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## Corrections in Volume XXIV

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

*January 8:* page 75, left-hand column, first paragraph, "Gen. William A. Piley" should read "Gen. William A. Riley."

*January 15:* Index, under "Mutual Aid and Defense," delete "Düsseldorf, Opening of Consulate General."

*January 22:* page 123, left-hand column, the last sentence in the sixth paragraph should read as follows: "We are able to produce more than ever before—in fact, far more than any country ever produced in the history of the world."

page 123, right-hand column, the last sentence in the seventh paragraph should read as follows: "But, I am sorry to say, that has not been the case."

page 124, right-hand column, the last sentence in the second paragraph should read as follows: "Therefore, even if we were craven enough—and I do not believe that we could be—I say even if we were craven enough to abandon our ideals, it would be disastrous for us to withdraw from the community of free nations."

page 125, right-hand column, the fourth paragraph, the following sentence should be inserted after the first sentence: "Long, long ago we stood for the freedom of the peoples of Asia."

*January 29:* page 167, left-hand column, "Text of U.S. Resolution" should read "Text of U.S. Draft Resolution."

*March 26:* page 502, top of right-hand column, the heading "U.S.—Chile Sign Air Force Agreement" should read "U.S.—Chile Sign Navy Mission and Air Force Mission Agreements."

*April 2:* page 529, left-hand column in footnote, delete the following words: "Message from the President of the United States transmitting the"

In index, delete heading "Trust Territories" and subhead: "Caribbean Commission: U.S. Commissioner Appointed (Morón)."

*April 9:* page 596, right-hand column, the title of the agency used in the heading and in the first paragraph, fifth line should read "United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine."

*April 30:* page 713, left-hand column, "U.N. doc. E/AC.33/Add.55" should read "U.N. doc. E/AC.33/10/Add.55." The first five paragraphs are repetitious.

*May 21:* page 828, left-hand column, the last sentence of the first paragraph should read as follows: "The originals of these documents, which are in the Korean [one Korean, one Russian] language, are in the possession of the United States Government."

*June 11:* page 959, right-hand column, the letter from Ambassador Gross to the Secretary-General was printed from U.N. doc. A/1822, dated June 25, 1951.

*June 18:* Front cover, "Vol. XXIV, No. 625" should read "Vol. XXIV, No. 624."

page 973, right-hand column, the third line in the first paragraph should be deleted.

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## UNITED ACTION FOR THE DEFENSE OF A FREE WORLD

*Remarks by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>*

**T**HIS AFTERNOON I would like to talk with you about the point we have reached in the development of the North Atlantic Treaty, what we did at Brussels, and where we are going from that meeting.

I think the best way of putting this thing in perspective is to say that this meeting at Brussels was the conclusion of a chapter in a long book, a book in which the chapters which lie behind us are history, and the chapters that lie before us are plans for dynamic action.

So far as the North Atlantic Treaty organization is concerned, that is only one part of this book. It is an important part. That part of the chapter which lay before Brussels was a period, and a very important and necessary period, of planning and organization. We were thinking about drawing up the structure of this organization before we could go to work to put real muscle and real bone into it.

### **First Step in Field of Action**

Brussels brought the culmination of that part of the North Atlantic Treaty work. We have finished the matter of plans. We have finished the matter of organization. Now we have taken the first step in the field of action. From now on it is action which counts and not further resolutions or plans or meetings, although there will be all of those.

At Brussels we did several things. We took recommendations which had come from the meetings immediately preceding in London and acted

on those recommendations. They had to do with the creation of the united, unified, integrated army which is to provide for the defense of Europe. The papers which came to us laid out the structure of that army, how it should be composed, of what troops, where the troops should come from, how it should be organized, its command structure, the higher command structure which would give that army its direction, and how the Supreme Commander should be selected and appointed. We dealt with and acted upon all those matters.

### **Selection of Supreme Commander**

The structure was agreed upon and the force was created. The Council unanimously asked the President of the United States to select a United States officer to be the Supreme Commander. A specific recommendation was made as to who it was hoped that officer would be. The President responded at once, and that officer, General Eisenhower, was unanimously appointed the Supreme Commander. As he has stated, he will leave shortly after the first of the year to go over and arrange for the creation and location of his staff.

The creation of a supreme commander and the selection of General Eisenhower is an essential step and a most vital step in galvanizing into action the actual translation of these papers into terms of men with guns, matériel, air forces, and naval forces.

There must be this one dynamic figure to give all of our allies the guidance, the direction, and the inspiration which will lead to the translation of papers into organized people and organized things. General Eisenhower, more than any living

<sup>1</sup>Made at a news conference at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 22 and released to the press on the same date; also printed as Department of State publication 4058.

soldier, has the capacity, the prestige, and the imagination which can bring that about. His appointment is in itself a great act in Europe, which has completely revolutionized the attitude of people toward the problems ahead of them.

Now at Brussels also we considered material things as well as men with guns. It was clear to us that you cannot have an army, no matter how well organized, unless it is supplied, unless it is supplied in quantity, and unless all the productive capacities of all the allies are harnessed to that great effort. Consequently, the whole conception of the old production board was changed and there is to be a new vigorous and active board. I trust that at the head of that there will be a man in the economic field as dynamic and as full of leadership as General Eisenhower is in the military field. These two men must work very closely together if we are to use the vast potential and economic power of Western Europe to create what is necessary for this force.

#### **Concrete Objectives of Unified Command**

This force which is now in being means several concrete things. It means, first of all, that our forces in Europe will be, and they now are, under the command of General Eisenhower. It means that the British, French, Italian, Dutch, Belgian, and the forces of all the other North Atlantic Treaty nations which are now in existence for the defense of Europe will be, and many of them now are, under his command. It means also that those forces must be increased. They are not now adequate for their mission. They will be increased and steps are in process now by which they will be increased in France, in England, and in other countries of Europe; in the United States additional forces will be placed at General Eisenhower's disposal in Europe.

We made it clear also at Brussels that, contrary to the propaganda which the Soviet Union and its satellites are putting out, this is a defensive force. It will be clear to any intelligent person that it must be. Certainly there is no remote intention, and there never has been, to use this force for aggressive purposes.

#### **German Participation**

Also at Brussels we took action on the very important question of the relation of Germany to the defense of Western Europe. We cleared away the obstacles which had been in front of German

participation. We made it perfectly clear to the Germans that their participation is a matter to be discussed with them. Their will and their enthusiastic cooperation is an essential part of anything which is to be done. We made it clear that, if they take part in this effort, then clearly their relations with the nations of Western Europe and with us in the United States will be and can be on a different basis from what they are now.

Now that is perhaps nothing new to you. That is the action which was taken and I should like for a moment to try and put it in its relation with other chapters in this long book about which I have spoken.

The North Atlantic Treaty work is only a part of that book. The action at Brussels is only a part of one chapter. It is that important part, however, which is moving from plans into action.

#### **Common Problem of Security**

Now the rest of the book, the material part of the book, the part which is history, has to do with what we and our allies have tried to accomplish since the end of the war. What we have tried to accomplish has been in the light of a clear conception which we have all had. That is that the security of each one of us is tied up with the security of all of us, and therefore strength and security is a common problem and a common task. It is a task in which we must all wish to work together and in which we are all partners in the truest sense of the word.

So far as the United States is concerned, this is a national policy. It isn't a matter which has been decided by any small group of people in connection with any particular event. It is the product of the decisions of all the Executive branches of the Government, of the Congress, and of the people of the United States over a long period of years. It is something which has found expression at various times in different acts. Exactly these same conceptions were inherent in, were discussed, and were decided when the Greek-Turkish Aid Program came up in the early part of 1947. These same ideas are inherent in the Economic Recovery Program. These same ideas are contained in the so-called Vandenberg resolution passed by the Senate. We moved from the economic field into the field of providing a common defense when we negotiated and almost unanimously ratified the North Atlantic Treaty.

Again this policy was reiterated when we came

to the military defense program, which was to put our aid at the disposal of our allies while they were building up the forces which, with ours, would give a common strength and a common defense to all of us.

Now all the way through these chapters of the book and in connection with all the steps that I have mentioned there have been dissenting views expressed. There have been views expressed that we should not use our resources and our power in conjunction with others to build up a common strength and a common defense, but that we should retire to our own continent, that we should try to isolate ourselves from the problems and difficulties of the world, and that here on our hemisphere we should attempt to secure ourselves against the dangers and difficulties of the world. This attitude, as I say, has been expressed, has been debated, and the contrary decision has been taken in each one of the steps which I have mentioned.

#### **Policy Examination and Recommendations of National Security Council**

This attitude is one which is continually examined. It is the task of the National Security Council to examine all alternatives and make recommendations regarding them. When the National Security Council performs its duty in this respect, it speaks for the whole Executive branch of the Government which is concerned with the defense problems of the United States and with the mobilization of the economic power of the United States which is necessary to back up that defense. So that the National Security Council means, of course, the President, who presides at it and whose sanction is necessary for the validity of any of its acts. It means the whole military establishment on the civilian side and on the military side, the whole organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It means the Department of State; it means the Treasury Department; it means the economic branches of the White House and the economic departments of the Government. They have examined this attitude many times, the last time quite recently, and, every time they have examined it, they have recommended unanimously that this is an impossible attitude for the United States to take because it spells defeat and frustration; it has no possibility of success; and therefore it is not an attitude which this Government can usefully take.

#### **Conclusions Regarding Policy of Withdrawal**

In our work on this particular question we have brought out many considerations. I shall mention a few of them.

It is our unanimous conclusion, and has been throughout all these years, and is now, that such a policy is a policy of withdrawal into our hemisphere and an attempt to deal on a defensive basis with the dangers in the rest of the world. Our conclusion is that the first result of that would enable the Soviet Union to make a quick conquest of the entire Eurasian land mass.

To do that leads us to the second conclusion, which is that it would place at the disposal of the Soviet Union a possession of military resources and economic power vastly superior to any that would be then available for our home security. It would give the Soviet Union possession of a strategic position which would be catastrophic to the United States.

In that situation we come to the third conclusion. In such a position, the Soviet Union would be able to nullify our power. Such nullification would be attempted, because, isolated as we would be, we would still have some potential threat to the success of the Soviet plans.

We then come to the fourth conclusion, which is that such a developing situation would make any negotiation, any peaceful settlement of the problems before us, quite impossible. It would so unbalance the power in the world and put us at such a vast disadvantage that negotiation would not be possible at all.

That leads to the fifth conclusion. Negotiation not being possible, we would then be brought either to the position where we must accept whatever terms were imposed or where we would have to fight without allies merely to maintain, if we could in that precarious position, our own physical existence.

I say physical existence because that brings us to the sixth conclusion. A position of that sort, accepted by us, would undermine the entire constitutional structure, the entire morale position, and the entire heritage of the American tradition.

Therefore the National Security Council has rejected this policy because it concludes that it is a self-defeating policy and one which could lead only to surrender or to defeat.

#### **Building Strength To Maintain Freedom**

The attitude which we take is that we and our

allies are moving ahead with courage and with determination to build our common strength. We regard our dangers as common dangers and we believe that they can be met and must be met by common strength. We believe that they need our help in order to maintain their security and that we need their help. We know that, if, by an indifferent attitude, we abandoned our allies without regard to future consequences, we would find ourselves in a position of unutterable national shame and great national weakness.

Therefore, we are taking a policy of going forward with vigor and with determination and with courage. We are rejecting any policy of sitting quivering in a storm cellar waiting for whatever fate others may wish to prepare for us. As I say, we have rejected that course and, as the President made entirely clear last week, we are firmly resolved to build our strength side by side with our allies. By doing so we believe that we are calling upon the great potential strength of the entire free world to maintain its freedom. We believe that we can, if we pull together, build that strength and we are determined that we shall build it.

