Since the holding of the Seventh World's Poultry Congress in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1939, the poultrymen have had to work under very difficult conditions. To the European countries the great war meant not only difficult times with declining production, scarcity of feeding material, and destruction of the machinery of production, but also that each country was shut off from intercourse with other countries and with our friends outside Europe".

World's Poultry Congresses provide the setting for the triennial meetings of the World's Poultry Science Association, a world-wide organization of people engaged in the poultry industry activities. One of the principal objects of this Association is to facilitate in all possible ways the exchange of knowledge and experience among persons in all parts of the world who are contributing to the advancement of the poultry industry by teaching, experiments, research, demonstrations, organization, or any other constructive manner to promote the extension of knowledge. Professor James E. Rice,

formerly head of the Poultry Department of Cornell University, a member of the United States Official Delegation and president of the World's Poultry Science Association since 1939, in complimenting the Danish Committee and Congress officials for the excellent manner in which the Congress had been organized and operated said:

"This Congress has unquestionably brought material assistance to the poultry industry, especially of Europe, and has made possible the extension of enlightenment, better living, happiness, and the appreciation of the democratic way of life to many peoples throughout the world. This Congress will be a milestone in the history of the world's poultry industry".

The Congress was officially opened in the Town Hall August 20, by His Highness, Prince Knude, brother of His Majesty, King Frederik IX. In the afternoon the exhibit held in the Forum Building was opened by Prince Knude. The exhibit consisted of 34 educational and commercial exhibits and 1,544 live birds including chickens, turkeys, ducks, geese, and pigeons. The entire exhibit depicted the poultry industry of Denmark and its progress and development.

On August 21, the opening plenary session was held in the Broadcasting House. Five general papers or reports were presented on subjects of nutrition, incubation, breeding, disease, and marketing by representatives from Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Beginning August 23 and continuing through August 26, five sectional meetings were held daily in the Congress Building. The subject matter covered in these meetings was as follows: section 1—nutrition and physiology; section 2—genetics and incubation; section 3—organization, breed, and development of the poultry industry; section 4—marketing, public service, et cetera; and section 5—diseases and their control. The sectional meetings filled to capacity the meeting rooms, and in connection with most of the 132 papers presented there was good discussion.

The official languages of the Congress were English, Danish, and French. Most of the papers were presented in English, and well over 90 percent of the Congress members participating spoke and understood English. The complete text and résumé of all 137 general reports and sectional papers were included in the Official Report, volume I, of the Congress.

The closing plenary session was held on August 27. In addition to the appropriate resolution of thanks, there were unanimously passed three resolutions proposing activities to be carried on by the World's Poultry Science Association through representative committees. These resolutions covered the following: study of practical uniform international standards and grades for eggs and poultry and uniformity of containers which could be useful throughout the world; study of a uniform method for reporting results of egg-laying contests to afford more intelligent and helpful use of such reports throughout the world; and third, calling to the attention of the proper authorities the need for uniformity of method in making vitamin D chick assays. The Congress was adjourned by the president of the Congress, W. A. Kock, Denmark, consultant in the Ministry of Agriculture of that country.

The chairman of the United States Delegation, W. D. Termohlen, Director, Poultry Branch, Production and Marketing Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture, was elected president of the World's Poultry Science Association for the three-year (1949-51) term. Other Americans elected as officers of the Association were: Professor James E. Rice, honorary past president; Dr. G. F. Heuser, who continues as

secretary-treasurer; and Dr. O. B. Kent, Dr. M. A. Jull, Professor E. M. Funk, Dr. H. H. Alp, J. W. Kinghorne, and Dr. H. S. Wilgus, who were elected members of the Council.

### Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference Scheduled

On November 18 the Department announced that the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference (NARBA) is scheduled to be convened in Canada, probably at Ottawa or Montreal, on September 13, 1949. Accordingly, there is need to begin formulating the United States proposals for this Conference as soon as possible.

The results of the forthcoming North American Regional Broadcasting Conference are very closely related to the implementation of the domestic policies of the United States Government in the standard broadcasting field. Accordingly, the Department of State has requested the Federal Communications Commission, which is the arm of the Government having primary interest in this field, to assume the leadership for the preparatory work. The FCC has agreed to undertake these duties and plans to call a general meeting of the interested Government and industry people for this purpose.

## International Joint Commission Hearings on Pollution of Boundary Waters

[Released to the press November 29]

In accordance with notice of hearings published by the International Joint Commission, the hearings on pollution of the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, St. Clair River, and St. Marys River were resumed in Detroit, Michigan, on November 15, 1948. The hearings were conducted by the following representatives of the United States and Canadian Sections of the Commission:

#### *United States Section*

A. O. Stanley, Chairman  
Eugene Weber, Commissioner  
Jesse B. Ellis, Secretary  
William R. Wallace, Counsel

#### *Canadian Section*

George Spence, Acting Chairman  
Elizabeth M. Sutherland, Acting Secretary  
K. J. Burbridge, Counsel

#### *United States Section, Board of Technical Advisers*

L. M. Fisher, sanitary engineer, Office of Chief of Engineering Activities, U.S. Public Health Service, Washington, D.C., Chairman  
M. Le Bosquet, U.S. Public Health Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

Ralph Palange, U.S. Public Health Service, Detroit, Mich.  
L. F. Oeming, Michigan Stream Control Commission, Lansing, Mich.

John M. Hepler, Michigan State Sanitary Engineer

#### *Canadian Section, Board of Technical Advisers*

George Ferguson, Consultant, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ontario Department of Health, Ottawa, Chairman

W. R. Edmonds, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa

Dr. A. E. Berry, Ontario Department of Health, Toronto  
A. V. DeLaporte, Ontario Department of Health, Toronto

The hearings began with the testimony of Allen T. Carlisle, city engineer for the city of Port Huron, Michigan, from which it appeared that raw sewage from the city was being dumped into the St. Clair River. Evidence was presented that the city had issued bonds in the sum of \$1,400,000 for the construction of a sewage-disposal plant and intercepting sewers, but that on account of increased costs of labor and materials the city had not proceeded with the construction of this plant. Reference was made to court proceedings brought by the State of Michigan to require the city of Port Huron to construct these disposal facilities, which are now awaiting decision by the Supreme Court of Michigan.

Evidence was also given by representatives or officers of the following municipalities: Marysville, St. Clair, St. Clair Shores, Marine City, Algonac, New Baltimore, Pontiac, Mt. Clemens, Dearborn, Melvindale, River Rouge, Ecorse, Wyandotte, Riverview, and Trenton, Michigan.

L. A. Danse described the action taken by General Motors Corporation to prevent industrial wastes from its several plants from entering boundary waters. T. Ledyard Blakeman, executive director of the Detroit Regional Planning Commission, described its proposals for disposing of sewage and industrial wastes.

Representatives of the Lake Carriers Association of Cleveland, Ohio, presented a statement on behalf of the owners of a large percentage of ships operated on the Great Lakes respecting the disposal of sewage, garbage, and other waste products from their vessels while operating in boundary waters. Further investigation of means for disinfecting or disposing of these materials on land were discussed, and further efforts at elimination of this source of pollution were promised.

A letter received from Harvey Campbell, vice president of the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, proposed that steps be taken to obtain water for the city and neighboring communities from Lake Huron.

On November 17 the hearings were transferred to the City Hall, Windsor, Ontario, Canada, and statements were received from a number of Canadian industries and municipalities that were contributing to the pollution of these boundary waters. Representatives appeared on behalf of salt, oil, gas, synthetic rubber, and chemical industries. Statements were also presented regarding materials dumped in the boundary waters or their tributaries by sugar-beet factories, canning factories, breweries, distilleries, and a company processing animal fats.

Representatives of the following municipalities also testified regarding their sewage-disposal problems and measures for remedying the existing situation: Sarnia, Point Edward, Wallaceburg, Chatham, Windsor, Amherstburg, Corruina, Moore Township, Countright, Port Lambton, Belle River, Tecumseh, and Riverside.

The Commission also received important evidence regarding the extent of the pollution from representatives of the following Canadian organ-

izations: Ontario Federation of Commercial Fishermen, Port Dover; Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Windsor; Essex County Sportsmen's Association, Windsor; Wallaceburg Rod and Gun Club, Wallaceburg; and Kent County Sportsmen's Association, Chatham. The killing of ducks and fish in boundary waters on account of their pollution with oil and other deleterious substances was described, and the assistance of the Commission in preventing the destruction of these valuable natural resources was earnestly requested.

The Commission adjourned its sessions to Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada, where evidence was received on Monday, November 22, regarding pollution of the St. Marys River. Evidence was received from representatives of the following corporations: Union Carbide Division of Union Carbide and Carbon Company; Northwestern Leather Company; Abitibi Power and Paper Company; Algoma Steel Corporation; Dominion Tar and Chemical Company, Ltd.; International Transit Company; and Algoma and Hudson Bay Railway Company. The Mayor and City Engineer of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, and the Mayor and City Engineer of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, presented plans which had been prepared for the erection of sewage-disposal plants. However, action thereon had been deferred on account of the high cost of labor and materials. Assurance was given to the Commission that efforts would be made to terminate the dumping of raw sewage from these cities into the St. Marys River and to construct sewage-disposal plants which would take care of the sanitary and industrial wastes that are now being dumped into the river.

The Board of Technical Advisers has been requested by the Commission to prepare a report to the Commission respecting conditions disclosed by these investigations in order that the Governments of Canada and the United States may take appropriate action in respect to the pollution of these boundary waters, which are covered by the following provision in article IV of the boundary waters treaty of January 11, 1909:

"It is further agreed that the waters herein defined as boundary waters and waters flowing across the boundary shall not be polluted on either side to the injury of health or property on the other."

## THE RECORD OF THE WEEK

### Views on Soviet Action Prior to Berlin Election

[Released to the press December 21]

*Text of a letter of November 29, 1948, from Vasilii Sokolovsky, Commander in Chief of the Soviet Occupation Forces in Berlin, to Lucius D. Clay, U.S. Commander-in-Chief and Military Governor in Berlin.*

The Soviet command cannot fail to call your attention to dangerous acts which are taking place in the Western sectors of Berlin for the disorganization and the splitting of German municipal administrative agencies and which are supported by the military commandants of the Western sectors.

As you know, Soviet military authorities in Berlin indicated the necessity of preserving the unity of Berlin, which is the capital of Germany, and insisted on conducting democratic elections for the whole of Berlin. This proposal was not taken into consideration. Instead of a single democratic election for the whole of Berlin, separate local elections in the Western sectors of Berlin have been arranged for December 5, elections which will be conducted not under conditions of democratic freedom but under conditions of persecution of democratic organizations and of compulsory measures.

[Released to the press December 21]

*Text of General Clay's reply of November 30 to Marshal Sokolovsky. Identical letters were sent by Generals Brian Robertson and Pierre Koenig*

I have received your communication of November 29, 1948 inviting my attention to certain actions taking place in Berlin preparatory to the election on December 5 of the Berlin City Assembly.

It is my understanding that the competent authorities of the City of Berlin, acting in accordance with the Berlin provisional constitution which was approved by the four occupying powers in 1946, are proceeding with elections on December 5 which are called for after the expiration of the two-year terms of the members of the City Assembly. The Berlin authorities in due course had addressed to each of the four commandants advice regarding their purpose to hold elections obedient to the constitution. The Commandants of the United Kingdom, France and the United States had of course no objection.

I notice that in the fourth paragraph of your letter you suggest that separatist elements in the Berlin Magistrat with the support of certain occupation authorities have been striving to disorganize its operation as a single municipal organization. This suggestion is one which neither I

Separate elections in the Western sectors on December 5 aim at liquidating united municipal administrative agencies, at creating a separate magistrat in the Western sectors for the uncontrolled management of these sectors by Western military authorities, and at encouraging the activities of the anti-democratic and openly reactionary elements of the city.

Moreover, for a long time already, separatist elements in the Berlin Magistrat who enjoy the support of certain occupation authorities have been striving to disorganize the operation of the Magistrat as a single municipal organization, also to expel from it the democratic representatives connected with large masses of the Berlin population. This is something to which the Soviet command cannot consent.

The Soviet command does not intend to encourage the actions of the anti-democratic elements of the Berlin Magistrat toward the splitting of German administrative agencies of Berlin, and, as in the past, will cooperate in preserving the unity of Berlin and in creating conditions which will insure normal activities for all democratic representatives in the agencies of the Berlin self-government.

nor any unbiased observer of the events of recent months can accept. The action of the Soviet authorities in permitting the disruption of the City Assembly by hooligan elements, their arbitrary dismissal of a number of duly elected city officials without the consent of the commandants of the three western sectors, and their abandonment of the Allied Kommandatura, together with innumerable other unilateral breaches of the quadripartite arrangements for Berlin, have demonstrated the intentions of the Soviet authorities to divide the city and to prevent the exercise of democratic rights and liberties in their own sector.

Moreover, a report has reached me according to which a dissident City Assembly, acting apparently with the connivance of the Soviet authorities have today proceeded to the illegal election of certain officers to the Magistrat, in direct contravention of the city constitution. If this report is confirmed, I should be grateful to be informed whether in fact the illegal action of these persons was taken with your approval.

For my own part I should add that I continue to desire to see reestablished at Berlin a situation corresponding to the accords which were concluded among us and which would permit under quadripartite control the unrestricted application of the Berlin constitution which was approved by the four occupying powers.

## German and Austrian Immigration Opened to the United States<sup>1</sup>

For the first time since 1941 it is possible for an ordinary resident of Germany or Austria without close relatives in the United States to register on a waiting list as a prospective immigrant to America.

One need not be a German or Austrian national to register in these countries. If a British subject, for example, is resident there, he may also fill out a registration form and, if born in Great Britain, his name will be placed on the British quota waiting list.

The resumption of regular immigration is a result of the Displaced Persons Act which Congress passed on June 19, Section 12, which directs that general consular activities in Germany and Austria be immediately resumed in order that German and Austrian quotas shall be available for applicants pursuant to the immigration laws. These laws provide a German quota of 25,957 per year with an additional 1,413 being allotted annually to Austria.

From the time these numbers were established in 1934 until the present time, the German annual quota has never been filled, although on the other hand the quota has never been closed—even during the war. Throughout all the time of hostilities Germans and Austrians residing outside of their homelands continued to go to America as regular immigrants. Thus many refugees from the Nazi regime found a new home in a free land.

Moreover, since the postwar reopening of American consular offices in Germany and Austria, the quotas have been used for persons entitled to preference visas—that is, parents of American citizens, husbands of American women, skilled agriculturists, and wives and unmarried minor children of legal residents of the United States. German and Austrian girls entering the United States as fiancées have also used up portions of the quotas. All together, some 15,000 Germans have entered the United States on immigrant visas since the end of hostilities.

Unfortunately for the thousands of Germans and Austrians now desiring to immigrate, the quota numbers have not been accumulating. Any of the 27,370 numbers granted under our quota system which are not used within a fiscal year are lost and cannot be utilized later. Thus the maximum number of German and Austrian born immigrants who can enter America this fiscal year—or any fiscal year—is 27,370.

In reality, because of another provision of the Displaced Persons Act, only about half this many native-born Germans and Austrians will enter

America during 1949 and 1950. The same Section 12 which directs the resumption of regular immigration from Austria and Germany also directs that for the next two years 50 percent of the German and Austrian quotas be used for persons of German ethnic origin who were born in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania or Yugoslavia and who on July 19, 1948 were residing in Germany or Austria.

This is a radical departure from previous American immigration laws. In nearly every other instance, a prospective immigrant to the United States must obtain a quota number from the quota of the country in which he was born regardless of his nationality present or past. Ordinarily, a person born in Czechoslovakia who has resided most of his life in Austria and who indeed possesses Austrian nationality must nevertheless travel to America under the Czech quota. Section 12 puts this provision of the Immigration Act of 1924 aside and for a period of two years permits ethnic Germans, more usually called Volksdeutsche, to travel to America under the German and Austrian quotas, even though they were not actually born in Germany or Austria.

As soon as the provisions of the Displaced Persons Bill were known, the Department of State directed that American consular offices in Germany and Austria make preparations to accept registration for immigration to the United States.<sup>2</sup> A date was established and kept secret upon which the announcement was to be made that residents of Germany and Austria could once again apply for a place on the waiting list of persons desiring to travel to America for permanent residence.

On Sept. 17, Mr. Marshall M. Vance, supervisory consul general for Germany, held a press conference in Frankfurt and made public the details of the new program. It was carefully announced that if a resident of Germany or Austria desired to apply for immigration, he must write a letter of request to the appropriate American consular office, enclosing in his letter a stamped self-addressed envelope in which a blank registration form could be returned to him.

In spite of these explicit instructions, thousands of would-be immigrants began to gather early on the morning of Monday, Sept. 20, before the doors

<sup>1</sup>Article prepared by James S. Sutterlin, U.S. Vice Consul, Frankfurt. This article is reprinted from the *Information Bulletin* of Nov. 2, 1948, of the U.S. Military Government in Germany.

<sup>2</sup>BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1948, p. 411 and Oct. 17, 1948, p. 501.

of the consulates in Germany and Austria. Interest in immigration proved intense, and during the first week approximately 150,000 written requests for registration forms were received in the six offices in Germany and the two offices in Austria. This was no surprise to consular officers, however, who providently had had 2,000,000 registration forms printed.

The question is often asked "What chance has one of the thousands of persons who have written in for registration forms to travel to the United States within the foreseeable future?" The answer is "That depends."

If he was not among the first to have returned his completed registration form, then he has a long wait, perhaps a matter of years. Approximately 25 percent of the several thousand mailed requests to the American Consulate in Stuttgart for registration forms are not being considered because they failed to conform with specified procedure. The commonest mistake has been failure to enclose with the request for registration a self-addressed, stamped envelope in which the regis-

tration form can be returned to the intending immigrant.

If a person submits an incorrect request he must then resubmit it in the proper manner. If he has no one willing to pay the cost of his transportation, he will have to wait until the time when the Deutsche mark can be used to purchase transportation; and if he cannot find someone who will be answerable for his support in the United States, or if he is seriously unsound either in body or mind, or if he has been or is a member of a movement hostile to the United States Government, he might as well give up any thought of immigration to the United States.

On the other hand, if he was among the first to return a completed registration form by mail to the appropriate consular office, if he has friends or relatives in the United States who are willing to vouch for his support and who are in addition willing to finance his journey, if he is sound in body and mind, and if he is not considered a security threat to the well-being of the United States and its people, his chances are good for beginning a new life in America.

## U.S. Protests Hungarian Seizure of American Oil Interests

### NOTE TO HUNGARIAN MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

[Released to the press December 21]

*Text of a note delivered by the American Legation in Budapest to the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs under date of November 30, 1948, with reference to the Hungarian-American Oil Company (MAORT)*

The Legation of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and has the honor to refer to Decree No. 9,960/1948 Korm.,<sup>1</sup> whereby the Hungarian Government has taken over the management, including the control of all assets and rights, of the Hungarian-American Oil Company (MAORT) and the MAORT Gas Trading Company, American-owned subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey).

The Legation is authorized to inform the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the Government of the United States, viewing this action of the Hungarian Government as wholly arbitrary and unwarrantable, (1) reserves all rights on its own behalf and on behalf of its nationals with respect to the status and property of MAORT and the latter's subsidiary the MAORT Gas Trading Company and (2) holds the Hungarian Government responsible for the continued operation of the afore-

said Companies and for the value of the assets of the Companies as of September 25, 1948, the date on which the Decree in question was published and came into force.

With reference further to the action of the Hungarian Government in this matter, the Government of the United States has taken note of the charges of "industrial sabotage" which the Hungarian Government has made against the owners and officials of MAORT and caused to be publicized in the "Report of the Hungarian Ministry of Home Affairs on the MAORT Sabotage" (Grey Book) as well as in the officially controlled Hungarian press. These charges are compounded of various assertions to the effect that the owners and officials increased oil production during the recent war, thus assuring significant support for the German war machine; that they decreased production after the war to hinder Hungary's economic development for political reasons and did this with the knowledge and under the direction of American Mission officials in Hungary; that they carried out this "sabotage" on the financial side by improper expenditures and management, against the Hungarian planned economy by disregarding instructions of the National Planning Office and by preventing the purchase of necessary equipment and the repair of machinery, on the technical side by

<sup>1</sup> Not here printed.

drilling exploratory wells at unpromising sites, hindering research, and improperly completing the wells, and, as regards the construction of the Lispe-Budapest natural gas pipeline, by placing every possible obstacle in the way of the project.

These allegations against the good faith and operations of the management of MAORT have been fully and conclusively refuted by the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) in its memorandum entitled "Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and Oil Production in Hungary by MAORT: 1931-1948," a copy of which is enclosed for the attention of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The Legation is instructed to inform the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the Government of the United States emphatically rejects as false and malicious in their entirety the charges of "sabotage" which the Hungarian authorities have made against the owners and officials of MAORT. Moreover, the United States Government regards these allegations as having been politically motivated to serve the purposes of Communist propaganda and to feign grounds for bringing the Companies under Communist State control. In attempting to develop its fraudulent case against MAORT, the Hungarian Government has played up as primary evidence the alleged "confessions" of Mr. Paul Ruedemann and Mr. George Bannantine, American officials of the Company. However, the facts in this connection attested by sworn statements made by the two men upon their release from Hungarian police custody, are now well-known.<sup>2</sup> The truth concerning these "confessions," which were so hastily publicized in the obviously pre-fabricated Hungarian "Grey Book" and elsewhere, is (1) that they were prepared by the Hungarian police, (2) that their contents are wholly false, and (3) that force and duress were employed against Mr. Ruedemann and Mr. Bannantine to compel them to copy in longhand and sign the documents. From these circumstances alone, the conclusion is also warranted that the "confessions" obtained by the Hungarian authorities from Dr. Simon Papp and other Hungarian employees of MAORT are likewise of a spurious character and were exacted by the usual police state methods.

The Government of the United States also deems it appropriate, relative to the principal accusation made by the Hungarian authorities against MAORT concerning the decreased rate of crude oil production, that the Legation should not only affirm the fact that MAORT consistently adhered to a policy of rational exploitation in the interest of conserving the oil resources of Hungary but should also draw attention to the fact that both the Secretariat of the Hungarian Supreme Economic Council and the experts of the Hungarian Ministry for Industry in the middle of 1947 recognized the necessity for reducing the rate of MAORT oil production. Thus, in a memorandum of the Ministry for Finance, dated July

8, 1947, which was presented as an item on the agenda of the Supreme Economic Council on July 9, it was reported that

"according to the recommendation of the secretariat of the Supreme Economic Council, oil production of 636,000 tons should be reduced by 10 percent, whereas the experts' opinion of the Ministry for Industry stated the necessity of reducing the production of 600,000 tons by 16 percent. A reduction by 16 percent is imperatively indicated by the status of the crude oil resources of Hungary."

It was further reported in the memorandum that

"if the production is not reduced by 16 percent, the following consequences will ensue:

"a.) 50 percent or 3,500,000 tons of the country's crude oil resources totalling 7,000,000 tons cannot be utilized.

"f.) During the course of the coming 3 years the output of oil is expected to decrease by more than the 16 percent reduction envisaged at present. Without the 16 percent reduction production will decrease more rapidly and will be reduced before long by 25 to 30 percent.

"Recommendation: On the above grounds it is absolutely indispensable to reduce the annual production of 600,000 tons by 16 percent."

Even more explicit than the foregoing was the original statement of the interdepartmental committee of experts that

"on the basis of gross production during the period during January 1 through May 31, 1947 (256,695 tons) the production during the course of 12 months amounts to 600,000 tons.

"In the opinion of the experts, if necessary investments are effected, the present level of production may be maintained; however, in this case an approximate quantity of 3,500,000 tons of the crude oil resources would remain in the earth and would be forever lost whereas with rational exploitation this quantity would be available. The above quantity is six times as much as the present annual production."

Finally, in the original report of the Secretariat of the Supreme Economic Council it is stated that

"in the opinion of the experts of the Ministry of Industry, in the interest of rational exploitation the gross production of 600,000 tons should be reduced by 16 percent, which means an annual gross production of 500,000 tons and an annual net production of 428,000 tons."

It is evident in the light of the essential facts set forth above—facts which are supplemented

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 17, 1948, p. 494.

by many pertinent details in the Standard Oil Company's extended account of MAORT's operations—that the charges of "sabotage" brought by the Hungarian Government against the owners and officials of MAORT cannot be sustained, are therefore inadmissible, and cannot, as pretended by the Hungarian Government, serve as justification for that Government's action in taking over the management of the MAORT properties.

In these circumstances, the Government of the United States looks upon the Hungarian Govern-

ment's course and manner of proceeding in this matter as an encroachment upon American rights and interests in Hungary, for which the Hungarian Government must bear full legal and financial responsibility.

The Legation avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry the assurances of its most distinguished consideration.

Enclosure:

Copy of memorandum by Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) entitled "Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and Oil Production in Hungary by MAORT: 1931-1948."<sup>3</sup>

## Double Taxation Conventions With Denmark and the Netherlands Ratified

On December 1, 1948, Acting Secretary of State Lovett, the Ambassador of Denmark, Henrik de Kauffmann, and the Ambassador of the Netherlands, E. N. van Kleffens, in Washington, formally exchanged the instruments of ratification of the conventions with Denmark and the Netherlands for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. The Netherlands convention was signed in Washington on May 6, 1948, and the one with Denmark on April 29, 1948.

### Denmark

It is provided in the convention that upon the exchange of instruments of ratification the convention shall have effect (a) in the case of United States tax, for the taxable years beginning on or after the first day of January of the year in which such exchange takes place, and (b) in the case of Danish tax, for the taxable years beginning on or after the first day of April of the year in which such exchange takes place. Accordingly, upon its entry into force with the exchange of instruments of ratification, the convention became effective retroactively on and from January 1, 1948, with respect to United States taxes and retroactively on and from April 1, 1948, with respect to Danish taxes. These dates are fixed in conformity to the fiscal systems of the respective countries.

As specified in article I, the taxes to which the convention is made applicable are (a) in the case of the United States, the Federal income tax, including surtaxes, and (b) in the case of Denmark, the national income tax (including the war profits tax), the intercommunal income tax, and the communal income tax.

The purpose of the convention, like that of existing income-tax conventions of the United States with Canada, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, is the elimination, so far as practicable, of double taxation which otherwise would result from the imposition and collection of taxes upon

the same income. The convention also establishes certain procedures for the exchange of information and for administrative cooperation between the two countries in relation to taxation, with a view to the prevention of fiscal evasion. The convention contains provisions for the exemption in one or the other of the two countries of certain types of income. Likewise, the principle of the United States tax-credit system is adopted in the convention on a reciprocal basis.

A proclamation of the convention will be issued by the President. The English and Danish texts of the convention will be printed in the Treaties and Other International Acts Series published by the Department of State. Meanwhile, the English text may be found in Senate Executive H, 80th Congress, second session.

A United States reservation to the convention which rejected article XII was accepted by the Danish Government.

### Netherlands

It is provided in the convention that it shall become effective on the first day of January in the year last preceding the year in which the exchange of instruments of ratification takes place. Accordingly, upon its entry into force with the exchange of instruments of ratification, the convention became effective retroactively on and from January 1, 1947.

As specified in article I, the taxes to which the convention is made applicable are (a) in the case of the United States, the Federal income taxes, and (b) in the case of the Netherlands, for the application of specified provisions, the income tax and the Netherlands taxes credited against it, the corporation tax and the Netherlands taxes credited against it, the property tax, the tax on fees of directors and managers of corporations, the capital accretions tax, and the extraordinary capital tax.

The purpose of the convention, like that of existing income-tax conventions of the United States with Canada, France, Sweden, and the

<sup>3</sup> Not printed.

(Continued on page 746)

## Cooperative Exchange Programs Under the Smith-Mundt Act

BY WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE, JR.<sup>1</sup>

If our essential freedoms are to prevail, if other peoples are to have the opportunity to enjoy their fruits, we in America must act more effectively to increase the knowledge of our principles and of the institutions founded on them among other peoples. And we must act more effectively to provide greater opportunities for people from other nations to come here and see for themselves. Only when ideas and knowledge are exchanged across national boundaries—only when peoples of different nations meet face to face and become acquainted with each other can international understanding be developed as a foundation for peace.

These facts of international life have long been recognized. Now, however, we are confronted with the fact that national boundaries are increasingly becoming barriers to exchange of ideas and knowledge. More and more people are barred from understanding America's intentions and experiencing our freedoms. We can no longer afford to observe passively the rapidly shrinking area of freedom throughout the world. We must actively combat the forces that would chain men's minds by dogmas. Our attack demands the concerted effort of all groups in our society—both citizen and government.

Fortunately, the American people are taking positive action.<sup>2</sup> Now for the first time in our history we are engaged in a comprehensive, cooperative program on a world-wide scale with the objective of building mutual understanding among peoples. This program was clearly and boldly laid down in the Smith-Mundt Act, passed by Congress in January 1948. This law authorized the Department of State in cooperation with private agencies, to undertake an information and educational exchange program throughout the world designed to tell the story of American life and institutions by means of press, radio, and motion pictures, and to provide for the two-way exchange of persons and materials in the educational, cultural, scientific, and technical fields. It is this latter program with which I am directly associated—the educational exchange program—which I should like to discuss with you for the next few minutes, for I believe that a quick look at the current and planned activities in this field will serve to underline the increased responsibilities which will naturally accrue to higher education as well as government.

As of today we are operating 64 United States Libraries abroad, and it is anticipated that by the end of the current fiscal year we will have 83 libraries in 52 countries. These are small libraries designed to provide for the people of other countries a cross section of all aspects of American life through selected books, pamphlets, and other materials. Located in the principal cities all over the world, they are free and open to anyone who wants to know about the United States. American staff members are ready to answer all sorts of questions—and believe me they do! Teachers come into these libraries and are able to get accurate information for presentation in their classrooms. Professors come to read American professional journals to find out what their colleagues in the United States are doing. Scientists come to acquaint themselves with the latest developments in the United States. There is not a single library in which some of the regular visitors are not government officials of the country in which the library is located. They find valuable experience in all of the developments of American government which often gives them a clue to some problems with which they are immediately concerned.

And so they come in all walks of life—often with very simple questions—a dairy farmer wants to subscribe to an American dairy farming magazine; an exporter wants to know about advertising in American periodicals; a dentist wants to know how he can purchase American dental equipment. But these questions—simple as they are—illustrate a great desire to use American know-how and very often lead to an interest in many other aspects of American life. Our overseas officers utilize this interest by arranging for film showings, exhibits, concerts, and lectures in the libraries. Thus the natural interest of people abroad about all things American is gradually turned into a better understanding of American ways and institutions.