#### **STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT**

*[Released to the press by the White House December 21]*

The Secretary of State this morning gave me a full report of his meeting in Brussels with the Foreign Ministers and Defense Ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty countries.

I was greatly encouraged to hear from the Secretary of the serious way in which the representatives of the North Atlantic countries went about the job of bringing to life the military and economic agencies of the North Atlantic community.

The Secretary reported that the appointment of General Eisenhower as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, greatly heartened and inspired the European nations who see in it new proof of the firm intention of the free nations to stand together.

Within the next few weeks the soldiers in Europe of the members of the North Atlantic community will be training together. Many of our hopes have now become facts with all that this means for the defense of the free world.

The Secretary also reported on his informal conversations with French Foreign Minister Schuman and British Foreign Minister Bevin. These

conversations resulted in full agreement on how the three Governments, pursuant to the North Atlantic Council's decision would take up with the German Government the problem of German contributions to the defense of Western Europe.

I am in full agreement with the Secretary that the spirit shown by the countries of Western Europe has justified our confidence that the free states of Europe mean business about setting up our common defense system. The success of this meeting will be a matter of great satisfaction to all the American people.

Let there be no mistake about it—the unity of the nations of Western Europe and of the North Atlantic area is vital to their security and to ours.

## **General Dwight D. Eisenhower To Command NAC Defense Forces**

### **MESSAGES EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY ACHESON**

*[Released to the press by the White House December 18]*

*The following telegram was received by the President from Secretary Acheson.*

The North Atlantic Council today completed arrangements for the establishment of an integrated European defense force. This plan provides that the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe be a U. S. Officer. The Council has asked me to transmit to you its request that you designate a U. S. Officer to take this position. At the time this action was taken the members of the Council expressed their earnest hope that you will find it possible to designate General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower for the position of Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

*The President sent the following reply to Secretary Acheson.*

Pursuant to the request of the North Atlantic Council that I designate a U. S. Officer to take the position of Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, I have designated General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower. In taking this action I wish to express both my gratification and agreement with the view of the North Atlantic Council that General Eisenhower's experience and talents make him uniquely qualified to assume the important responsibilities of this position.

## COMMUNIQUE

[Released to the press December 19]

*Following is the text of a communiqué issued by the North Atlantic Council at the close of its sixth session at Brussels on December 19, 1950.*

The North Atlantic Council acting on recommendations of the Defense Committee today completed the arrangements initiated in September last for the establishment in Europe of an integrated force under centralized control and command. This force is to be composed of contingents contributed by the participating governments.

The Council yesterday unanimously decided to ask the President of the United States to make available General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower to serve as Supreme Commander. Following receipt this morning of a message from the President of the United States that he had made General Eisenhower available, the Council appointed him. He will assume his command and establish his headquarters in Europe early in the New Year. He will have the authority to train the national units assigned to his command and to organize them into an effective integrated defense force. He will be supported by an international staff drawn from the nations contributing to the force.

The Council, desiring to simplify the structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in order to make it more effective, asked the Council Deputies to initiate appropriate action. In this connection the Defense Committee, meeting separately on December 18th, had already taken action to establish a defense production board with greater powers than those of the Military Production and Supply Board which it supersedes. The new board is charged with expanding and accelerating production and with furthering the mutual use of the industrial capacities of the member nations.

The Council also reached unanimous agreement regarding the part which Germany might assume in the common defense. The German participation would strengthen the defense of Europe without altering in any way the purely defensive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Council invited the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States to explore the matter with the Government of the German Federal Republic.

The decisions taken and the measures contemplated have the sole purpose of maintaining and

consolidating peace. The North Atlantic nations are determined to pursue this policy until peace is secure.

## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO GENERAL EISENHOWER

[Released to the press by the White House December 19]

*The President today sent the following letter to General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower.*

DEAR GENERAL EISENHOWER: The North Atlantic Treaty Nations have agreed on the defense organization for Europe and at their request I have designated you as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. I view their request as a pledge that their support of your efforts will be complete and unequivocal.

I understand that the Standing Group of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will shortly issue a directive to you concerning your responsibility and authority as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

You are hereby assigned operational command, to the extent necessary for the accomplishment of your mission, of the U. S. Army Forces, Europe; U. S. Air Forces, Europe; and the U. S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean.

Subject to overriding requirements of the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, the missions, routine employment, training and administration of these forces will continue to be handled through command channels heretofore existing.

You are authorized to have officers and enlisted personnel of the U. S. Armed Forces, as well as civilian employees of the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force, for your Staff in such numbers and grades as you consider necessary.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary of State for his guidance and a copy to the Secretary of Defense for his guidance and necessary action by the Department of Defense.

You are undertaking a tremendous responsibility. As President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, I know that our entire country is wholeheartedly behind you. Indeed, you carry with you the prayers of all freedom-loving peoples. I send you my warmest personal good wishes for success in the great task which awaits you.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

# Communism Threatens Inter-American Community Security

## U. S. REQUESTS MEETING OF ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[Released to the press December 16]

Pursuant to instructions from President Truman, I have today instructed the representative of the United States in the Council of the Organization of American States [OAS] to request that a meeting of consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs be held in accordance with article 39 of the Charter of the Organization, which provides that such meetings shall be held "to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States."

The aggressive policy of international communism, carried out through its satellites, has brought about a situation in which the entire free world is threatened. The free world is meeting that threat by resolute action through the United Nations, in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter. As President Truman announced in his speech last night, the United States, for the purpose of organizing its strength in support of these principles, has embarked on an emergency program of economic and military preparedness.

Within the United Nations, the United States is also part of the established regional community represented by the Organization of American States. All 21 members of that community have jointly dedicated themselves to the cause of freedom. This common cause, even more than geography, has prompted them to work together for their common security. Their cooperation is based on the principle that the defense of any one of them is inseparable from the defense of all of them. What is at stake in the present situation, with respect to this inter-American community of ours, is the survival of all that it stands for in the world.

The United States, having embarked on urgent mobilization for the common defense, wishes to consult its fellow members in the inter-American community with respect to the situation which we all face and on the coordination of the common effort required to meet it. That is the reason why

it is requesting that a meeting of consultation be held.

In the near future this Government, after consultation with Congressional leaders and the governments of the other American Republics, will have proposals to make respecting the date and place of the meeting and its agenda.

### COMMUNICATION FROM AMBASSADOR DANIELS TO OAS

[Released to the press December 20]

*Communication of the United States representative on the Council of the Organization of American States addressed to the Chairman of the Council, Ambassador Hilderbrando Accioly.*

*December 20, 1950*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Confirming the request which I made to you Saturday, December 16, I have been instructed by my Government to request that a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs be held in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, which provides that such Meetings shall be called "to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States." I am, therefore, hereby requesting, in accordance with Article 40 of the Charter, that this matter be considered at the next meeting of the Council of the Organization of American States which will, I understand, be held on Wednesday, December 20, at 10:30 a. m.

The aggressive policy of international communism, carried out through its satellites, has brought about a situation in which the entire free world is threatened. The free world is meeting that threat by resolute action through the United Nations, in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter. As President Truman has announced, the United States, for the purpose of organizing its strength in support of these principles, has embarked on an emergency program of economic and military preparedness.

The twenty-one American Republics have

jointly dedicated themselves to the cause of freedom. Our common cause, even more than geography, has prompted us to work together for common security. Our cooperation is based on the principle that the defense of one is inseparable from the defense of all. What is at stake in the present situation with respect to this inter-American community of ours is the survival of all that it stands for in the world.

Having embarked on urgent mobilization for the common defense, the United States wishes to consult its fellow members in the Organization of American States with respect to the world situation which we all face and on the coordination of the common effort required to meet it.

Should this request receive the approval of the Council, my Government in the near future, but after there has been adequate time for prior consultation, especially among our respective governments, will present for the consideration of the Council, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, specific proposals, falling within the scope of the subject mentioned above, with regard to the program of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL C. DANIELS

*U.S. Representative on the Council of the  
Organization of American States.*

## REVIEW OF FORMER CONSULTATIVE MEETINGS

*[Released to the press by the Pan American Union  
December 20]*

The forthcoming hemisphere meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, requested by the United States as a step in meeting the aggressive policy of international communism and coordinating the common effort of the American Republics against that aggression, will be the fourth of its kind since the inter-American structure of cooperation was created in 1890. Previous meetings of consultation were held in Panama in 1939, in Habana in 1940, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1942.

### Method Established

The procedure for calling meetings of consultation of foreign ministers in times of emergency was established at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held at Buenos Aires in 1936. That meeting was called to safeguard peace within the Western Hemisphere and to protect the American Republics from aggression within or beyond the hemisphere.

The principle of consultation was embodied in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace which was adopted at Buenos Aires. That instrument provided for consultation and collaboration by all the American

nations when their peace was threatened from any source. Moreover, it established the principle that a threat to the peace of any American nation was a threat to the peace of each and every one of them.

The Buenos Aires Peace Conference did not go so far as to provide the machinery for applying this principle. This was done 2 years later at Lima, when the American Republics adopted the historic Declaration of Lima at the eighth International Conference of American States.

## 1939

The Declaration of Lima affirmed their intention to maintain their continental solidarity and their collaboration in the principles underlying this solidarity; to defend these principles against all foreign intervention, and to consult on all matters affecting their peace, security and territorial integrity through meetings of foreign ministers. Within a year this machinery was put to the test by the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, and a meeting of consultation was convoked at Panama on September 23, 1939.

The purpose of the Panama meeting was primarily that of maintaining the neutrality of the American continent. To that end, the meeting adopted the Declaration of Panama, establishing a neutral zone around the American Republics to be kept free from belligerent activities. The General Declaration of Neutrality, adopted at the same time, established the machinery for resolving problems affecting American neutrality. Likewise discussed was the matter of economic cooperation among the American Republics in a world partly at war.

## 1940

Failure of the belligerents to respect the Western Hemisphere neutrality zone laid down at Panama and German occupation of France and Holland, with corresponding implications for French and Dutch possessions in the Western Hemisphere, led to the second meeting of Consultation, held at Habana in July 1940.

There the American Republics undertook to study the problem of European possessions in America and the consequences of their possible transfer to another non-American power. Their deliberations led to adoption of the Act of Habana, pertaining to the provisional administration of European colonies and possessions in America if the need arose. This interim measure was to be supplanted by the Convention of Habana, adopted at the same meeting, as soon as the latter instrument had been fully ratified by two-thirds of the member nations. Another important commitment made at Habana was to be found in resolution XV of the Habana Convention, providing for reciprocal assistance and cooperation by all member

nations in the event of an aggression against any one of them.

This commitment successfully met its first test when Japan attacked the United States on December 7, 1941. On the basis of the Habana agreements and as a general expression of solidarity, a number of American Republics declared war on the Axis shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Several of them, in fact, preceded the United States in its declaration of war.

1942

The third meeting of Consultation, which began at Rio de Janeiro on January 15, 1942, was called to adopt measures for the defense of the Western Hemisphere in the light of Axis aggression. The Axis attack against the United States was interpreted as an act of aggression against continental sovereignty itself, and it was recommended that the American Republics break diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in accordance with the procedures and circumstances obtaining in the case of each country.

At that time, nine countries—Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama—had already declared war on the Axis. Three—Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela—had broken off diplomatic relations with the Axis before the Rio Conference, and the others had agreed to consider the United States a nonbelligerent. Eventually, after the Rio Conference, all the American Republics severed relations with the Axis.

The purpose of this move, aside from its psychological effect, was to eliminate sources of enemy propaganda, sabotage, and espionage which otherwise might have continued to function under the cloak of diplomatic immunity. To supplement these steps against subversive activity, an Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense was created, which began to function in Montevideo, Uruguay, on April 15, 1942. Likewise created was the Inter-American Defense Board, which continues to play an important role in the military defense of the Hemisphere. Other measures adopted at the Rio meeting included communications, postwar problems, the maintenance of internal economies, raw and strategic material production, financial cooperation, and transportation.

Each of these three meetings of consultation proved to be of extraordinary importance to the Americas in time of crisis, and each was productive of results which surpassed the most optimistic expectations. They served to bring the Americas closer together in the face of a common peril and enabled the Americas to pool their unlimited resources in a common and powerful front against a common enemy. Moreover, they reflected an example of successful international cooperation without precedent in the world.

## Secretary Acheson Supported as Vigorous Opponent of Communism

*Statement by the President*

[Released to the press by the White House December 19]

There have been new attacks within the past week against Secretary of State Acheson. I have been asked to remove him from office. The authors of this suggestion claim that this would be good for the country.

How our position in the world would be improved by the retirement of Dean Acheson from public life is beyond me. Mr. Acheson has helped shape and carry out our policy of resistance to Communist imperialism. From the time of our sharing of arms with Greece and Turkey nearly 4 years ago and coming down to the recent moment when he advised me to resist the Communist invasion of South Korea, no official in our Government has been more alive to communism's threat to freedom or more forceful in resisting it.

At this moment, he is in Brussels representing the United States in setting up mutual defenses against aggression. This has made it possible for me to designate General Eisenhower as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

If communism were to prevail in the world—as it shall not prevail—Dean Acheson would be one of the first, if not the first, to be shot by the enemies of liberty and Christianity.

These recent attacks on Mr. Acheson are old in the sense that they are the same false charges that have been made time and time again over a period of months. They have no basis in fact whatever.

It is the same sort of thing that happened to Seward. President Lincoln was asked by a group of Republicans to dismiss Secretary of State Seward. He refused. So do I refuse to dismiss Acheson.

If I did anything else, it would weaken the firm and vigorous position this country has taken against Communist aggression.

If those groups attacking our foreign policy and Mr. Acheson have any alternative policies to offer, they should disclose them. They owe it to their country. This is a time for hard facts and close thinking. It is not a time for vague charges and pious generalities.

There are some Republicans who recognize the facts and the true reasons for these attacks on Secretary of State Acheson and who do not agree with their colleagues.

This Nation needs the wisdom of all its people. This is a time of great peril. It is a time for unity, for real bipartisanship. It is a time for making use of the great talents of men like Dean Acheson.

Communism—not our own country—would be served by losing him.

# Soviet Proposal for Discussing German Demilitarization Considered Too Narrow

## U.S. PROPOSES MEETING TO ELIMINATE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS

[Released to the press December 22]

### U. S. NOTE OF DECEMBER 22, 1950

*Following is the text of the United States reply to the Soviet note of November 3, 1950, proposing a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers on the subject of the demilitarization of Germany. The United States reply was delivered to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. today. Identical notes were delivered by the French and British Ambassadors at Moscow.*

1. The Embassy of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of November 3, 1950, of the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs. This note enclosed the text of a declaration published in Prague October 22, 1950,<sup>1</sup> and proposed a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the U.S.S.R. to consider the question of the fulfillment of the clauses of the Potsdam Agreement regarding the demilitarization of Germany.

2. The United States Government has consistently abided by the principle set forth in the Charter of the United Nations that international problems should be settled by peaceful negotiations.

The United States Government takes this occasion to reaffirm its adherence to this principle. This is in full accord with the spirit of the recent General Assembly resolution supported by the United States Government which calls attention to the desirability of consultations which would help to allay existing international tensions. Far from having any aggressive intentions toward the Soviet Union, it is inspired by a genuine desire to put an end to the existing international tension and will spare no effort to achieve so highly desirable an end. It is prepared on the basis and in the manner set forth below to explore with the Soviet, British, and French Governments the possibility of finding a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the four countries.

3. The Government of the United States has studied with care the note of the Soviet Govern-

ment of November 3, 1950. It has been obliged to note with regret that the basis proposed in this note is not such as to afford any prospect of a genuine settlement. The Soviet proposal to examine the question of the demilitarization of Germany will not suffice to remove the causes of the present tension. The only German military force which exists at present is that which for many months in the Soviet zone has been trained on military lines with artillery and tanks. If the participation of German units in the defense of western Germany is being discussed, it is solely because Soviet policy and actions have compelled the other nations to examine all means of improving their security. Contrary to the entirely false allegations contained in the Prague communiqué, the United States Government in common with the Governments of France and the United Kingdom is determined never to permit at any time or in any circumstance western Germany to be used as a base for aggression. The United States Government has no feeling of confidence that the same is true of that part of Germany under Soviet occupation, in view of the rearmament taking place in eastern Germany referred to above.

4. It is furthermore impossible to envisage a just settlement of German problems on the basis of the Prague communiqué. This communiqué contains no new or constructive feature and the solution proposed therein has been rejected by the majority of German opinion. It does little more than reiterate in substance previous propositions which proved after exhaustive examination to afford no basis for a constructive solution of the German problem. For the purpose of ending the present division of Germany the United States Government in conjunction with the French and British Governments has for its part more than once made proposals for restoring German unity by means of free elections held under international supervision. These proposals were sent by letter by the three High Commissioners to the head of the Soviet Control Commission on May 25, 1950, and October 9, 1950. No reply has been made to these letters.

5. The serious tension which exists at present

<sup>1</sup> Not here printed.

springs neither from the question of the demilitarization of Germany nor even from the German problem as a whole. It arises in the first instance from the general attitude adopted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. since the end of the war and from the consequent international developments of recent months. The Governments of the four powers would be failing in their full responsibility if they were to confine their discussion to the narrow basis proposed by the Soviet Government. Questions related to Germany and Austria would obviously be subjects for discussion. But the United States Government believes that any discussions should include equally the principal problems whose solution would permit a real and lasting improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Great Britain, and France and the elimination of the causes of present international tensions throughout the world.

6. The United States Government is prepared to designate a representative who, together with representatives of the Soviet, British, and French Governments would examine the problems referred to in the preceding paragraph with a view to finding a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the four countries and recommend to their Governments a suitable agenda. It would appear that the presence of representatives of the above-named governments at the seat of the United Nations in New York presents the most convenient opportunity to conduct such exploratory discussions.

7. The United States Government would appreciate receiving the views of the Soviet Government concerning the proposals set forth in the present note.

#### **SOVIET NOTE OF NOVEMBER 3, 1950**

On instructions of the Soviet Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. has the honor to state the following.

On September 19, 1950, a communiqué was published regarding the meeting in New York of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States of America, Great Britain, and France on the question of Germany. As seen from the communiqué, that principal question of meeting of three Ministers was question of creation of German army, question of remilitarization of Western Germany.

On October 20 and 21, a meeting was held in Prague of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the U. S. S. R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic, as result of which a declaration was published containing proposals, directed, in conformity with the Potsdam Agreement, to an early peace settlement for Germany

and to the accomplishment of the demilitarization of Germany. The Soviet Government fully shares the proposals mentioned as well as the Prague declaration as a whole, the text of which is enclosed herewith.

The Soviet Government considers that the questions concerned in the communiqué of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States of America, Great Britain, and France of September 19 and also in the Prague declaration possess the greatest significance for the cause of assuring international peace and security and touch fundamental national interests of the peoples of Europe and in the first instance the peoples who suffered from Hitlerite aggression.

Taking into account the important significance of the question of the fulfillment of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference regarding demilitarization of Germany and also the divergencies existing in the positions of the Four Powers occupying Germany on this question, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to discuss these questions without delay. With these purposes in mind the Soviet Government submits proposal for calling the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States of America, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. for consideration of the question of fulfillment of the Potsdam Agreement regarding the demilitarization of Germany.

The Soviet Government hopes to receive an answer from the Government of the United States of America regarding the present proposal at a very early date.

The Soviet Government is simultaneously sending similar notes to the Governments of Great Britain and France.

#### **Unified Command for Korea Accepts Colombian Aid**

*[Released to the press December 19]*

The Department of State has informed the Colombian Embassy in Washington that the unified command for Korea has gratefully accepted Colombia's offer of a battalion of infantry made on November 14.

A note from the Secretary of State to the Colombian Ambassador, Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, expressed the gratitude of the United States for the manner in which Colombia once again has affirmed its support of the action being taken by the United Nations against Communist aggression in Korea.

Colombia's previous offer of the frigate *Almirante Padilla* was accepted by the unified command on October 4.

## Stressing Information Themes To Meet Changing World Conditions

by Edward W. Barrett

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs<sup>1</sup>

In the matter of world opinion, we are up against a picture that has changed very rapidly in the last few weeks. Let us look at it.

The American people are deeply disturbed but determined to do whatever is necessary. As a whole, they are ready and willing to make the sacrifices they have been asked to make, and probably are willing to make a great many more.

Over in Communist-dominated China, the most unbelievably intense campaign is being waged to whip up popular sentiment against Americans and against the West. You should hear what you are being called—"tools of Wall Street imperialism," "enemies of all Asia," and "reactionary forces of frustration." It is an all out hate-America campaign. Fortunately, from what we learn, it has not taken hold 100 percent, and there are still a great many dissident elements in China.

Over in Russia, the people themselves have not been fully informed on how far the Kremlin has led them down the path toward general war. While the Moscow radio shouts the dangers of war to Western Europe, it tends to play this subject down to its own people. While the Kremlin shouts about the monstrous danger of the atom bomb to Western Europe, it all but suppresses the subject in propaganda on the home front. The Kremlin rulers do, of course, keep hammering at the theme that the United States is bent on aggression and that the United Nations is but a stooge of the United States. But, in most of Russia, today, there is, by no means, full realization of the Kremlin's dangerous course in international relations.

In the satellites, some of the same factors exist. However, there are many indications that a very large segment of the population secretly yearns for war—seeing in it the main hope of liberation from the Soviet yoke.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address delivered before the Junior Advertising Club of Philadelphia, Poor Richard Club, at Philadelphia, Pa., on Dec. 21 and released to the press on the same date.

In the free world, particularly in Western Europe, there is, obviously, a great deal of very serious fear. It is a fear that the Russians might overrun them before their defenses are built up. There is a serious fear, also, that the rather naive Americans might somehow bluster them into a general war. On the other hand predominant sentiment is such that it welcomes a United States stance of being calm and resolute, of being determined to do nothing foolish or premature in the international field, but of being determined to build up our own defenses as rapidly as possible. The events of the last few days in Brussels, following the President's speech, have demonstrated this.

Against that background, the correct course for the United States, the right position for us to take, seems reasonably clear. We must be calm, clear-headed, unflustered, but determined. We must make clear that we are not going to let ourselves be unnecessarily provoked into foolish international moves. We must be ready to negotiate fairly but determined not to appease.

The action of the President and the Congress, in the last week, has had helpful effects on free world opinion. The appointment of General Eisenhower, whose name and record have a reassuring ring to free peoples everywhere, has given a real boost to European morale.

### Themes To Be Stressed in Information Program

In our own campaign of truth program, the main lines for us to take are fairly clear. To the Chinese people and the Russian people, we must make every effort to deter them from supporting the rapid drift toward war. This means, among other things, making clear to the Russian people how rapidly the Kremlin is leading them down the road to conflict. It means making clear to both that we have no quarrels with the peoples themselves. In fact, we have a long history of true and fundamental friendship between the

American people, on the one hand, and the Chinese and Russian people, on the other. We believe the basic goals of our people are the same. And we are seeking to make this clear in every possible way.

To the free world, our basic theme is also clear. It is this: "True peace and freedom and human welfare depend on the strength of the free world." The calm and determined and speedy build-up of free world strength offers the only course for achieving true peace and freedom and human welfare. We must also make clear, over and over again, that the cause of the free world, basically, is the welfare of the many versus the tyranny of the few.