Ten years ago in Latin America we began to give aid to a new kind of institution—new at least, in American relations with foreign countries. As

<sup>1</sup>Address made before the Regional Conference on Higher Education, National Education Association, in New York City on Dec. 3, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup>For additional information on the program see *Cooperation in the Americas* (Department of State publication 2971), and *International Education Exchange* (Department of State publication 3312).

part of the Good Neighbor Policy, we have assisted local cultural institutes founded by the joint efforts of resident Americans and nationals of the country who have dedicated themselves to sponsoring programs of cultural interchange toward the end of creating improved understanding among peoples of the Western Hemisphere. Today there are 28 of these cultural institutes in the Latin American countries. They have attracted people in all walks of life to their English teaching classes and to their exhibits, lectures, music, and other activities. I should like to cite an example which I feel is typical of the impact of this activity.

Recently an eminent Brazilian engineer came to this country for the first time, under a State Department grant, for a three months' tour of the country. He was primarily interested in agricultural developments in Brazil. For a number of years he has been president of our cultural center in São Paulo, and his interest in and knowledge of the United States is quite extensive. Before he left this country he was asked what was the outstanding thing he found. His answer would amaze the average American, for he named our rural free delivery service. It was his contention that this service provided by our Government was not only a means of educating a people, a means by which they could keep in contact with their friends, but also an evidence of our democracy. He was surprised to find that farmers in outlying rural regions were able to receive their mail in open, unlocked mail boxes. He is taking back that idea to his country.

In Latin American countries American-sponsored schools have been established. At first they were started to provide an American education for the children of American residents, private and public officials in the country. Gradually, they were opened to the children of the people of the country itself. We have provided aid in various forms to these schools and in each country they stand as an example of American education. In one country, for example, the whole educational system is undergoing a revision because of the advanced methods and techniques used in the American school. Under the Smith-Mundt Act, we propose to extend this aid to schools and American-sponsored educational institutions throughout the world.

By far the largest effort, however, is being put into interchange of persons between the United States and other countries. Here again we have been carrying on a program in Latin America for ten years. During World War II, the State Department was authorized to carry on this program with China and with certain countries of the Near and Middle East. Therefore, we have a considerable experience now when we propose to extend this program to the whole world. This is the kind of a program in which cooperation of government and private organizations is particularly essential

to its success. It involves two types of exchanges—interchange of scientific and technical personnel between the United States and other countries and interchange of teachers, scholars, and students. In carrying out its responsibilities in exchange of scientific and technical personnel, the State Department works through an Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation composed of representatives of the other federal agencies. This program provides for the exchange of scientific and technical personnel, the detail of American governmental experts from many of our government agencies in Washington to other countries to assist them in a variety of specialized problems. It involves the training of government officials from other countries and bringing younger persons here to be trained in a particular specialty to go back to their own countries to put into practice the results of their American experience. Let me cite some examples.

Several years ago there was an outbreak of poliomyelitis in Ecuador. The Ecuadoran Government asked the United States to send an orthopedic surgeon to work with their public-health administration there and a technician from our Children's Bureau in the United States to follow up this orthopedic surgeon in organizing hospital techniques for getting the children suffering from this disease back on their feet. After this children's specialist had been seen on the streets of the capital for a number of months, her work was reported in the newspapers. She was approached one day by a taxi driver, who doffed his hat and said: "Señorita, my fellow taxi drivers want to tell you how grateful we are for the work you are doing for the children of my country. They asked me to tell you that if any time of day or night you need a taxi, they are at your service". Appreciation comes in strange unexpected ways, but it is no less important because of this.

Incidentally, this Children's Bureau specialist stayed on to reorganize the national school of social service in Ecuador and trained most of the faculty. Only last June the school graduated its first class of 17 specialists, most of whom will go to work for the Ecuadoran Government to attack the problem of poliomyelitis.

A number of years ago El Salvador requested our assistance in developing her agriculture, of which coffee is the principal commodity. Our scientists, under a mutual agreement with the Salvadoran Government, set up an agricultural experiment and demonstration station in 1942. One of the results of its work was the development of a dairy feed from the waste pulp of the coffee bean. When mixed with banana leaves and other products to make it palatable, the cattle will eat it, and it serves as a substitute for a large percentage of corn in their balanced ration. The result of this discovery is that we have added a dairy feed to the hemisphere equal in quantity, the De-

partment of Agriculture estimates, to 34 million bushels of corn yearly. This is important to the economy of all coffee-producing countries, and internationally noteworthy in view of the world-wide shortage of corn and other feed grain.

The way in which the various agencies of our government are brought to bear on a specific problem is well illustrated by the preparations made for the 1950 census of the Americas. This census represents the first systematic survey of its kind and promises to yield important results. The Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce, with assistance from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, the National Office of Vital Statistics of the Federal Security Agency, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, has developed a coordinated program for giving technical assistance to officials and agencies in the Latin American countries for taking the censuses of population, agriculture, industry, business, and mining.

In the integration of census work it is strengthening the statistical staff of the governments of the countries concerned. To implement this program American Government agencies have sent one or more consultants to each of the other American republics. More than 100 technicians from other American republics have been awarded grants to come to the United States and work with our government agencies for advanced study and training. Many of these have returned to their own countries and now hold responsible posts in this field in their countries. Special trainees have been sent at the expense of their own government, and by 1950 more than 200 men and women in the other American republics will have received special census training.

It is in the field of academic exchanges that the cooperative nature of our educational exchange program becomes most apparent. In this program private institutions in the United States, the State Department, foreign governments and private institutions in foreign countries join in a cooperative undertaking which has as its purpose the exchange of ideas and knowledge and the creation of a better understanding of the United States by peoples abroad and of a better understanding of other countries by Americans.

This whole program of academic exchanges has been further stimulated by the existence of the Fulbright Act under which proceeds from the sale of American surplus property abroad in foreign currencies are earmarked under an agreement between the United States and the country concerned for educational purposes. Twenty-four countries are eligible to participate under this act. We have signed agreements with eight and four programs are now in operation. We expect that twenty countries will have program operations going by the end of this fiscal year. Because of

the existence of the Fulbright Act and foreign currency funds available in these twenty countries for purposes of academic exchanges, it will enable us to plan not a one-year program but a two-, three- or four-year program of exchanges. However, academic exchanges will not be confined to the countries participating in the Fulbright program. The new authorization under the Smith-Mundt Act provides for carrying out on a world-wide basis the exchange program which has been limited for the past ten years to the Western Hemisphere.

I do not think it necessary to justify the value of exchange of students, teachers, and scholars to this distinguished audience. The immediate results as well as the long-term effects are plainly evident. Let me cite two examples.

Two years ago we were asked if we could facilitate the visit of a young doctor from Iraq to this country for purposes of medical research. It was possible to arrange a two-year grant for thirty-year old Dr. Suad Niazi, and he was awarded a tuition fellowship at the University of Minnesota to do research toward the doctor of philosophy degree in medicine. A little over a month ago, at the October meeting of the Clinical Congress of the American College of Surgeons in Los Angeles, Dr. Niazi announced the discovery of a test for cancer which may by early diagnosis save thousands of lives. This test has proved 90 percent accurate in diagnosing 62 varieties of cancer. Because he is here on a two-year grant, he will have the opportunity to conduct further research in this most vital problem in medicine, and it is his hope that he can find much more of value in the attack on the disease of cancer. The small investment which was made in his study in the United States both by the government and by a private university has been justified a hundred times by the discovery which this brilliant young doctor has made.

Two and one half years ago, the State Department assisted in the development of an idea of exchange of teachers between Great Britain and the United States at the primary and secondary level. This was an official undertaking on behalf of the British and American Governments in which assistance of private organizations was gladly given in a cooperative undertaking which involved not only private organizations but our public school systems in forty of the forty-eight states. This is the third year of an exchange of teachers program administered by the United States Office of Education at the request of the State Department. More than a hundred American teachers have taught in Great Britain and a hundred English teachers have taught in the schools of the United States. The results of this are often startling.

A woman teacher, for instance, from the schools of Oklahoma City was assigned to teach in a slum district in the industrial town of Leeds, in Eng-

land. It may have been a discouraging prospect to the woman who had been used to the fine physical equipment of the Oklahoma City Schools. However, she was not discouraged and because she represented America as well as her school, it was not long before the city of Leeds and Oklahoma City began to get acquainted. As a result of her efforts school children in both cities began exchanging letters and teachers began exchanging ideas. Again, as a result of the visit of an English teacher to a small town in Texas, 1,700 Texas school teachers and 1,700 British teachers have now begun a steady correspondence with the exchange of ideas, materials, and books. Such exchanges can only result in a far better understanding of each others' problems in the countries concerned.

I believe that one of the unique features of this Government's undertaking is its cooperative aspect. The basic legislation authorizing this program enjoins the State Department to utilize the facilities, the services, and the advice of private agencies and institutions throughout the country. But it goes still further. It provides for two advisory commissions—one to advise on our information policy abroad and the other to advise on our educational exchange policies and programs. These two commissions, appointed by the President and composed of distinguished private citizens who serve without pay, not only recommend and advise to the Secretary of State quarterly on the conduct of these world-wide programs, but are required to report twice yearly to the Congress on what the State Department has done to put into effect their recommendations. By the establishment of these commissions the public interest is officially recognized in the conduct of foreign relations in an entirely new way. The keen interest already evident on the part of members of the commissions is a healthy sign. It is heartening assurance that this unique approach is a step toward making representative government even more representative.

I have described some of the educational exchange activities of the State Department and the proposed plans to expand these activities to new areas under terms of the Smith-Mundt Act. I hope that you have not gained the erroneous impression that the role of government is an exclusive or dominating one. Nothing could be further from the truth. The act itself not only defines the limits of governmental participating but specifically urges that fullest use be made of private facilities. In fact, the act is so devised as to permit the government to encourage and assist private agencies and institutions to expand rather than diminish their activities. Those directly responsible for conduct of the program affirm this policy. Mr. George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, recently re-

affirmed the opinion that "government's role should remain supplemental . . . and that it should be limited to those fields where private industry cannot or does not wish to enter." The support of a wide variety of private agencies and institutions as well as the support of the public generally is vital to the success of this undertaking. Your Government needs—your Government welcomes this support.

## Fellowships for Research and Study in Other Americas Available

[Released to the press November 30]

Opportunities for a limited number of American graduate students to obtain fellowships from the United States Government for study or research in the other American republics were announced on November 30 by the Department of State and the United States Office of Education.

The two programs under which these grants-in-aid are offered are:

1. *The travel and maintenance grant program.* These grants are supplementary in nature and awarded to students who have obtained grants-in-aid, veteran benefits, scholarships, fellowships, or travel grants from private organizations and institutions, or who have limited funds of their own. Grants cover a minimum period of six months to a maximum of one year and may be renewed when desirable and necessary to the completion of work begun, provided funds are available for such extension. The amounts of the awards will vary with the individual needs of the students and the cost of living in the country in which study is to be undertaken. Applicants should write to the Division of International Educational Relations, American Republics Branch, United States Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. The final date for receipt of applications for these fellowships is March 15, 1949. Selections will be made in April 1949, and notification of awards will be made as soon as possible thereafter.

2. *Fellowships for United States graduate students under the Buenos Aires convention.* Under this program, two graduate students are exchanged each year between the United States and each of the republics signatory to the convention. This year the following countries have indicated that they will receive students from the United States: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela. Transportation to and from the host country is paid by the United States Government. The host government pays tuition and a monthly allowance. Grants are for one year of study or research. Applicants should write to

the Division of International Educational Relations, American Republics Branch, United States Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. The final date for receipt of applications is January 1, 1949.

*Qualifications:* In order to apply students should have the following qualifications for either program: United States citizenship, a B.A. or its equivalent, the initiation or completion of some graduate study, a satisfactory knowledge of the language of the host country, good health, moral character, intellectual ability, and a suitable plan of study or research approved by his supervisor or adviser. All other considerations being equal, students under 35 years of age and veterans will be given preference.

### **Mineral-Geologic Survey Program With Brazil Extended**

[Released to the press November 30]

The Department of State announced on November 30 that a cooperative mineralogical-geological survey program between the Governments of Brazil and the United States has been extended for a ten-year period.

The American Embassy at Rio de Janeiro informed the Department that the program, originally established in 1940, was extended by agreement between the Embassy and the Brazilian Foreign Office on November 26, 1948.

The general purposes of the cooperative program are as follows:

(a) to appraise the mineral resources of Brazil, both as regards those which now constitute a part of the trade between the United States of America and Brazil as well as those which may in the future enter into this trade;

(b) to prepare geologic, topographic, and other maps which may be used as a scientific basis for the development of Brazil's mineral resources;

(c) to encourage the exchange of scientific knowledge and techniques between the two countries, particularly as regards aerial geologic mapping, topographic mapping, economic geology, and ground water and mineralogical investigations;

(d) to make technological investigations as to the industrial use of Brazilian mineral ores, both for internal consumption as well as for purposes of export trade;

(e) to study the problems connected with prospecting, research, mining, processing, and combustion of Brazilian coals.

The new agreement is to remain in effect for a period of ten years from the date of its entry into force—that is, ten years from November 26, 1948. It may be terminated by either of the Governments

on 60 days' written notice. The implementation of the agreement will be carried forward by the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey of the Department of the Interior on behalf of the Government of the United States of America and by the Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Government of the United States of Brazil. Salaries and expenses of personnel of the respective agencies will be paid by the agencies. Transportation costs of U.S. personnel in Brazil will be defrayed by the Government of Brazil.

### **Diplomatic Relations Between U.S. and Peru Continued**

[Released to the press November 21]

The United States Government has decided to continue normal diplomatic relations with Peru. It has therefore instructed the American Ambassador in Peru, Harold H. Tittmann, Jr., to reply to a note dated October 31 addressed to him by the new Peruvian Government.

This decision is in line with resolution no. 35 adopted at the Bogotá conference early this year. This resolution states that continuity in diplomatic relations is desirable and that the establishment, maintenance, or renewal of diplomatic relations with a particular government does not in any way imply any judgment as to the domestic policy of such a government.

The note received by Ambassador Tittmann states that the new Government of Peru will scrupulously observe that country's international obligations. It also expresses a hope that the traditional cordial relations between our two countries will continue. Our note in reply expresses satisfaction over these statements made by the Government of Peru.

### **President of Cuba Visits United States**

President Carlos Prío of Cuba arrived in Washington on December 8 for a visit in the United States. President Prío was honored at a dinner given by President Truman at the Blair House, and during his stay in Washington visited points of interest in the surrounding area. The members of the Council of the Organization of American States entertained him at a special luncheon meeting on December 9 and the Acting Secretary of State gave a dinner for him on the same evening. On December 10 a luncheon was given by the National Press Club and following a visit to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, the Ambassador of Cuba and Señora de Belt held a reception in honor of the Cuban President. Mr. Belt was scheduled to depart from Washington on December 11 for New York and to leave for Habana the following day.

## Mexican Zoologist Visits United States

José Alvarez del Villar, professor of zoology at the National School of Sciences, National Polytechnic Institute, Mexico, D.F., recently arrived in Washington as the recipient of a grant-in-aid under the travel-grant program of the Department of State in cooperation with the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior. After a short visit in Washington, he will go to La Jolla, California, for approximately two months of research at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, where he will collaborate with Dr. Carl L. Hubbs in completing for publication a monograph on the fresh-water fishes of northeastern Mexico. His itinerary will also include Chicago, Urbana, and New York. He will remain in the United States until the end of February 1949.

## U.S. and Canada Agree on 1948 Program for Canadian Potato Crop

Through an exchange of notes completed on November 23, 1948, the United States and Canada entered into an agreement whereby the Canadian Government will institute a price-support and export-permit program for the 1948 Canadian potato crop. Under this program there will be no further exports of table-stock potatoes to the United States and the program will be designed to channel exports of certified seed potatoes into seed outlets only in the United States. The agreement was reached following a series of conferences between Canadian officials and officials of the United States Departments of State, Agriculture, and Treasury (including the Customs Bureau).

Restriction of export of seed potatoes will be accomplished by the Canadian Government through an export-permit system. The export permits for seed potatoes will be issued to Canadian shippers on a time-schedule basis, designed to direct shipment of Canadian certified seed potatoes into those states where there has been a traditional demand for certified seed potatoes for actual use for seed, and only during a short period immediately preceding the normal planting date. Before obtaining such permits Canadian exporters will be required to prove that they have firm orders from *bona fide* users of Canadian seed potatoes in the United States and that their sales contracts contain a clause restraining the buyers from diverting to other destinations or uses.

In connection with the institution of such a program by Canada, the United States indicates that it will not hereafter impose any quantitative limitations or fees on the 1948 crop of Canadian potatoes.

In Canada's prompt and effective cooperation with the United States in this matter another in-

stance has been provided of the readiness of the two countries to take joint action to meet problems of mutual concern. Canada, in entering into this agreement, has assisted the United States materially by recognizing the adverse effect which unrestricted imports of Canadian potatoes would have on the United States potato programs.

For text of the exchange of notes, see Department of State press release 954 of November 26, 1948.

## U.S. Invited To Convene a Conference for Negotiating International Wheat Agreement

[Released to the press December 31]

Charles F. Wilson, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee appointed by the Governments of the countries which signed the International Wheat Agreement last March, announced that the Committee met in Washington on December 3 and agreed to invite the Government of the United States to convene a conference in Washington on January 25, 1949, for the purpose of negotiating an International Wheat Agreement.

The countries represented on the Preparatory Committee are Australia, Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), Brazil, Canada, Egypt, France, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

## Proclamations Relating to Migratory Bird Treaty Act

The President has issued the following proclamations: Closed Area Under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, Massachusetts, on October 18, 1948; Modification of Closed Area Under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, Oregon, on October 20, 1948; and Amendment of Regulations Relating to Migratory Birds and Game Mammals on October 30, 1948, and on November 5, 1948. For texts of these proclamations see 13 *Federal Register* 6115, 6191, 6465, and 6549 respectively.

## Letters of Credence

### *New Zealand*

Sir Carl Berendsen, K.C.M.G., presented his credentials to the President as Ambassador of New Zealand on December 1. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 967 of December 1, 1948. Since July 12, 1944, Sir Carl had served as Minister to the United States.

## Ratifications of Chinese Commercial Treaty Exchanged

[Released to the press November 30]

Ratifications of the treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between the United States and China were exchanged at Nanking on November 30. Under its own provisions, the treaty became effective on the day on which the ratifications were exchanged.

This treaty was signed at Nanking on November 4, 1946, ratified by the Chinese Government on November 11, 1946, and agreed to by the United States Senate on June 2, 1948.

This is the first comprehensive commercial treaty to be concluded by either Government since the war. The United States and China signed their first treaty of peace, amity, and commerce in 1844. The present treaty is basically similar to treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation now in force between the United States and various other countries. It is believed to offer an adequate basis for the development of cultural, business, and trade relations to the mutual advantage of the two countries. The treaty contains articles relating to rights of individuals and cor-

porations; exchange of goods; navigation; and general matters.

Under its own provisions the treaty will remain in effect for five years from the day it comes into force, and will remain in force thereafter subject to termination on one year's notice by either government.

## Madame Chiang Kai-shek Arrives in U.S.

A United States naval transport plane was made available to Madame Chiang Kai-shek at her request for transportation for her and a small party to Washington in connection with the critical situation in China. Madame Chiang departed from Shanghai on November 28 and arrived in Washington on December 1.

## Change in Name of the Netherlands East Indies

Effective September 20, 1948, the Netherlands East Indies (Netherlands Indies) is to be known as Indonesia. The change in nomenclature is embodied in the revision of the constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

## Caribbean Commission Releases Two Technical Studies

### The Industrial Development of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States

A publication entitled *Industrial Development of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States* dated July 1948 is now available. The report contains chapters on the following subjects: background of Puerto Rican economy; national income; balance of payments; exports and imports; fiscal structure of the Puerto Rican Government; Government influence on industry; manpower, wages, hours, and working conditions; sources of fuel and power; transportation and communications; sources of materials; growth of production; expansion of existing industries; new enterprises; capital for industrial development.

### The Sugar Trade of the Caribbean

The first of a series of bulletins on external trade of the Caribbean, *The Sugar Trade of the Caribbean*, was released on November 13 by the Caribbean Commission.

According to the Commission's release, the major conclusions which emerge from the statistics presented for the trade in sugar and its by-products during the years 1935-1945 may be summarized as follows:

Despite the war, exports of sugar had increased by 1945 as compared with 1935 by one tenth in volume and by two fifths in value. At the height of the war, in 1942, exports declined by 3 percent in volume and, in 1940, were 6 percent below the 1935 figure in value. The French Islands were a notable exception to this rule, while, at the other extreme, the increase was steady and virtually uninterrupted in Barbados and Jamaica.

Largely as a result of the war, exports of rum increased considerably. By 1944 they had doubled in quantity and were five and a half times as much in value. The increase was nothing short of phenomenal in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Barbados, Trinidad, and Tobago.

Exports of molasses experienced a considerable decline. They reached their lowest point in 1943, when they were only one fifth in volume and one third in value as compared with the exports for 1935.

The total value of exports of sugar and by-products increased by more than one half during the period under review.

The increase of exports of rum effected a considerable change in the relative importance of sugar and rum in the total exports of sugar and by-products. From one fourteenth of the total

exports of sugar and by-products in 1935, exports of rum increased to one quarter in 1943 and three tenths in 1944. Exports of sugar, more than four fifths of the total exports of sugar and by-products in 1935, declined to two thirds in 1944.

The comparative increase in export prices of raw sugar, 27 percent by 1945, was over-shadowed by the comparative increase in import prices of refined sugar, 164 percent by 1945.

With the restriction of imports during the war, refining of sugar was developed to a considerable extent, not only to meet local needs but also to supply the needs of the nonsugar-producing Caribbean territories. The increase was particularly noticeable in the case of Barbados and Jamaica, whereas in Puerto Rico substantial quantities of refined sugar have regularly been exported.

An interesting sidelight on the rum trade is the considerable exchange that takes place between the sugar-producing areas. However, the market for Jamaica rum is, in the most literal sense of the phrase, the world market.

These two publications may be procured from the Secretary General, Caribbean Commission, Kent House, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I., for \$1.50 and \$1.00 respectively.

#### **Double Taxation**—Continued from page 738

United Kingdom, is the elimination, so far as practicable, of double taxation which otherwise would result from the imposition and collection of taxes upon the same income. The convention also establishes certain procedures for the exchange of information between the two countries in relation to taxation with a view to the prevention of fiscal evasion. Through liberal and reciprocal use of the method of eliminating double taxation through exemption at source, the convention with the Netherlands conforms closely to the pattern of the income-tax convention between the United States and the United Kingdom. Likewise, the principle of the United States tax-credit system is adopted in the convention on a reciprocal basis.

The convention contains special provisions representing a unilateral concession on the part of the Netherlands, relating to the Netherlands capital-accretions tax and Netherlands extraordinary-capital tax and granting substantial benefits to American citizens and certain other persons who were formerly Netherlands residents.

A proclamation of the convention will be issued by the President. The English and Dutch texts of the convention will be printed in the *Treaties and Other International Acts Series* published by the Department of State. Meanwhile, the English

<sup>8</sup> For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 938 of Nov. 23, 1948.

text may be found in Senate Executive I, 80th Congress, second session.

The convention was ratified by the United States subject to three reservations, which were accepted by the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and which read as follows:

1. The Government of the United States of America does not accept article XI of the convention relating to gains from the sale or exchange of capital assets.

2. The Government of the United States of America does not accept article XIII of the convention relating to United States taxation of the undistributed earnings, profits, income, or surplus of a Netherlands corporation.

3. The Government of the United States of America does not accept article XIV of the convention relating to settlement of unpaid United States income-tax liability unless there be eliminated therefrom (a) references now appearing therein to article XIII and (b) any language which might prevent the taxation by the United States of capital gains, if any, taxable under the revenue laws of the United States for the respective years in which such gains were realized.

## **THE FOREIGN SERVICE**

### **U.S. and Afghanistan Raise Diplomatic Missions to Embassy Status**

#### *Afghan Ambassador Presents Credentials*<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press November 24]

The Afghan Legation in Washington was elevated to Embassy status on November 23, when the Ambassador Sardar Mohamed Naim Khan presented his letters of credence to the President.

The Government of Afghanistan indicated its willingness to exchange Ambassadors on March 18, 1948, and our mission in Kabul became an Embassy, with Ely E. Palmer as the first Ambassador of the United States on June 5.

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.

### **Consular Offices**

The American Consulate at Cochabamba, Bolivia, was closed to the public on October 29, 1948.

The American Vice Consulate at La Guaira, Venezuela, was closed to the public on November 22, 1948. The vice consular district for La Guaira has been assigned to Caracas. A Consular Agent assumed charge at La Guaira.

## 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.*

**International Telecommunication Conferences.** Atlantic City, New Jersey, May-October 1947. International Organization and Conference Series I, 4. Pub. 3177. 192 pp. 40¢.

Report of the United States Delegations to the International Radio Conference, the International Telecommunication Conference, and the International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting, with selected documents.

**80th Congress and the United Nations.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 17. Pub. 3302. 66 pp. 35¢.

An itemized discussion, with pertinent appendixes, of all legislation regarding the United Nations considered and passed during the two sessions of the 80th Congress.

**Settlement of Pecuniary Claims Against Yugoslavia.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1803. Pub. 3307. 9 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Yugoslavia, and Accompanying Aide-Mémoire and Notes—Signed at Washington July 19, 1948; entered into force July 19, 1948.

**Diplomatic List, November 1948.** Pub. 3342. 198 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.

### Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography<sup>1</sup>

#### Security Council

Official Records, Third Year:

- No. 101, 344th meeting: 4 August 1948. 27 pp. printed. 25¢.
- No. 102, 345th and 346th meetings: 10th August 1948. 41 pp. printed. 40¢.
- No. 103, 347th meeting: 12 August 1948; 348th and 349th meetings: 13 August 1948. 46 pp. printed. 50¢.
- No. 104, 350th meeting: 16 August 1948. 19 pp. printed. 20¢.
- No. 107, 353rd, 354th and 355th meetings: 19 August 1948. 56 pp. printed. 60¢.
- No. 108, 356th meeting: 30 August 1948. 11 pp. printed. 10¢.
- Supplement for August 1948. 167 pp. printed. \$1.65.

#### Economic and Social Council

Official Records: Third Year, Seventh Session. Supplement No. 6. Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Genocide. 5 April to 10 May 1948. E/794. 19 pp. printed. 20¢.

#### Trusteeship Council

Resolutions Adopted by the Trusteeship Council during its Third Session from 16 June to 5 August 1948. 7 pp. printed. 10¢. T/215.

Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian Administration. Report - Annex IV: Petitions. T/217/Add.1, 31 October 1948. 82 pp. mimeo.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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# Contributors

*W. D. Termohlen*, author of the article on the Eighth World's Poultry Congress, is Director of the Poultry Branch of the Production and Marketing Administration of the Department of Agriculture, and was Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Congress.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

*Vol. XIX, No. 494  
December 19, 1948*

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U. S. SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS

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## General Assembly Adopts Declaration of Human Rights

### STATEMENT BY MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Representative to the General Assembly

The long and meticulous study and debate of which this universal Declaration of Human Rights is the product means that it reflects the composite views of the many men and governments who have contributed to its formulation. Not every man nor every government can have what he wants in a document of this kind. There are of course particular provisions in the declaration before us with which we are not fully satisfied. I have no doubt this is true of other delegations, but taken as a whole the Delegation of the United States believes that this is a good document—even a great document—and we propose to give it our full support. The position of the United States on the various parts of the declaration is a matter of record in the Third Committee. I shall not burden the Assembly, and particularly my colleagues of the Third Committee, with a restatement of that position here.

Certain provisions of the declaration are stated in such broad terms as to be acceptable only because of the limitations in article 29 providing for limitation on the exercise of the rights for the purpose of meeting the requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare. An example of this is the provision that everyone has the right of equal access to the public service in his country. The basic principle of equality and of nondiscrimination as to public employment is sound, but it cannot be accepted without limitations. My Government, for example, would consider that this is unquestionably subject to limitation in the interest of public order and the general welfare. It would not consider that the exclusion from public employment of persons holding subversive political beliefs and not loyal to the basic principles and practices of the constitution and laws of the country would in any way infringe upon this right.

Likewise, my Government has made it clear in the course of the development of the declaration that it does not consider that the economic and social and cultural rights stated in the declaration imply an obligation on governments to assure the enjoyment of these rights by direct governmental action. This was made quite clear in the Human Rights Commission text of article 23 which served as a so-called "umbrella" article to the articles on economic and social rights. We consider that the principle has not been affected by the fact that

this article no longer contains a reference to the articles which follow it. This in no way affects our whole-hearted support for the basic principles of economic, social, and cultural rights set forth in these articles.

In giving our approval to the declaration today, it is of primary importance that we keep clearly in mind the basic character of the document. It is not a treaty; it is not an international agreement. It is not and does not purport to be a statement of law or of legal obligation. It is a declaration of basic principles of human rights and freedoms, to be stamped with the approval of the General Assembly by formal vote of its members, and to serve as a common standard of achievement for all peoples of all nations.

We stand today at the threshold of a great event both in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind, that is the approval by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recommended by the Third Committee. This declaration may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French people in 1789, the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the United States, and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries.

At a time when there are so many issues on which we find it difficult to reach a common basis of agreement, it is a significant fact that 58 states have found such a large measure of agreement in the complex field of human rights. This must be taken as testimony of our common aspiration first voiced in the Charter of the United Nations to lift men everywhere to a higher standard of life and to a greater enjoyment of freedom. Man's desire for peace lies behind this declaration. The realization that the flagrant violation of human rights by Nazi and Fascist countries sowed the seeds of the last world war has supplied the impetus for the work which brings us to the moment of achievement here today.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 9, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. For related material see *Progress Report on Human Rights* (Department of State pub. 3262) and *An International Bill of Human Rights* (Department of State pub. 3055).

In a recent speech in Canada, Gladstone Murray said:

"The central fact is that man is fundamentally a moral being, that the light we have is imperfect does not matter so long as we are always trying to improve it . . . we are equal in sharing the moral freedom that distinguishes us as men. Man's status makes each individual an end in himself. No man is by nature simply the servant of the state or of another man . . . the ideal and fact of freedom—and not technology—are the true distinguishing marks of our civilization."

This declaration is based upon the spiritual fact that man must have freedom in which to develop his full stature and through common effort to raise the level of human dignity. We have much to do to fully achieve and to assure the rights set forth in this declaration. But having them put before

## TEXT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

### PREAMBLE

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

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

WHEREAS member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge

us with the moral backing of 58 nations will be a great step forward.

As we here bring to fruition our labors on this Declaration of Human Rights, we must at the same time rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task which lies before us. We can now move on with new courage and inspiration to the completion of an international covenant on human rights and of measures for the implementation of human rights.

In conclusion I feel that I cannot do better than to repeat the call to action by Secretary Marshall in his opening statement to this Assembly:

"Let this third regular session of the General Assembly approve by an overwhelming majority the Declaration of Human Rights as a standard of conduct for all; and let us, as Members of the United Nations, conscious of our own shortcomings and imperfections, join our effort in good faith to live up to this high standard."

*Now therefore*

The General Assembly

*Proclaims* this universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2. 1. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without discrimination of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

2. Furthermore no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

ARTICLE 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5. No one shall be subjected to torture

<sup>2</sup> Approved by Committee III on Dec. 6, 1948.

or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the laws. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11. 1. Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offense, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offense was committed.

ARTICLE 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13. 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14. 1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15. 1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16. 1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

ARTICLE 17. 1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20. 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21. 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23. 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24. Everyone has the right to rest and

leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25. 1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26. 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27. 1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29. 1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30. Nothing in this declaration may be interpreted as implying for any states, groups or persons any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

## Closing of General Assembly

*Excerpts From Statement by Ambassador  
Warren R. Austin*

On the occasion of the closing of the present session of the General Assembly at Paris, I am convinced that the gains made were appreciable and real. I feel that, by reason of the debates, and the positions taken by 58 nations, the prospects for world peace have improved.

The general issue is more clearly defined to be between a bloc of Soviet States, and the great majority of Members of the United Nations, which are determined to keep their peoples free, and to preserve the blessings of liberty. It is not convincing, after repeated and consistent majority decisions with only the Communist bloc for opposing minority, to assert that the issue is between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The probability of war is reduced by the recognition and consolidation of the facts. The possibility of agreement is increased by knowledge of where we stand.

The Charter expressly bases security upon collective action, and provides for the inherent right of self-defense collectively, as well as severally. The unity by agreement of all peace-loving states in the General Assembly on all the major policies put in issue, is a condition in world politics tending to prevent aggression. This is solid gain toward pacific methods of settlement of disputes.

## Ad Hoc Political Committee Resolution on Admission of New Members<sup>1</sup>

RECALLING that eight members of the Security Council in August 1947 supported a draft resolution recommending the admission to the United Nations of Austria, at such time and under such conditions as the General Assembly might deem appropriate, but that no recommendation was made to the Assembly because of the opposition of one of the permanent members; \* \* \* and

RECALLING resolution 113 (II) H of 17 November 1947 requesting the Security Council to reconsider the application of Austria; and

NOTING from the report of the Security Council that, since none of its members has changed its decision with regard to this application, the Security Council has adjourned its discussion on the matter indefinitely;

The General Assembly

*Reiterates* its opinion that Austria is a peace-loving State within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter, and consequently

*Requests* the Security Council to reconsider the application of Austria, in the light of this expression of opinion of the Assembly and of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 28 May 1948.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from U.N. doc. A/AC. 24/30, Nov. 27, 1948; adopted by *Ad Hoc* Committee on Nov. 27.

# General Assembly Adopts Convention on Genocide

## STATEMENT BY ERNEST A. GROSS<sup>1</sup>

### Alternate U.S. Representative to the General Assembly

The draft convention on genocide which is now before this Assembly is the end product of two years of careful and arduous work. It will be recalled that in December 1946 the General Assembly, by unanimous vote, affirmed that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns and for the commission of which principals and accomplices are punishable. The unanimous vote in the General Assembly on this matter in itself reflected the determination of the peoples of the United Nations, whatever their race, creed, or nationality, to assure that the barbarism which had so recently shocked the conscience of mankind would never again take place.

The General Assembly in 1946 called for the preparation of a convention on genocide which would define the offense more precisely and provide enforcement procedures for its repression and punishment. The draft of such a convention, prepared initially by an *ad hoc* committee of the United Nations, has been patiently and exhaustively discussed by the Sixth Committee of this Assembly. The United States Delegation is prepared to sign the convention, representing the fruits of the labor of the Sixth Committee and confidently hopes that all member states will do likewise.

It seems to the United States Delegation that in a world beset by many problems and great difficulties, we should proceed with this convention before the memory of recent horrifying genocidal acts has faded from the minds and conscience of man. Positive action must be taken now. My Government is eager to see a genocide convention adopted at this session of the Assembly and signed by all member states before we quit our labors here.

The denial of the right of existence of entire human groups is the subject matter with which this convention deals. The task of the legal committee has been to reduce to specific and workable terms the general objective of outlawing actions which have that purpose and effect. The convention responds to the recommendations of the General Assembly in its resolution of December 11, 1946, that international cooperation be organized between states with a view to facilitating the speedy prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. The United States Government has been one of many which have been honored to cooperate in this work. In our view, the draft convention provides a basis upon which all members of the United Nations may agree.

At the conclusion of the labors of the Sixth Committee the Delegate of the Soviet Union announced the intention of his delegation to propose upon the floor of the General Assembly amendments to the draft convention. On behalf of the United States Delegation, I voiced our concern, and indeed alarm, at this procedure. Certain delegations, including my own, which believed that improvements could be made in the draft convention prior to its final adoption by the Sixth Committee, moved the Committee for reconsideration of certain articles of the convention. Amendments to the draft were made only after the committee, by a two-thirds vote, had agreed to reconsider the points involved.

The Delegate of the Soviet Union strenuously objected when these proposals for reconsideration were made and the Soviet Delegate did not himself move for reconsideration of any of the provisions of the draft convention. The grounds upon which the Soviet Delegate objected to efforts to obtain reconsideration of certain matters in the convention were that the points had been fully debated, had been resolved by the committee, and should not be reopened. Therefore, his failure to submit any proposals for reconsideration by the committee was, I think, very properly understood by members of the committee as indicating that there were no changes in the draft convention which the Soviet Delegation desired to bring to the attention of the Sixth Committee for reconsideration and action. Accordingly, the members of the Committee, who had labored for many weeks in the preparation of the draft convention, were deprived of an opportunity to consider and debate any matters which the Soviet Delegation considered relevant to a request for reconsideration.

The United States Delegation believes, and respectfully submits to the members of the Assembly, that the course now adopted by the Soviet Delegation of proposing amendments upon the floor of the General Assembly is a procedure which is bound to have obstructive consequences. Although, of course, the Soviet Delegation is acting within its formal rights in taking this action, such a procedure threatens to reopen in the full body of the General Assembly, the whole debate upon issues which were carefully considered and re-

<sup>1</sup> Made before the General Assembly on Dec. 9, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Gross is Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State.

solved in weeks of effort in the Sixth Committee. My delegation feels that it is its duty to call this to the attention of the Assembly and to express the hope that we will not be led into reargument of these complex questions in this forum.

I conclude my remarks by again expressing the

hope that the draft convention in the form in which it has been submitted by the Sixth Committee will receive the unanimous support of all member states and that the convention will be signed prior to the rising of this part of the third regular session of the General Assembly.

## RESOLUTION OF APPROVAL AND TEXT OF CONVENTION<sup>2</sup>

The General Assembly,

*Approves* the annexed convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide and proposes it for signature and ratification or accession in accordance with its Article XI.

### ANNEX

#### *Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide*

The contracting parties,

HAVING CONSIDERED the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (1) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

RECOGNIZING that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and

BEING CONVINCED that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international cooperation is required;

*Hereby agree* as hereinafter provided:

ARTICLE I, The contracting parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

ARTICLE II, In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcefully transferring children of the group to another group.

ARTICLE III, The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;

(c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;

(d) Attempt to commit genocide;

(e) Complicity in genocide.

ARTICLE IV, Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, private individuals.

ARTICLE V, The contracting parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

ARTICLE VI, Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those contracting parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE VII, Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The contracting parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

ARTICLE VIII, Any contracting party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

ARTICLE IX, Disputes between the contracting parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a state for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE X, The present convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of . . .

ARTICLE XI, The present convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on be-

<sup>2</sup> Adopted on Dec. 9, 1948 (U.N. doc. A/760, Dec. 6, 1948); printed from telegraphic text.

half of any member 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.

After 1 January 1950 the present convention may be acceded to on behalf of any member of the United Nations and of any non-member state which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XII. Any contracting party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that contracting party is responsible.

ARTICLE XIII. On the day when the first 20 instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary General shall draw up a *procès-verbal* and transmit a copy of it to each member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member states contemplated in Article XI.

The present convention shall come into force on the 90th day following the date of deposit of the 20th instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the 90th day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE XIV. The present convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such contracting parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XV. If, as a result of denunciations, the number of parties to the present convention should become less than 16, the convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

ARTICLE XVI. A request for the revision of the present convention may be made at any time by any contracting party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

ARTICLE XVII. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall notify all members of the United Nations and the non-member states contemplated in Article XI of the following:

(a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article XI;

(b) Notifications received in accordance with Article XII;

(c) The date upon which the present convention comes into force in accordance with Article XIII;

(d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article XIV;

(e) The abrogation of the convention in accordance with Article XV;

(f) Notifications received in accordance with Article XVI.

ARTICLE XVIII. The original of the present convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the convention shall be transmitted to all members of the United Nations and to the non-member states contemplated in Article XI.

ARTICLE XIX. The present convention shall be registered by the Secretary General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

#### [ANNEX] B

*Resolution relating to the study by the International Law Commission of the question of an international criminal jurisdiction.*

The General Assembly,

CONSIDERING that the discussion of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide has raised the question of the desirability and possibility of having persons charged with genocide tried by a competent international tribunal,

CONSIDERING that, in the course of development of the international community, there will be an increasing need of an international judicial organ for the trial of certain crimes under international law,

Invites the International Law Commission to study the desirability and possibility of establishing an international judicial organ for the trial of persons charged with genocide or other crimes over which jurisdiction will be conferred upon that organ by international conventions;

Requests the International Law Commission in carrying out this task to pay attention to the possibility of establishing a criminal chamber of the International Court of Justice.

#### [ANNEX] C

*Resolution relating to the application of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide with respect to dependent territories.*

The General Assembly recommends that parties to the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide which administer dependent territories, should take such measures as are necessary and feasible to enable the provisions of the convention to be extended to those territories as soon as possible.

# U.S. Urges Continuation of Temporary Commission on Korea

STATEMENT BY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN COMMITTEE I<sup>1</sup>

Acting Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly

This committee now takes in hand the matter of securing the independence of Korea.<sup>2</sup> That is a momentous task and it is an exciting task—for it is a task of creation. Five years ago the war victors promised independence and unity to the 30 million people of Korea. But, as in other cases, the victors have not been able to redeem their promises, so the United Nations has had to take up the task.

Last year we made a good beginning. Then, this Assembly voted, 43 to 0 with 6 abstentions, to establish a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. It was given a mandate to consult, on our behalf, with the “elected representatives of the Korean people” and “to observe that the Korean representatives are in fact duly elected by the Korean people and not mere military appointees in Korea”. The commission was also authorized to supervise the establishment of a Korean Government, on the basis of elections to a national assembly, which, in turn, would establish a national government. That government, it was contemplated, would set up its own national security forces; would dissolve all military or semi-military formations not included therein; take over the functions of government from the military commands and civilian authorities of north and south Korea and arrange with the occupying powers for the complete withdrawal from Korea of their armed forces. Thus, independence would become a reality.

The members of the commission have worked well and hard under most difficult conditions. We now have before us their reports and we have heard from their rapporteur. We also have the report of the Interim Committee regarding its consultation in February of this year with the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea.

The reports are in certain respects most gratifying. In other respects they are disheartening. The disheartening feature of the reports, to mention them first, is that in the area of Korea north of the 38th parallel, which constitutes the Soviet zone of occupation, the United Nations commission was defied. It was not permitted to “travel, observe, and consult” as the Assembly requested. It was, indeed, excluded and not allowed to assure that free elections would be held and the people of that area permitted to participate in the formation of a national government. Instead, it seems

that in the darkness of that area, closed to United Nations observation, there has been brought into being a Communist-controlled regime that asserts pretensions to govern all Korea and that threatens to back those pretensions by force and violence. Already it has incited acts of terrorism and cruelty that shock all decent people. Yet that regime, born in obscurity, in defiance of the United Nations, has been recognized by three member states: the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and is, it seems, supported morally and materially by the forces in north Korea of the Soviet Union.

It is for the Korean people a dreadful thing that after forty years of oppression from Japan, they should now be threatened with new violence and terrorism from the north. It is for the United Nations a disheartening and a disturbing fact that recommendations of this Assembly, adopted by a vote of 43 to 0, should be flouted by some of our Members. This Assembly should not, indeed it cannot, conceal the gravity of that situation, not alone for Korea, but for the United Nations itself.

That is the somber aspect of the problem. There is, however, another and brighter aspect. South of the 38th parallel, where two thirds of the Korean people reside, the United Nations commission was given every facility to travel, observe, and consult as requested by this Assembly. Furthermore, under the auspices of the commission, elections were held which constituted a magnificent demonstration of the capacity of the Korean people to establish a representative and responsible government. Despite widespread efforts to confuse and to intimidate, despite the actual murder of many would-be voters, approximately 80 percent of the eligible voters registered, and of these, approximately 95 percent cast ballots.

The result was a balanced assembly, fairly reflective of the will of the people. The government created by that Assembly is now in authority; it is consolidating its position; it is building up security forces and local constabulary; it is maintaining law and order despite the efforts of some subversive elements; it is developing the economy of the country, and in that connection it is receiving, and will continue to receive, substantial economic aid from Members of the United Nations.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 7, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> See *Korea 1945 to 1948* (Department of State pub. 3305).

In sum, there has been established a lawful government having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the United Nations Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult, and in which the great majority of the people of Korea reside. That government was based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate in that part of Korea and it is the only such government in Korea.

The United Nations can be proud of its efforts and of the response of the Korean people, who have shown that, given the opportunity, they are willing and able to help themselves.

We shall, no doubt, hear repeated last year's glowing statements about conditions in north Korea which our commission was prevented from observing. The unknown can always be made to appear glamorous, and that is perhaps why north Korea is a forbidden land so far as United Nations observation is concerned. It would, however, be irresponsible for this committee to depend upon the reports of those who refused to permit of verification by the United Nations commission sent out to Korea for that purpose. We do have data, independently verified by our United Nations commission, that show that there has now come into being, through a cooperative effort of the United Nations and the Korean people, a government under whose auspices the Korean people may at last realize their oft-promised independence and unity.

It is, of course, obvious that neither independence nor unity are yet fully achieved and the United Nations cannot consider its task completed. Further measures are required of us.

First of all, the United Nations ought to put the seal of legitimacy on what has been done under its auspices. The government of the Republic of Korea needs that in order to maintain its prestige and authority at home and abroad. It would, indeed, be unthinkable that the United Nations should in any way disown the consequences of its own creative program.

In the second place, we believe that the United Nations should continue a commission on Korea in order to help the new government of Korea to end the wartime military occupation of Korea. There ought to be an observed withdrawal of occupation forces from all Korea as soon as practical. And that withdrawal should be a reality so complete and thorough that, in fact, the Korean people are truly the masters in their own home and not ruled or terrorized by elements that take their orders from without.

In the third place, we believe that the United Nations commission should help the Korean people to reunite and to end the economic dislocations, the fears of civil war, that now gravely disturb the life of the people. As in the case of Greece, Communist elements seek, by violence, to impose their will, and there is danger that these efforts

will be supported in one form or another by neighboring Communist regimes. The presence of a United Nations commission with authority to observe will deter organized violence and tend to assure that the peoples of north and south Korea and their neighbors will, in the words of the charter, "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." We also believe the United Nations commission may be able through good offices to help break down peacefully the barrier to friendly intercourse caused by the present division of Korea.

The Governments of Australia, China, and the United States are submitting to this committee a draft resolution that, in our opinion, will enable the United Nations to move forward along these lines. I hope that that resolution will receive overwhelming support. It should, because the principle involved protects not only Korea, but all of us. The United Nations here faces a familiar pattern. We see violence, terrorism, and internal division being stimulated from without by those who hope thereby to gain international objectives.

Every non-Communist government in the world is, to a greater or lesser extent, subject to these tactics.

There is one elemental defense, and that is, through the United Nations, to evidence at least a moral solidarity with those who in violation of our Charter are subjected to such threats of violence.

A distinguished representative of one of the Communist states said a few days ago before the plenary assembly, "we know that we are hated because of our form of government." That is not the case. What are hated are the methods of coercion, terrorism, and violence that are often employed by Communist governments and taught to party members. It may be that the greatest service that the United Nations can render is to be the instrumentality for demonstrating that whenever those methods are used or threatened internationally, the rest of the world community closes ranks to prevent the success of these methods by whatever peaceful means are available either to the United Nations as an organization or to Member States acting pursuant to the Charter.

If that happens, then it may be learned that the use of force, coercion, terrorism, and violence to achieve international objectives has consequences such that those methods cease to be expedient. That, in turn, may lead all the member nations to respect their Charter undertaking to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. Therein lies, in my opinion, the greatest hope of peace. So, in the interest of Korean independence, and also in the interest of the independence of each of us, let us demonstrate here solidarity with the newly formed but already threatened Government of the Republic of Korea.

### TEXT OF JOINT RESOLUTION <sup>3</sup>

The General Assembly,

HAVING REGARD to its resolution No. 112 of November 14, 1947, concerning the problem of the independence of Korea;

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (hereinafter referred to as the "Temporary Commission"), and the report of the Interim Committee regarding its consultation with the Temporary Commission;

Mindful of the fact that due to difficulties referred to in the report of the Temporary Commission, the objectives set forth in the resolution of November 14, 1947, have not been fully accomplished; and in particular that unification in Korea has not yet been achieved:

(1) *Approves* the conclusions of the reports of the Temporary Commission;

(2) *Declares* that there has been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea), having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of all Korea reside; that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such Government in Korea;

(3) *Recommends* that the occupying powers withdraw their occupation forces from Korea as early as practicable;

(4) *Resolves* that, as a means to the full accomplishment of the objectives set forth in the resolution of November 14, 1947, a commission on Korea consisting of ----- be established to continue the work of the Temporary Commission and carry out the provisions of the present resolution, having in mind the status of the Government of the Republic of Korea as herein defined, and in particular to:

A. Lend its good offices to bring about the unification of Korea and the integration of all Korean security forces in accordance with the principles laid down by the General Assembly in the Resolution of November 14, 1947;

B. Seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to economic, social, and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea;

C. Be available for observation and consultation in the further development of representative government based on the freely expressed will of the people;

D. Observe the actual withdrawal of the occupying forces and verify the fact of withdrawal when such has occurred; and for this purpose, if it so desires, request the assistance of military experts of the two occupying powers;

(5) *Decides* that the Commission:

A. Shall, within thirty days of the adoption of this resolution, proceed to Korea, where it shall maintain its seat;

B. Shall be regarded as having superseded the Temporary Commission established by the resolution of November 14, 1947;

C. Is authorized to travel, consult and observe throughout Korea;

D. Shall determine its own procedures;

E. May consult with the Interim Committee with respect to the discharge of its duties in the light of developments and within the terms of this resolution;

F. Shall render a report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to any prior special session which might be called to consider the subject matter of this resolution, and shall render such interim reports as it may deem appropriate to the Secretary-General for distribution to Members;

(6) *Requests* that the Secretary-General provide the commission with adequate staff and facilities, including technical advisers as required; and authorizes the Secretary-General to pay the expenses and per diem of a representative and an alternate from each of the States Members of the commission;

(7) *Calls* upon Member States concerned, the Government of the Republic of Korea, and all Koreans to afford every assistance and facility to the commission in the fulfillment of its responsibilities;

(8) *Calls* upon Member States to refrain from any acts derogatory to the results achieved and to be achieved by the United Nations in bringing about the complete independence and unity of Korea;

(9) *Recommends* that Member States and other nations, in establishing their relations with the Government of Korea, take into consideration the facts set out in paragraph (2) of this resolution.

<sup>3</sup> Introduced by the U.S., China, and Australia in Committee I on Dec. 6, 1948, and adopted by the General Assembly on Dec. 14, 1948 (U. N. doc. A/788).

# U.S. Position on Unanimity Principle of the Charter

STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN V. COHEN IN AD HOC COMMITTEE<sup>1</sup>

Alternate U.S. Representative to the General Assembly

The question has been raised as to the basic attitude of the United States toward the Charter. I scarcely need reaffirm that the United States stands by the Charter and that the policy of the United States is to work under the Charter and to exert every effort to make the Charter work as it was intended to work.

There are certain obligations imposed by the Charter upon all members of the United Nations, and there is no right of veto granted by the Charter which gives any member the right to qualify, evade, or violate those obligations. For example, under article 2, all members are obligated to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. A permanent member of the Security Council does not avoid these obligations by casting a negative vote. The law of the Charter, and the right of members to defend the law of the Charter, cannot be nullified by a veto.

The fundamental obligations imposed by the Charter are a part of the law of nations. There may be honest differences of opinion among the members as to the application of this law, which is embodied in the Charter. But such differences must rest upon something more than the arbitrary will of a member state. The Charter in article 2 expressly requires every member to fulfil its obligations in good faith.

If a permanent member forcibly destroys the political independence of a neighboring state, would anyone seriously contend that the Charter gave that member the right to nullify the law of the Charter through exercise of the veto? The veto cannot deprive members of the right to defend themselves, nor take away the right of other members to come to their aid in defense of the Charter.

If we agree that the Charter cannot and should not be nullified by the arbitrary exercise of veto, then we should welcome and not spurn efforts to promote agreement among the permanent members as to the proper application of the law of the Charter and as to the exercise of their voting privileges. Recognizing that the standards available to govern our decisions in many cases are somewhat indefinite, the United States at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco accepted the

principle of unanimity among the permanent members as a means of developing and making more certain the law of the Charter. It was then thought impractical to make, on any other basis, many important decisions affecting international peace and security, particularly those involving obligatory participation in enforcement action.

But we accepted the principle of unanimity as a means and not an end, and we insisted that the Charter should not permit a permanent member of the Security Council to be a judge in a dispute to which it was a party. The suggestion of President Roosevelt, to which several of the Soviet speakers have referred, was an effort to reconcile the ideas advanced by the United States at Dumbarton Oaks with the unqualified acceptance of the unanimity principle urged by the Soviet Union.

We are not attempting in the joint draft resolution to alter the unanimity principle as it was incorporated in the Charter. We are trying to find ways and means of making the unanimity principle work. The working of the unanimity principle requires an honest and good faith effort on the part of the permanent members to reconcile and reduce to a minimum their differences. Such an effort should make possible agreement on those essentials necessary to vindicate our common interests in peace and security.

The unanimity principle must not be confused with the practice of veto. As the Representative of the United Kingdom has indicated, the unanimity principle is not a matter of voting but is the spirit of understanding and tolerance that makes action possible even without the need of a formal vote. The practice of veto is the very reverse of the unanimity principle. The veto does not fulfil but frustrate the unanimity principle. The veto, instead of leading to agreement and accord, heightens and aggravates differences and conflicts. It contributes to wars of nerves, cold wars, the unforeseeable situations which may get beyond the control of any of the parties and threaten the peace of the whole world.

We cannot accept the idea that, if unanimity fails, the will of one, however arbitrary, prevails over the will of many, however reasonable. We want a united front, but how, pray, can we have a united front when it is offered to us only on

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 2, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

condition that we accept the will of the most intransigent member?

Much has been said in the debate of the Four Power statement at San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> This was a statement, not a contract. It was not made a part of the Charter, or adopted, or accepted by the Members when they ratified the Charter in accordance with their constitutional processes. It was not more nor less than it purported by its words to be: a statement by the Four Powers of "their general attitude toward the whole question of unanimity of permanent members in the decisions of the Security Council". If it were proper for them to make such a statement of their attitude at San Francisco, in light of their work on and study of the draft Charter, it should be equally proper for the permanent members to make a re-statement of their attitude in light of the experience derived from working under the Charter. If it would be proper for the permanent members of the Security Council to make such a statement, it is equally proper for the General Assembly to recommend to the permanent members how, in the opinion of the Assembly, in the light of experience, the principle of unanimity should be given effect in order to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The Four Power statement of San Francisco indicated that certain designated questions should be regarded as procedural. The statement made it clear that the enumeration of procedural questions which it contained was not exclusive. It is not, in our judgment, improper or inconsistent with our obligations under the Charter or under our commitments to other nations to suggest, as was suggested by the Interim Committee and as is proposed in the joint draft resolution, that the Assembly should recommend to the Security Council that designated questions which in the judgment of the Assembly are procedural should be so treated by the Security Council.

The Four Power statement indicated that it was not expected that there would arise matters of great importance on which a decision would have to be made as to whether a procedural vote would apply. Experience has shown that these optimistic expectations have not been realized. It is hoped therefore that the joint draft resolution may be of genuine assistance to the Security Council.

Reference has been made to the fact that the Four Power statement at San Francisco expresses the view that should the question arise whether or not a matter is procedural, that question should be decided by a vote of seven, including the concurring votes of the permanent members. This certainly does not preclude advance agreement as to what questions are properly deemed procedural. Nor does the statement attempt to deal with the procedure which should be followed if the perma-

nent members do not agree, as they should agree, as to whether a question is procedural or nonprocedural. The statement does not say that a question should be deemed nonprocedural when only one of the permanent members so regards it. Such a position would be indefensible.

The Four Power statement further said that it was not to be assumed that the permanent members would use their privileged vote "wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council". This is an express recognition by the powers participating in the statement that self-restraint on the part of the permanent members may rightly be expected and that such self-restraint is necessary if the Charter is to function as it was intended. If this be true, as the United States Delegation believes, it would seem quite proper for the Assembly, in light of experience, to recommend to the permanent members that if they are unable to achieve unanimity among themselves on certain matters not immediately involving their vital interests they should agree among themselves not to exercise the veto on these matters but to accept the decision reached by not less than seven members of the Security Council.

We believe that it is proper for the Assembly to submit a list of such matters for the permanent members to consider in reaching an agreement among themselves as to the questions with respect to which they might forego the exercise of their right of veto. This part of the resolution does not limit the rights of the permanent members of the Security Council under the Charter; it is only a recommendation to them as to how their rights should be exercised by agreement among themselves. It certainly in no way amends the Charter directly or indirectly.

If the smaller powers can, as they have, subjected themselves to obey the decisions of the Security Council in matters which vitally concern them without any right of veto, surely the larger powers can agree not to use the veto on mere procedural matters or on matters which, though of substantive character, do not involve their vital interests.

The United States Delegation believed that it was necessary to make these further explanations of the joint draft resolution, and we hope that they have served also to answer the question put by the Representative of New Zealand.

Just a few more words on our preliminary reaction to the draft resolution circulated by the Soviet Union this morning. We find nothing in substance in the Soviet proposal that is not included in the third paragraph of our joint resolution regarding the need for continuing consultations among the permanent members. My Delegation is in agreement with much of the statements contained in the recitals to the draft. Certainly we should strive further to strengthen the authority of the United Nations in accordance with the prin-

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of June 10, 1945, p. 1047.

ciples of the Charter. All of us agree that we should combine our efforts for the development of friendly relations among nations. We are also opposed to unnecessary regulation and formalism in the activities of the organs of the United Nations. But if such expressions in the Soviet resolution are intended to belittle the efforts of the Interim Committee to develop standards and

practices which may be helpful as guides to the Security Council, we cannot agree.

We regret that we cannot share the confidence expressed in the Soviet resolution that the Security Council will function better in the future than in the past unless there is much better understanding among the permanent members as to how it should function.

## The United States in the United Nations

[December 11-18]

### Conciliation Commission

The General Assembly in its closing session on December 11 adopted an amended British resolution for establishment of a three-member Conciliation Commission to assist Arabs and Jews in negotiating a Palestine settlement. Vote on the proposal was 35 to 15, with 8 abstentions.

A seven-nation amendment approved before the final ballot eliminated all references in the resolution to both the original partition plan and the Bernadotte proposals as the basis for a boundary agreement.

The Soviet bloc, the Arab states, Cuba, and Afghanistan opposed the Palestine resolution. Nations abstaining were Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, India, Iran, and Mexico.

The Commission, under the terms of a French amendment adopted on December 11, will be appointed by the Big Five powers.

The Commission will take over the work of acting Palestine mediator Bunche, and, if the Security Council so requests, the truce machinery in the Holy Land.

### Israeli

#### Membership

Israel failed on December 17 in its effort to become a member of the United Nations when its application lacked two votes of getting the required majority of seven in the Security Council in Paris.

Five nations voted for admission of the new Jewish state. They were the United States, the U.S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., Argentina, and Colombia. Only Syria was opposed. Canada, Belgium, France, China, and the United Kingdom abstained.

The vote came after Britain had proposed that the Council postpone action on the application indefinitely. This resolution was rejected.

A French suggestion that action on the admission request be deferred for one month and a Syrian proposal that the Palestine partition problem be referred to the International Court of Justice at The Hague for a ruling also were turned down.

### Ceylon

Ceylon's application for membership was vetoed in the Security Council by the Soviet Union on December 15 for the second time.

Vote on Ceylon's application was 9 to 2, with the Ukrainian S.S.R. casting the other negative vote. The same vote occurred at Lake Success on August 18 when the Soviet Union first vetoed Ceylon. This action resulted from a resolution approved by the 12 nations, among them Ceylon. Soviet argument was that there was no reason to single out Ceylon from among the nations whose membership applications have been rejected.

### Refugees

The International Refugee Organization has announced that during the 16 months ending October 31, a total of 334,743 people made homeless in World War II were returned to their native lands or established in other countries in Europe or abroad.

At the end of October, 551,761 refugees were still receiving IRO care, most of them in IRO assembly centers, and an additional 153,406 refugees living outside IRO camps were getting various degrees of IRO assistance, such as aid in repatriation or resettlement and legal protection.

### Human Rights Declaration To Be Published

The U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization plans to give the widest possible publicity to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted at the recently concluded Paris session of General Assembly.

UNESCO's effort will involve not only the press and other mass means of communication, but also schools in member countries in connection with their teaching about United Nations activities.

The action was approved at the recent UNESCO conference at Beirut, Lebanon, after Assistant Secretary Allen, head of the U.S. Delegation, called attention to the Assembly's adoption of the rights declaration and emphasized its tremendous significance. Mr. Allen presented a motion urging UNESCO and its member states to help give the

widest possible dissemination of the text and to encourage publicity about the declaration's implications. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

### Indonesia

The Good Offices Committee on Indonesia has reported that the outcome of recent Netherlands-Indonesian talks for settlement of their differences has served to aggravate a situation which was already grave.

In a special report from Batavia to the Security Council, made public on December 14, Goc summarized both Dutch and Republican views of the talks which led to the announcement of December 11 from The Hague that the Netherlands would proceed with plans for establishment of an interim federal government in Indonesia outside Republican areas. The Netherlands also said at that time that further negotiations under Goc auspices would be futile.

The report said that such action would greatly complicate any negotiated settlement in the Indies and could create serious unrest. It also stressed concern over the maintenance, in such circumstances, of even the present unsatisfactory level of truce enforcement.

According to the report, the Netherlands informed Goc that basis for agreement with the Republic was fundamentally lacking. Further, the Dutch held as fundamentally irreconcilable Republican and Dutch views on Netherlands sovereignty during the interim period as formulated under last January's Renville agreements.

They further held that Republican refusal to accept Dutch sovereignty had nullified Republican acceptance of proposals for a basis for settlement made last September by the Goc Delegation.