Naturally, there is a great deal more than we are doing that we should do. But this represents the main lines that we may appropriately discuss now.

### **Information Media Employed**

#### **VOICE OF AMERICA**

First, there is the Voice of America which now broadcasts from several batteries of transmitters in this country and is relayed over transmitters in Great Britain, Munich, Tangier, Salonika, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Tokyo. We are stepping up our transmitter equipment and power just as rapidly as production will permit. We are in the course of doubling the number of languages in which we broadcast. Up to recently, our broadcasts were going out in 25 languages. Now, we are adding a number of others in particularly critical areas, including the so-called splinter languages behind the iron curtain.

The Voice's output naturally varies from area to area. Basically, that directed behind the iron curtain is made up of about half hard-hitting, well-selected news and about half commentary—material clearly reflecting the American point of view and labeled as such. Logic, irony, and plain cold economic facts each play their role in the commentaries. For example, the potential might of the free world as opposed to the potential strength of the Communist world is an important argument today. Humor, too, also plays a part from time to time. For example, we had a lot of fun and did an effective job, I believe, with the Communist allegation that we were dropping potato bugs behind the iron curtain. We had even more fun and effect, I believe, in later reporting the Czechoslovak wisecrack that the Americans were now finding it necessary to drop potatoes in order to keep the potato bugs alive.

How are we getting through? We know we are being heard widely in the satellite countries where jamming is infrequent. For example, Ambassador Briggs from Praha last week told me: "The Voice of America is the most effective instrument that the cause of freedom now has in Czechoslo-

vakia. It is being listened to widely and widely talked about."

In Russia, itself, we have come up against the greatest jamming effort ever mounted. We are beginning to get through that jamming with a number of technical developments, and we believe we will get through it to a much greater degree in the not-distant future.

We do know that when we have an important news item which we broadcast and which is suppressed locally, it does somehow get through today and is talked about widely within a few hours after we broadcast it. In other words, jamming has limited our direct audiences but the gossip network still rebroadcasts the news widely.

#### **FILM STRIPS AND INFORMATION CENTERS**

Films and film strips are enormously effective in many sections. They are particularly effective in areas where the literacy rate is low. We have had great success with small jeep mobile units. They can roll into a town square, play some music for a few minutes, and have an audience of several thousands in a short time. The films these units show tell what sort of people we are, what our aims and goals are, and give the audience the story of the cause for which the free world is fighting. Next, we have our information centers, which are scattered around the world in limited numbers now, and which serve, if you will, as arsenals of ideas for those who are fighting for freedom. They are used widely by leaders of opinion in the countries in which they operate. Incidentally, we still have one operating behind the iron curtain—and it is visited by an average of 3,000 people a month.

#### **PRESS PROGRAM**

We have a press program through which a great deal of material straightening out misconceptions about this country and countering Soviet propaganda is fed into a majority of the newspapers of the world. We have a picture program that again feeds a large number of the newspapers of the world. And let us not forget the very important item of the man-to-man conversations between our public affairs officers in the field and the editors and writers of various newspapers and publications. I hardly need to tell you how important they are in combating untruths about America—in combating Communist-inspired misinformation. Our publications, which are generally printed in the field and tailored to suit local conditions, range all the way from fairly learned documents for intellectual leaders down to comic books on what happens when the Communists actually take over a village. One such comic book, today, is being sold throughout much of the Far East and is proving immensely popular and effective.

Lastly, I might mention our exchange of persons program under which the Government helps 6,000 leaders and specialists and opinion leaders, as well as teachers and students, to visit back and forth between this country and other countries each year. Some will tell you that this is only a long-range program. I deny it. There is today a young German labor leader who is singing the praises of America throughout Germany—largely because he was brought on such a trip here 4 months ago. There is an editor in Scandinavia whose editorial policies have been completely reversed from anti-American to pro-American since he came on such a trip to this country. In general, the editors and writers, lecturers, radio commentators, leaders, and teachers who visit this country are shown the bad with the good. They almost invariably go back with the impression that this old country is fallible, of course, but strong, open, and honest, with vast power and an unbeatable spirit.

### Surveying and Testing Reactions

I might point out to you that we believe the proof of the pudding is in the eating—that the best way to improve our output is to study and follow closely the reactions of the actual target audiences. Today, we still seek and value the advice of experts—or even so-called experts—in this country, but we are placing far more value on the opinions and reactions of the audiences concerned. We survey, by tested sampling methods, the reactions of the audiences in nations that are open to us. We organize panels representing a cross section of the population; we have them sample our output and answer questions from us. In the more inaccessible zones, we get regular reaction reports from our Embassy staffs and from others who are in a position to advise us. We systematically interrogate escapees from these areas and organize them into panels from time to time. I repeat—we feel that such steps as these are the real proof of the pudding and the real guide to continuing improvement in our output.

### Cooperation of Private Organizations Urged

Now, let us recognize that the one big factor militating against us today is the fear that the Kremlin, however deceitful, may be irresistibly powerful. That is why it is urgently important for us today to convince the world anew of our enormous military and economic potential—and of our calm and resolute determination to develop that potential as rapidly as possible.

## Information Program Discussed With Business Firms

On December 15, the Department of State held an all-day meeting with representatives of United States business firms operating in the Near East and South Asia to discuss the Department's overseas information and educational exchange programs.

The meeting was the fourth in a series, others having been held with American firms doing business in Europe and Latin America.

Among Department officers taking part were George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, and Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Further consultations on ways to strengthen the Department's information and educational exchange activities abroad are also being held with farm, labor, and other groups in the United States.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Recent Releases

**United States Educational Foundation in Thailand.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2095. Pub. 3949. 8 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Thailand—Signed at Bangkok July 1, 1950; entered into force July 1, 1950.

**Peace in the Americas.** International Organization and Conference Series II, American Republics 6. Pub. 3964. 29 pp. 10¢.

A résumé of measures undertaken through the Organization of American States to preserve the peace with relevant documents.

**The Peace the World Wants.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 58. Pub. 3977. 19 pp. 10¢.

Address by Secretary Acheson before the United Nations General Assembly at Flushing Meadow, N. Y., September 20, 1950.

**The Shield of Faith.** General Foreign Policy Series 36. Pub. 4021. 9 pp. 5¢.

Address by Secretary Acheson before the National Conference of Christians and Jews at Washington, D. C. on November 9, 1950.

## Major Tasks of UNESCO in Establishing Communication Among Peoples of the World

by *Howland H. Sargeant*  
*Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

The world community in the sense of a world society, based on international law and justice, will be the result of growth, just as local communities and national communities are the result of growth. Communication among people is a necessary part of that growth. And it is with establishing better and more effective communication among the peoples of the world that UNESCO is primarily concerned.

Four major tasks of UNESCO are directed toward getting this communication.

### Fundamental Education

The major obstacle to communication on a world scale is this: between a half and three-fourths of the world's peoples are illiterate—they cannot read nor write in any language. This means that they can speak to and hear from only those with whom they are in face-to-face contact. Obviously this is UNESCO's greatest challenge, and it is attempting to make a beginning with a program it calls Fundamental Education. It chose this phrase deliberately, rather than, let us say, the wiping out of illiteracy. Let us take a look at fundamental education in the UNESCO sense. It means more than the wiping out of illiteracy. Literacy is accepted as an essential condition for wide communication but it is only a means to a vital end. Fundamental education includes not only the teaching of reading and writing, but also the minimum elements of a rounded program of education that will enable a people to lead healthy active lives. It is community education broadly conceived, concerned with adults and adolescents as much as with children.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address delivered before the Kansas Commission for UNESCO at Topeka, Kans., on Dec. 8 and released to the press on the same date.

The content of fundamental education includes:

- skills of thinking and communicating (reading and writing, speaking, listening and calculation);
- vocational skills (such as agriculture and husbandry, building, weaving and other useful crafts, and simple technical and commercial skills necessary for economic progress);
- domestic skills (such as the preparation of food and the care of children and of the sick);
- skills used in self-expression in the arts and crafts;
- education for health through personal and community hygiene;
- knowledge and understanding of the physical environment and of natural processes (for example simple and practical science);
- knowledge and understanding of the human environment (economic and social organization, law and government);
- knowledge of other parts of the world and the people who live in them;
- the development of qualities to fit men to live in the modern world, such as personal judgment, and initiative, freedom from fear and superstition, sympathy and understanding for different points of view;
- spiritual and moral development; belief in ethical ideals; and the habit of acting upon them; with the duty to examine traditional standards of behaviour and to modify them to suit new conditions.

What has UNESCO done in this field? UNESCO's program includes a recommendation to member states "that they provide fundamental education for all their people, including the establishment as soon as possible of universal free and compulsory primary education and also education for adults." It continues with the statement that "UNESCO will help member states which desire aid in campaigns for fundamental education, giving priority to less developed regions and to underprivileged groups within industrialized countries." The program recommends to the Director General that in fundamental education:

emphasis should be placed on the development of the intelligence of the individual and not merely on his economic betterment;

the needs and resources of the local community should be the basis of the fundamental education program;

no attempt should be made to reach arbitrary conclu-

sions about a minimum standard of education applicable to all countries and all people;

the more highly developed States should not only assist the less developed areas, but should also actively promote fundamental education among the less privileged groups within their own borders;

full use should be made, after consultation with the government or the National Commission of the country concerned, of the resources not only of governmental but also of all appropriate non-governmental agencies and institutions.

The realistic course for UNESCO is to enlist the active support and cooperation of all interested organizations, both national and international. As it develops its clearinghouse of information in this field, it will become more and more of a stimulator and a catalyst, resulting in activity on the part of governments and voluntary organizations.

### Technical Assistance

UNESCO's activities in the field of fundamental education are closely related to a second major field. This is technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries. At the Technical Assistance Conference, held at Lake Success in June 1950, 53 countries pledged contributions totaling over 20 million dollars, including the United States pledge of approximately 12 million dollars. UNESCO's part of the expanding United Nations technical assistance program has gotten under way with the allocation of 1 million dollars for a number of education and scientific projects to be carried out in Asiatic, African, and South American countries.

The allocations were based on requests submitted by various governments in these areas and will finance projects for technical and industrial training, the establishment of scientific research centers and campaigns against illiteracy. The countries which will be the immediate beneficiaries of the program are Ceylon, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Pakistan, Iran, and Thailand. UNESCO is now considering further requests for assistance which have been submitted by Egypt, the Philippines, Burma, Israel, Guatemala, Colombia, El Salvador, and British, and French non-self-governing territories.

Under the expanded technical assistance program, UNESCO will receive about \$2,300,000 as its 14 percent share of the total amount of \$20,048,000 pledged by 53 members of the United Nations for both the United Nations and specialized agency programs. This amount is in addition to UNESCO's regular budget.

A few examples of specific projects will serve to illustrate the nature of the program. In Ceylon, provision has been made for the establishment of a fundamental education center. Three specialists will be furnished by UNESCO to assist in setting up the center which will concentrate on methods used in combating illiteracy and in teaching improved farming methods. In India, a scientific

center will be set up to serve not only India but also other countries in the Far East. This center, which will provide documentation for the various technical aid programs in the area, will abstract, and when necessary, translate important scientific works received from all parts of the world and make them available to scientific groups and others concerned in procuring available material. The purpose of the center is to further the development of basic research needed for technical and industrial advance. In addition to this center, seven experts will be sent by UNESCO to aid established Indian research institutes and laboratories in the development of certain engineering techniques which will be of value in the economic development of that country.

A teacher training project for Indonesia has been approved, under which teachers will be trained for schools in areas where 1 million war refugees and demobilized soldiers will be resettled.