The Netherlands stated, therefore, that it would proceed to set up a federal interim government drafted on the basis of results of consultations with representatives of federal territories. It added, however, that it was leaving open the possibility of future admission of Republican-held areas.

The report also summarized Republican views which charged the Netherlands with making no serious attempt to negotiate a settlement as contrasted with Republican good will which had gone to the limit in offering concessions.

The Republicans further held that Dutch attempts to form an interim government without the Republic, together with their refusal to hold further discussions under Goc, would ignore the Renville agreements, the Goc, and statements the Netherlands Government has made before the Security Council.

The Republic also called upon the Goc to take whatever measures possible to prevail upon the Netherlands Government to come to a peaceful settlement of the dispute, while reiterating Republican willingness to consider reasonable terms.

The report, however, said that the Goc did not foresee the possibility of its bringing the two parties together in *bona fide* negotiations, in light of Netherlands statements, and added that "the committee has no confidence that even the presently unsatisfactory level of truce enforcement can be maintained as the possibility of political agreement becomes more remote. The committee can see in the present situation only an intensification of factors already making for further economic deterioration, general unrest and social upheaval. Widespread hostilities involving conflict or organized groups on a large scale might be the outcome."

### ILO

The International Labor Organization's Governing Body in Geneva has added partial revision of four maritime labor conventions adopted at Seattle in 1946 to the agenda of the next ILO general conference to be held at Geneva in June 1949. By a vote of 23 to 8, it decided to reconsider the conventions on accommodation of crews, wages, hours, and manning.

Among the questions previously approved for the agenda are equal pay for men and women doing work of equal value; minimum wages for agricultural labor; vocational training of adults, including disabled persons; industrial relations, including collective agreements, conciliation, and arbitration; and cooperation between public authorities and organizations for workers and for employers.

In other actions, the Governing Body established a Committee of Social Security Experts to meet first in New Zealand early in 1950; and changed the opening date of ILO's 1949 American Regional Conference at Montevideo from March 28 to April 25, while deferring British and French requests for representation there until the next Governing Body session.

An important development of the 107th session of the Governing Body, which ended December 11, was the decision to undertake international programs in the fields of job-training, and training and moving workers from countries with manpower excesses to those with shortages. David Morse, ILO's director-general, stated that he would immediately start drawing up programs of special interest to member nations.

## Report on the First Session of the General Council of IRO

BY GEORGE L. WARREN

The first session of the General Council of the International Refugee Organization met at Geneva from September 13 through September 25, 1948. Upon formal organization of the meeting, the Council elected William Hallam Tuck, of the United States, as Director-General of the International Refugee Organization. Mr. Tuck had previously served as Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Iro. During its first session the General Council considered and passed resolutions for the guidance of its Secretariat on questions prepared by the Preparatory Commission, which had operated since July 1, 1947, on behalf of the Iro.

**Background**

On February 12, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution recommending that the Economic and Social Council establish a committee for the purpose of examining the problem of refugees and displaced persons in all its aspects. Pursuant to this recommendation the Economic and Social Council on February 16, 1946, established by resolution a Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons. The Committee met in London from April 8 to June 1, 1946, to prepare a report and draft a constitution for a United Nations specialized agency to be known as the International Refugee Organization. Pursuant to a resolution by the Economic and Social Council on June 21, 1946, a Special Committee on the Finances of the International Refugee Organization met in London during July 1946, to prepare a draft provisional budget for the first financial year of the Iro. The Economic and Social Council gave final approval of the constitution, the provisional budget, an agreement for a Preparatory Commission, and the transmittal of these documents to the General Assembly under a resolution of the Council at its third session. The constitution, the provisional budget for the first financial year, and the agreement on interim measures to be taken in respect of refugees and displaced persons were approved by the General Assembly in December 1946. The agreement on interim measures authorized a Preparatory Commission to lay the groundwork for the Iro until the Organization came into being, and to take over at its discretion the functions of UNRRA and the Intergovernmental

Committee on Refugees with respect to refugees, as these agencies were to cease activities on July 1, 1947. The following 24 governments, which signed the Constitution with or without reservations, composed the Preparatory Commission:

Argentina	Iceland <sup>1</sup>
Australia <sup>1</sup>	Liberia
Belgium <sup>1</sup>	Luxembourg <sup>1</sup>
Bolivia	Netherlands <sup>1</sup>
Brazil	New Zealand <sup>1</sup>
Canada <sup>1</sup>	Norway <sup>1</sup>
China <sup>1</sup>	Panama
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	Peru
Dominican Republic <sup>1</sup>	Philippine Republic
France <sup>1</sup>	United Kingdom <sup>1</sup>
Guatemala <sup>1</sup>	United States <sup>1</sup>
Honduras	Venezuela

The constitution of the Iro was not to come into force until at least 15 states, whose required contributions to part I of the operational budget as set forth in annex II of the constitution totaled not less than 75 percent of the total thereof, had become parties to it. The Secretary-General of the United Nations declared the entry into force of the constitution of the Iro on August 20, 1948, when the fifteenth government presented its ratification of the Constitution. The total percentage of the governments' contributions to the operational budget on that date was 75.96 percent. In consequence, the Preparatory Commission at its final meeting in September 1948 convened the first session of the Iro on September 13, 1948, at Geneva.

**Participation**

The following member governments were represented at the first session of its General Council:

Australia	Luxembourg
Belgium	Netherlands
Canada	New Zealand
China	Norway
Denmark	United Kingdom
Dominican Republic	United States
France	Venezuela <sup>2</sup>
Guatemala	

<sup>1</sup> Each of these Governments had deposited its ratification of the Constitution with the Secretary-General of the United Nations as of Aug. 20, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Word was received on Sept. 13, 1948, that Venezuela had deposited its ratification of the constitution with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, making that Government the sixteenth member of Iro.

Not represented: Iceland.

Official observers representing Brazil,<sup>3</sup> Italy, Ireland, Switzerland, the Holy See, the United Nations, ILO, and WHO were present. Voluntary agencies and the press were also represented.

The Council was addressed at its opening meetings by Dr. Von Steiger, Chief of the Department of Justice and Police, Bern, Switzerland; Mr. H. Laugier, Assistant Secretary of the United Nations in Charge of Social Affairs; Mr. Boris Shiskin, Labor Adviser of the Economic Cooperation Administration in Europe; Mr. Paul Ruegger, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross; the Honorable Humphrey Mitchell, Canadian Federal Minister for Labor; and Mr. Ugo Carusi, Chairman of the United States Displaced Persons Commission.

#### Organization of the Session

Mr. Henri Ponsot (France) was elected Chairman of the Council. Dr. Wu Nan-Ju (China) and Dr. P. J. de Kanter (Netherlands) were elected First and Second Vice-Chairman respectively. Mr. J. Schneider (Belgium) was elected Rapporteur. Representatives of those states signatories to the constitution which have not yet ratified their signatures were invited to sit at the Council table as observers and to take part, without vote, in the debates of the Council. The observers from the Governments of Italy and Switzerland indicated the interest of their governments in becoming members of the Iro.

The following nine member governments were elected by the Council to membership on the Executive Committee for two years: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Norway, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela.

#### The United States Delegation

Presidential appointments for the first session of the Iro General Council were: Ambassador Lewis W. Douglas, United States Representative; Mr. Goldthwaite H. Dorr and Mr. George L. Warren, Alternate Representatives. In the absence of Ambassador Douglas, who was unable to attend the session, Mr. Dorr headed the Delegation. Mr. Dorr and Mr. Warren were assisted by Mr. Robert L. Fisher of the Department of the Army; Mr. Alex E. Squadrilli of the Displaced Persons Branch, Civil Affairs Division, EUCOM, Heidelberg; Colonel H. T. Brotherton, Chief, Internal Affairs and Displaced Persons Division, USFA, Vienna; and Miss Eleanor A. Burnett, Administrative Assistant.

<sup>3</sup> The Government of Brazil is a signatory to the constitution, but not a member of the organization. The Representative of Brazil had been an active participant in the deliberations of the Preparatory Commission.

#### Resolutions

The following decisions were among those arrived at by the Council which adopted a total of 30 resolutions at its first session:

1. *Repatriation*: The Council instructed the Director-General to pursue his efforts to ensure the speedy repatriation of all displaced persons who expressed the wish to be repatriated. Each displaced person will continue to be given the opportunity to decide in complete freedom and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including information supplied by the government of his country of origin, whether or not he wishes to be repatriated. Refugees and displaced persons choosing to return to their countries of origin from the Western zones of Germany and Austria will be given a twenty-day supply of food by Iro as an aid in reestablishment in their home countries.

2. *Resettlement*: In order to resettle approximately 725,000 displaced persons by June 30, 1950, and reduce to a minimum the number of persons who, at the end of the organization's operation, will constitute the non-resettleable hard core, which will require special assistance, the Iro Council instructed the Director-General to approach receiving countries again in order to secure acceptance, not only of displaced persons who will be economic assets, but also of the dependent, aged, and physically handicapped members of their families, and of orphans and other persons without family ties. Stress was also laid on the necessity for receiving intellectuals among the refugees and displaced persons and the importance of permitting these groups to continue to follow their professions in the country of reception.

3. *IRO Budget*: The Council adopted a budget of \$4,797,800 for administrative expenses and \$150,229,258 for operational expenses (except for large-scale resettlement expenses) for the fiscal year July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949. Governments were asked to make every effort to provide voluntary contributions to large scale resettlement expenses. For the succeeding fiscal year (July 1, 1949-June 30, 1950) the Council adopted a budget of \$4,500,000 for administrative expenses and \$150,060,500 for operational expenses (except for large-scale resettlement expenses). These budgets were based on the assumption that by June 30, 1950, the Iro would have repatriated or resettled 825,000 persons. It was recognized that a non-resettleable hard core estimated at 184,000 would remain for whom provision must eventually be made.

4. *Limitations on Care and Maintenance*: Iro will admit new applicants for care and maintenance only if hardship would result were the applicant denied care. This policy continues that laid down by the Preparatory Commission's

"freeze order". Its continuance was considered necessary by the General Council in view of the limits of the budget of the Organization and the Executive Secretary's estimate that 120,000 eligible refugees and displaced persons would request care and maintenance from the Organization if the freeze order were lifted. The Council instructed the Director-General to accord the most liberal interpretation feasible to the term "hardship".

5. *Standards of Care and Maintenance*: A resolution passed by the Council on standards of care and maintenance directed that a diet "necessary to maintain standards of health approved by medical and nutritional authorities" be provided. The Council considered that the diet of the local population in countries where Iro camps are located has now improved sufficiently to permit Iro to maintain adequate food standards without providing a differential as between displaced persons and the local population.

6. *Volksdeutsche*: The Council, after study of a report by its working committee, deferred for future consideration the question of the acceptance as eligible for Iro assistance of several hundred thousand Volksdeutsche in Austria.

7. *International Tracing Service*: The Council asked the Director-General to continue the present activities of the International Tracing Service and instructed him to consider how the tracing of missing persons could be transferred to another organization after the termination of the Iro. The Council also asked the Director-General to coordinate the work of the International Tracing Service with regard to tracing and search of children with the child-welfare programs of the Organization as a whole, and to take appropriate steps for the issuance of notifications of death.

8. *Arab Refugees from Palestine*: One of the most difficult problems facing the General Council was that of the plight of Palestinian refugees. Recognizing the necessity for assistance to such refugees, but recognizing that the resources of the International Refugee Organization are completely inadequate to permit it to relieve their distress, the Council approved the action of the Director-General in the loan of the services of the Director of Supply and Transport to the United Nations Mediator and requested the Director-General to inform the Executive Committee promptly of any action taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations pertaining to assistance to refugees in the Middle East or of any request for any other form of assistance which the Mediator might make to Iro, with a view to enabling the Executive Committee to consider whether any further assistance might be practicable within the

budgetary and constitutional limitations of the Iro.

The Council also adopted resolutions which:

- Established the headquarters of the organization at Geneva;
- Adopted the rules of procedure as submitted by the Preparatory Commission;
- Approved the draft agreement between the Iro and the United Nations;
- Transferred the property of the Preparatory Commission to the Iro;
- Adopted financial and staff regulations.

The Executive Committee of the International Refugee Organization met again on December 7, 1948, in Rome. The next session of the General Council is scheduled to convene on or about March 29, 1949, in Geneva.

### IRO Preparatory Commission: Seventh Session

The Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization met for the seventh part of its first session on Friday, September 10, 1948, in Geneva, concluded its activities, and adjourned on September 11, 1948. Of the 24 member governments the following 15 were represented at the meeting:

Australia	Guatemala
Belgium	Luxembourg
Brazil	Netherlands
Canada	New Zealand
China	Norway
Denmark	United Kingdom
Dominican Republic	United States
France	

The Secretary-General of the United Nations had declared the entry into force of the constitution of the Iro on August 20, 1948. Fifteen governments members of the United Nations had adhered to the constitution of the Iro prior to that date, and the total of their percentage contributions, 75.96 percent, to the operational budget slightly exceeded the 75 percent requirement of the constitution.

In consequence of the announcement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Preparatory Commission convened the first session of the General Council of the Organization for September 13, 1948, at Geneva. The Preparatory Commission also approved staff and financial regulations for the consideration of the General Council, adopted a provisional agenda for the first session of the Council, and took other necessary steps for bringing the Organization into effective operation.

## U.S. Suspends Consideration of Proposal for Japanese Deconcentration of Finances and Industry

**STATEMENT BY GENERAL FRANK R. McCOY<sup>1</sup>**  
**U.S. Representative on the Far Eastern Commission**

Some months ago, my Government suspended its participation in discussions in the Far Eastern Commission of a United States policy proposal which was then under active consideration in the Commission. This proposal, designated as FEC 230,<sup>2</sup> presented an extremely detailed plan for the implementation of a general policy which already had been stated in existing directives to the Supreme Commander. That policy, which called for the dissolution of certain Japanese combines and a widening in the distribution of the income and ownership of Japanese industry, was then and continues to be, in the view of my Government, a fundamental objective of the occupation.

The action of the United States in suspending consideration of its proposal, however, has led to certain questions among the members of this Commission and among the Japanese people. The purpose of this statement is to clarify the position of the United States with respect to FEC 230.

Since the very first weeks of the occupation, the Supreme Commander has devoted a considerable part of the time and resources of his staff to the problem of reorganizing the financial and industrial institutions of Japan. This program which has been based upon the Post-Surrender Directive issued December 6, 1945, and on the Far Eastern Commission's own Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, was designed to make possible the early development of democratic and peacefully inclined economic institutions in Japan. To bring about that result, plans were immediately developed and put into effect to dissolve the control of Japanese finances and industry which rested in the hands of a few powerful Japanese families.

As a part of this program, the Supreme Commander directed the Japanese Government to adopt various laws and to create certain governmental bodies charged with the responsibility of undertaking a major reorganization of the ownership and control of Japanese industry. In the brief span of three years substantial progress has been made by these bodies. The assets of the 56 persons who comprised the heads of the 10 major

Zaibatsu families and the assets of the 83 holding companies controlled by these persons have been acquired by the Government and are in process of being sold to the Japanese public. A much larger number of companies have been compelled to divest themselves of holdings in and control over smaller enterprises. Such control was exercised through intercorporate stockholdings, interlocking directorates, and similar devices. Contractual arrangements to which these Japanese enterprises were parties which had the effect of placing the control of production or trade in the hands of such enterprises have been declared void. The innumerable control associations through which Japanese enterprises exercised their collective authority are being liquidated. Action is being taken and is well-advanced toward reorganization of former savings banks, trust companies, and governmental banking institutions, making possible the emergence of a significant number of new commercial banks, to compete with and supplement the few large banking combines which formerly dominated Japanese credit sources. Finally, some scores of Japanese companies whose present state may constitute a threat to competitive enterprise are being scrutinized, one by one. Where necessary, these combines will be subjected to such reorganization as may be required to remove the existing threat.

To insure that the dispersion of economic control which is developing from these measures will not likely be reversed in the years to come, substantial revisions have been effected in the basic economic legislation of Japan. To begin with, an antitrust law has been adopted and a Fair Trade Commission set up to enforce the law. In general, the law seeks to restrain the development of new combines, excessively large or powerful, by outlawing agreements which restrain production or trade, by placing limitations upon intercorporate stockholdings, interlocking directorates, and similar devices for the concentration of corporate control, and by setting up procedures and penalties for the enforcement of these provisions. Other legislation now requires Japanese corporations to make considerably more information available to their stockholders and the public than heretofore has been the case and generally requires the management of corporations to adhere to much higher

<sup>1</sup> Made to the Commission on Dec. 9, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. General McCoy is chairman of the Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Not printed.

standards of public responsibility in the managements of their enterprise.

Moreover, many existing laws which tended to centralize the control of Japanese industry within a small group have been abrogated outright. Others have been modified drastically. The Fair Trade Commission and other Government agencies are analyzing still other Japanese laws to eliminate provisions which confer special privilege or tend to restrain or eliminate competition. Various laws relating to the conduct of Japanese banking have been placed under particularly careful scrutiny. One of the principal objectives of the revision of Japanese banking laws is to create a climate in which the undesirable prewar concentration of Japanese credit in a few hands could not recur.

In all this, the Japanese Government has demonstrated a commendable ability to comprehend Allied objectives and has cooperatively fulfilled its obligations. The Japanese Fair Trade Commission has prosecuted a significant series of cases against Japanese businessmen who were violating one provision or another of the statutes which seek to prevent new concentrations of Japanese industry. The Japanese Holding Company Liquidation Commission has made a careful study of the structure of the larger Japanese combines and, in close cooperation with the Supreme Commander, is currently developing plans for such reorganization of these combines as may be needed.

As the occupation and the economic situation have developed, there has been a corresponding evolution in the deconcentration program. For example, it has proved possible and desirable to dissolve most of the wartime control associations. As new sources of credit have been created through the conversion of other financial institutions to commercial banks, it has been possible to reconsider the need for the actual dissolution, once believed necessary, of Japan's biggest banks which under earlier circumstances had dominated the credit structures of Japan. With the daily growth of indication that the Japanese propose to enforce their fair trade laws vigorously and effectively, it has been possible to reconsider the standards to be used in the dissolution of some of the combines still existing. These changes in emphasis have been responsive to changing circumstances and have represented relatively minor alterations in a program which basically remains unchanged. That program, adhering to the broad purposes of the directive of the Far Eastern Commission, seeks to achieve in Japan an economic climate conducive to the development of a democratic society. It seeks to prevent the resurgence of economic power in the hands of a few who recognize no

responsibility to the Japanese people or the world at large.

When the United States suspended its participation in the discussion of FEC 230 in the Far Eastern Commission, that decision was based upon the growing realization that the guidance for the Supreme Commander and the Japanese envisaged therein had largely been overtaken by events. The major points of procedure set out in that document already had been implemented in Japan. Other details believed necessary to the accomplishing of the major objectives either had been faithfully adopted or had become unnecessary or inappropriate. Useful as the paper might have been at an earlier stage of the occupation, that usefulness no longer appeared to exist.

That the paper has become outmoded in so brief a period is a singular tribute to SCAP and the Japanese Government. Procedures which it was thought would take years to carry out in many cases have been accomplished in a matter of months. Major technical obstacles have been overcome and the demonstrated determination of the Supreme Commander to carry the program through has elicited a gratifying degree of cooperation from the Japanese themselves. Accordingly, upon a careful resurvey of the deconcentration program now well-advanced in Japan, the United States now believes that, as a practical matter, there is no need to lay down policies for the guidance of the Supreme Commander with respect to any remaining significant aspect of the program. Indeed, to do so in the outmoded terms in which FEC 230 is cast might well do more harm to the program than good. Hence, the United States has withdrawn its support of FEC 230 as a proposal upon which the Far Eastern Commission could act with benefit to the occupation.

This does not mean that the deconcentration program has been completed. Considerable amounts of securities still remain in the hands of the Government and must be disposed of. Ingenuity and vigor must be brought to this task. Existing banking legislation will undoubtedly be elaborated and refined in consonance with the objectives of this program. Those remaining Japanese combines whose existence may constitute a threat to competitive enterprise will, where necessary, be reorganized as required to remove such threat. But these programs no longer call for the development of policy. They call largely for a practical application of judgment, energy, and enterprise in implementing a program whose philosophy and objectives are clearly understood by the Supreme Commander and the Japanese Government, as they have already convincingly demonstrated.

## Conduct of Trade With Japan<sup>1</sup>

1. In so far as is compatible with the Basic Post Surrender Policy for Japan (approved 19 June 1947, and forwarded to the Supreme Commander on 26 June 1947) and other policy decisions of the Far Eastern Commission, including this policy decision, Japan's foreign trade should be so conducted as to:

*a.* foster the development and balanced growth of Japanese foreign trade to a level consistent with Japan's peaceful needs as defined by the Far Eastern Commission;

*b.* encourage an increase in Japanese exports:

(1) in order that these exports may, as soon as possible, pay for the imports required for the prevention of disease and unrest within Japan, and for the reestablishment of a self-sustaining economy; and

(2) in order that Japan may participate in providing goods for international trade;

*c.* insure competitive conditions in trade free of contracts or arrangements which limit access to markets or foster monopolistic controls, and prevent excessive concentration of economic power in Japan and monopolies in Japanese foreign trade, whether with the participation of Japanese or foreign capital.

2. In addition to Allied trade representatives whose entry into Japan has been or may be approved consequent upon policy decisions of the Far Eastern Commission, persons in the following categories should be permitted to enter and reside in Japan in accordance with regulations established by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers:

*a.* Merchants and other traders (including representatives of commercial organizations, Governmental or otherwise) who are prepared to purchase or to make arrangements for future purchases of potential exports, or to provide raw materials or other commodities which Japan must import;

*b.* Representatives of banks, insurance companies, airlines, shipping and other companies who are prepared to render necessary services in connection with Japan's foreign trade either to private non-Japanese businessmen, to the Supreme

Commander for the Allied Powers, or to Japanese persons or agencies approved by him;

*c.* Representatives of companies or individuals who had prewar property interests in Japan, the renewed operation of which would contribute to the accomplishment of the objectives in paragraph 1;

*d.* Representatives of companies or individuals who had substantial prewar property interests in Japan, for the purpose of inspection of those interests.

3. Nothing in this policy decision is to be understood as requiring the reopening or operation of factories in Japan.

4. There should be no discrimination against any foreign trade representatives or businessmen in Japan and all should be accorded equality of opportunity to transact business. Accommodations should be allocated to such persons entering Japan under the provisions of this policy decision on an impartial basis.

5. Yen acquired by foreign nations through activities envisaged in this policy should be useable for local expenditures in accordance with laws and regulations enforced in Japan.

6. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers may impose port and service charges upon foreign vessels entering Japanese ports for commercial purposes with the exceptions enumerated below:

*a.* No port charges should be imposed on vessels entering Japanese ports in so far as they are carrying occupation force cargo or are engaged in the removal of reparations or restitution goods. Where vessels are also engaged at the same time in normal commercial operations, port charges should be imposed in proportion to the bulk of commercial cargo carried.

*b.* All port charges on commercial vessels as well as the services rendered to commercial vessels in Japanese ports should be subject to appropriate and non-discriminatory payment in any foreign exchange useful for the purchase of imports for Japan or in local currency, in accordance with laws and regulations enforced in Japan.

7. The persons referred to in paragraph 2 should be afforded opportunity for direct access to individual Japanese firms of their own choosing, and should have the opportunity to move freely in Japan subject only to availability of transport and accommodations. Any regulations pertaining to the participation of firms or government agencies, whether Japanese or foreign, in foreign

<sup>1</sup>Policy decision approved by the Far Eastern Commission on Nov. 18, 1948, and released to the press by the FEC on Dec. 6, 1948. A directive based upon this decision has been forwarded to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for implementation.

trade should be non-discriminatory in character and confined to measures essential to achieving the principles and objectives set forth in this policy and should be based upon criteria established by and under the supervision of SCAP.

8. Foreign trade may be conducted by the Japanese Government or agency thereof to the extent

deemed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to be necessary for the purpose of maximizing export proceeds or for other purposes, consistent with the principles and objectives stated in this policy.

9. An exchange rate for the yen should be established as soon as practicable.

## Travel Abroad of Japanese Commercial Representatives<sup>1</sup>

1. During the period of the occupation it is recognized that the operation of the private trade of Japan with other countries must be conducted largely through foreign nationals traveling or residing in Japan. However, in order to widen the scope of trade and to further the policy of preventing Japanese monopolies in foreign trade, a limited resumption of private trade contacts by the travel of Japanese commercial representatives abroad may, subject to the approval of the country of destination, be permitted under the following conditions:

*a.* Such travel should give Japanese no advantage over foreign nationals doing business with or in Japan. To this end foreign nationals in Japan should be given maximum freedom to develop trade, subject only to the economic controls required by reason of the occupation. Such controls should apply equally to Japanese and foreign nationals.

*b.* Japanese commercial representatives abroad should not be the sole sales or purchasing medium for Boeki Cho or for Japanese trade associations nor should they be allowed to be official representatives of SCAP.

*c.* The specific travel authorized herein and the extent thereof should be only that essential to

raise Japan's foreign trade to a level consistent with her peaceful needs as defined by the Far Eastern Commission.

*d.* The activities of Japanese commercial representatives abroad should be confined to trade. They should not be a cover for other activities such as for instance those of a political or propaganda nature.

*e.* Japanese commercial representatives should be carefully screened by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers before they are allowed to leave Japan.

2. Such Japanese travel abroad shall be under such conditions and controls as may be specified by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and the country of destination. Subject to overall supervision by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, the Japanese Government, or any authorized agency thereof, will be responsible for the conduct of any Japanese commercial representatives permitted to travel abroad under this policy.

<sup>1</sup> Policy decision approved by the Far Eastern Commission on Oct. 21, 1948, and released to the press by the FEC on Nov. 9, 1948. A directive based on this decision has been forwarded to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for implementation.

### America's Answer to Communist Propaganda Abroad

BY DOUGLAS SCHNEIDER<sup>1</sup>

Acting Chief, Public Affairs Overseas Program Staff

Between November 1918 and September 1939 most great powers in the world were, with rapidly increasing momentum, organizing the machinery for the all-out propaganda campaigns which were to be carried on throughout the war. The Fascist countries were in the vanguard, during the thirties—the prewar period—but they were rapidly joined and even overhauled by the Allies, after the outbreak of war; and, at the cessation of hostilities, almost every nation was in possession of a smoothly functioning, and in many cases quite formidable, many-voiced propaganda machine.

The U.S.A. was late in joining the chorus, but making up for lost time we too had in operation in 1945 a widespread network of information outlets—call them propaganda outlets if you wish—which, under different names really blanketed the world: the “CIAA”, the so-called Nelson Rockefeller Committee on Inter-American Affairs, and the Office of War Information for all areas other than the Americas.

We and, in varying degrees, almost all other countries had the instruments at hand for the spreading of information. The propaganda machines of our enemies had collapsed with their military establishments. But we were about to reconvert our wartime organizations into peace-serving activities. What was to be the “market”, if I may so call it, for our peacetime information service?

This “market” was a paradoxical one. On the one hand there was a vast demand for information and on the other hand there had never been a stronger resistance against propaganda as such. Let me elaborate: The demand was great because of the limitations imposed upon the free flow of information during the war. Even in the areas spared from occupation or battle, such as Latin America and the British Commonwealth of Nations, news and many of the other traditional media for the dissemination of information had been restricted by censorship and by lack of physical facilities, such as newsprint or shipping space for books. In many parts of the world,

less favored, news and information had been restricted to what the enemy, Germany, Japan, and Italy, had been willing to allow to the occupied areas and to what the Allies had been able to supply despite totalitarian bans, sometimes an impressive amount, sometimes a tantalizing trickle. Curiosity was excited by the years of darkness. When the lights went on again people all over the world wanted to know; they wanted to know what had happened in the free nations during the years they were cut off. They wanted to know how the Great Powers lived, those Great Powers which had brought about the downfall of their oppressors. The flow of Allied armies round the world increased that curiosity. After having seen American G-I's by the hundreds and thousands, people everywhere wanted to find out “what made them run”, what were the homes behind those fun-loving, kind, rough, and generally unpredictable American soldiers and sailors. And over and above the general interest there were the specialists: doctors thirsted for information on the latest techniques; scholars were eager to resume their contacts with other scholars; writers with other writers. Never had there been a more eager audience.

The peoples of the world, in August 1945, were on the one hand eager for information but, on the other hand, they had in almost every case been surfeited with a glut of propaganda, often heavy-handed and, in the case of enemy-occupied territories, generally resented. After four years of Goebbels' outpouring, the Frenchman was hypersensitive to anything which even smacked of propaganda; tired of Mussolini's rantings, cynical Romans shrugged off anything with a “message” and in areas far less sophisticated than these, a very keen sense of smell had been developed.

There, then, is the scene: a world avid for information, but very generally sceptical, hard to persuade, easily “scared away”. How, in particular, did the Communist movement throughout the world seek to exploit the reservoir of good will filled to overflowing by the victorious Soviet armies and by the sacrifices of the Russian people?

First of all there were, to be sure, the traditional (if one may use the term for a relatively modern activity) the traditional media of information open to any country: the press, radio,

<sup>1</sup>Address delivered at the Institute on World Affairs, Riverside, Calif., on Dec. 6, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

the motion picture. Soviet Information Bureaus issued, and still issue, to the local papers and publications their news bulletins and editorial excerpts from the Soviet papers. Powerful transmitters send out from Russia short-wave radio programs in many languages. Documentary shorts and full-length feature films show the most flattering picture of the Soviet Union. The scale of these efforts is impressive and I wish that I were able to give you some idea of the amount of men and money involved in such output. This I am, unfortunately, unable to do. I think I can tell you what British Information Services spent in France in a given year for information and cultural activities. In 1946, for instance, according to my best estimate the British must have spent approximately \$440,000 and engaged in such work some 50 British subjects. I might add that when I asked my "opposite number" at the Soviet Embassy what his government spent in France for information and cultural relations, Mr. Vidiassov answered with a wide grin, "Ah, Mister Schneider, it is no mystery but *of course* I cannot tell you!"

I might also add, as a parenthesis, that three or four months after calculating that the British had spent on information and cultural relations about \$440,000 in 1946 and after having estimated that the Russians must have spent ten times as much (a wild guess to be sure), I learned that our United States appropriation for 1947/48 (July 1947 to July 1948) was to be approximately \$125,000.

But, in spite of the efforts of the Soviet Union, in spite of the obviously large sums of money spent by them in their overt, officially acknowledged propaganda campaign, the results of these, in so far as one may judge anything so intangible as human reactions to propaganda, seem to be mediocre. This type of Communist propaganda is heavy-handed, and except among hardened party members who need no convincing, it is often resented.

The Tass Agency's news files, the Moscow short-wave radio outpourings, the magazines and displays and exhibits, however, were but one and by no means the most skilful of the approaches to the mind and to the emotions of man.