Pakistan's request for help in developing a broadcasting system for use in a campaign of mass education has been approved and experts will be sent to assist in the establishment of this program. Another project approved for Pakistan is the establishment of a geophysics institute to survey desert areas with a view to determining how much can be reclaimed for food production.

In Libya, which is now under the administration of British and French authorities, but which will become independent in 1952, a training program will be provided to train junior civil servants to serve the new state. A fellowship program has also been authorized to provide intensive training for persons slated to hold top-level positions. A sum of \$57,000 has been allocated for these programs.

### Universal Declaration of Human Rights

For even more important than communicating with one another and having enough in common to make that communication meaningful, are the attitudes that people display toward one another in the process of communication.

Certain injustices, certain discriminations, certain attitudes and customs are deeply imbedded. Examination of these makes for discomfort, criticism, sometimes painful sacrifices. It is even more difficult to bring about world conditions, so that the 30 principles stated in the Declaration apply not only in the immediate community but also in the national community and in the world community.

But the task is not impossible. There are more individuals with more freedom in the world today than at any other time in history. It is because this is true that the subjugated and the underprivileged are themselves searching for freedom,

a word which finds response in the hearts of men everywhere.

There is power in the word itself and infinite power in the practice of the word. But one cannot have freedom for oneself alone. There must be freedom for others and it is in the resolution of the problems created in maintaining freedom for all that the United Nations method of international cooperation will meet its greatest need.

### Understanding of the United Nations

The fourth task of UNESCO brings us back to the United Nations and its action in Korea. UNESCO, as the specialized agency concerned with the use of education to bring about a peaceful world community, has an obligation to spread understanding of the United Nations itself.

When charters are adhered to by nations, just as when contracts are entered into between individuals, the rules laid down must be followed, or men of common sense will abandon the enterprise.

The Communist aggression in Korea was a clear case of violation of the rules; either the United Nations had to stand behind its rules or suffer a fateful loss in leadership and prestige.

The current effort of the United Nations in Korea, then, is an important step in its long struggle to establish justice and security and freedom on a world-wide basis. This is the way any organism grows: by meeting the obstacles to its survival. Because the United States believes in the United Nations as the way to reach the establishment of law and order in the world community, the people of the United States now face a period of sacrifice.

The world community was advanced a long step by the United Nations action in Korea. The international machinery represented by the United Nations may be put to even more severe tests in similar and even more difficult situations. Let us, therefore, learn the lesson of Korea so that we may apply what we have learned to new situations. In that task each of us here has a part.

### CHALLENGE OF UNESCO IN THE AMERICAS<sup>2</sup>

Ignorance is a prison of the human mind and spirit. In UNESCO, in the United Nations, in our Organization of the American States, we hold the key with which to unlock that prison and open the door to freedom and a more abundant life for millions upon millions who now live in wretchedness and for coming generations who otherwise

<sup>2</sup> Excerpts from an address delivered by Mr. Sargeant before the National Commissions for UNESCO of the Western Hemisphere at Habana, Cuba, on Dec. 11 and released to the press on the same date.

will be born into a condition of wretchedness.

You, the representatives of the National Commissions for UNESCO in the Americas, have the power to help translate UNESCO's opportunity into accomplished fact. This power which you hold is real power, the power of leadership, and the opportunity to use it in building up the scope and momentum of education and technical training through UNESCO's role in the United Nations technical assistance program.

One of the great barriers to human progress, today, is underdeveloped areas—one of the major roots of appalling conditions in nearly all areas—is illiteracy—the sheer inability to read and write. Even if the United Nations technical assistance program did nothing more than make some progress in overcoming illiteracy, the program could be regarded as a resounding success. But literacy is not only a worthy goal in itself. It is fundamental to progress in all other fields.

The advancement of education and technical training seems the major field for practical UNESCO action—the phase to bear down on—the one on which to concentrate UNESCO's energies. The bottleneck of illiteracy and technical deficiency must be broken, to improve the means of transmitting all forms of necessary knowledge for the lifting of human life.

The relationship between standards of living and the level of education was made clear by a study published by the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1945. That study, entitled *Education Steps Up Living Standards*, compared countries with high and low incomes and standards of living, and arrived at the following conclusions:

A country's standard of living is not determined by its resources alone.

A country's standard of living is determined largely by its level of education and technical training.

Furthermore—and this fact is of particular interest to our National Commissions—the level of a country's education and technical training is not dictated by its resources and income, but by its determination to improve its educational system.

Here, in the Western Hemisphere, we are becoming increasingly concerned about the interlocked problems of economic privation, illiteracy, and technical deficiency. We have seen a vigorous attack on these problems in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, in cooperative programs of their Governments and the United States Government, to reorganize school systems from the ground up. This program has required the training of many more teachers, the preparation of the first textbooks in the local language, and the development

of courses dealing with practical, everyday problems and conditions. We see a similar program getting under way in Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua.

However, despite the great value and effectiveness of cooperative programs conducted on a bilateral basis, despite the progress that is being made with them, we see that something more is needed to really come to grips with the over-all problem in the Western Hemisphere. What is needed is collective, international action such as is possible through UNESCO and the United Nations technical assistance program.

It is reliably estimated that 70 million persons over 15 years of age in North, Central, and South America cannot read nor write. The need for adult education is great. Furthermore, 19 million children continue to reach adulthood without opportunity for any formal schooling whatsoever. Obviously, we shall not get very far very fast unless we cut off this continuing stream of illiteracy, and, just as obviously, we cannot succeed in cutting it off except through a mighty effort of all the American Republics working together.

The Organization of American States (OAS) is now promoting an agreement among the governments of Latin America to set up free, compulsory education for all children through the first three grades. The OAS is advocating this as the minimum, initial step to bring the illiteracy problem under control, to be followed as rapidly as possible by extension of compulsory universal education through additional grades. The OAS proposal represents a minimum step, but even so it will tax the resources of this hemisphere and will call for our best efforts and cooperation to bring it off. It will be necessary to write and produce the textbooks, to set up numerous training centers in which additional teachers can be trained, to build schools where none exist now, and to improve the equipment of many others. There will be a considerable need for technical experts in the field of education to advise on the production of textbooks, the training of teachers, the location of new schools, the procurement of equipment, and the planning of courses of instruction.

The United States is willing to contribute to this program with technical assistance, just as—I am sure—every other American Republic is equally willing to do. And I believe that though we might not be able to get the job done separately, or even

on a country-to-country basis, we can get it done on the international basis.

The vigorous participation of UNESCO will accordingly be essential to the success of this program. This Conference of National Commissions could make no decision more promising for the future of the American Republics than to urge the American governments to adopt the OAS plan and to urge UNESCO to give the program its fullest possible support.

Another historic decision which this conference could make would be to resolve to eliminate illiteracy entirely in the Americas in the next 10 years. I believe that a careful study of what steps, in addition to the OAS plan, would need to be taken on a collective basis, would reveal its practicability. With determination and ingenuity, ways can surely be found to reach one out of every ten illiterates every year and teach him to read and write, until—at the end of 10 years—literacy would be virtually universal in this hemisphere.

In vain will we appeal to fettered, illiterate minds to appreciate and uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But we will not appeal in vain, once we have freed them from their mental bondage and advanced their capacity for thought. These, our liberated brothers, will reinforce us in the battle to liberate the world.

The challenge to UNESCO in the Americas includes both this opportunity for the spiritual uplift of our brothers and the opportunity to broaden the base of their economic uplift through the United Nations technical assistance program. The more we convert illiterates into people who can read, write, and calculate, the more will we expand the number who can enter the ranks of our skilled farmers and workers. As new skills and knowledge flood throughout the Americas, we shall surely witness a quickening of life and a growth of strength marking the start of a new and glorious era in our history.

The opportunity is at hand, the tools are available, and the method of attack is known to us all. We have tested it; we have proved it with magnificent success in this hemisphere. The method is collective, international action. All that we need now is the determination to use it, immediately, enthusiastically, in an all-out effort, on an adequate scale.

## The Educational Exchange Program— An Integral Part of the Campaign of Truth

by William C. Johnstone, Jr.  
Director, Office of Educational Exchange<sup>1</sup>

Millions of destitute people who somehow survived the ravages of war are tottering on the brink of slavery. Through false promises, perversion, and threats of force and violence, the Communists are seeking to extend their domain. They are attempting to capture peoples, now clinging to the last vestiges of freedom, and add them to the millions who live unhappily in a prison of propaganda.

I do not need to describe this war of ideas in generalities. What the Russians are saying to the world is best told in their own words.

From the *Journal of Soviet Pedagogy*, for instance, we learn that the purpose of American education is

... to educate obedient, nonthinking, nonresisting slaves of capital just as the medieval school educated obedient slaves of feudal barons.

It defined the role of American education in these terms:

To separate the child from the problems of social life, to lock up his spiritual world in a small cage of personal emotions, to deprive him of scientific knowledge, to put into him haughty contempt toward those who search for the ways of real solution of social problems, to chain his thought and will to God's providence, to disarm fully in the struggle against the capitalist world, to be reconciled to outrageous crimes against mankind and the human conscience.

Among other things, the *Journal* charged that the doctrine of original sin lay at the core of the latest "progressive" educational theory in the United States and that its purpose was to train—

... dull but self-satisfied 100 per cent Americans ready on orders of American fascists to conquer the world and subject it to the American way of life.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address made before the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at Richmond, Va., on Dec. 6 and released to the press on the same date.

Here is another blast on public education in the United States from *Pravda*:

... in the USA everything is done in order to limit the number of pupils. The American bourgeoisie dislike spreading education among wide strata of the common people.

For the systematic deception of American youth, a reactionary system of teaching has been created in the USA. Young students are carefully isolated from all progressive influences. From the university faculties there are propagandized numerous anti-scientific "theories," which have been created by the ideologists of American fascism and which are designed to show that capitalism is eternal, and the right to exploit other peoples naturally belongs to Americans. They falsify history and in every way promote racism and cosmopolitanism, which are vital to the imperialist marauders for a theoretical grounding of their striving towards world domination.

They teach young American men and women "Americanism", striving to cultivate in them hatred towards the camp of democracy and its vanguard—the Soviet Union.

Schools in which workers' children are taught are in a terrible state. The children study in unheated, neglected or completely unsuitable locations for schools. Often a decrepit shed or dark, musty basement serves as a school.

The corrupting influence of the American system of education shows itself with especial force in the colossal growth of juvenile delinquency. The propounding of misanthropic ideas in the school, on the cinema screens and in children's literature is developing the darkest instincts among American youth. Some schools are becoming actual nests of banditry . . .

Writing on "Americanism" in the *Cominform Journal* of September 16, 1949, Ilya Ehrenberg leveled perhaps the most bitter attack on "the intellectual poverty and spiritual barrenness of American life." He declared:

At the words "American way of life," there comes to mind the peculiar but hardly attractive scenes of American life; towns which look exactly alike, people always in a hurry, drug stores with their food counters, tawdry gilt and glitter, dirt, stuffiness, "coca cola" adverts, and the ideal laxative taken by Romeo and Juliet on the other side of the ocean to maintain spiritual balance . . . Personally, I don't know of any other country in the world where individuality is as crushed and, indeed ob-

literated, as in the United States . . . It isn't important that all Americanists wear the same kind of tie, one could put up with that. What is awful is that Americanists repeat one and the same thing . . . Real love is alien to the Americanist: he has no imagination. He repeats the radio advice of an expert on affairs of the heart . . . Everything is mechanized: there is no place for thought, or sentiment . . . Already machines are able to make faultless calculations . . . Soon they will do everything. Human robots sigh with relief: machines will invent, vote, make love, give birth, study. It will be the golden age for America: people will have nothing to do but chew gum and admire their dollars. Where is their individuality? Where are their thoughts and sentiments? They go to idiotic films and are dazzled. They gulp five whiskies and get into a car with somebody else's wife. They listen to Mr. Acheson and to any other charlatan who advertises laxatives. They read only "best sellers." They are all alike. This is not a human society, it is a herd of milling millions . . . They would have us believe that their way of life is the height of culture. For the superman, as was the case with the German ubermenschen, technique is culture. Certainly, the gas chambers of Oswiecim were beyond the dreams of the primitive cannibals . . . But technique cannot conceal the intellectual poverty and spiritual barrenness of American life . . .

Because the Kremlin is hampered neither by moral restrictions or by public opinion, it is free to distort to its heart's content. Let me give you a classic example from a recent Slovakian broadcast depicting a United States cabinet meeting:

When the U.S. minister of Education was called upon to furnish the text of a proposed article (by President Truman), it was found that he had stopped attending Cabinet meetings, because his salary had not been paid for several years. The Secretary of the Treasury explained that there were no funds for such purposes, for they had to be used for armaments.

The proposal to reduce the quantity of hydrogen in the hydrogen bomb in order to get money for the Ministry of Education was rejected because the bomb industry might complain and a crisis on the Wall Street market might result.

These are but samples of the Moscow story, a story which is being told around the world, around the clock. Everywhere, by every means, the Communists are attacking the free way of life through a steady barrage of falsehoods. In face of this, there can be no question as to the necessity for our engaging in a world-wide Campaign of Truth. In the words of General Eisenhower, "the big lie must be met by the big truth." Certainly, the truth has one enormous advantage over the lie. It can be proved. It is our job, then, to see to it that the world is given the full truth.

### **Task of Presenting Truth**

As President Truman put it,

Our task is to present the full truth to the millions of people who are uninformed or misinformed or unconvinced . . . Our task is to show that freedom is the way to economic and social advancement, the way to political independence, the way to strength, happiness and peace. We must pool our efforts with those of the other free peoples in a sustained, intensified program to promote the cause of freedom against the propaganda of slavery. We must make ourselves heard round the world in a great campaign of truth.

The task of telling the truth is not separate and distinct from other elements of our foreign policy. It is a necessary part of all we are doing to build a peaceful world. It is essential to the success of our foreign policy that the military, political, and economic measures we are taking be accompanied by an effective information and educational exchange program. The facts about what we do, the facts about why we do it, the facts about the way we do it are integral parts of what we do in foreign affairs.

The growth of an international community of free and democratic nations depends upon the ready and free flow of facts, ideas, and people. Only this free flow of facts, ideas, and people can make clear the common bonds and interests of nations and allow them to settle their differences peaceably and justly.

Our Government and private citizens are working together to extend to other peoples the ideas and concepts inherent in American life and to replace distortions and misunderstandings with facts.

### **Information and Educational Exchange Programs**

Various agencies of the Government have, for about 10 years, conducted overseas information and educational exchange programs. The Department of State carries on its Information and Educational Exchange Program (USIE) under authority of the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402) of 1948, the Fulbright Act, and certain other specialized legislation. The USIE Program is coordinated with the activities of other agencies through an Interdepartmental Foreign Information Staff, chaired by the Department of State. Private agencies directly participate in many phases of the USIE Program and provide, by contract, many program facilities and materials for government use. Private projects having similar aims to those of the Government's program are encouraged and aided by the Department of State. The over-all role of the Department of State is to assure that the total United States effort is properly oriented, well-organized and effective.

To tell America's story to the people of other lands, the USIE Program employs a great variety of communication systems. It transmits by press and radio the latest day-to-day developments of our story; it presents the story visually through motion pictures and exhibits; it goes more fully into the many facets of American life by providing books and periodicals as well as study facilities, lectures, and English-language instruction in easily accessible information centers abroad; and, finally, it personalizes the story by the actual interchange of people for educational purposes.

I am glad to report that the program is an expanding one. Because of the world situation, the Congress recently appropriated a large ad-

ditional sum which permits strengthening the program all along the line. For example, in 1950, we operated 139 United States information centers in 60 countries; in 1951, we hope to increase that figure to 177 centers in 61 countries. In 1950, we had 30 binational centers in 18 Latin American countries; the 1951 target is 33 centers in 21 countries. These centers, which play an important part in promoting hemispheric solidarity, incidentally, are quite annoying to the Communists as a recent blast carried in the Communist newspaper, *O Democrata*, bears out. From Fortaleza, Brazil:

Imperialist infiltration in our country is increasing from day to day. . . . one of the most effective methods of the hundred per cent war policy of the United States used in our country to prepare our youth psychologically for war is precisely the so-called Brazil-United States Institute . . . The Institute is an instrument for the infiltration of the rotten, warlike ideology of the bats of Wall Street into the minds of our youth . . . the Institute is a school of gangsterism maintained throughout the country by Yankee warmongers. . . . The young people should themselves unmask it as an insult to the traditions of our people, as a criminal interference meant to standardize our customs according to the American pattern.

In 1950, this Government brought 4,300 teachers, students, research scholars, lecturers, and leaders to this country; in 1951, the figure will be approximately 4,800. At the same time, we awarded grants to 1,250 Americans to go abroad for serious study, lecturing, and to serve as specialist advisers in foreign countries; next year this will be increased to 1,650.

While no program funds are involved, assistance to private agencies including procurement of copyright privileges to American books, soliciting donations of educational materials, and assistance to private agencies in the exchange of persons will continue to expand. Assistance to private, nonprofit schools sponsored by American citizens in other countries will likewise continue. Nearly \$300,000 will be used in 1951 in the English-teaching program to develop and distribute English-teaching materials to foreign universities and individuals concerned with the teaching of English and to finance the English-teaching institutes. These are but a few instances of the enlarged scope of educational exchange activities carried on by your Government as we approach the halfway mark of 1951.

Each of the media serves a unique function, each plays a specialized role. But all are devoted to the same goal—that of creating among peoples in other countries an understanding of America, what we are, and what we stand for so as to strengthen the cooperation between the United States and all other free nations. This is USIE. In Washington, we are directing and coordinating the use of these media in all parts of the world. We are seeing to it that they work together harmoniously.

For example, under the exchange of persons program, 11 Korean teachers of English were

brought to this country shortly before the outbreak of hostilities. Public and private agencies cooperated with the Department in arranging their training, both at universities and in observing public school methods. Several of the teachers were interviewed by the Voice of America for programs beamed to the Far East, press interviews were given in many places in the United States, and our overseas press units relayed their stories back to Korea and other areas of the world. Our film specialists sent out photographers to get the story of their visit in the United States to show in Korea. So, the impact of this one project has been widened by the use of all our USIE media.

Last year, there were more than 26,000 students from 125 countries, studying in 1,200 American institutions of higher learning. Every State, the District, and several of the Territories welcomed these foreign students. What they achieved academically is of great importance, but, even more important, is what they learned about the life and institutions of the United States.

Of the total number of foreign students on our campuses last year, only a small percent were supported by the United States Government. Contributions from colleges account for approximately 25 percent of the total. Many Government grants are partial, and university or other private resources are depended upon to complete them. The travel grants made under the Fulbright Act are a good example of this.

### Selecting Exchange Scholars

Private cooperation with the Government is arranged in many ways. The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange and the Board of Foreign Scholarships are examples of this and their membership reflects such Nation-wide participation. In addition to being an advisory body, the Board of Foreign Scholarships is also charged with the actual selection of persons to receive awards for the educational exchanges taking place under the Fulbright Act.

The Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Department are very well aware that, in order to present a true picture of America abroad, the persons chosen for awards must represent a cross section of this country. We are also well aware of the mandate of the law to give due regard to proper geographical distribution in the awarding of grants.

To fulfill this responsibility, the Department and the Board have directed the agencies cooperating in the execution of the program to give careful consideration to this factor in recommending candidates and have undertaken a constant analysis of recommendations to see that this directive is being followed.

The Department and the Board have, likewise, directed the cooperating agencies to expend the maximum effort to publicize the program in all parts of the country. They have encouraged the appointment of Fulbright advisors on hundreds of campuses and the establishment of campus committees to assure the widest possible participation and the making of initial judgments on candidates at the place where they are best known—in their college communities.

Again, mindful of its responsibility under the law, the Board of Foreign Scholarships this year adopted the State Scholar Plan and requested each of the States to establish committees to select two students for special awards. The Board adopted this plan as an experiment, the results of which may guide them in further efforts to assure equitable distribution of grants.

I do not wish to imply that selecting exchange scholars does not present difficulties. We have a world-wide program now—exchanges with nearly 60 countries. The majority of opportunities for Americans are in the 19 countries with which we have Fulbright agreements. But the requirements for each of these countries differ. As you would imagine, by far the largest number of Americans want to go to England, France, and Italy, with England the favorite. However, the British universities are more overcrowded than our own, and, in France and Italy, housing shortages are still very acute. This necessarily limits the number of persons we can send and means a larger proportion of disappointed candidates.

International educational exchange is necessarily complex. The interchange of teachers, for example, presents complex problems of matching a teacher in a certain subject at a certain grade level with a counterpart abroad where the school systems and curricula are not exactly comparable. If the program is to achieve its goal, these head-for-head exchanges have to be managed with a minimum of dislocation for both teachers and pupils.

In choosing candidates for university lecturing or advanced research, we are made very sharply aware of the binational character of these programs. We are, of necessity, guided by the particular openings in foreign universities which Americans are asked to fill or the type of research facilities which these countries can make available for our scholars. Very often, it is a matter of recruiting the right person for the specific opening—a factor which limits the normal Nation-wide competitive aspect of the program.

American colleges and universities are challenged today to demonstrate more effectively than ever before the survival value of America's free institutions and basic democratic ideas and ideals. They must not be content to meet this challenge for the foreign students within their halls; they must go out to meet it beyond their borders.

I believe that the challenge was put squarely to all of us in the resolutions adopted at a meeting of the National Conference of University and College Administrators and Educators, Government and Military Officials, and Representatives of National Organizations, held at Washington in October of this year. They are brief and to the point, and I ask that you consider them carefully as I read them:

1. That forces be rallied which are concerned with the preserving and the perfecting of the democratic way of life in America to the end that we may present to the world a more convincing demonstration of a people who are seeking full realization of democratic values.

2. That each institution take immediate steps to re-examine and strengthen its total program in order to insure that:

a) An awareness of the gravity of the international situation is grasped by both the students and the adult community, and that the challenge to our way of life is understood.

b) Accurate information is disseminated concerning both private and public professional positions in the international field, and students are carefully selected for training to fill these positions.

c) All faculty members, regardless of subject, become aware of their opportunities and obligations for teaching international understanding.

d) In so far as facilities permit, colleges undertake programs of research designed to throw new light upon and improve procedures for education for international responsibility. It is particularly urgent that research in the social sciences keep pace with expansion of research in the natural sciences.

e) Students and professors from other lands have a profitable educational experience in the United States and that their presence result in improved mutual understanding.

f) Adequate help be given to students and faculty to secure and make full use of valuable foreign experience and the individual institutions be urged to facilitate the release of trained specialists for temporary service to our government at home and abroad.

3. That the training for military service include orientation in the basic issues involved in the present crisis.

4. That each institution, as a step toward revising, strengthening, and coordinating its program, establish an all-institution committee to carry on the evaluation suggested above and to bring about needed changes.

5. That the American Council on Education take immediate steps to bring about urgently needed coordination at the national level of the many international activities of colleges and universities, including the provision for a clearinghouse of information.

6. That steps be taken immediately by governmental and intergovernmental agencies to coordinate their services and activities in the international fields whenever they involve higher educational institutions.

7. That the proposed World Association of Colleges and Universities and UNESCO be supported as the appropriate agencies to effect international coordination and liaison in this field.