A more novel and more attractive device was the national association known in France as "France-U.S.S.R." and in this country as "National Council of American-Soviet Friendship", different names for different countries but always essentially the same pattern.

May I give you some idea of the association "France-U.S.S.R.", with which I was quite familiar. It is a local example which follows a general plan. Its aim: to promote a better understanding of the Soviet Union in France. Its directorate: generals and professors, parliamentarians, ex-ministers, scientists of world-wide reputation. And its methods? Well you might say "no holds barred". First there was what you

might expect: lectures, screenings of Soviet documentaries, participation in pro-Soviet demonstrations such as "Stalingrad Day" or "Red Army Day". But to such classical methods "France-U.S.S.R." added pretty nearly anything you could imagine which would attract and entertain. I have seen announcements of country fairs, rod and line fishing contests, dances, outdoor bowling tournaments, picnics, and bicycle races organized by "France-U.S.S.R.", all of these activities aimed at recruiting Communist party members and vaunting the glories of life in the Soviet Union. Most effectively of all perhaps, "France-U.S.S.R." organized for the children of its adherents free summer camps: a fortnight on the Mediterranean seashore. A mother who lives in the smoky suburb of St. Denis or Ivry, who sees her son go off, pale, and sees him come back all brown and toasted after a fortnight in the Mediterranean sunshine—well, you can guess for what party she and all her family and friends will vote.

I dislike statistics but you should perhaps know that "France-U.S.S.R." claims a membership of some 150,000 to 175,000. With national headquarters in Paris and departmental offices in 57 of France's 90 departments, "France-U.S.S.R." also runs 1,452 regional offices. To be sure these vary in size from large business suites open six days a week to one room offices open on market day. But don't forget that 1,452 offices constitute a very impressive number of outlets for information about the great "friendly" power to the East.

And in all the operations of "France-U.S.S.R." you never meet a Russian. There are no Soviet members on the board of directors, no Russian employees. They are all French. That is their great strength.

I have gone into "France-U.S.S.R." at some length because I followed its activities quite closely in Paris, and because it is quite typical. And its national character, its use of Frenchmen only, bring us to the last and perhaps most formidable weapon in the Communist arsenal.

If the Soviet Union is the fountainhead of Communist propaganda, it is the Communist organization and the Communist press in each country which, far better than the Soviet publications themselves, publicize and advance the Communist cause, all for the greater glory of the Soviet Union.

The Communist papers are not Russian. They are not spreading Russian propaganda. Perish the thought! They are militant organs fighting for the best interests of the Italian—or Swedish—or French proletariat. And by this token their acceptance is greater both when they extol the virtues of the Soviet paradise and when they damn the imperialist, the trust-ridden, the uncultured, the utterly despicable capitalist country: the U.S.A.

Of other, more devious, methods such as "front" groups, semipolitical groups, philanthropic societies, one could give hundreds of examples. At still other more occult devices, the rumor campaign, the whisper, the smear, one can guess. But they can but add to the full-throated chorus of the Soviet and non-Soviet Communist press, radio, lecturer, loud-speaker; the big drums and the piccolo and the throaty cello together form a mighty roar.

Well, what do we do about it? What is America's answer to Communist propaganda abroad?

I should not like this to sound like an attempt at a paradox, but America *is* the answer to Communist propaganda abroad.

The existence of this country is the answer, in so far as this country is known.

What is the target of Communist propaganda? The hungry and the cold, the tired and the discouraged people of the world are the natural targets of Communist propaganda. To these men and women, racked by war, weary and hopeless, a new economic system is offered. The police-state methods? Bah! Malicious lies! Join the Communist Party and you shall be led along the road toward a morrow full of music. Can't you feel the appeal of such slogans to those who cry: "it will be a change", and "nothing could be worse than the present"?

And yet to these same weary millions the word *America* has long shone as a symbol of hope, as a sun piercing the darkness of their frightened night. Yes, to be sure, it is a very distant sun, a far-off hope. The land of miracles is far, far away, difficult to imagine, almost impossible to reach. It is seen as through a glass, darkly. But America stands for freedom. Who would not like to know America?

How do we Americans satisfy this desire for knowledge, how do we answer the slurs and slanders which are daily poured out against us?

First of all, I am glad to say, we don't answer the slurs directly. Direct answers to hostile propaganda put the answerer on the defensive. They put him on to his adversaries' terrain. They are a sign of weakness, not of strength.

During the war, at the request of the Allied air forces, British and American propagandists taunted the Germans: "*Wo ist die Luftwaffe?* (Where is the Luftwaffe?)" The Allies wanted them to come up and be destroyed before the Normandy landings. The campaign aroused such doubts among the German listeners that Goebbels himself felt constrained to speak out, to explain, as best he could, the Luftwaffe's absence from the skies of battle. That day the broadcasters of the BBC and of the Voice of America knew that this campaign at least had been successful. And the interrogations of prisoners of war soon showed that Goebbels' retorts and denials had reassured no one; that, on the contrary, they

had left the German listeners more persuaded than before that all was not well with their air force.

Instructed by this and a dozen other such experiences, we do not answer Communist slander, tit for tat, we do not get involved in the vain arguments—"true; not true; you lie; I don't". Our aim (and when I say "we" I am thinking of Americans in Government or in private information work; of Embassies and of American newspaper offices abroad), our aim is, broadly speaking, to show the fair face of this country, of our people, and to let the true picture of America tell the story.

Who engages in such efforts? What agencies or groups contribute to our information work abroad?

News is, I suppose, the prime vehicle for such information and American news does get abroad, both in its written and in its visual forms. The great American news agencies, the picture agencies, the newsreel companies, certain American magazines with overseas and in some cases foreign-language editions, all these contribute to a projection of the American scene for foreign readers and spectators. American books, too, the technical books showing our progress in every field of human endeavor, the books on our social, economic, and political life, are a strong weapon in the conflict of ideas.

But all these media labor under difficulties, some peculiar to the postwar world of 1948 and others inherent in our very own way of life.

News agencies and magazines and papers and newsreels and publishing houses in a free economy must make money. And the currencies of many countries are in such a weakened condition that dollars cannot be found to buy American books or to subscribe to American magazines. Yet these commercial organizations have little use for large balances in guilder or lire or francs. Moreover in many countries, curtained off behind that iron screen, these vehicles of American thought cannot circulate regardless of whether there is or is not an available dollar balance.

Furthermore the nature of the American press and American publications is such that the very idea of propaganda is foreign to them. In the very long-term view this is, without doubt, sane and healthy. But the short-term need for an immediate reaction against Communist propaganda is not readily met by agencies to which objectivity and impartial news treatment are cardinal principles.

Then there are the films. Are these the answer? I remember of what city I am today a guest and I speak with circumspection. In other countries millions of people every week see the American films and for millions each one of the pictures is, indeed, one of the rays of that sun of hope, America. I should hesitate to say that every American film is a good ambassador. Some of them, in fact,

sow curious and regrettable misconceptions, chiefly because the foreign audiences lack knowledge about the U.S.A. and its ways. But the aggregate impact of American films is certainly a contributing factor and one of no mean importance in the total presentation of the life, thought, and activities of the United States. The films, however important as they are, are also subject to quota restrictions, to dollar currency shortages, and to actual censorship here and there.

All these different difficulties at present attendant upon private efforts to portray our way of life abroad and thereby to destroy the myths and stereotypes carefully fostered, when they are not invented, by the Communist organizations will explain why the United States Government has felt it desirable to establish and maintain a service devoted to the spreading of information about the United States; to the exchange of people, of educators, students, technicians, physicians, and administrators; to spread the truth about our policies, our national aims and our way of life, a service complementary to the efforts of private enterprise.

Acts, of course, speak more eloquently than words. The European Recovery Plan, Marshall Plan, Economic Cooperation Administration, call it what you like, has brought home to many millions the real aims of our foreign policy.

But even acts must be made known, and correctly known. To baptize the Marshall Plan as a new and devilish device of "American Economic Imperialism" designed to subjugate the countries of Europe and to colonize them in favor of the Wall Street barons was one of the first moves of the Communists everywhere.

To combat this and all other attacks on the United States and to destroy even among our friends the misconceptions so prevalent about our country is the task of U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Services throughout the world.

These services operate through what I earlier described as the traditional or classical media of press, radio, and films, through the exchange of persons, and through the use of books and exhibits.

My examples have, as I quite realize, been drawn very largely if not exclusively from France, since I had the honor of serving there myself so recently. Let me once more describe the operation of our services in France, with the remark that similar operations, varying in size and scope and opportunity, are being conducted by the Department of State at some 130 posts in 82 countries throughout the world.

One of the essential tasks of the mission is to obtain full and fair treatment of American news in the local press. To this end a service of some 5,000 words daily is radioed from Washington to Paris (as it is throughout the world). In Paris it is taken "off the air", translated into French and distributed in the form of a daily bulletin to 2,000

French addressees, about half of them newspaper and periodical editors, the other half being composed of educators, members of Parliament, government officials, trade-union leaders, doctors, lawyers—in short, the leaders of public opinion. This radioed material is backed up by air-mailed features and articles, reprints from American magazines, still pictures, exhibits, accounts of our progress in every field, explanations of our national policy. Such output is used extensively by the French press, particularly in the provinces. It does not compete with the private American news agencies, since the government output is not geared for "spot news" but deals with either full texts of American Government pronouncements or with materials which no private agency would find commercially profitable. (I should like to add that when I speak of American Government, I use this term in its widest sense, and refer to coverage of the activities of the Congress, of the Executive Branch and, on occasion, of the individual States.)

Documentary motion pictures, bought or borrowed from other Government agencies, from colleges and industry and other private groups are shown throughout France. They are pictures of American life, they show the American home, the skills and techniques of our professional men and women. And they show in France to some 750,000 people every month. World-wide audiences are in the nature of 102 million yearly.

In Paris and, shortly, in five cities in the provinces United States Information Service provides a reference library on American matters. The Paris library receives an average of 175 visitors daily, and approximately 80 percent of these visitors are scholars, government employees, physicians, and research workers. I should add that many points in the world outdo by far the Paris record in this respect. In the Philippines, for instance, the United States Library receives about 500 visitors daily.

A radio officer in Paris represents there the Voice of America and has arranged for the local rebroadcast of our New York produced show over one of the French networks with 14 stations, covering the whole of France. In this respect we are privileged, since we are the only country to enjoy a regular half-hour relay, seven days a week. "France-U.S.S.R." has two quarter-hour shows, weekly, against America's seven half-hour shows—a proportion of 7 to 1. And beside his function of liaison between the Voice of America and Radio Diffusion Française, the radio officer produces local shows himself on an average of 18 every month, featuring American music, travelogues, and aspects of our national folk ways.

Finally, on the educational side, a cultural officer and his assistants pursue the manifold duties that his very title suggests: lectures, advice to French professors, fellows, students en route for

the U.S.A.; assistance to American students, painters, musicians arriving to study in France; the organization of Franco-American seminars for teachers of English. These seminars, by the way, reveal the most surprising areas of ignorance. At one of them my wife, who was attending a round table, was seriously told by a French teacher: "I can't understand what American women can do all day long! You all have laundry machines, dishwashing machines, your children are never at home. Since there is no family life, and you cook everything out of cans, what do you do the rest of the time?"

This was a picture of the operation of your Government's information service in France. With local differences similar activities are carried out in the other countries of both hemispheres and these activities are still being developed. For instance, Public Law 402 authorizes in the Eastern Hemisphere exchange-of-persons activities already in effect in the Western Hemisphere. No funds were voted for this in the Eastern Hemisphere in the current fiscal year, but the program is foreseen as a nearing possibility.

There are two phases of the information work, upon which my Paris outline could not touch and which I must add to give you a rounded picture.

The Voice of America in New York broadcasts in 14 languages and its programs are boosted by relay points at Munich, at Manila and, by arrangement with the BBC, in England. I suppose most people have heard of the Voice. Whenever it has had the misfortune, in the outpouring of its vast daily output, to make a slip, the attendant publicity has been tremendous. Less, of course, was said about 50 effective programs than about one "off the beam." It is however comforting to us to know from our colleagues of the American Embassy at Moscow that the "Voice" in Russian, for instance, is widely listened to in the Soviet Union and that, again according to reports from the field, we are striking just about the right note by not taking personal issue with any of the Soviet "great ones", by avoiding all name calling which might provoke national pride and resentment but by maintaining a truthful, cool, and slightly ironical attitude about Soviet institutions which seems to appeal to the wry sense of humor of the Soviet listener. I admit that the appraisal of the quality of our output to Russia is based on the opinions of a very few. But, you see, we cannot be scientifically informed about our success in the U.S.S.R. for there are no public-opinion polls available to us in the Soviet Union.

The magazine *Amerika* is the last point I should like to mention. This Russian-language magazine published in New York by the State Department's Office of International Information, is sold in the U.S.S.R.; 50,000 copies monthly are distributed

through the Soviet News Agency. It is a large, heavily illustrated, colorful magazine which deals with noncontroversial aspects of American life. Its 50,000 copies are a very small drop in a large ocean but we know that many copies of the magazine circulate from hand to hand until they drop to pieces.

There is the picture: A Communist country and Communist parties in many countries join in a shrill, hysterical chorus: America is brutal, America is money-mad, America is standardized, uncultured, imperialistic, war mongering, fickle, unstable, headed toward disaster.

With more restraint and with less ample resources the Voices of America answer throughout the world: America is peace-loving; America seeks no aggrandizement; America is made up of 145 million people who hope, who fear, who struggle and love and live and die much as you do. We have common problems, but we have one inestimable treasure, which we are willing to share but for the defense of which (our history proves it) we are willing to die. That treasure is our freedom.

Who is winning in this struggle for the minds of men? My opinion is that truth is on the march. But America's answer will be convincing only if that answer is steadfastly truthful. Ideas are not defeated by the weight of arms or by material resources. The Christian idea was triumphant against the overwhelming might of the Roman Empire because of faith. When appraising the Communist attack let us not forget that if among its leaders there are rogues and self-seeking men lusting for power, there are also in the ranks men and women for whom that economic system and that theory of social organization replace God, fatherland, and family. It is in the measure that we can match and surpass that fanatical faith with an even more passionate belief in and support of our own freedoms that America may find the true answer to Communist propaganda.

## Berlin Elections Demonstrate Civic Courage

*Statement by the Department of State*

[Released to the press December 6]

The Berlin population has in recent months demonstrated a type of civic courage which has won for it the admiration of the democratic peoples of the world. The wholehearted participation of an overwhelming majority of the population of the Western sectors of Berlin in fair and free municipal elections yesterday was a further demonstration of the same civic courage. The conduct of the people of Berlin is an encouragement to all those devoted to the maintenance of civil liberties and democratic processes.

## Austrian Federal Government Asks for Continuation of Peace Treaty Negotiations

[Released to the press December 7]

A note was received from the Austrian Federal Government on December 6 pointing out that no progress had been made in the preparation of the Austrian treaty since the conference of the Deputies of the Council of Foreign Ministers was adjourned in London in May of this year. The note stated that the Austrian Government, as well as the Austrian people, are most anxious for the speedy conclusion of the treaty, which would bring about the withdrawal of the occupation forces of the Four Powers and the elimination of the division of Austria into four zones. The Austrian Government considered that the Four Power occupation was an impediment to Austria's economic recovery. The request was made of the Government of the United States jointly with the other Governments represented in the Council of Foreign Ministers to resume their negotiations in order to bring about an early conclusion of the treaty. Similar notes have been addressed to the Governments of Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union.

The Department of State has replied to the Austrian note welcoming the initiative which the Austrian Federal Government has shown and expressing the hope that a suitable basis might be found for the continuation of negotiations and the early conclusion of the treaty. The Austrian Government was informed that the United States is fully prepared to participate in renewed discussions on the Austrian treaty. As soon as the replies of the other Governments are received the United States Deputy on the Council of Foreign Ministers, as chairman of the next meeting, will address an appropriate communication to the Secretary General of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

## Participation in Venezuelan Political Affairs by U.S. Petroleum Companies Denied

[Released to the press December 8]

Charges have appeared in the press that United States petroleum companies backed the military group which recently overthrew the Government of President Rómulo Gallegos in Venezuela.

At least two American petroleum companies are reported by the press to have already issued statements denying any intervention in Venezuelan internal affairs. The Department of State knows of no evidence or indications of any kind which would give the slightest support to such charges.

As far as is known to the Department American companies and other entities represented in Venezuela avoided participation of any kind in the Venezuelan revolution of last month. Americans residing abroad have repeatedly been warned that

interference in the domestic political affairs of foreign states may result in the withdrawal of United States Government protection, and the Department takes this opportunity of reiterating and emphasizing this injunction.

## U.S. Military Attaché in Venezuela Impartial in Domestic Situation

[Released to the press December 10]

A United Press report from Habana dated December 9, 1948, quotes Romulo Gallegos, exiled President of Venezuela, as "demanding" that the United States Government explain the presence of its military attaché at the Caracas army barracks during the military revolt of November 24. Señor Gallegos is further quoted as having stated that the military attaché of the United States acted as "cooperator or counselor" for the revolutionists.

According to information received from the American Ambassador in Caracas, the military attaché of the United States, Col. Edward F. Adams, did visit the Ministry of National Defense on November 24. The purpose of this visit was to inquire if there was any news from our air attaché at Caracas who a few days earlier had left for a sparsely populated region of Venezuela known as the Gran Sabana to search for a lost United States military plane. No word had been received from him, giving rise to serious concern.

Despite the political crisis it was not felt advisable to defer this inquiry because of the nature of the emergency. Shortly after noon the same day Colonel Adams visited the Presidential Palace, Miraflores, on the same errand. There he met Venezuelan officers of his acquaintance who confirmed an earlier radio report that the Army had taken over the Government. The American Ambassador has informed the Department that Colonel Adams has stated categorically that in none of his conversations did he indicate any partiality for either side involved in the political crisis or give any advice or express opinions which could be interpreted as constituting intervention in Venezuelan domestic affairs.

It is regretted that Señor Gallegos, not knowing the emergency reasons for the visits of Colonel Adams to the Ministry of Defense and the Presidential Palace on November 24, concluded that they had some other purpose, even though Señor Gallegos cannot but be aware of the record of this Government in adhering strictly to its nonintervention commitments. Standing instructions of the Department to all its missions prescribe that officials of this Government must not intervene in the internal political affairs of any foreign government. There is no basis for belief that any member of the Embassy staff failed to live up to this standing injunction during the recent political crisis in Venezuela.

## Conversations on Security Problems of North Atlantic

[Released to the press December 10]

The Acting Secretary of State this afternoon conferred with the Ambassadors of Belgium, Canada, France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, and the Minister of Luxembourg in a continuation of the talks, begun in July, on security problems of common interest in relation to the Senate Resolution of June 11, 1948. The conversations had been recessed in September to give the Governments an opportunity to consider the tentative views which had been developed. The resumed conversations are expected to continue for some time and no information concerning their substance will be made public until such time as decisions may be reached.

## President of Cuba Visits in the United States

### *Statement Upon Departure by Acting Secretary Lovett*

[Released to the press December 11]

The friendly relations between the United States and Cuba have greatly benefited by the visit of Dr. Carlos Prío. The President of Cuba carries with him our best wishes as he returns home.

In the course of President Prío's visit it became apparent that the two countries are seeking common objectives and that there exists a mutual desire to cooperate in practical ways towards achieving these common ideals.

The United States is prepared to do all that it can to work with Cuba in reinforcing the social and economic basis on which true cooperation must rest.

### *Remarks by President Truman<sup>1</sup>*

I am very happy to welcome you, President Prío, to the United States. No two countries of this closely knit Hemisphere have been bound together more closely than the Republic of Cuba and the United States. The friendly bond between them was forged in a common struggle for freedom, and it has continued through all the trials of two world wars and through the many other problems in the political and economic growth of our two countries. There is no relationship which better typifies the firm solidarity of the American States than the traditionally cordial collaboration between Cuba and the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Made upon the arrival of the Cuban President at the National Airport on Dec. 8, 1948, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

Mr. President, I have been looking forward to your arrival, as have all the many friends of Cuba in this country, and we sincerely hope that you will thoroughly enjoy your all too brief stay in the United States.

## The President To Recommend Relief for Palestine Refugees

[Released to the press by the White House December 7]

The President, following adoption by the United Nations General Assembly on November 19 of a resolution for assistance to Palestine refugees, will recommend to Congress that the United States contribute 50 percent of the amount provided for in this resolution, but in no case more than a total of \$16,000,000 as the share of the United States.

The resolution of the General Assembly, adopted at its 163d plenary meeting on November 19, 1948, considered that a sum of approximately \$29,500,000 will be required to provide relief for 500,000 refugees for a period of nine months from December 1, 1948, to August 31, 1949, and that an additional amount of approximately \$2,500,000 will be required for administrative and local operational expenses.

The recommendation of the President to Congress for an amount not to exceed \$16,000,000 will be made in the earnest hope that other countries will meet the remainder of the total required.

The American Delegation to the United Nations Assembly has emphasized that in accordance with constitutional requirements the President's recommendation for an appropriation of \$16,000,000 for Palestinian refugee relief must be accepted by the Congress before any funds become available. The final decision rests with it. The recommendation will be transmitted to the Congress after it convenes in January.

## Economic Cooperation Agreement With Korea Signed

Negotiators representing the Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Korea signed an aid agreement at Seoul on December 10, 1948 (Seoul time).

Taking cognizance of the inauguration of the Government of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948, and the termination on that date of United States Army military government in Korea, President Truman on August 23, 1948, announced that he had instructed the Economic Cooperation Administrator to make preparations to take over responsibility for the United States economic aid program in Korea within a few months.

The agreement signed at Seoul on December 10, which is being submitted to the Korean National Assembly for ratification, provides the framework within which the economic assistance requested of the United States by the Republic of Korea will be carried out by the Department of the Army and by the Economic Cooperation Administration when the latter assumes these responsibilities. By strengthening the economy of Korea through the economic aid to be furnished under this agreement, the United States will be maintaining its support for the independence of Korea which has been furthered by action of the United Nations. The agreement was signed on behalf of the United States by the Special United States Representative in Korea, Ambassador John J. Muccio, and on behalf of the Republic of Korea by Prime Minister Lee Bum Suk and Finance Minister Kim Do Yun. For text of the aid agreement see press release 999 dated December 10, 1948, of the Department of State and the Economic Cooperation Administration.

### Consular Convention Between U.S. and Republic of the Philippines Proclaimed

[Released to the press December 7]

On November 26, 1948, the President of the United States proclaimed the consular convention between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, signed at Manila on March 14, 1947. This convention, which reaffirms the desire of both countries to strengthen further relations between them by facilitating the handling of consular matters, entered into force on November 18, 1948, by virtue of the exchange on that date of the respective instruments of ratification.

The convention establishes a formal reciprocal basis for the exchange of consular officers between the two countries and defines their rights and duties, covering such matters as privileges and immunities with respect to taxation and import duties, responsibilities and authority in the settlement of decedents' estates, representation of nationals, authentication and notarization of documents, and shipping and merchant marine problems such as salvage and personnel. The rights of each country to acquire land for official purposes is also covered.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Advisory Committee of the Foreign Service Institute Established

[Released to the press December 8]

An advisory committee of leading American citizens has been set up by the Secretary of State to guide and advise the Foreign Service Institute in its training of Department of State and Foreign Service personnel overseas, the Department of State announced on December 8.

This committee, known as the Advisory Committee of the Foreign Service Institute, will assemble in Washington for its first annual meeting on December 17, at which time it will review the program of the institute and its plans for the future.

The Director General of the Foreign Service, Christian M. Ravndal, will serve as chairman of the committee. Other members are:

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts  
 Senator Carl A. Hatch, of New Mexico  
 Congressman Bartel J. Jonkman, of Michigan  
 Congressman John Kee, of West Virginia  
 Charles E. Bohlen, Counselor, Department of State  
 Joseph C. Grew, former Under Secretary of State  
 John S. Dickey, President of Dartmouth College  
 Gardner Cowles, President, *Des Moines Register and Tribune Company*  
 Prof. Graham H. Stuart, Stanford University  
 Ralph T. Reed, President, American Express Company

The two senatorial members of the committee were nominated by the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the two House members by the Speaker. Other members were named by the Secretary of State.

The Foreign Service Institute was created by the Foreign Service Act of 1946 "in order to furnish training and instruction to officers and employees of the Foreign Service and of the Department of State and to other officers and employees of the Government for whom training and instruction in the field of foreign relations is necessary, and in order to promote and foster programs of study incidental to such training."

The Institute was formally established on March 13, 1947. Dr. William P. Maddox is its Director. It occupies a building at 2115 C Street, NW.

## 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.*

Health and Sanitation Cooperative Program in Haiti. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1801. Pub. 3294. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Haiti extending the agreement of April 7, 1942, as amended, until June 30, 1949—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Port-au-Prince June 25 and 30, 1948; entered into force June 30, 1948.

United States Educational Foundation in New Zealand. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1812. Pub. 3327. 7 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and New Zealand—Signed at Wellington September 14, 1948; entered into force September 14, 1948.

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# Contributors

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

*Vol. XIX, No. 495*

*December 26, 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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## Status of Work of the Third Regular Session of the General Assembly as of December 12, 1948<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PLENARY

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
1. Opening of session by Chairman of Delegation of Argentina.		136	Sept. 21
2. Appointment of Credentials Committee . . .	Appointed Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ecuador, France, Iran, Ukraine, Sweden, Yemen.	136	Sept. 21
	Report approved . . . . .	139	Sept. 23
	2d Report approved . . . . .		Dec. 8
3. Election of President . . . . .	Evatt of Australia . . . . .	136	Sept. 21
4. Constitution of the Main Committee and Election of Officers.	Committee 1—Spaak, Belgium . . . . .	142	Sept. 21
	2—Santa Cruz, Mexico . . . . .	56	
	3—Malik, Lebanon . . . . .	84	
	4—Entezam, Iran . . . . .	50	
	5—Wilgress, Canada . . . . .	104	
	6—Alfaro, Panama . . . . .	61	
5. Election of Vice Presidents . . . . .	China, France, Mexico, Poland, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.	138	Sept. 22
6. Notification by SYG under article 12, par. 2, of the Charter.	Presented to plenary . . . . .	139	Sept. 23
7. Adoption of agenda . . . . .	Adopted after rejection of several proposals to delete items 14, 16, 17, 19, 44.	142	Sept. 24
	Decided to delay item on treatment of Indians in South Africa.	146	Sept. 28
	Added after report of General Committee: resolution on prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction of armaments (U.S.S.R.) referred to Committee 1.	147	Sept. 28
	Resolution for great powers to renew efforts to compose differences (Mexico) referred to Committee 1.	150	Oct. 8
8. Opening of general debate . . . . .	39 countries spoke . . . . .	139	Sept. 23
	Ended . . . . .	148	Sept. 29
9. Report of SYG on work of Organization . . .			
10. Election to Security Council . . . . .	Cuba, Norway, Egypt. . . . .	149	Oct. 8
	Election to Ecosoc . . . . .	149	Oct. 8
11. Election of five members of ICJ (article XVII, par. 1, of Statute).	Elected 5: Hsu Mo, China; Badawi, Egypt; Read, Canada; Winiarski, Poland; Moricie, Yugoslavia.	152-153	Oct. 23
12. Progressive development of International law—election of members of ILC.	Elected 15 members: Alfaro, Panama; Amado, Brazil; Briery, U.N.; Cordoba, Mexico; Francois, Netherlands; Hsu, China; Hudson, U.S.; Koratsky, U.S.S.R.; Rau, India; Seelle, France; Spiropoulos, Greece; Yepes, Colombia; Sandstrom, Sweden; El-Khoury, Syria; Zourek, Czechoslovakia.	154-55	Nov. 3

<sup>1</sup> EDITOR'S NOTE: This document, an informal compilation, was prepared by the Reference and Research Branch of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations from daily press reports and from reports of the International Broadcasting Division of the Department of State.