8. That, in view of many opportunities and urgent needs for colleges and universities to engage directly in cooperative activities in foreign countries with the guidance and assistance of appropriate federal agencies, educational institutions to be used to carry out government contracts for specific projects and that authority and funds be delegated to the institutions and that formulas for accomplishing this be devised.

9. That American higher education take greater responsibility for securing sound and constructive legislative

action in the field of foreign affairs and particularly on behalf of international cultural relations.

10. That steps be taken at once by the American Council on Education and other appropriate bodies to organize a program of educational reconstruction to parallel economic aid in Korea.

Now, these are sound resolutions. What are we going to do about them? It is said that one of the greatest labor-saving devices is tomorrow. With the problems we face in the world today, however, tomorrow may be too late. We cannot afford the luxury of resolving and then failing to act.

Occasionally, I hear someone remark—"Yes, this business of educational exchange is fine, but, with world events moving so rapidly, what effect can it produce?" I'm going to let the Communists answer that in their own words. In what was once remote Korea, Chong Son, Vice Minister of Culture and Propaganda, spoke to the people of North Korea over the Pyongyang radio on October 19, 1949—several months before the Moscow-inspired aggression. He said, and I quote:

Only by absorbing the advanced Soviet culture will we be able to develop our national culture further. Therefore we must intensify our efforts to absorb more vigorously the advanced Soviet culture so that we may develop our national culture to a higher level and make ours a rich, powerful country.

It is interesting to note that, in the autumn of 1945, the Korean-Soviet Culture Society had a membership of about 3,700, with only 20 branches. By May 1949, the membership had swollen to 1,300,000 with 105 branches and 20,000 units. In order to train middle-school teachers and government employees, more than 100 special Russian-language schools were established, already having more than 1,500 graduates. In addition, almost 70,000 lectures and concerts were given by Soviet artists, writers, and other cultural representatives in 1948, and an even greater number in 1949.

Does the Soviet Union believe in the effectiveness of cultural exchange—in its case, cultural penetration? I imagine any GI fighting in Korea today could tell us just how much the Korean and the Chinese Red has been "influenced."

The facts of international life today permit no complacency. Today, foreign affairs are everyone's affairs. Every American must become a public relations agent for his country. The responsibility of educators—the leaders of thought and opinion—is especially important. We must remember that every American student, American professor, technician, or specialist who goes abroad either represents the greatness or the weakness of American education to the peoples with whom he comes in contact.

Recently, Secretary Acheson pointed out,

We do not always present our best side to the world. In our enthusiasm and drive we often expect others to recognize us for what we are . . . It is our purpose to carry to all parts of the world the facts about what is happening in America and in the world . . . What is even more important than what we say to the world is how we conduct ourselves at home and abroad. The force

of example and action is the factor which finally determines what our influence is to be.

That is what makes the educational exchange program such an important part of the Campaign of Truth, which Secretary Acheson has termed the sixth element in the strategy of freedom. I ask you to join in this bold effort—to assume a leading role in this great Campaign of Truth.

## U.S. Will Not Adhere to Salvadoran Definition of Territorial Sovereignty

[Released to the press December 22]

*Following is the text of a note, dated December 12, 1950, from the American Ambassador at San Salvador, George P. Shaw, to the Salvadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs, Roberto E. Canessa.*

I have the honor, pursuant to the direction of my Government, to refer to the Constitution of El Salvador of 1950 which in its Article 7 sets forth that the territory of El Salvador comprehends the adjacent seas for the distance of 200 marine miles, calculated from the lowest tide line, and includes the air overhead, the subsoil and the corresponding continental shelf.

I am directed to inform Your Excellency that the Government of the United States of America has noted with deep concern the implications of this provision of the Constitution. Under long-established principles of international law, it is universally agreed that the territorial sovereignty of a coastal state extends over a narrow belt of territorial waters beyond which lie the high seas. The provisions of Article 7 would, if carried into execution, bring within the exclusive jurisdiction and control of El Salvador wide ocean areas which have hitherto been considered high seas by all nations. It would in these extensive waters and in the air spaces above supplant the free and untrammelled navigation of foreign vessels and aircraft by such controls as El Salvador, in the exercise of the sovereignty claimed, might apply. This is true despite the disclaimer of the second paragraph of Article 7, since, consequent upon the assertion of sovereignty, freedom of navigation in these areas might be claimed to be a privilege granted by El Salvador rather than based on a right deriving from international law.

The United States of America has, in common with the great majority of other maritime nations, long adhered to the principle that the belt of territorial waters extends three marine miles from the coasts. My Government desires to inform the Government of El Salvador, accordingly, that it will not consider its nationals or vessels or aircraft as being subject to the provisions of Article 7 or to any measures designed to carry it into execution.

Please accept [etc.].

# U.S. and Brazil Establish Joint Commission for Economic Development

[Released to the press December 21]

The Governments of Brazil and the United States announced today conclusion of a general agreement for technical cooperation under the Point 4 Program and a subsidiary agreement establishing a Joint Commission for Economic Development to assist Brazil in planning and carrying out an extensive program of economic development. The agreements were made at the request of the Brazilian Government.

## Technical Cooperation

Signing of the agreements was announced in Washington by Henry G. Bennett, Technical Cooperation Administrator, and in Rio de Janeiro by Raul Fernandes, Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Foreign Minister expressed his and President Dutra's "immense satisfaction" on consummation of the agreements. The general Point 4 agreement with Brazil is the first of the kind to be signed in Latin America.

## Organization

The Joint Commission, to be composed of a Brazilian and an American commissioner appointed by their respective Governments, will be located in Rio de Janeiro. Its primary duty will be to study the development needs of Brazil and to recommend action to be taken by the two Governments.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission will make recommendations for immediate development and improvement in specific fields vital to Brazil's goal of a balanced

economy, greater production, expanded trade, and a higher standard of living. The Commission will recommend what technical assistance is needed on specific projects and will advise on opportunities for utilizing foreign and domestic technical knowledge, skills, and investments in furthering Brazil's economic development.

Brazil's proposed program to speed the country's economic and industrial development, with the assistance of the new Joint Commission, will be based upon cooperation between government and private interests, with the maximum use of Brazilian resources and greater employment of private enterprise, both foreign and domestic.

Three Subcommissions on Transportation, Power Development, and Food and Agriculture will advise and assist the Commission. These are the fields considered by the Brazilian Government as most urgently needing attention in order to promote economic development. The Subcommissions, each headed by a Brazilian and an American technician, will depend largely on the services of specialized Brazilian and United States organizations on a contractual basis.

The United States has allocated \$800,000 of Point 4 funds to Brazil during the current fiscal year for new projects of which \$150,000 will be used to help finance the work of the Commission. About 60 percent of this amount may be used for immediate studies by the Subcommissions on Transportation and Power of urgently needed improvement and development projects in those fields. Brazil will contribute the services of its technicians, buildings and other facilities, and funds for operating costs of the Commission.

Brazil is now a large exporter of light products such as coffee and cocoa beans but is unable to export heavy items such as iron and manganese ore and lumber on a large scale because of railroad deficiencies. With the assistance of the proposed Subcommission on Transportation, Brazil hopes to rehabilitate its principal railroads so as to improve carrying capacity, increase efficiency, and reduce transportation costs.

The production of power is insufficient for Brazil's present needs, and power shortages are hold-

<sup>1</sup>The Export-Import Bank announced on Dec. 22 that it now has on its books loans for a great variety of projects, all of them designed to contribute to the productive capacity of Brazil. They include the fully integrated steel plant at Volta Redonda, for the expansion of which an additional 25 million dollars was recently committed; the Rio Doce valley railway and the Itabira Iron mine development; other rail transportation equipment; cargo steamships; airplanes; harbor barges; municipal buses; hydroelectric equipment; and equipment for other industries. In all, loans to Brazil by the Bank have exceeded 200 million dollars. Repayments of principal have amounted to approximately 72 million dollars and are up to date.

ing back industrial expansion in the states of Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, and Minas Geraes. The Government has suggested a review by the Subcommittee on Power Development of the extensive power projects already under way in those states, as the possible basis of a coordinated power program for Brazil. The Subcommittee also will study the financing of power development, including the possibilities of necessary foreign capital participation.

Brazilian authorities want the Subcommittee on Food and Agriculture to investigate the possible establishment of meat packing and cold storage plants, silos and warehouses, and increased production and distribution of fertilizer.

## **Background**

The Joint Commission will not duplicate but will be able to utilize the intensive investigation and research already carried out by the short-term Brazil-U.S. Technical Commission, or the Abbink Commission, in 1948-49. The Commission will also have as another basis of reference for its activities the official development program for Brazil known as the SALTE plan. The new Commission will formulate an action program based in part on these earlier plans.

The Point 4 agreement for establishment of the new Joint Commission is an outgrowth of discussion between President Truman and President Dutra in May 1949, when the latter visited Washington with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. In conversations with President Dutra, President Truman emphasized the past record of interdependence of the two countries in peace and war and assured the President of Brazil of the continuing interest of the United States in the development of his country.

As part of the amplified technical cooperation between the two countries, the Brazilian Government has requested that existing joint projects in Brazil be expanded under the Point 4 program.

## **Institute of Inter-American Affairs Role**

The Institute of Inter-American Affairs is cooperating with Brazil in the most extensive health and sanitation program with which the Institute is connected in Latin America. Activities are centered mainly in the Amazon and Rio Doce Valleys and in the states of Bahia and Paraíba. The program includes the operation of more than 25 health centers, numerous outposts, hospitals, laboratories, and river launches that carry medical aid to people in isolated regions.

In the vocational education program in which the Institute is working with Brazilian authorities, teachers are being given in-service training in industrial education; approximately 30 industrial teachers will be brought to the United States for training in each of the next three fiscal years;

the curricula of industrial schools will be studied and new teaching materials prepared.

Another cooperative project, which is being substantially expanded with \$50,000 of Point 4 funds, is *Fazenda Ipanema* (Ipanema Farm), owned by the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture and located in the state of São Paulo. An American technician from the Department of Agriculture has directed its operation since 1948 as a national training center in rural engineering, with emphasis on the operation, maintenance, and repair of farm machinery.

Since 1940, American geologists, from the Geological Survey of the Department of Interior, have been working with Brazilian geologists in scientifically surveying some of Brazil's valuable mineral resources. These investigations verified the existence of the two largest deposits of high-grade manganese known in the Western Hemisphere.

One of these, in the territory of Amapá near the mouth of the Amazon, is estimated to contain at least 7 million tons of ore. The other, in the state of Mato Grosso near the Bolivian border, contains an estimated 33 million tons of ore. As a result of these surveys, two large American steel companies are negotiating with Brazilian interests for the development of the manganese in Amapá, and for developing the Morro do Urucum deposit in Mato Grosso.

Meanwhile, American geologists are helping their Brazilian colleagues determine how much iron ore is contained in a mountain range at Itabira, in the state of Minas Geraes—one of the largest sources of high-grade iron ore in the world.

## **Air Force Mission Agreement With Cuba**

[Released to the press December 22]

Secretary Acheson and Dr. Luis Machado, Ambassador of Cuba to the United States, today signed an agreement providing for the technical services of an advisory mission of the United States Air Force to serve in Cuba. The agreement is to continue in force for 2 years from the date of signature and may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of Cuba.

The agreement is similar to numerous other agreements in force between the United States and certain other American Republics providing for advisory missions of personnel of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps to those countries. The provisions of the agreement pertain to the duties, rank, and compensation 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.

## U.S. and Liberia Sign Point 4 Agreement

[Released to the press December 21]

The United States and the Republic of Liberia today concluded a general Point 4 agreement under which a comprehensive program for the economic development of Liberia will be cooperatively undertaken.

Secretary Acheson represented the United States Government and Secretary of State Gabriel L. Dennis, who headed the special commission which negotiated the agreement, represented the Government of Liberia at the signing ceremony in the Department of State today.