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PLENARY—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
13. Recommendation of SC to GA regarding participation of non-U.N. member, party to Icj statute, in election of Icj judges.	Adopted . . . . .	150	Oct. 8
14. Draft protocol to bring under control drugs outside the scope of the Convention on July 13, 1931, for limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs, as amended by the protocol signed at Lake Success on Dec. 11, 1946: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved . . . . .	150	Oct. 8
15. Financial report and accounts for the financial period ended Dec. 31, 1947, and report of Board of Auditors.	Approved . . . . .	150	Oct. 8
16. ICEF: annual audit of accounts of fund: report of Syg.	Approved . . . . .	150	Oct. 8
17. Annual report of the Staff Benefit Committee on operation of pension fund.	Approved . . . . .	150	Oct. 8
18. Reports of Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.	Approved report on travel and subsistence expenses with modifications.	150	Oct. 8
19. Organization of a U.N. postal service; report of Syg.	Approved Committee 5 recommendations . . .	150	Oct. 8
20. Composition of Secretariat and principle of geographic distribution: report of Syg.	Approved Committee 5 recommendations . . .	150	Oct. 8
21. Permanent invitation to Director General of Organization of American States to assist at sessions of the General Assembly: proposed by Argentina.	Approved . . . . .	151	Oct. 16
22. Appointments to fill vacancies in membership of subsidiary bodies of General Assembly.	Approved Committee 5 recommendations on all bodies.	151	Oct. 16
a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.	Approved appointment of Hall (U. S.) to ABQ . . . .		Nov. 18
b) Committee on Contributions.			
c) Board of Auditors.			
d) Investments Committee.			
23. Appointment to fill vacancy in membership of Committee on Contributions in replacement of Dr. Jan Papanek: item proposed by Czechoslovakia.	Approved Committee 5 report rejecting Czechoslovak resolution.	151	Oct. 16
24. Appointment to fill vacancy in membership of Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions in replacement of Dr. Jan Papanek: item proposed by Czechoslovakia.	Approved Committee 5 report rejecting Czechoslovak resolution.	151	Oct. 16
25. Appeal to great powers to renew their effort to compose their differences and establish lasting peace: item proposed by Mexico.	Adopted Mexican proposal . . . . .	154	Nov. 3
26. Registration and publication of treaties and international agreements: report of Syg.	Approved Committee 6 report . . . . .	155	Nov. 3
27. Information from non-self-governing territories:	Approved Committee 4 report . . . . .	155	Nov. 3
a) Summary and analysis of information transmitted under article 73e of Charter: report of Syg.	Approved Committee 4 recommendations on composition of special committee. . . . .		Nov. 18
b) Information transmitted under article 73e: report of Special Committee.			
28. Reports of the Atomic Energy Commission: resolution of Security Council.	Adopted Canadian resolution and rejected U.S.S.R. proposal.	156-157	Nov. 4

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PLENARY—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
29. General Committee proposal to establish an <i>ad hoc</i> political committee to consider six items of Committee 1 agenda.	Adopted . . . . .	158	Nov. 15
30. Committee 5 report on assessments scale . . . a) Assessments scale for 1949 budget. b) U.S. proposal to establish a percentage ceiling.	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
31. Plan for tax equalization for U.N. Secretariat.	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
32. Plan for U.N. telecommunications system. . .	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
33. Transfer to U.N. of UNRRA residual assets. . .	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
34. Progress Report on U.N. Headquarters . . . .	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
35. Provisions for verbatim records of Ecosoc, TC.	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
36. Resolution on working capital fund advances (including plan for financing International Conference on Trade and Employment).	Approved Committee 5 recommendation . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
37. TC report . . . . .	Adopted 4 resolutions on TC report . . . . .	159-160	Nov. 18
38. Transfer to U.N. of LN functions on economic statistics.	Committee 6 recommendations approved . . . .	160	Nov. 18
39. Finland's application for membership in ICAO.	Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved.	159-160	Nov. 18
40. U.N. Agreement with Imco . . . . .	Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved.	159-160	Nov. 18
41. U.N. Agreement with Iro . . . . .	Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved.	161	Nov. 18
42. Ecosoc report: a) Authorization to regional Economic Commissions to hold two sessions in 1949 if necessary. b) Recommendation that Ecosoc take geographical distribution into consideration in elections to subsidiary organs. c) Migration . . . . .	Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved. Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved. Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved.	161 161 161	Nov. 18 Nov. 18 Nov. 18
43. Invitation to member states to submit views on possible need to increase Ecosoc membership from 18 to 24.	Joint Committee 2 and 3 recommendation approved.	161	Nov. 18
44. Request to Srg to continue efforts to improve coordination between U.N. and specialized agencies.	Joint Committee 2 and 3 and Committee 5 recommendation approved.	161	Nov. 18
45. Prohibition of atomic weapons and disarmament.	Adopted Committee 1 majority resolution and rejected U.S.S.R. proposal.	. . . .	Nov. 19
46. Palestinian refugee relief assistance . . . .	Adopted Committee 3 recommendation . . . .	. . . .	Nov. 19
47. Discriminations practiced by certain states in international trade obstructing normal development of trade relations and contrary to purposes and principles of U.N. Charter.	Confirmed Committee 2 decision . . . . .	164-165	Nov. 26
48. Report of the Government of USAF on administration of South West Africa.	Adopted Committee 4 resolution . . . . .	164-165	Nov. 26
49. Threats to political independence and territorial integrity of Greece.	Adopted U.S. resolution criticizing Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia and continuing Unscob. Adopted Belgian proposal to return Greek children now abroad to Greece.	166-167 166-167	Nov. 27 Nov. 27
50. Advisability of establishing a permanent committee of GA, IC report.	Approved continuation of IC for another year . . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 3

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PLENARY—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
51. Transfer to U.N. of functions exercised by French Government under agreement of May 18, 1904, and convention of May 4, 1919, for suppression of white slave traffic, and under agreement of May 4, 1910, for suppression of obscene publications; item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved transfer of functions to U.N . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 3
52. Permanent missions to U.N . . . . .	Approved Committee 6 recommendation . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 3
53. Reparation for injuries incurred in service of U.N.	Asked ICJ for opinion . . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 3
54. Chap. II of Ecosoc report . . . . .	Adopted 4 Committee 2 resolutions aimed at promoting economic development.	. . . .	. . . .
55. Declaration of old age rights . . . . .	Approved Committee 3 proposal that Ecosoc study Argentine Declaration.	. . . .	Dec. 4
56. Establishment of an international center for training in public administration.	Approved Committee 5 proposal to begin preparatory work for establishment of an international center.	. . . .	Dec. 4
57. Problem of adjournment and unfinished business.	Decided to adjourn Dec. 11, hold 2d part of session in New York, Apr. 1, 1949.	. . . .	Dec. 6
58. Proposal for adoption of Spanish as working language of GA.	Approved adoption of Spanish as working language.	. . . .	Dec. 7
	Approved Committee 6, recommended revised rules of procedure to conform to decision.	. . . .	Dec. 11
59. Report of Staff Benefit Committee submitting draft resolutions for a permanent pension scheme.	Approved Committee 5 recommendations . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 7
60. Question of disposition of former Italian Colonies.	Postponed until 2d part of session . . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 8
61. Privileges and immunities of U.N. . . . .	Adopted Committee 6 recommendation . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 8
62. Admission of new members . . . . .	Asked SC to reconsider 12 blocked applications	. . . .	Dec. 8
63. Problem of wasting food in certain countries.	Called on all nations to take measures against food wastage and condemned profiteering on food.	. . . .	Dec. 8
64. Report of Executive Board of ICFE . . . . .	Approved annual report . . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 8
65. Question of continuing through 1949 the UNAC and question of modifying resolution adopted by Ecosoc in relation thereto.	Continued UNAC but merged it with ICFE . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 8
66. Advisory social welfare services . . . . .	Approved program of continued services for 1949.	. . . .	Dec. 8
67. Genocide: draft convention and report of Ecosoc.	Unanimously approved convention. . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 9
68. International Declaration of Human Rights.	Adopted Universal Declaration of Human Rights (48-0, 8 abstentions).	. . . .	Dec. 10
69. Palestine: progress report of U.N. mediator in Palestine.	Established Palestine Conciliation Commission consisting of France, Turkey, U.S.	. . . .	Dec. 11
70. Approval of supplementary agreements with specialized agencies concerning use of U.N. <i>laissez-passer</i> .	Approved Committee 6 recommendations . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 11
71. Transfer of assets of League of Nations. . . .	Approved Committee 5 recommendations . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 11
72. Budget estimates for financial year 1949 including resolutions on working capital fund, unforeseen expenditures.	Approved figure of \$43,487,128 for U.N. 1949 budget; \$20,000,000 working capital fund; \$2,000,000 for unforeseen expenses.	. . . .	Dec. 11
73. Problem of independence of Korea . . . . .	Adopted Committee 1 recommendations . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 12

## COMMITTEE 1

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
1. <sup>2</sup> Reports of the Atomic Energy Commission: res. of Security Council.	Discussion . . . . .	153	Oct. 7
	Referred to Sub-Committee . . . . .	166	Oct. 20
	Adopted revised Canadian resolution.		
	(1) approval of Atomic Energy Committee majority findings and proposals.		
	(2) concern at impasse in AEC resulting from U.S.S.R. refusal to support majority.		
	(3) requests Five Powers plus Canada to consult to determine basis for agreement on international control.		
2. <sup>2</sup> Prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction by ½ armaments and armed forces of permanent members of Security Council: item proposed by U.S.S.R.	(4) call for AEC to resume meetings to study further subjects it considers practicable and useful.		
	Passed 41-6.		
	Referred to Sub-Committee . . . . .	160	Oct. 15
	Rejected U.S.S.R. resolution for ½ reduction of arms by Big Five.	198	Nov. 13
3. <sup>2</sup> Palestine: progress report of U.N. mediator on Palestine.	Sent majority resolution calling for establishment of an armaments control organ, report to 4th session of GA.		
	Discussion commenced. Deferred . . . . .	169	Oct. 23
	Resumed Palestinian debate . . . . .	200	Nov. 15
	Completed general debate . . . . .	212-213	Nov. 25
4. <sup>2</sup> Appeal to great powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences and establish lasting peace: item proposed by Mexico.	Adopted draft resolution on Palestine establishing a conciliation commission.	. . . .	Dec. 4
	Referred to Sub-Committee . . . . .	167	Oct. 21
5. <sup>2</sup> Threats to political independence and territorial integrity of Greece: report of UNSCOB.	Adopted unanimously . . . . .	168	Oct. 22
	a) Adopted resolution finding Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria guilty of disturbing Balkan peace; reestablishing UNSCOB.	191-193	Nov. 10
	b) Adopted Australian proposal for initiation of new attempts in Paris at settlement by representatives of Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, GA President, Srg.		
6. <sup>2</sup> Problem of independence of Korea: report of UNTSOK; report of Interim Committee of GA.	c) Adopted resolution urging return of 195 Greek children.	. . . .	Nov. 11
	Voted against inviting representatives of Russian-occupied Korea to participate in Korean debate.	. . . .	Nov. 15
	Decided to invite representatives of South Korean Government to participate in debate.	. . . .	Dec. 6
7. <sup>2</sup> Question of disposal of former Italian Colonies: item proposed by U.S., France, U.K., U.S.S.R.	Declared South Korea regime only lawful, freely elected government of country. Created new Korean Commission to assist in unification of country and in withdrawal of occupation troops.	. . . .	Dec. 8
8. <sup>2</sup> Question of Franco Spain: implementation of resolution and recommendation of GA of Dec. 12, 1946, and Nov. 17, 1947: item proposed by Poland.			
9. <sup>2</sup> Treatment of Indians in USAF.			

<sup>2</sup> Plenary action.<sup>3</sup> Postponed until second part of Session.

## AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
1. Election of officers . . . . .	Romulo, Phil. (Chairman) . . . . . Prochazka, Czecho. (Vice Chairman). Lafrente, Ecu. (Rapporteur).	1	Nov. 16
2. Priority of agenda . . . . .	1) Creation of IC . . . . . 2) Admission of new members. SC report last; decision on other items deferred.	1	Nov. 16
3. <sup>2</sup> Advisability of establishing a permanent committee of GA, IC report.	Began discussion . . . . .	2	Nov. 17
4. <sup>2</sup> Admission of new members . . . . .	Voted to extend IC for another year . . . . .	5	Nov. 20
Report of SC.	Began discussion . . . . .	6	Nov. 22
ICJ Advisory opinion.	Decided to ask SC to reconsider applications of Italy, Finland, Transjordan, Ireland, Portugal, and Austria.		Nov. 27
Admission to U.N. of Italy and all States whose applications have received 7 votes in SC: item proposed by Argentina.	Asked SC to reconsider Ceylon's membership application.		Dec. 2
5. <sup>3</sup> U.N. Guard: item proposed by SYG.			
6. <sup>2</sup> Problem of voting in SC . . . . .	Adopted Four Power resolution providing for voluntary limitation of veto on admission of new members and other classes of problems.		Dec. 4
a) IC report.			
b) Convocation of general conference under art. 109 of Charter to study question of veto in SC: item proposed by Argentina.			
7. <sup>2</sup> Study of methods for promotion of international cooperation in political field: report of IC.	Adopted 2 resolutions on pacific settlement and disputes.		Dec. 9
8. <sup>2</sup> Report of the Security Council.			

## COMMITTEE 2

1. <sup>2</sup> Chapter II of Ecosoc report. . . . .	Discussion commenced. . . . . 1) Recommended expediting consideration of establishment of ECME and entire economic development program.	58	Oct. 4
	2) Adopted resolution calling for technical assistance to underdeveloped areas, on training of workers.	81	Nov. 19
2. <sup>2</sup> Discriminations practiced by certain states in international trade obstructing normal development of trade relations and contrary to purposes and principles of U.N. Charter: item proposed by Poland.	Discussion commenced. . . . . Decided not to take action on Polish charge . . . . . Adopted report on trade discrimination . . . . .	69 76 82	Nov. 2 Nov. 12 Nov. 20
3. <sup>2</sup> Problem of wasting food in certain countries: item proposed by Poland.	Ended general debate on food; referred 2 resolutions to Drafting Committee. Completed action.	82	Nov. 20

## COMMITTEES 2 AND 3

1. <sup>2</sup> Chapters I, IV, VI, V of Ecosoc report . . . . .	Discussion commenced. . . . . Completed discussion of migration by referring record of debate to Ecosoc.	25 37	Oct. 5 Nov. 11
2. <sup>2</sup> Agreements with specialized agencies: a) Application of Finland for membership in ICAO: item proposed by SYG.	Approved recommendation that GA tell ICAO there is no objection to Finland as member of ICAO.	30	Oct. 19

<sup>2</sup> Plenary action.<sup>3</sup> Postponed until second part of Session.

COMMITTEES 2 AND 3—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
2. <sup>2</sup> Agreements with specialized agencies—con.			
b) Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved agreement between IMCO and Ecosoc but rejected Indian move urging states ratify relevant convention.	29	Oct. 18
c) International Refugee Organization: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved resolution asking GA to approve agreement to bring IRO into relationship with U.N. as specialized agency.	30	Oct. 19
3. <sup>2</sup> Relations with and coordination of specialized agencies: report of SRG.	Adopted resolution recommending SRG improve coordination between U.N. and specialized agencies.	35	Oct. 28
4. <sup>2</sup> Increase to 24 of the number of member states represented in Ecosoc: item proposed by Argentina.	Proposal relating to increase in Ecosoc membership (Peru) adopted.	33	Oct. 23

COMMITTEE 3

1. <sup>2</sup> Draft protocol to bring under control drugs outside the scope of the convention of July 13, 1931, for limiting the manufacturing and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs, as amended by the protocol signed at Lake Success on Dec. 11, 1946: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved . . . . .	88	Sept. 30
2. <sup>2</sup> International Declaration of Human Rights: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Discussion commenced . . . . . Completed drafting . . . . . Began consideration of Drafting Sub-Committee recommendations on form of Declaration. Adopted final text . . . . .	85	Sept. 30 Nov. 30 Dec. 4 Dec. 6
3. <sup>2</sup> Chapter III of Ecosoc report. . . . .	Took formal note of Ecosoc recommendations . . . . .		Dec. 8
4. <sup>2</sup> Report of the Exec. Board of International Children's Emergency Fund: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved report . . . . .		Dec. 2
5. <sup>2</sup> Question of continuing through 1949 the United Nations Appeal for Children and question of modifying the resolution adopted by Ecosoc in relation thereto: item proposed by Australia.	Began debate . . . . . Decided to place UNAC under ICEF . . . . .		Dec. 2 Dec. 3
6. <sup>2</sup> Freedom of Information: report of Ecosoc .	Postponed until 2d part of session . . . . .		Dec. 7
7. Refugees and displaced persons . . . . .	Discussion . . . . . Referred to Sub-Committee . . . . . Approved 9 month assistance plan . . . . .	108 118	Oct. 20 Oct. 30 Nov. 13
a) Part III of progress report of U.N. mediator on Palestine: assistance to refugees. <sup>2</sup>			
b) Problems of refugees and displaced persons: item proposed by Poland. <sup>2</sup>			
c) Repatriation, resettlement, and immigration of refugees and displaced persons: report of Ecosoc. <sup>3</sup>			
8. <sup>2</sup> Declaration of old age rights: item proposed by Argentina.	Item referred to Ecosoc for study . . . . .		Dec. 1
9. <sup>3</sup> Discriminations practiced by certain states against immigrating labor, and in particular against labor recruited from the ranks of refugees: item proposed by Poland.			

<sup>2</sup> Plenary action.

<sup>3</sup> Postponed until second part of Session.

## COMMITTEE 3—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
10. <sup>2</sup> Advisory social welfare services: item proposed by Ecosoc.	Recommended continuation of services on same scale in 1949 as in 1948.	. . . .	Dec. 3
11. <sup>3</sup> Creation of a subcommission of the Social Commission of Ecosoc on study of social problems of the aboriginal populations of the American continent.			

## COMMITTEE 4

1. <sup>2</sup> Information from non-self-governing territories:	Discussion.		
a) Summary and analysis of information transmitted under article 73e of Charter: report of Srg.			
b) Information transmitted under article 73e of the Charter: report of the special committee.	Approved resolution to continue through next year the special committee to study such information.	59	Oct. 16
	Passed resolution requiring administering powers to submit information on political conditions in areas under their control when important changes on legal status of these territories takes place.	58	Oct. 15
	Completed work on report . . . . .	60	Oct. 18
	Elected special committee . . . . .	74	Nov. 8
2. <sup>2</sup> Report of the Trusteeship Council . . . . .	Discussion commenced . . . . .	61	Oct. 19
	Adopted measure asking administering powers to intensify efforts to increase educational possibilities.	71	Nov. 4
	Adopted resolution on administrative unions with prior consultation clause.	73	Nov. 6
	Completed consideration of TC report . . . . .	75	Nov. 8
3. <sup>2</sup> Report of the Government of Union of South Africa on the administration of South West Africa: report of Trusteeship Council.	Began discussion . . . . .	. . . .	Nov. 9
	Adopted resolution censuring USAF for not submitting a trust agreement on SWA; calling for continued submission of administrative reports.	84	Nov. 9
	Adopted report on USAF's administration of SWA thereby completing Committee 4 work.	85	Nov. 22

## COMMITTEE 5

1. <sup>2</sup> Reports of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.	Recommended report on payment of travel and subsistence expenses for GA approval, except with respect to Commissions of inquiry or conciliation.	117	Oct. 4
	Chap. VI adopted by plenary . . . . .	150	Oct. 8
	Approved recommendation to maintain high level of U.N. working capital fund at \$20,000,000.	156	Nov. 5
	Approved U.S. amendment to report providing for per diem for alternate representatives.	. . . .	Nov. 22
2. <sup>2</sup> Financial report and accounts for the financial period ended Dec. 31, 1947 and report of board of auditors.	Adopted . . . . .	109	Sept. 28

<sup>2</sup> Plenary action.<sup>3</sup> Postponed until second part of Session.

## COMMITTEE 5—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
3. <sup>2</sup> International Children's Emergency Fund: annual audit of accounts of the fund: report of Syg.	Recommended for approval Chairman's resolution recommending GA approve financial report ending Dec. 31, 1947.	109	Sept. 28
4. <sup>2</sup> Annual report of the staff benefit committee on operation of the pension fund.	Adopted several specific proposals . . . . .	108	Sept. 28
5. <sup>2</sup> Report of U.N. staff benefit committee submitting draft resolutions for a permanent pension scheme.	Approved general principles in staff benefit committee report.	109	Sept. 28
6. <sup>2</sup> Appointments to fill vacancies in membership of subsidiary bodies of GA:			
a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.	Recommended GA appointment of Agnides, Greece; Kabushko, U.S.S.R.; Hsia, China; Asha, Syria.	123	Oct. 7
	Hall, U.S., elected to replace Stone, U.S. . . .	160	Nov. 15
b) Committee on Contributions. . . . .	Recommended GA appointment of Caganas, Mexico; Chernyshev, U.S.S.R.; Jacklin, USAF; Charron, France; Saksena, India; Kayfitz, Canada; Colbjornsen, Norway.	123	Oct. 7
c) Board of Auditors. . . . .	Agreed to recommend GA appointment of Auditor General of Denmark to Board.	123	Oct. 7
d) Investments Committee . . . . .	Recommended that GA approve appointment by Syg of Leslie R. Rounds, U.S.	123	Oct. 7
7. <sup>2</sup> Transfer of assets of League of Nations: report of Syg.	Agreed on liquidation, transfer, distribution of LN assets.	. . . .	Dec. 8
8. <sup>2</sup> Report of Committee on Contributions . .	Discussion commenced . . . . . Approved assessments scale.	111	Sept. 29
9. <sup>2</sup> Amendment of rule 149 of Rules of Procedure of GA to provide for recognition of principle of percentage ceiling in scale of assessments to meet expenses of U.N.: item proposed by U.S.	Discussion commenced . . . . . Approved resolution.	111	Sept. 29
10. <sup>2</sup> Tax equalization: proposed staff assessment plan; report of Syg.	Approved in principle U.S. res. but par. 11 to be voted on separately. Adopted U.S. res. recommending approval in principle of Staff Contr. plan and appointment of special committee of tax experts. Approved tax equalization plan . . . . .	111 111 136	Sept. 29 Sept. 29 Oct. 20
11. <sup>2</sup> Proposal for adoption of Spanish as working language of GA: report of Syg.	In effect rejected proposal concurring with Syg on inadvisability.	136-137	Oct. 20
12. <sup>2</sup> Verbatim records:			
a) records of Ecosoc; item proposed by Ecosoc.	Approved.		
b) records of Trusteeship Council . . . .	Approved Advisory Committee's report on Trusteeship verbatim records (A/691).	150-51	Nov. 3
13. <sup>2</sup> Organization of a U.N. postal service: report of Syg.	Recommended to GA to take note of reports . .	115	Oct. 1
	Recommended to GA it approve principle of establishing U.N. postal Administration (Argentine proposal).	114	Oct. 1
	Agreed to Canadian proposal that execution of plan involve no financial loss for U.N.	114	Oct. 1
14. <sup>2</sup> U.N. telecommunications system: report of Syg.	Resolution adopted A/C.5/W.99 . . . . .	148	Oct. 30

<sup>2</sup> Plenary action.

## COMMITTEE 5—Continued

Item	Action	Meeting	Date
15. <sup>2</sup> Budget estimates for financial year 1949 . . .	Discussion commenced . . . . .	126	Oct. 11
	Approved budget estimates for U.N. public information program for 1949.	134	Oct. 18
	Approved new per diem allowances for Secretariat.	. . . .	Nov. 29
	Completed 2d reading of 1949 budget and approved final figure of \$38,692,578.	. . . .	Dec. 9
16. <sup>2</sup> Unforeseen and extraordinary expenses: report of SYG.	Approved unforeseen and extraordinary expenses resolution.		
17. <sup>2</sup> Composition of Secretariat and principle of geographic distribution: report of SYG.	Adopted drafting com. res. to recommend GA note progress of SYG in field of geographic distribution: recommends efforts be continued; reaffirms GA res. 43 (11) of Nov. 15, 1947. Combines Argentine res. and Brazilian amendment.	116	Oct. 2
18. <sup>2</sup> Relations with and coordination of specialized agencies and work programs of U.N. and specialized agencies: report of SYG.	See under Committee 2 and 3.		
19. <sup>2</sup> Transfer to U.N. of residual assets and activities of UNRRA: item proposed by SYG.	Agreed to recommend GA approval of agreement between SYG and UNRRA Dir. Gen. (A/665).	147	Oct. 29
20. <sup>2</sup> Headquarters of U.N.; report of SYG . . .	Resolution on U.N. headquarters (A/C.5/W.98) approved.	149	Nov. 2
21. <sup>2</sup> Supplementary estimates for financial year 1948: report of SYG.	Approved . . . . .	157	Nov. 6
22. <sup>2</sup> Appointment to fill vacancy in membership of committee on contributions in replacement of Dr. Jan Papanek: item proposed by Czechoslovakia.	Czechoslovak resolution on replacement of Dr. Papanek rejected.	123	Oct. 7
23. <sup>2</sup> Appointment to fill vacancy in membership of advisory committee on administrative and budgetary questions in replacement of Dr. Jan Papanek: item proposed by Czechoslovakia.	Czechoslovak resolution rejected . . . . .	123	Oct. 7
24. <sup>2</sup> Establishment of an international center for training in public administration.	Discussion commenced . . . . .	. . . .	Nov. 17
	Approved SYG resolution . . . . .	. . . .	Nov. 23
25. <sup>2</sup> Supplementary budget estimates for 1949 . . .	Concluded consideration; approved \$126,990 appropriation reduction.	. . . .	Dec. 1
a) Financial implications of assistance to Palestinian refugees (referred to Committee by Committee 3).	Decision taken . . . . .	. . . .	Nov. 16
b) Budget implications of UNSCOB resolution.	Approved 1949 budget estimates for UNSCOB at \$1,347,300.	. . . .	Nov. 22
c) Budget implications of Committee 2 resolution on technical assistance for economic development.	Approved increase in U.N. budget estimates by \$288,000.	. . . .	Nov. 25
d) Budget implications of continuance of IC (as recommended by <i>Ad Hoc</i> Political Committee).	Approved supplementary estimate . . . . .	. . . .	Nov. 29
e) Supplementary budget estimates for India-Pakistan Commission Indonesian Goc.	Approved. . . . .	. . . .	Dec. 3

<sup>2</sup> Plenary action.

# Peaceful Adjustment Sought Through Palestine Conciliation Commission

STATEMENT BY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY<sup>1</sup>

Acting Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly

The United States supports the resolution on Palestine which has come from Committee 1 with amendments proposed on which I shall comment in a moment.

The present resolution reflects three weeks of intensive consideration of our Political Committee. After giving effect to the amendments referred to, it is simple. It seeks first of all a peaceful adjustment of the situation. In aid of that it establishes a Conciliation Commission and calls upon the governments and authorities concerned to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either through the Conciliation Commission or directly with a view to final settlement of all outstanding questions. With respect to the Holy Places it seeks protection and free access in accordance with existing rights and historical practice, and Jerusalem would be given international status. With respect to refugees, repatriation and resettlement would be facilitated.

These, Mr. Chairman, are the outstanding features of the resolution before us and we do not see how any delegations can justifiably reject these three basic features of the resolution. Its terms may not be precisely what any single member state would choose. Many proposals were submitted to the Committee and the result is to an extent composite. In so far as the United States Delegation is concerned, there may be additions, subtractions, and shifts of emphasis that we would like. But because we are dedicated to the ends that are sought, because we believe the means contemplated are basically sound, we support the resolution.

We realize there are some who will find it more difficult than we to follow that course. Their concern is more immediate and imperative than our own. But we hope even they will see the advantage of orderly collective procedure and that they will join to enable the Assembly to implement and give impetus to it.

The United States Delegation had at one time favored spelling out in more detail the principles that should guide the Conciliation Commission and parties in achieving a final settlement. Earlier drafts did in fact contain more detailed recommendations upon specific issues than does the draft now before us. But on such important issues as boundaries and disposition of Arab Palestine, specific recommendations were deleted in Committee. By whom? It was the strongest supporters of claims of Arab states and of claims of Israel

## ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION ON CONCILIATION COMMISSION

The resolution on the Palestine Conciliation Commission was adopted by the General Assembly on December 11, 1948.

Changes in the text of the resolution as submitted to the General Assembly by Committee 1 and printed in the BULLETIN of December 12, 1948, page 726, are as follows:

Delete first five paragraphs and substitute the following:

"The General Assembly, having considered further the situation in Palestine;". Continue with paragraph "1".

Delete paragraph "2 (C)" and renumber paragraph "2 (D)" to become paragraph "2 (C)".

Change paragraph "3" to read: "A committee of the Assembly consisting of China, France, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and the United States of America shall present for approval of the Assembly a proposal concerning the names of three states who will constitute the Conciliation Commission;".

Delete following clause from paragraph "10": "in this connection, the conclusions contained in part I, section VIII, paragraph 4 (E) and (F) of the progress report of the U.N. Mediator should be taken into account;".

Delete first paragraph under number "11"; begin number "11" with paragraph starting "Resolves that the refugees wishing", etc.

whose votes combined to produce that result. Analysis of the voting shows we believe that the parties interested have in effect told the Assembly that the remaining issues in Palestine can be dealt with only through the processes of conciliation or negotiation and they do not want the Assembly at this time to attempt to give shape to the settlement. So although the United States had thought it wiser that the Conciliation Commission's effort should be directed into channels somewhat defined

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 11, 1948, and released to the press on Dec. 13.

by the expression of the middle group within the Assembly, we are content to leave out such indications since it seems the parties themselves prefer it thus.

In two respects, however, the Palestine question cannot be left entirely to the immediate parties because important international interests are directly engaged. First, it is of international concern that a settlement should be reached by peaceful means. There has already been too much fighting; there should be no more. The Security Council has declared the Palestine situation a threat to the peace. The interests of every member of the United Nations are thereby directly and urgently involved. Fighting must give way to a truce, truce to armistice, and armistice to final peace.

Secondly, the arrangements for Jerusalem and the Holy Places must take account of the fact that they are impressed with public interest that is world-wide. The sacred shrines of three great world religions should never be treated as though they are of purely private or local concern. We believe the resolution before us adequately recognizes this international concern and that satisfactory arrangements can be made along the lines suggested. With respect to the demilitarization of Jerusalem contemplated by paragraph 8, we understand it to mean that the armed forces of the opposing sides should not use the Holy City as a battleground. But that of course does not exclude adequate police and security protection under demilitarization which the Security Council is requested to arrange.

I now turn to the amendments proposed by seven members in A/189—these amendments we shall support. The preamble would be eliminated. The rather vague injunction to the Commission “to promote good relations” (paragraph 1 (C)) can

be eliminated in view of the more relevant directions contained elsewhere. We favor the election of a Conciliation Commission by the General Assembly preferably on the basis of nominations as proposed by the French amendment (A/800) to paragraph 3.

The specific references to the progress report of the mediator—which are for some psychological obstacles—can be eliminated (paragraphs 10 and 11). The proposed amendments do not impair the main objective, which is the resolution that on the one hand deals adequately with essentials and on the other hand attracts sufficiently broad support so that not only will it be adopted but it can be adopted by a vote which will from the beginning endow our efforts with strong moral authority.

We believe there is pending a great accomplishment. Of course, the primary responsibility devolves upon the parties directly concerned. The General Assembly does not have the power to command them or lay upon them precise injunctions. The General Assembly can, however, express world judgment and if we do that intelligently, considerately, and wisely, then we can greatly influence the future course of events. Also we can, through establishing a Conciliation Commission, make it easier for the parties in interest to come into agreement.

This matter of Palestine has thrown upon the United Nations a very heavy burden. But we should not complain because had it not been for the United Nations a far more grievous burden might have been thrown upon the world. We can, however, now see the possibility of a final settlement. We believe, if the proposed resolution is adopted, it will enable the United Nations to make an important contribution toward that end. We urge, therefore, that the resolution be adopted.

## Admission of New Members

### STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN V. COHEN IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

Mr. President, Ten resolutions on the admission of new members adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee are now before the Assembly.<sup>2</sup> These resolutions were exhaustively discussed in that committee. It

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 7, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the Third Regular Session of the General Assembly on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> U.N. doc. A/761, Nov. 27, 1948, approved by the General Assembly Dec. 18, 1948.

will only be necessary for me to say a few words regarding the position of the United States.

Six of these resolutions are almost identical with resolutions adopted by the Assembly last year. Under these resolutions, the Assembly would reaffirm its view that Italy, Portugal, Eire, Finland, and Transjordan, whose admission continues to be barred by the veto of the Soviet Union, are qualified for membership and that the Security Council should reconsider these applications in the light

of the Assembly's findings. The Assembly would also reaffirm its view that Austria is a peace-loving state and that her application should also be reconsidered by the Security Council. The United States strongly supports these resolutions reaffirming the General Assembly's view that the applicants named in the resolution are being unwarrantably deprived of membership in the United Nations.

Two of the resolutions submitted to the Assembly relate to the advisory opinion rendered by the International Court of Justice on May 28 pursuant to a request made by the Assembly at its last session. The Court's opinion was to the effect that a state member of the Security Council was not entitled juridically to vote against the admission of admittedly qualified applicants solely because other applicants were not admitted simultaneously. It will be recalled that this was the ground given by the Soviet Union for voting against the admission of Italy and Finland. The two resolutions call the attention of the Assembly to the advisory opinion of the Court, one recommending that the Security Council and the Assembly should act in accordance with the opinion of the Court in voting upon new members, and the other specifically requesting the Security Council to examine, in the light of the opinion, the question of the admission of Italy and Finland. The United States also supports these resolutions. Our Delegation believes that organs of the United Nations should be guided on these questions by the opinion of the Court.

A resolution is also submitted to the Assembly relating to the admission of Ceylon. The application of Ceylon came before the Security Council during the past year. Ceylon's admission, although supported by nine members, was blocked by the veto exercised by the Soviet Union which alleged that the evidence of Ceylon's independence was insufficient. The United States considers the establishment of the sovereign government of Ceylon to be an outstanding example of the orderly progress of a great people from dependent status to full independence. It is curious, to say the least, that some members of the United Nations who so loudly proclaim their solicitude for dependent people should stand in the way of Ceylon's full participation in the life of the community of nations. We hope that the Assembly will express itself in favor of the admission of Ceylon. The United States will continue to support in the General Assembly and the Security Council Ceylon's application for membership in the United Nations.

When the matter of Ceylon was under discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, great efforts were made to draft a resolution to which every member could agree. The Committee postponed action on the original Australian resolution. It appointed a special committee to draft a resolution acceptable

to all. The representative of Poland sat on the subcommittee and helped to draft a compromise resolution. He advocated the passage of the compromise resolution and stated his delegation would vote for it. But a few minutes later, after the Soviet Representative had declared his delegation would not accept the new draft, the Representative of Poland indicated that he would have to abstain from voting. As a result of this astounding reversal, the Committee felt obliged to abandon further efforts to agree on a compromise draft and reverted to the original Australian proposal. If, as we are now advised, there is considerable feeling that the admission of Ceylon may be facilitated by the adoption of the compromise draft, the United States Delegation is prepared to accept it in lieu of the Australian proposal.

There is also submitted to the Assembly a resolution introduced by Sweden requesting the Security Council to reconsider *all* applications for membership taking into account the circumstances in each particular case. In the *Ad Hoc* Committee the United States opposed this resolution. We did so because its adoption was sought *before* the Committee had adopted the resolutions with regard to the admission of qualified applicant states. We feared that its adoption would result in a movement to eliminate the specific resolutions with regard to clearly qualified states unjustly excluded from membership. This movement did develop in the Committee but fortunately was defeated.

Now that all the resolutions are before the Assembly, those specifically recommending the admission of clearly qualified states unjustly excluded, as well as the Swedish resolution recommending a reconsideration of all applications taking into account the circumstances in each particular case, the distinction between the general Swedish resolution and the specific resolutions becomes clear. The United States therefore withdraws its opposition to the Swedish resolution and, taking note of the general sentiment in favor of the resolution, will vote for the resolution as evidence of its willingness to cooperate in good faith in a reexamination of all applications in light of the particular circumstances of each case.

To avoid misunderstanding, however, we wish to state that we do not regard the Swedish resolution as recommending the admission of applicants without regard to Charter requirements. We share the general sentiment expressed in the Swedish resolution in favor of the universality of the United Nations. We feel that the exclusion of states justly entitled to membership under the Charter seriously affects the moral right of the United Nations to speak and act as it was intended, in behalf of the world community of peace-loving, law-abiding nations. But in passing upon the qualification of states for membership we cannot completely ignore the Charter requirements.

The United States has adequately explained the basis for its doubts with regard to the applications of the Mongolian People's Republic, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary. If we can be satisfied that the Mongolian People's Republic is in fact an independent state, we shall certainly support its application for admission. If we can be satisfied that Albania and Bulgaria are complying with the terms of the General Assembly resolutions on the Greek question, and are observing their treaty obligations, we shall certainly support their applications. If we can be satisfied that Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary are loyally carrying out the terms of their recent treaties of peace—particularly as regards the maintenance of fundamental human rights and freedoms—our objections to their admission will be dispelled. In the *Ad Hoc* Committee we had occasion to note the execution of the Agrarian leader Nicola Petkov for doing no more than to express his honest political convictions and the imprisonment of Kosta Lutchev, the Socialist leader, and his principal associates, for exercising the right of free speech and free assembly. This does not appear to us to evince a

particularly strong desire on the part of the Bulgarian Government to demonstrate its right to represent the people of Bulgaria in the United Nations.

We cannot abdicate our own judgment, but we will not on the matter of membership put our judgment above the judgment of the world community of nations. We have indicated that we will not exercise a veto in regard to the admission of any state which secures the affirmative support of seven members of the Security Council. We have indicated that we will not exercise a veto in regard to the admission of any state which the Assembly determines to be qualified for membership.

We shall not falter in our efforts to insure the admission of every qualified state to this Organization. The moral force and the effectiveness of the United Nations depend on the actions of its members. In the spirit of the Charter, the member states have an obligation to welcome to their ranks every eligible candidate. If they do so, the Organization will eventually achieve substantial universality. It will be, as it should be, a great world community of law-abiding, peace-abiding states.

## Discussion of Interim Committee's Report on Promotion of International Political Cooperation

### STATEMENT IN AD HOC COMMITTEE BY BENJAMIN V. COHEN<sup>1</sup>

#### U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly

The part of the Interim Committee's report which we are now to consider relates to its study of methods for the promotion of international political cooperation.

Under the terms of its reference the Committee was instructed to consider and report with its conclusions to the General Assembly on "methods to be adopted to give effect to that part of Article 11 (paragraph 1) which deals with general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security and to that part of Article 13 (paragraph 1 (a)) which deals with the promotion of international cooperation in the political field."

Article 13 of the Charter provides that the Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations in various fields. Under paragraph b of this article the Assembly has already in progress a number of programs for promoting

international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields and for assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Under paragraph 1 (a) of article 13—the paragraph embraced in the study of the Interim Committee—the Assembly has already launched a program for encouraging the progressive development and codification of international law. But only with the adoption last year of the resolution on the Interim Committee has the Assembly turned its attention specifically to the discharge of its responsibility of initiating studies for the promotion of international cooperation in the political field.

While history reveals a long record of international political cooperation, the record is marred by the tragic failure of international cooperation in the past to avoid the calamitous test of right by might through ordeal by battle. We have pledged ourselves under the Charter to refrain from the use of force or the threat of force except in defense of law, except in defense of the principles of

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 6, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the Third Regular Session of the General Assembly on the same date.

the Charter. But if we are to eliminate force in international relations, we must eliminate the causes of war or find other means than force for dealing with the causes of war.

The Charter contains broad principles. While some of them are definite, some of them are vague. The handling of specific disputes in the Security Council may, case by case, give greater content and definiteness to these principles and may throw additional light on the effectiveness of different procedures and techniques for resolving disputes and facilitating international cooperation, but that is a slow process in a rapidly moving world.

There is much to be gained, I think, from realistic studies of the principles of international cooperation in the political field in an atmosphere that is not surcharged by the pressures, prejudices, passions, and interests that cluster about highly controversial disputes, even when the controversies are of relatively minor importance. It is for that reason that the work of the Interim Committee in this field started on a modest basis and in an unobtrusive way merits our interest and continued support.

The United States Delegation is pleased to note that the Assembly in reestablishing the Interim Committee has authorized it to consider systematically, using as a starting point the recommendations and studies of the Interim Committee which are now before us, the further implementation of article 11, paragraph 1, and article 13, paragraph 1 (a) of the Charter.

We cannot of course predict in detail what the results of such a comprehensive survey will be. We do not expect that this survey and study should provide definitive rules and principles which should cover the whole field of pacific settlement and be valid for all time and under all circumstances. Rather it is hoped that the survey and study will make available facts and ideas which will be helpful in the progressive and evolutionary development of pacific settlement within the framework of the Charter.

In continuing its work on this study and survey it is my understanding that the Interim Committee will avail itself of the assistance of the research and scholarly contributions of public and private groups. It has already had valuable assistance from certain studies made by the Secretariat. It should also be able to request aid from the International Law Commission of the Assembly in important aspects of its work.

It is important in our view, however, that the Interim Committee should continue to control the survey and study as a whole. Naturally the Interim Committee, composed of a large body of political representatives, has certain limitations in a task of this sort. The Committee needs, and should be in a position to avail itself of, expert assistance. But nonetheless a political committee conscious of its political responsibilities is neces-

sary to give vitality to the work and to prevent the study and survey becoming excessively theoretical and impractical.

In addition to its general recommendation for the continuance of the survey of the problems of pacific settlement, the Interim Committee has recommended three specific proposals for adoption by the Assembly.

One of them relates to the establishment of a panel from which members of a commission of inquiry or conciliation may be drawn by states or organs of the United Nations. This proposal originated from a joint suggestion of China and the United States to the Committee and is in the form of a draft resolution which may be found in annex IV of the Committee's report. The establishment of the panel would be a means of having readily available a list of individuals of known competence from which a commission could be chosen on short notice. It is a flexible device involving no substantive obligation on the part of any state to use it. It embodies the principle of the unstructured commission, since members selected from the panel would be chosen on the basis of the contribution which they as individuals might be expected to make and full biographical data would be available to assist members or organs in the selection of panel members. The panel itself would in no sense be an organ—merely a list or registry of names. The plan lends itself for use by the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations and would also be available at all times to states desiring to use it. The employment of the panel being fully voluntary, there would be no conflict with existing treaties providing for peaceful settlement and containing other panel provisions.

Another proposal of the Interim Committee originating from suggestions submitted by the United Kingdom relates to the appointment of a rapporteur or conciliator at an early stage in the consideration of disputes or situations brought to the attention of the United Nations. The proposal is in two parts; one part relates to the Security Council and the other to the General Assembly.

The draft resolution contained in annex III recommends that the Security Council examine the utility and desirability of the practice of appointing a rapporteur or conciliator for a situation or dispute brought to the Council. This is a practice which was successfully used in the Council of the League of Nations and which the Security Council has already found useful in some cases. The proposal is flexible and involves the creation of no machinery. We think the proposed resolution is a constructive suggestion and we urge that this committee recommend its adoption.

Annex II proposes amendments to the rules of the General Assembly so as to introduce a somewhat similar practice in the handling of disputes

or situations brought to the Assembly. Our Government concurred in these proposed amendments when they were suggested in the Interim Committee. We agree with their objective which is to introduce efforts towards conciliation at an early stage in the consideration of disputes before the Assembly. But on further thought we are inclined to believe that it would be premature to attempt to incorporate any particular practice of conciliation into the rules of procedure of the Assembly at this time. The presentation of disputes in the Assembly would not invariably conform with the method of presentation in the Security Council. There would not necessarily be opening statements by the parties in the General Assembly, particularly where one of the parties was not a member of the United Nations. We would prefer to see this proposal put over for further study by the Interim Committee in the course of its future systematic study.

The third specific proposal of the Interim Committee is designed to restore full effect to the general act of 1928 for the pacific settlement of disputes. It is contained in the draft resolution in annex I of the Committee's report. It was introduced by Belgium. The resolution provides a convenient means by which those states which have adhered to this act or may wish to adhere to it may accept a revised act which will replace the references to the League of Nations and its officers with reference to appropriate United Nations organs and officers. The United States, not being a party to the general act, nonetheless supports this proposal in that it will aid other states in rendering effective, between themselves, a pacific settle-

ment treaty. The act provides appropriate means for the parties thereto to fulfil their obligation under article 33 of the Charter to attempt to settle their disputes before coming to the United Nations.

Our Delegation, Mr. Chairman, believes that the Interim Committee has made a commendable start in the study of means of promoting international cooperation in the political field.

The press has few headlines on this work of the Interim Committee. It is the forum in which ideas can be advanced and debated and then withdrawn without involving the prestige of the member or his government. It was the practice not to take a vote which would draw the line sharply upon issues where a substantial division of opinion developed. But it would be a mistake to conclude that these have been theoretical and academic discussions only very indirectly related to the issues which press about us. Already we can see areas in which the gap between the theoretical and the practical will be closed. We can expect improvement in United Nations procedures from practical and objective study of their operation. We can expect the channeling of the interests and abilities of learned societies throughout the world into the studies which are the material with which the Interim Committee must work. Similarly, the Secretariat will be afforded the opportunity for the type of analysis and compilation that will bring to bear the knowledge and experience of many of its members upon these problems. The work of the Interim Committee extends beyond the immediate political dispute to the strengthening and development of the Charter as an instrument of peace and justice.

## Discussion of Chilean Proposal Relating to Soviet Wives of Foreigners

### STATEMENT BY ERNEST A. GROSS IN LEGAL COMMITTEE<sup>1</sup>

Alternate U.S. Representative to the General Assembly

Mr. Chairman, the item proposed by Chile with respect to the Soviet wives of foreigners is a good illustration of the saying that history repeats itself. In the sixteenth century, the Danish Government requested the Russian Foreign Office to allow the wife of the Danish Ambassador, whom he married in Moscow, to leave for Denmark. The Russian Foreign Office rejected this request with the following observation:

"For it is not the custom in our domains for us to give free men in bondage; and this applies not only to the people of our domains, but also to those of others who reside in our domains; that woman is of our domain, and it would be unseemly to give that woman in bondage to your man Sider."

In considering the problem of the prevention by the Soviet Union of Russian wives of foreign nationals from leaving Soviet territory, are we to conclude that the Soviet Union still clings to this sixteenth century conception? To most of us the right of a wife to accompany her husband wherever he may go is so basic that we cannot understand how any government could oppose it. Yet let me

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 1, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the Third Regular Session of the General Assembly on the same date. Mr. Gross is Legal Adviser for the Department of State.

outline briefly the record of the Soviet Union in cases in which the United States has an interest.

From the time of the recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States in November 1933 to the present time, no more than 50 Soviet wives of American citizens have been permitted to leave the Soviet Union and there now remain 350 Soviet wives and 65 Soviet husbands of American citizens who have applied for permission to depart from the U.S.S.R. Of this group 97 are wives of American war veterans.

Since 1945, the United States Embassy in Moscow has repeatedly taken up the question of the Soviet wives of American citizens with officials of the Soviet Foreign Office. A number of official communications addressed by the United States Government to the Soviet Government have remained unanswered. In April and June of 1947, the Embassy in Moscow requested from the Soviet Foreign Office assistance in permitting the departure from the Soviet Union of the wives of American war veterans. In these cases almost all of the individuals were married to American citizens before World War II in territories which were not then incorporated in the Soviet Union. Soviet citizenship was conferred on these wives without their specific application by blanket decrees which gave Soviet citizenship to persons residing in those territories taken over by the Soviet Union. On June 11, 1947, Mr. Malik replied on behalf of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the effect that "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. cannot render any assistance to the Embassy in this matter". The last communication which the United States Government has addressed to the Soviet Union on this subject was sent on February 14, 1948, and to this date remains unanswered.

It is known that within recent months the Soviet authorities have advised many Soviet wives in Moscow whose husbands have returned to the United States that they should obtain divorces and abandon any idea of joining their husbands in the United States.

It is difficult to conceive of a violation of the fundamental human rights of family and marriage more flagrant than the action of a government in preventing the unity of the family by prohibiting the wife from departing from its territory and additionally to advise divorce as the only alternative.

We find it moreover very difficult to reconcile this record of the Soviet Government with the position that Government has taken on the subject of marriage in this General Assembly. The Soviet Representative in Committee 3 only several weeks ago introduced the following amendment to article 14 of the draft International Declaration of Human Rights: "Men and women shall enjoy equal rights both *during* marriage and when divorced." This amendment has been incorporated into article

14, which Committee 3 has approved by a vote of 37 to 3, with 3 abstentions.

The Soviet Representative spoke eloquently and at length in Committee 3 in support of his amendment. In the meeting of Committee 3 on November 6, he said that "the Preamble to the Charter expressly declared the equality of the rights of men and women. To achieve that equality is one of the main aims of the United Nations. The U. S. S. R. Delegation has always advocated the fullest and most consistent equality between men and women."

On November 8, the Representative of the Soviet Union speaking in Committee 3 said, "that the Committee must take all the necessary steps to insure absolute equality between men and women."

He further said that "the purpose of his amendments was not to encourage divorce but to insure the equality of husband and wife during marriage and in the case of divorce as well as the effective protection of the family by society and by the state".

How can a wife enjoy equal rights with her husband during marriage if she does not have the same freedom as her husband to travel and to live where they choose? What is the Soviet concept of "effective protection of the family by the state"? That a government should prevent a wife from joining her husband and should advise her to get a divorce?

The importance of the right of a wife to accompany her husband has been emphasized by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. During its 1948 session, this Commission forwarded to the Economic and Social Council an observation noting with satisfaction that the draft Declaration of Human Rights contained a provision declaring the right of freedom of choice of one's spouse. In this connection, the Commission suggested that this right cannot be fully guaranteed unless it is recognized that individuals have the right to leave their country on marriage and to reside with the other partner in any country from which they cannot lawfully be excluded. In consequence of these observations, the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution deploring "these legislative or administrative provisions which deny to a woman the right to leave her country of origin and reside with her husband in any country".

Mr. Chairman, I think the Committee should know that the Soviet policy towards Soviet wives of foreigners is but one aspect of the general Soviet policy with respect to the right of travel and residence. In order that the committee may fully appreciate the gravity of the situation from the standpoint of fundamental human rights, I submit the following facts for the record.

In September 1948, there were on record in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow 5,481 cases of persons who had expressed a desire to travel to the United States from the Soviet Union since 1940. Of this

number, 3,481 were applicants for immigration visas into the United States with no claim to American citizenship. Only 27 persons in this immigration category who were regarded as Soviet citizens have been successful in obtaining exit visas since July 1945.

Among the persons residing in the Soviet Union and desirous of departing therefrom are many with valid claims to American citizenship. Nevertheless these persons have been refused Soviet exit visas. Among them are 108 persons whose American citizenship has been approved by the Department of State and who have no claim whatsoever to Soviet citizenship. Another group of 89 are under detention in the Soviet Union. Of this group the United States citizenship of 31 has been verified and the cases of the remaining 58 who are believed on the basis of available evidence to be American citizens are under investigation by the Department of State. The Soviet Government has refused to inform the United States Government of the nature of the charges against these persons and the United States diplomatic officers have not been permitted to interview them. Other persons desiring to leave the Soviet Union include 248 who possess both American and Soviet citizenship, 439 whose claims to American citizenship are considered valid but whose status under United States and Soviet laws awaits final verification, and 1,270 possessing dual nationality whose American citizenship claims have not yet been verified.

Therefore, as of January 1, 1948, there were residing in the Soviet Union 826 persons claiming American citizenship who have been prevented from proceeding to the United States by the action or inaction of the Soviet Government. Since 1940, a total of no more than 12 persons in dual national status with claims to American citizenship have been accorded exit visas by the Soviet Union.

It is well known that the attitude of the Soviet Government toward individuals differs in marked respect from that held by most other nations. The Soviet citizen within his own country is subject to innumerable controls. The system of internal passports in effect in the Soviet Union prevents the Soviet citizen from free choice of residence. At the same time he is prevented from travel abroad; in almost no case is a Soviet citizen ever given an exit permit to travel abroad for personal reasons. Therefore the prevention of Soviet wives of foreigners from leaving the Soviet Union is consistent with the conception of the state's absolute control over the individual held in that country.

In this connection, I should like to refer again to the draft Declaration of Human Rights. While we know that this Declaration is not intended to be a statement of rules of law binding upon members of the United Nations, I think most of us agree that all members of the United Nations should strive to promote respect for the rights and free-

doms set forth in the Declaration and also should strive to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance. Now Committee 3 has recently approved by a vote of 37 to 0, with 3 abstentions, an article 11, which reads:

"1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

"2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

We are very sorry indeed, Mr. Chairman, that at this time, when the General Assembly is about to proclaim the basic principles of human rights and freedoms "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations", a member of this organization is pursuing policies so completely inconsistent with these principles. In particular, we regard the Soviet policy toward the Soviet wives of foreigners as showing the most flagrant disregard of the fundamental human rights of family and marriage.

The United States therefore condemns this violation by the Soviet Union of fundamental human rights and hopes that the Government of the Soviet Union will recognize its obligations under the Charter to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, by permitting those Soviet wives of foreigners to join their husbands.

The Soviet Union has argued that article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter precludes this Committee from considering the problem. It must be clear to everyone that this provision of the Charter could not possibly apply to the case of the Chilean Ambassador's daughter-in-law. Every law student knows that questions of diplomatic privileges and immunities are among the most fundamental in international law. From earliest times, relations between states have been founded on the mutual recognition of certain rights and privileges for those who represent a sovereign state. The question of specifying those rights and privileges is one for international and not national decision. My Delegation deplores the fact that the Soviet Government rejected proposals by the Chilean Government that the case of the Ambassador's daughter-in-law be submitted to the Arbitration Tribunal or to the International Court of Justice, of which both Chile and the Soviet Union are members.

We also feel that article 2, paragraph 7, does not preclude this Committee from considering the many cases of Soviet wives prohibited from leaving the Soviet Union. In our view, the General Assembly has the right, under article 10, to discuss this matter of violation of human rights. Moreover I should like to remind the Soviet Delegate that his Government has found no difficulty in

discussing the human-rights problems of other countries on many occasions in the General Assembly.

I will reserve the right to speak again in connection with the detailed drafting of whatever resolution the Committee may decide to adopt. In conclusion, however, I should like to affirm that my Delegation agrees in principle with the Delegation of Chile that the acts of the Soviet Union in deny-

ing the right of the wives, both of diplomats and of foreign citizens, to depart from its territory violate the fundamental principles of the Charter.

The international community will attain solidarity and strength on the basis of universal respect for international law and the fundamental human rights. I hope that the Soviet Union will recognize its responsibilities under the Charter to work toward the attainment of these objectives.

## Adjournment of the General Assembly in Paris

### STATEMENT BY JOHN FOSTER DULLES<sup>1</sup>

Acting Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly

Historians will, I think, refer to this session as the Human Rights Assembly. We have met in a country where the Declaration of the Rights of Man was inspired. We have met on a continent which has seen mankind's greatest struggle against tyranny. And we have met at a time when the paramount issue is the preservation of human freedom. Time and place are combined to welcome actions which will give immortality to this Assembly: adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Furthermore we have given historic support to this Declaration by approving a convention on genocide and by taking many concrete actions showing our fidelity to high principles of the Charter.

Only one element is needed to make this moment a source of great hope for all mankind: The loyal fulfilment of the decisions which we together make and the earnest respect for international judgments here expressed. This element is absolutely essential to orderly international life. Only thus can we enhance the authority of international decisions. Only thus can we build the authority of the United Nations.

Most of the problems we have faced here have been the direct result of the failure to hold to the determination we jointly expressed in the Charter to practice tolerance and live together as good neighbors. That is the root cause of our failures. It is the threat to our successes. Nevertheless, debates here have revealed increasing unity among the great majority of the member states. They

have also helped eliminate those dangers to peace which arise from miscalculation. It is perfectly clear an aggressor can no longer hope to vanquish his victims one by one.

Any aggressor will have to count on solid and not divided resistance. That is a detriment to war and a fact that should dispel the fear that tends to paralyze the will to recovery and the determination to work for peace. Therefore, I say, let's stop speculating about the next war.

I could not close these remarks without expressing my Delegation's deep appreciation for the warm and generous hospitality extended to us by the Government and by the people of France. I feel also that a special word of gratitude is due also to the members of the secretariat whose devoted service is as unflagging as it is indispensable.

We adjourned tonight and we leave France. But we leave with renewed determination to go on to discharge our Charter obligations and fulfil the aspirations of our peoples. Only by full collective action can we obtain the strength, stability, and unity which can make this era one of peaceful production, of new intellectual achievement, and universal respect for the fundamental rights of freedom. Such an era is possible. History may prove it had its beginning here at this Human Rights Assembly. The promise of the future is a challenge to all men of good will.

<sup>1</sup> Made at the closing meeting of the General Assembly on Dec. 12, 1948, and released to the press on Dec. 13.

**CORRECTION:** The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's resolution on admission of Austria to the United Nations is given in its entirety in the BULLETIN of December 19, 1948, page 754. Footnote 1 on this page should read, "U.N. doc. A/AC.24/30, Nov. 27, 1948; adopted by *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Nov. 27, 1948."

## Two Years' Activity of the International Children's Emergency Fund

BY MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT IN COMMITTEE III<sup>1</sup>

U.S. Representative to the General Assembly

As far back as a year ago, the Assembly passed a resolution in which it expressed its satisfaction with "the concrete work already accomplished by the Fund". At its most recent session, the Economic and Social Council likewise took favorable action regarding the Children's Fund.

The General Assembly launched the Children's Fund two years ago. But it was only about a year ago—after the complicated business of buying, shipping, and distributing of special supplies for mass feeding of children—that the Fund began actually to dispense milk and cod liver oil to children in devastated countries of Europe. Since then, the Fund has been bringing positive help steadily to what we should perhaps consider the most important part of the populations of those countries.

UNICEF—as the organization is now familiarly called—has been providing nearly four million children in Europe in the neediest areas with a daily supplement of protective food, composed mainly of milk, special processed meat, and fish oil rich in vitamins. Twenty-five countries have contributed money, supplies, or services. Twenty countries have already been the recipients of Children's Fund benefits, and eleven others are actively developing programs for UNICEF assistance in addition to British territories in the Far East. Twenty-six countries are on the Executive Board of the Fund. Contributions have come in the form of currency, cod-liver oil, wool, labor to make raw hides or leather into children's shoes, transportation of supplies, and a thousand and one different services. This has been a work of cooperation of the first importance, not only for its immediate objectives, but as an example of the way we can *all* work together once we agree on a purpose. Naturally, the determination to help the coming generation in devastated areas through a time of acute emergency has been a cause of great appeal.

More than 148 million pounds of powdered milk, over 30 million pounds of fish oils and fats, 51½ million pounds of canned meat and fish and 10 million pounds of other foods have moved through UNICEF channels for use in Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and China.

Enlargement of the scope of UNICEF activity

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from a statement made on Dec. 2, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

has taken place recently in several ways. First, the original feeding program has been augmented by an antituberculosis campaign using in Europe the new BCG serum now produced in quantity in Denmark, a country which has donated large amounts of serum to the Fund. About 40 million children in Europe are being tested, and all who react negatively—estimated to be only about 15 million unfortunately—are receiving the inoculation, which protects them for two or three years as they go back to their families in areas where tuberculosis has become practically epidemic as a result of the war. Other medical campaigns are directed against venereal disease in children and against malaria, and the DDT used for malaria control has been found—through a happy accident—to reduce infant mortality in a spectacular degree.

Secondly, UNICEF has been able to follow up its policy that these emergency measures should utilize and strengthen "permanent child health and welfare programmes". For example, the Fund accepted the offer of the French Government to conduct for UNICEF a child-health-and-welfare training program at the University of Paris, and offers of other training programs in Sweden and Switzerland. It has allocated 2 million dollars for equipment to increase production of milk powder within countries where this step would provide both emergency and long-term benefits for child health.

In the third place, the Fund has been expanding its geographical scope of operations to far-flung regions of the East outside China—to include Indonesia, Indochina, Siam, the Philippines, United Kingdom territories, Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and also North Africa. From Latin America, two doctors have gone to Europe for study on fellowships arranged by the Fund, in order to apply the new antituberculosis methods widely for the benefit of children in the Western Hemisphere. A UNICEF nutritionist has been acting as consultant in Latin America on problems of child nutrition and school feeding and has made a survey tour and reported on child health and nutrition in Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia. About three weeks ago, the Executive Director of the Fund wrote the governments of all twenty Latin American Republics in response to a request to explain in detail the medical and technical programs of UNICEF which might be most suitable and helpful for application in those

countries. Mexico, among other countries, has recently applied for assistance through a BCG antituberculosis program. A new and unusual call for help came last August on behalf of Arab and Jewish refugees in Palestine. Responding instantly to this appeal, the Fund first made available about half a million dollars of its resources for a two-months' emergency program in Palestine. Less than a month after the Executive Board acted, the first UNICEF supplies from overseas reached Beirut for distribution through Palestine. Last September the progress report of the mediator on Palestine already stated: "This allocation . . . has served as the *foundation* for the program of immediate relief." A few weeks ago, reviewing the initial UNICEF operations and the outlook for the winter in Palestine, the Executive Board decided to devote 6 million dollars more to this work.

The success of the Children's Fund has been outstanding enough to justify an examination of the kind of organization it is and the principles on which it operates. In the original resolution, which I have already mentioned, the Assembly decided that "the Fund shall consist of any assets made available by UNRRA, or any voluntary contributions made available by governments, voluntary agencies, individuals or other sources." So far, much of the greatest part of the Fund's resources has been provided by UNRRA and by governments. At a recent meeting of the Executive Board, it was reported that out of a total of more than 100 million dollars of resources, actual or reasonably to be anticipated, only about 8 million dollars had not come from governments and from UNRRA.

UNICEF has maintained important principles. First, supplies going to each country must, in a general way, be matched by supplies or services provided within that country itself, from its own resources. Another principle is that distribution of UNICEF supplies or other assistance should be "on the basis of need, without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality status, or political belief." That appears in the original resolution. Again, receiving countries must submit satisfactory reports on the use of UNICEF aid, and the Fund asks that due recognition be given within receiving countries to the United Nations character of its assistance. My Government holds that we should recall and reaffirm these principles today. We are gratified by the evidence that there has been a concerted attempt to follow them as closely as possible in administering the trust of the Children's Fund. This has been no easy task, requiring a far-flung field staff to provide liaison with local authorities and to work with both governmental and nongovernmental groups having responsibility for distribution of the Fund's resources.

Looking back to the day two years ago when the Fund was created, it will be remembered that at that time the work of most specialized agencies

now associated with the United Nations was to a large extent in its infancy, or had not started at all. Only in the last few months has the World Health Organization formally come into existence. It is natural, therefore, to consider means by which the Children's Fund and the specialized agencies—such as the WHO and FAO and UNESCO—can best reinforce each other's work on behalf of children. At the very beginning of the UNICEF feeding program, one notices the excellent example of joint action with the WHO and FAO to select particular foods for needy groups of children to be assisted in the distressed areas. This decision took into account questions of nutrition, availability of foods during the period of acute shortage, as well as procurement, shipping, and distribution.

It may be well to point out that, while most of the specialized agencies are principally advisory in character and their funds are largely for administrative purposes, the Children's Fund is a *supply* organization with money to buy milk and medicine, as well as to provide general administration. The importance of keeping these distinctions clear and the operating relations as precise as possible explains why my Government views with approval the establishment by the Children's Fund and the WHO of a Joint Health Committee, and why we went so far as to introduce the paragraph in the resolution of the Economic and Social Council which "notes with approval the arrangements for cooperation which have been achieved by the World Health Organization and the International Children's Fund".

While the United States has always taken the closest interest in the work of the Fund, as shown by its membership on the Executive Board and the various committees, and has followed the day-to-day operations with care, perhaps the greatest evidence of support has been the very definite fact that we have appropriated 75 million dollars to the Fund. Of this sum, about 48 million dollars has already been made available to the Children's Fund, according to the terms of the appropriation. Roughly speaking, these terms provide that for every \$28 contributed by other countries, the United States will contribute \$72, up to the full 75 million dollars.

In order to engage the 27 million dollars or so which has not yet been drawn on by the Fund, some 10 million dollars are needed for other countries. However, the report of the Fund's Executive Board mentions, not 10 million dollars, but 20 million dollars in this connection. Undoubtedly, this refers by implication to an additional 25 million dollars which has already been authorized by the United States Congress but has not been appropriated. Just to avoid any possible misunderstanding, I would like to explain that it would be prejudging the action of Congress to assume that this additional 25 million dollars will, in fact, be appropriated.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

## Inter-American Conference on Rehabilitation of the Crippled and Disabled

BY MICHAEL J. SHORTLEY

Chairman, United States Delegation

The First Inter-American Conference on Rehabilitation of the Crippled and Disabled was held at Mexico City from July 18 to 24, 1948. It was sponsored by the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples (formerly the International Society for Crippled Children) and was under the auspices of the Mexican Government through its Department of Public Health and Welfare. The International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, domiciled in the United States, has for its purpose to promote, generally, the welfare of the crippled throughout the world.

Although this was the first Inter-American Conference, four World Congresses of the Society had previously been held. The First World Congress under the auspices of the Society took place at Geneva in 1924, with subsequent Congresses at The Hague (1932), Budapest (1936), and London (1939). The convening of these World Congresses was suspended during the war, but a fifth World Congress is now being planned. Greece, Italy, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia are being considered by the Society as possible sites.

Several official and unofficial agencies in the Americas participated in the Conference. Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Puerto Rico, Spain, the United States, and Uruguay were among the nations represented. The United Nations also sent representatives.<sup>1</sup>

### The Opening Plenary Session

The introductory address was made by Dr. Juan Farill, president of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, who traced the history of the founding of the International Society for the Welfare of Crippled Children by Edgar Allen in the United States.

Dr. Farill made a strong plea for the prevention of injuries and stated that prevention is more important than rehabilitation.

Dr. Farill pointed out that conditions in Latin America, with the exception of a few nations, are tragic. Some Latin American countries are without a single specialist in orthopedic surgery, and

others do not have this service in their hospitals. In some, orthopedics is not taught in the universities.

Labor legislation, said Dr. Farill, should provide that all those workers who suffer a definite incapacitation should be compensated mainly by occupational rehabilitation. Besides this rehabilitation, there would or would not be granted, as might be decided, a financial indemnification taking into consideration the time lost by the worker and the economic disadvantage he might suffer in this new employment in comparison with the old. The speaker then called for legislation in each country to provide for prevention of disabilities and for the maximum physical recuperation, the education, the vocational training, and remunerative employment of every cripple without distinction not only as to race, nationality, or religion, but also without distinction as to political partisanship or the social or economic position of the invalid.

The aims of the Conference as stated by the Society were "(a) To initiate and promote rehabilitation services in Latin America; (b) To help them organize in a modern way; (c) To know the real condition of the crippled in every country of this Continent and the means which are available for their rehabilitation; (d) To adopt a minimum five-year program for this purpose in Latin America; (e) To promote official and public in-

### Officers

*President:* Dr. Juan Farill, Mexico

*President Elect:* Dr. Henry H. Kessler, U.S.A.

*Secretary-General:* Bell Greve, U.S.A.

*Treasurer:* R. W. Hopper, Canada

#### *Vice Presidents:*

Africa: Mrs. Andrew Kerr, Union of South Africa

Asia: Lady Abrahams, Ceylon

Europe: Sir Geoffrey K. Peto, K.B.E., England, and

Dr. Paul Guildal, Denmark

North America: Col. E. W. Palmer, U.S.A., and

R. W. Hopper, Canada

South America: Dr. J. M. Jorge, Argentina

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the United States Delegates to this meeting, see BULLETIN of July 25, 1948, p. 122.

terest, cooperation of official and private agencies and improve institutional relationships among countries of this Hemisphere."

The official inauguration address was given by Dr. Rafael C. Gamboa, Secretary of Public Health and Welfare of the Mexican Government, who extended a hearty welcome to the delegates.

### The Scope of the Conference

More than fifteen formal papers were presented at the plenary sessions. They covered varied aspects of the field of rehabilitation and included addresses on the subjects of employment of the handicapped, the diagnostic clinic for rehabilitation, vocational education and rehabilitation of the disabled in Puerto Rico, social rehabilitation of the crippled, rehabilitation centers in Latin America, public understanding of work for cripples, education for crippled children in the United States, principles of administration of programs for crippled children, convalescent care for children, practical considerations on legislation for crippled children, and vocational rehabilitation.

The section meetings covered subjects such as rehabilitation of the blind, labor accidents, orthopedics, educational and vocational rehabilitation, social service in rehabilitation, therapy rehabilitation, and orthopedic nursing.

### The Closing General Assembly

On the last afternoon of the Conference, Dr. José Luis Bado, of Uruguay, presented a series of resolutions outlining a minimum five-year program for adoption by the delegates. These resolutions were presented in an address entitled "Assistance to the Handicapped is an Obligation Pertaining to the State".

The principal theme of Dr. Bado's address was that the care of the handicapped should be imposed by law. He also made a strong plea for compulsory reporting of all handicapped cases by physicians, teachers, and parents to an institute created for the rehabilitation of the disabled. He advocated that all employees of the government and of private enterprises (industrial, commercial, banking) be obliged to take part in an "accident insurance" to the extent of 4 percent of their salary.

Dr. Bado visualized also as a part of this minimum five-year program a technical board connected with the rehabilitation institute which would organize recuperating and rehabilitating centers, including:

- (a) Diagnostic clinics;
- (b) Specialized surgical services;
- (c) Offices for prosthesis;
- (d) Clinics where the use of orthopedic appliances would be taught;
- (e) Workshops for rehabilitation and reeducation;

- (f) Departments of social service which would also have charge of finding places in the community for the rehabilitated.

The resolutions as originally presented provoked considerable discussion from delegates of almost all the nations. After free discussion of each of the resolutions, there was unanimous agreement on 18 resolutions.

### Resolutions Adopted

The work of the Conference culminated in these resolutions, which constitute the final act:

1. Rehabilitation shall not be considered a charity but shall be regarded as the right of every disabled person in the Americas.
2. The state as the highest authority of society has the obligation to serve the disabled regardless of age, sex, race, color, or religious or political affiliation.
3. The right of disabled persons to receive a complete range of rehabilitation services shall be universal.
4. Nations not having a well developed plan for rehabilitation should create a comprehensive plan for a rehabilitation program, in accordance with national possibilities.
5. Specialized centers shall be established for the purpose of rehabilitating disabled persons, and programs designed to prevent disablement shall be initiated.
6. Concerning the establishment of specialized rehabilitation centers, it is recommended that such centers have for their purpose physical and educational recuperation and vocational and socio-economic rehabilitation, with psychiatric care included. Such centers shall be under the jurisdiction of designated authority and shall have as their aim the return of the rehabilitated individual to society.
7. Each nation should initiate, organize, or intensify accident prevention campaigns and establish a broad public educational program as to the causes of disability.
8. In all industrial accidents, the insurance company or agency, whether it is state or private, shall first provide for the rehabilitation of the injured. Any money involved shall be to compensate for remaining disabilities and shall be in the nature of a life-long retirement plan.
9. A system for the reporting of disabilities shall be established in all nations.
10. Reports of disabilities shall be received by a Technical Board which shall have the responsibility of determining the possibility of rehabilitation.
11. For disabled persons who cannot be rehabilitated, there shall be provided proper convalescent homes or other such facilities or, if necessary, life-long aid in the disabled individual's own home, if the home is suitable.
12. The exploitation of cripples is condemned and it is urged that all legal means shall be used to discourage and prevent such exploitation.
13. It is recommended that compulsory study in orthopedic surgery and physical medicine, as well as special courses for nurses, affiliated technicians, orderlies and others necessary and needed in the program of rehabilitation, be established in universities and teaching hospitals.
14. Each nation should provide workshops for the production of prostheses and orthopedic braces according to

up-to-date and scientific standards and for the training of mechanics and workers in such trades.

15. Nations are encouraged to foster the interchange of specialists and technicians, with the hope that postgraduate courses will be steadily developed for technical advancement.

16. Nations shall establish fellowships and scholarships for persons who desire to secure advanced training and are equipped for additional study in any one of the special services concerned with the entire welfare of the disabled and crippled person.

17. Private national agencies shall cooperate with other

national organizations and it is recommended that they seek affiliation with the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples.

18. It is recommended that handicapped children be educated under the usual school system and in regular classes insofar as it is to the best advantage of the children, or in special classes, when such classes meet most adequately the needs of the child.

The Conference was adjourned after the presentation of Dr. Henry Kessler, of the United States, as the new president of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples.

## Clarification of Press Policy Relating to FEC Deliberations

### STATEMENT BY MAJOR GENERAL FRANK R. MCCOY<sup>1</sup>

#### Chairman, Far Eastern Commission

The Soviet member of the Far Eastern Commission has issued a statement to the press concerning action taken by the Commission on a Soviet proposal regarding the level of economic life in Japan. It is not the custom of the Commission to publicize those measures which are proposed and considered but fail of agreement among its members. It was my understanding that this custom would be followed in this case. The Soviet member has nevertheless made public the fact that his proposal was rejected and has commented on the views of the opposing majority. Under these unusual circumstances, I feel it is my duty as Chairman, with the express authorization of a majority of the members, to clarify the situation to the public on the basis of Commission records which have been accepted by all members.

The Soviet proposal was that the Commission should adopt the following policy:

1. No limitations should be imposed upon the restoration and development of peaceful Japanese industry which seeks to satisfy the needs of the Japanese population, nor upon the development of exports in accordance with the needs of Japan's peaceful economy.

2. The revival and creation of Japanese war industry should be prohibited and there should be established, for a period of several years, a control over the fulfillment of this decision, to be exercised by the powers most interested in preventing a new Japanese aggression.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Dec. 10, 1948, and released to the press by the Commission on the same date. General McCoy is U.S. Representative on the Commission.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 17, 1946, p. 431.

After extended deliberations in which all members of the Commission participated, it developed that a majority opposed this proposal for the following reasons:

1. The first paragraph of the Soviet proposal was regarded by other members as vague or as unnecessary since no limitations on the development of Japanese peaceful industry had ever been adopted or even considered by the Commission. On the contrary, the effect of all established policies of the Commission has been to permit such development without hindrance.

2. The second paragraph of the Soviet proposal, as interpreted by its author to call for international control over war industries in Japan beyond the conclusion of a Japanese peace treaty, was regarded by other members as falling outside the jurisdiction of the Commission, which is not concerned with the post-treaty period.

While the press policy approved by the Far Eastern Commission in 1946 permits members of the Commission to make individual statements to the press,<sup>2</sup> it has been the custom of members during the ensuing two and one-half years to refrain from exercising this privilege in the interests of continuing cooperation. In view of the public statement of the Soviet member of the Commission in which comment was made on the views of other members, I consider it incumbent on me as Chairman to suggest that other members need not, in this instance, feel obliged to adhere to the custom of refraining from the issuance of individual statements. Members of the Commission should therefore feel at liberty to express their views publicly on this important matter which has been considered by the Commission.

## Announcement of Intention To Enter Into Tariff Negotiations in April 1949

The Interdepartmental Trade Agreements Committee on December 17 issued formal notice of intention to negotiate with Colombia and Liberia for reciprocal reduction of tariff and other trade barriers and for accession of those countries to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade concluded by the United States and 22 other countries at Annecy, France, on October 30, 1947. Colombia and Liberia will join with 11 other countries in the negotiations scheduled to begin at Geneva on April 11, 1949. The Trade Agreements Committee notice was accompanied by publication of lists of articles on which United States tariff concessions might be considered in the negotiations with Colombia and Liberia.

The Trade Agreements Committee also published on December 17 supplementary lists of articles on which United States tariff concessions might be considered in the forthcoming negotiations with 9 of the 11 countries regarding which notice of intention to negotiate was given and lists were published by the Committee on November 5, 1948. Those countries are: Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay. No supplementary lists have been issued for the remaining two countries, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

No United States tariff concessions will be considered, in the forthcoming negotiations, on any article not appearing on one of the lists published November 5, or on one of the lists published on December 17, unless it is subsequently included in a future supplementary list. These lists are published in advance of the negotiations, in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order No. 10004 of October 5, 1948.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of articles with respect to which imports from Cuba are entitled to preferential treatment, a modification of the rate in the negotiations will involve the elimination, reduction, or continuation of the preference, perhaps with an adjustment or specification of the rate applicable to the Cuban product. The situation will be comparable in the case of products on which the United States enjoys a preference in Cuba and with respect to which Cuba might negotiate with any other country.

The interdepartmental Committee for Reciprocity Information also announced that public hearings in connection with products appearing on the lists published December 17 and with U.S. exports to countries with which the U.S. intends to nego-

tiate, will open January 25, 1949; applications to appear at those hearings and written briefs and statements will be received until January 18, 1949. These hearings are held under section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended, which provides that any interested person shall have opportunity to present his views on any proposed trade agreement before its conclusion. Executive Order No. 10004 designates the Committee for Reciprocity Information as the agency to receive these views and to transmit them to the interdepartmental trade-agreements organization.

The lists of products made public have been transmitted by the President to the Tariff Commission as is required by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948. Under that act the Commission must investigate, hold hearings, and report to the President in not more than 120 days, with regard to each item on the lists: (1) the extent to which United States tariff or other import restrictions may be reduced without causing or threatening serious injury to a domestic industry producing like or similar articles; and (2) what, if any, additional import restrictions are required in order to prevent such injury.

The Tariff Commission has announced hearings on the articles covered in the lists, to run concurrently with the hearings of the Committee for Reciprocity Information. Information submitted to the Tariff Commission, other than that accepted by the Commission as confidential, will be made available to the trade-agreements organization through the Committee for Reciprocity Information. Therefore, persons not wishing to present any information in addition to that which they present to the Tariff Commission may, but need not, appear before the Committee for Reciprocity Information. However, persons wishing to present additional information concerning possible import concessions, or views with respect to export concessions to be obtained by the United States, should appear before the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

Inclusion of a given article on any of the lists published November 5 or December 17 does not necessarily mean that a concession will be made on that article. The Trade Agreements Committee will make its recommendations to the President only after the trade-agreements organization has studied all the information received from the Tariff Commission and from the Committee for Reciprocity Information, as well as all other avail-

<sup>1</sup> 13 Fed. Reg. 5851.

(Continued on page 809)

# Exchange of Persons With Eastern European Countries

## REPLY OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

December 10, 1948

DEAR DR. BRANSCOMB:<sup>1</sup>

The recommendations of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange concerning educational exchanges with the countries of eastern Europe have been referred to me by the Secretary's office. We have studied the recommendations carefully.<sup>2</sup> The Commission's views coincide with United States foreign policy objectives. The Department will emphasize in its operations the methods recommended by the Commission for reaching these objectives. We are taking immediate steps to put your recommendations into effect.

Specifically, the Department agrees that free interchange of persons and ideas on a world-wide basis must be the long range objective of this program. We concur in your view that the effectiveness of Government-supported exchanges under Public Law 402 with certain eastern European countries is highly questionable as long as their governments remain unwilling to cooperate. Therefore such exchanges will not be established at this time. The Department keenly regrets that it is impossible at present to establish world-wide exchange programs on a reciprocal basis.

The Department will continue, however, to assist reputable American state, local and private organizations in promoting educational interchange with parts of the world where there is little understanding of the principles which should underlie such intellectual and cultural relations. This decision follows the Commission's recommendations.

The Department will maintain its vigilance in safeguarding the public safety and the security of our Government and free institutions, as you urged. The Department is in complete agreement with the Commission that it is desirable to restrict the travel of individuals sponsored by organizations generally recognized as subversive. Aliens whose intentions are deemed to be subversive, or who are or have been members of organizations professing such intentions, are considered inadmissible to the United States under our immigration laws. Students and scholars who succeed in

obtaining the permission of Communist-dominated governments to visit the United States for *bona fide* educational, cultural, and scientific purposes will frequently be considered by the United States consuls to be inadmissible under these laws. In such a case, the Attorney General of the United States has the legal authority under the 9th proviso of section 3 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, to authorize temporary entry of an alien otherwise excludable.

A sponsoring agency may petition the Attorney General to exercise his discretionary authority in such cases. The Department will support such a request made by a reputable sponsoring agency in those meritorious cases where the Department believes that the advantages to the United States outweigh the possible disadvantages. Persons for whom entry is requested, however, should furnish evidence of their intent to participate only in activities consistent with the stated purposes of their visit. As the Commission suggests, such representations will be particularly appropriate in the case of international conferences, congresses and other meetings of an educational nature, which normally last only a short time.

We shall support your recommendations of precautions that should be observed when American students study in eastern Europe. The Department will emphasize to sponsoring organizations the desirability of limiting the exchanges to mature students who will be able to evaluate critically their experience in such countries. Upon request, the Department will also try to inform these sponsoring organizations about the conditions in countries to be visited.

The Department intends to make public this exchange of correspondence and to circulate it widely among officers of the Department and the Foreign Service who may be called upon to assist. Any further instructions which are necessary for the guidance of these officers will be issued promptly.

I do not wish to conclude this letter without telling you and the members of the Commission that your recommendations reflect the serious thought you have given to the problems involved in these exchanges. The Department appreciates your advice.

Sincerely yours,

HOWLAND H. SARGEANT  
Deputy Assistant Secretary  
for Public Affairs

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Branscomb is chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange.

<sup>2</sup> See BULLETIN of Oct. 31, 1948, p. 560.

## Educational Exchange Agreement With Italy

[Released to the press December 18]

The Republic of Italy and the United States on December 18 signed an agreement under the Fulbright act, putting into operation the program of educational exchanges authorized by Public Law 584, 79th Congress. The announcement was made by the Department of State at a meeting of the Board of Foreign Scholarships appointed by the President to select persons to receive awards under the act.

The agreement with Italy was signed in Rome, with Ambassador James C. Dunn representing the United States and Count Sforza, Italian Foreign Minister, representing the Republic of Italy. George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, was present at the signing. The agreement provides for a United States Educational Commission in Italy to assist in the administration of the educational program financed from certain funds resulting from the sale of United States surplus property to that country. The present agreement provides for an annual program of the equivalent of \$1,000,000 in Italian lire for educational purposes. The program will include the financing of "studies, research, instruction, and other educational activities" for U.S. citizens in Italy, and for payment of round-trip travel for Italian nationals wishing to pursue similar activities in the United States.

Information about specific opportunities for American citizens to study, teach, or undertake research in Italy will be made public after the Commission in Italy has held meetings and an initial program can be formulated. 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, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C. (for teaching in Italian 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 and for post-doctoral research).

## Rumania Demands Recall of U.S. Officers; U.S. Calls Charges Contrary to Fact

*Rumanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to American Legation at Bucharest*

[Released to the press December 11]

*December 7, 1948*

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Rumania has the honor to bring the following to the attention of the Legation of the United States of America:

In view of facts revealed during the trial of a group of plotters, spies and saboteurs which took place before a military tribunal of the capital from October 27 to November 2, the Rumanian Government informs the Legation of the United States of America that it no longer desires the presence in the country of Colonel John R. Lovell, Military Attaché, and Mr. Henry P. Leverich, Counselor of Legation.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Rumania consequently requests the Legation of the United States of America to bring to the attention of the Department of State that the Rumanian Government desires their recall to be effected in the shortest possible time.

*U.S. Minister to Rumania (Rudolf E. Schoenfeld)  
to Rumanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

[Released to the press December 11]

*December 10, 1948*

The American Minister presents his compliments to Her Excellency, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Ministry's note of December 7 requesting the recall of Colonel John R. Lovell, United States Military Attaché, and Mr. Henry P. Leverich, Counselor of Legation. The Ministry asserts that the request is based on "facts revealed" during a recent trial of several Rumanians charged with espionage and sabotage.

The American Minister has been instructed by his Government to inform the Rumanian Government that while, in conformity with usual international practice, it is acceding to this request and arranging for the early departure from Rumania of these two officers, it rejects as ridiculous and entirely contrary to fact the grounds upon which the Rumanian Government presumes to base its request for their recall.

## Tariff Negotiations—Continued from page 807

able data. Actual making of concessions will depend, of course, on the outcome of the negotiations.

The lists published November 5 and December 17 are based upon the language of the Tariff Act of 1930, but do not show existing rates of duty on the listed products. These rates are shown in *United States Import Duties (1948)* and supplement 1 thereto, published by the Tariff Commission and obtainable from the Tariff Commission, the Department of State, or the Department of Commerce and its regional and district offices.

For a list of products on which U. S. Tariff concessions may be considered, see Department of States press release 1015 of December 17, 1948.

## Soviet Union Suspends Repatriation of Japanese From Siberia<sup>1</sup>

The repatriation division of General Headquarters, SCAP, announced December 11 receipt of a letter from the Soviet Member, Allied Council for Japan, announcing that repatriation of Japanese from Siberia and other Soviet-controlled areas would be suspended until the resumption of navigation in 1949 because of climatic and icing conditions.

The spokesman for this division stated, "the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers was profoundly disappointed to receive this notification of the intended suspension of Japanese repatriation during the ensuing months by which more than 400,000 hapless Japanese are condemned to a fourth winter in Siberia and other Soviet-controlled areas. This action has been undertaken in disregard of repeated offers made by SCAP of assistance in overcoming alleged navigational, climatic, and icing conditions."

The spokesman reemphasized the previous SCAP offers to provide:

(1) Adequate shipping for repatriation of Japanese in increments up to 160,000 persons per month.

(2) Icebreakers and other special facilities. This latest offer was made by SCAP in a letter on October 20, 1948, in order to assist the Soviets in overcoming difficulties allegedly presented by the winter repatriation of Japanese. This letter was never answered.

It was stated that the last regular monthly repatriation list in November realized the release of 37,929 repatriates, 12,071 below the 50,000 quota of the SCAP-Soviet repatriation agreement, thus marking the eighteenth consecutive month that the Soviets have failed to fulfil subject quota.

Following is the Soviet suspension letter received by SCAP on December 8, 1948, addressed to General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Chief of Staff, Major General Mueller:

"DEAR GENERAL: This is to confirm the declaration of Captain second rank Yashin made December 3, 1948, to the representative of the Liaison Section, General Headquarters, SCAP, Captain Senka, that repatriation of Japanese, in compliance with paragraph four, section two, Agreement of December 19, 1948, is discontinued due to heavy climatic and icing conditions until navigation season of 1949."

<sup>1</sup> Statement released to the press on Dec. 11, 1948, by SCAP Headquarters in Tokyo. Printed from telegraphic text.

## Uprising Overthrows President of San Salvador

[Released to the press December 15]

Reports from the American Embassy in San Salvador indicate that an uprising which occurred in that city on the afternoon of December 14 ended in a few hours with the overthrow of President Salvador Castaneda Castro. The revolt apparently was organized by younger army officers under the leadership of Lt. Col. Manuel Córdova. Martial law and a 10 o'clock curfew are in force. Lt. Col. Córdova has stated that free elections will be held. The Embassy states that no injury to American citizens or damage to their property has been reported.

## Congressional Approval of U.S.-Canadian Agreement on Seaway Project To Be Requested

*The Acting Legal Adviser to the Chairman of New York Power Authority*

[Released to the press December 16]

*December 15, 1948*

MY DEAR GENERAL WILBY:

Reference is made to your call at the Department and correspondence concerning the application prepared by the Power Authority of the State of New York which it desired to have submitted to the International Joint Commission.

After careful consideration of this matter, this Government is of the opinion that in view of the shortage of power and the need for additional transportation facilities in the St. Lawrence region, it is desirable to renew the request to Congress for approval of the 1941 Agreement between the United States and Canada for construction of the seaway and power projects. Consequently, it would not be appropriate to take further action with respect to the proposed reference of this application to the International Joint Commission.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

JACK B. TATE  
*Acting Legal Adviser.*

## Letters of Credence

*Uruguay*

The newly appointed Ambassador of Uruguay, Señor Dr. Don Alberto Domínguez Cámpora, presented his credentials to the President on December 15, 1948. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 1009 of December 15, 1948.

*Department of State Bulletin*

## Continuation of Danger Area Surrounding Eniwetok Proving Ground

[Released to the press by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission December 15]

The United States Atomic Energy Commission on December 15 gave public notice that the danger area, described below, surrounding Eniwetok Atoll will continue to exist until further notice. The danger area was previously prescribed for a period beginning January 31, 1948, to continue throughout the calendar year 1948. Eniwetok Atoll is the site of the Commission's proving ground for routine experiments and tests of atomic weapons.

The area designated as a danger area is bounded as follows:

Beginning with a point at 10°15' north latitude and 160°35' east longitude, north along the meridian of 160°35' east longitude, to a point at 12°45' north latitude, 160°35' east longitude thence east along the parallel of 12°45' north latitude to a point at 12°45' north latitude and 163°55' east longitude, thence south along the meridian of 163°55' east longitude to a point at 10°15' north latitude and 163°55' east longitude thence west to the point of beginning.

Notice of the continued designation of the danger area is being made in air and marine navigational notices.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Termination of Advisory Committee on Occupied Areas Affairs

The Advisory Committee for Occupied Areas Affairs (OAC) has been abolished. Information to interested agencies on occupied areas matters and coordination of their advice on the formulation of policy in occupied areas continues to be the responsibility of the Department of State. These relations are maintained through the office of the Assistant Secretary for occupied areas and through the regular liaison channels between departments.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Bristol, England, was closed to the public on November 30, 1948.

Until further notice the former Bristol consular district will be divided as follows: Somersetshire to Cardiff; Wiltshire and Berkshire to Southampton; Gloucestershire to Birmingham.

December 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.*

**Shipping: Arrangements and Recommendations of United Maritime Executive Board.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1723. Pub. 3124. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Other Governments—Dated at London February 11, 1946; entered into force March 3, 1946.

**Trade: Application of Most-Favored-Nation Treatment to Areas Under Occupation or Control.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1829. Pub. 3231. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Italy—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Rome June 28, 1948; entered into force June 28, 1948.

**Trade: Application of Most-Favored-Nation Treatment to Areas Under Occupation or Control.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1835. Pub. 3233. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—Effected by exchange of notes signed at London July 6, 1948; entered into force July 6, 1948.

**Claims Resulting From Activities of United Military Forces in China.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1776. Pub. 3258. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and China—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Nanking October 13, 1947, and March 17, 1948; entered into force March 17, 1948.

**American Dead in World War II.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1777. Pub. 3259. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and the Netherlands—Effected by exchange of notes signed at The Hague April 11, 1947; entered into force April 11, 1947.

**Germany: Distribution of Reparation, Establishment of Inter-Allied Reparation Agency, Restitution of Monetary Gold.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1797. Pub. 3289. 8 pp. 5¢.

Protocol Between the United States and Other Governments apportioning shares between India and Pakistan under the Agreement of January 14, 1946—Signed at Brussels March 15, 1948; effective from January 24, 1946.

**Reciprocal Trade: Quantitative Import Restrictions and Deferment of Payments.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1800. Pub. 3293. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Sweden extending agreement of June 24, 1947, as modified, after June 30, 1948—Effected by exchange of memorandums dated at Washington June 12, 1948; entered into force June 12, 1948.

**Trade: Application of Most-Favored-Nation Treatment to Areas Under Occupation or Control.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1820. Pub. 3330. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Austria—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Vienna July 2, 1948; entered into force July 2, 1948.

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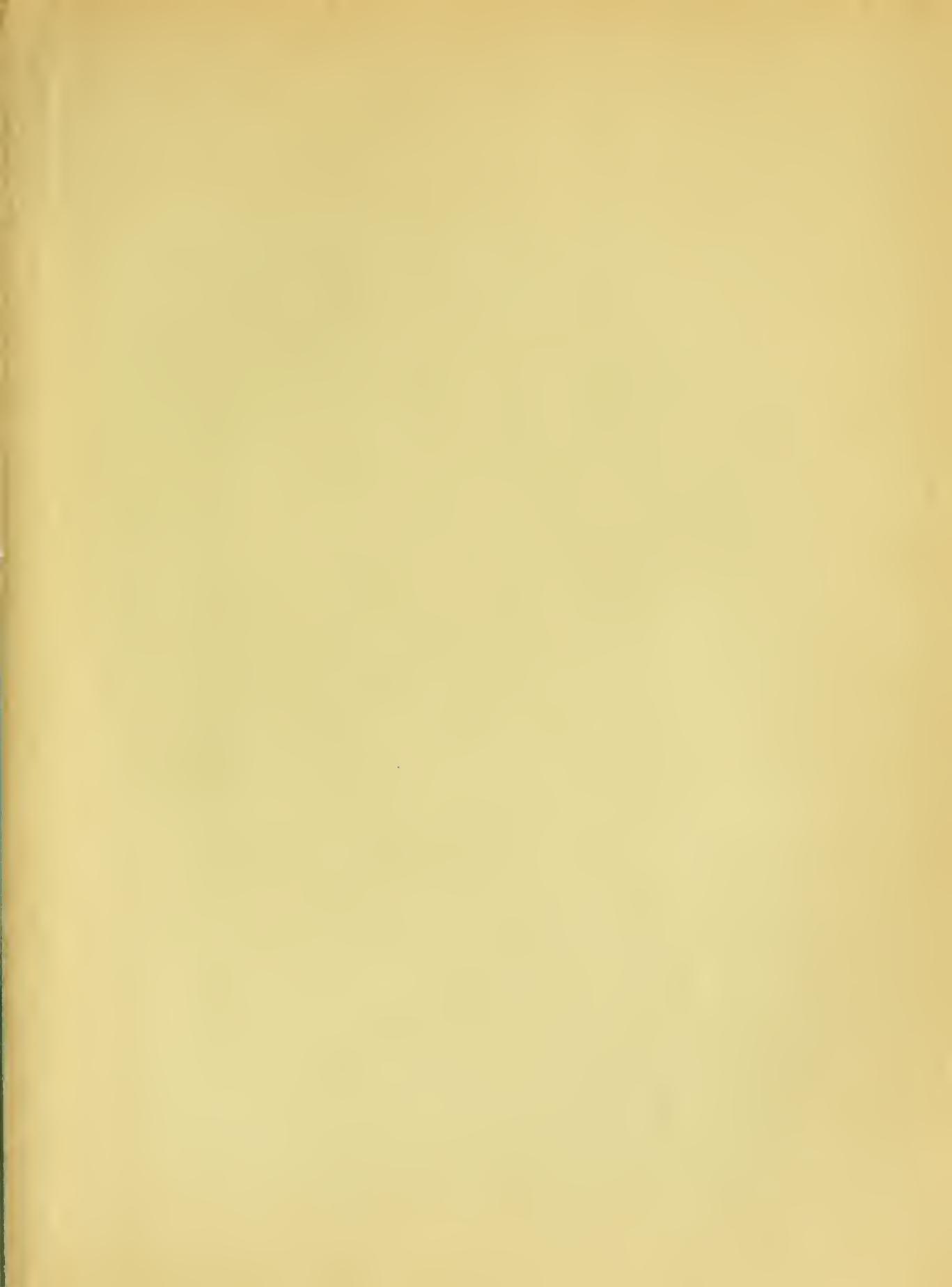
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# Contributors

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