Present at the signing were C. D. B. King, Liberian Ambassador to the United States and the following members of the Liberian Special Mission which negotiated the agreements: C. Abayomi Cassell, Attorney General of Liberia; Henry B. Duncan, Secretary of Public Works and Utilities; Charles B. Sherman, Liberian Government Economist and Mrs. Mai Padmore, Secretary to the Commission.

Also present were George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, and Dr. Henry G. Bennett, Technical Cooperation Administrator.

### General Agreement

The general, or "umbrella," agreement is designed to carry out the provisions of the act for international development which established the Point 4 Program. It defines the general conditions of economic cooperation and paves the way for specific project agreements.

The two Governments also signed a memorandum of understanding, providing for a Joint Commission for Economic Development to survey the economic resources of Liberia, as well as to plan and advise on the Point 4 Program in that country.<sup>1</sup> The Commission will be composed of seven representatives of the Liberian Government and six representatives of the United States Government, with a Liberian chairman. The pattern of cooperation is similar to that worked out in the recent exchange of notes with Paraguay.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For text of the agreement and memorandum, see Department of State press release 1254 of Dec. 22.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 974.

The agreements signed today grew out of the Liberian Government's request for United States assistance in carrying out a new long-range development program. The Liberian Government will contribute 20 percent of its total national revenues toward the cost of the program. It estimates that this contribution will average about a million dollars a year.

### Cost of the Program

Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett announced that the United States will contribute the services of 67 technicians plus the equipment they may need in their work. It is expected that the annual rate of United States spending for the Liberian program will reach the level of \$850,000 by next June. The two Governments will now negotiate specific project agreements, under which the new, expanded program will go forward. As a result of 2 years of joint planning and consultation by the United States and Liberian Governments, the general direction and scope of the program can now be forecast.

According to present estimates, it will take between 5 and 10 years and cost about 32½ million dollars to carry out the new development program. Financing through loans and private investment will be needed to supplement the contribution of Liberian Government revenues and United States technical assistance.

The work of technical cooperation and development in the 5- to 10-year period will be concentrated in five major fields: Engineering projects, principally roads, bridges, hydroelectric power, and water works, to cost about \$11,300,000; agricultural development mainly concerned with food supply and export items such as rubber, cacao, and palm oil, to cost approximately \$4,200,000; health projects, at an estimated cost of \$8,700,000; projects in basic education, to cost about \$7,100,000; projects to extend and improve public administration, costing about \$1,200,000.

At the request of the Liberian Government, the United Nations will also cooperate in the

fields of health and education through its specialized agencies, the World Health Organization, and UNESCO.

### **Benefits Outlined**

A solid foundation for the new long-range program has been laid by the work which the Liberian Government, aided by the work which the United States Economic and Public Health Missions have been carrying on for the past 6 years. Each of the United States missions has been staffed with 10 American technicians. The Economic Mission has cooperated with the Liberian Government on extensive surveys for its roadbuilding program. Large areas of the interior of the country have been opened up for new cultivation. As a result, the road mileage of the country has increased from 200 in 1938 to more than 1,000 miles in 1950.

A survey of Liberia's forests by the Economic Mission's forester has established that more than one-third of the country's area is covered by high forest. These forests are composed largely of tropical hardwoods some of established value and others still unknown commercially. If uses for all species can be developed, the annual cut of Liberian timber under a sound forest program might equal in volume the cut normally taken from all United States forests east of the Mississippi River.

An Economic Mission soil survey shows that the remaining two-thirds of Liberia's area is adapted to the production of a variety of crops including rubber, cacao, coffee, oil palms, bananas, and other tropical crops all of which are important supplements to temperate zone products and some of which have great strategic value to the Western world.

As a result of Liberia's traditional open-door policy toward private investment, development of rubber production by American private enterprise preceded the second World War by 13 years. This enabled Liberia to make an important contribution to the United Nations war effort. In 1943 when most Far Eastern rubber production was in enemy hands, Liberia exported 25,000 tons of crude rubber to the United States, approximately one-half of all United States imports of that critical commodity in that year.

Food supply projects have included increased planting of rice, making Liberia self-sufficient in that staple food for the first time. New vegetables, soybeans, and other legumes have been introduced into the Liberian diet. The American Mission has cooperated with Liberian Department of Agriculture and Commerce, established in 1948, in importing purebred poultry and livestock and in developing balanced rations for livestock from Liberian grains.

The United States Health Mission has worked with the Liberian Bureau of Health and Sanita-

tion in greatly reducing the incidence of malaria, dysentery, yaws, and syphilis. As the result of a nation-wide vaccination program, smallpox is now under complete control.

The United States Health Mission has cooperated with Liberian health authorities in building and operating a large general clinic, with specialized clinics in maternal and infant care and in tropical and venereal diseases. The general clinic admits more than 2,000 patients a month. A nurses' training school and a medical library have also been established. X-ray facilities are available to the general public. A training program for medical technicians and sanitary inspectors is now in operation.

In recent years, the Liberian Government has greatly intensified its own efforts for economic development. Appropriations for public health and sanitation are 5 times greater than in 1944 and now constitute about 10 percent of all government spending.

Appropriations for public education during the last 6 years have been increased by approximately 3 times while total revenues were increasing by about 50 percent. More than 100 Liberian students are at present in the United States taking advanced training in technical fields, most of them on grants from the Liberian Government.

Close cooperation between the United States and Liberian Governments dates back to 1942 when a mutual defense agreement was concluded. Under this agreement, the United States built Roberts Field which became an important wartime link in the Air Transport Command's ferry service to Europe and the Middle and Far East. A lend-lease agreement provided for the building of a free port which was subsequently constructed at Monrovia. In 1942, Liberia declared war on Germany and Japan and joined the United Nations coalition.

Liberian Government revenues have risen from \$885,000 in 1938 to approximately \$4,000,000 in 1950. In the same period, the value of annual trade between the two countries has grown from \$2,000,000 to \$21,500,000.

## **U.S., U.K., and South Africa Reach Agreement on Uranium Production**

*[Released to the press by AEC December 14]*

Uranium to be produced in the Union of South Africa as a byproduct of gold production will be sold to the United States and the United Kingdom under an agreement just concluded by the three nations.

The new agreement marks the successful culmination of several years of intensive research and development by the three nations on the problem

of economically recovering uranium from the gold-bearing ores.

The South African gold ores represent one of the world's largest sources of uranium. Although the uranium content of the ores is small, potential production is relatively large because of the great quantities of ore mined.

The initial production will come from the properties of the following mining companies, although consideration will be given by South African Government to the construction of additional uranium processing plants on other mine properties as it is warranted:

1. West Rand Consolidated Mines, Ltd.
2. Daggafontein Mines, Ltd.
3. Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Co., Ltd.
4. Western Reefs Exploration and Development Co., Ltd.

Funds to cover the capital cost of the uranium processing plants will be loaned by the United States and United Kingdom, on a banking basis, if requested by the South Africans.

Although uranium will be a valuable byproduct of gold production, the revenue and earnings from uranium will not be on such a scale as to affect materially the financial positions of the companies concerned.

Negotiations which led to the new agreement were concluded last month in Johannesburg by representatives of the three nations. Preliminary discussions were held at the same city a year ago. The principal representative of the United States at the meeting last month was Jesse C. Johnson, manager of the Raw Materials Operations Office of the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

Plant design and construction leading to the production of uranium under the new agreement is proceeding on an urgent basis. Because of security considerations, no information on rate of progress or other aspects of the program can be made public.

## Foreign Nationals Visit U.S.

Recent arrivals in the United States under the Department of State's grants-in-aid program include:

Pyun Yung Tai, writer and lecturer, and vice-president of the Korean Red Cross, will tour the United States to confer with Red Cross officials, journalists, and literary leaders. His tour will include visits to colleges and universities, and he will study the public school system.

Cyrus Majd, member of the High Council Advisory Commission of the Ministry of Labor, Iran, is on a 3-month tour of various industrial and mining centers and labor organizations.

Dr. Suzanne Lemaire, head of the School of Pediatrics, University of Paris, will tour the child and maternal health centers for 3 months. Her

itinerary will include Johns Hopkins University, the Mayo Clinic, and other institutions in New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Lee Ki Poong, wife of the mayor of Seoul, Korea, will visit educational institutions and women's organizations for 3 months. She will confer with officials of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor and study the workings of various associations, particularly university women's clubs.

Grace Pak Chang, principal of Kyungki Public Girls' Middle School, Seoul, Korea, will tour for 10 weeks various educational centers. She will study methods of educational administration and visit YWCA offices and women's clubs.

Dr. Hermes A. Bartholomeu, executive secretary of a child welfare agency at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, will visit child and maternal welfare agencies in rural areas similar to organizations now being planned in Brazil.

Hafizullah Khan, vice president of the Motor Shirkat of Kabul, Afghanistan, desires to consult experts in long-distance hauling of foods in connection with visits to motor transport operational and manufacturing centers.

Dr. Benjamin Maisler, leading archaeologist and authority on the historical geography of Palestine will give courses in ancient Hebrew civilization and history and recent archaeological discoveries in Israel at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

## Americans Visiting Abroad

David L. Cohn, writer and lecturer, of Hopewell, New Jersey, will tour India, Pakistan, and Southeast Asia, and will speak and discuss the various phases of American civilization and culture and race relations. He is the first lecturer to be awarded a grant under the Smith-Mundt Act for the purpose of visiting a number of countries of South and Southeast Asia.

Florence Arquin, photographer and visual education specialist, will tour South America to discuss and demonstrate techniques of visual education.

These visits have been made possible through grants-in-aid awarded by the Department of State.

## Resignation of Mark Ethridge from Information Advisory Commission

On November 25, the President accepted the resignation of Mark Ethridge as Chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Information. For the text of President Truman's letter to Mr. Ethridge, see White House press release of that date.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

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

#### Adjourned During December 1950

ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Air Navigation Commission, Fifth Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 19–Dec. 11
Council, Eleventh Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 27–Dec. 15
Air Transport Committee, Eleventh Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 28–Dec. 15
Special African-Indian Ocean, European-Mediterranean, North Atlantic Regional Meteorological Meetings.	Paris . . . . .	Nov. 8–Dec. 5
Air Navigation Commission: Fourth Session of Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control Division.	Montreal . . . . .	Nov. 14–Dec. 14
Inter-American Seminar on Biostatistics . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Sept. 25–Dec. 16
Intergovernmental Study Group on Germany . . . . .	London . . . . .	Oct. 24–Dec. 15
United Nations:		
International Tin Conference . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 25–Dec. 2
Economic and Social Council:		
Narcotic Drugs Commission: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Dec. 1–16
Second Social Welfare Seminar for the Arab States in the Middle East.	Cairo . . . . .	Nov. 22–Dec. 14
Joint ECAFE/UNESCO Working Party on Educational and Scientific Supplies, Second Session.	Bangkok . . . . .	Dec. 20–22
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade): Fifth Session of the Contracting Parties.	Torquay . . . . .	Nov. 2–Dec. 16
Meeting of Inter-American Federation of Nursing . . . . .	São Paulo and Bahia . . . . .	Nov. 13–Dec. 9
West Indian Conference: Fourth Session . . . . .	Curaçao . . . . .	Nov. 27–Dec. 8
Caribbean Commission: Eleventh Meeting . . . . .	Curaçao . . . . .	Nov. 27–Dec. 14
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Textiles Committee: Third Session . . . . .	Lyon . . . . .	Nov. 28–Dec. 9
Asian Advisory Committee: Second Session . . . . .	Indonesia . . . . .	Dec. 17–19
Fourth Inter-American Conference on Agriculture . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Dec. 1–12
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Latin American Regional Conference (Concurrent with Inter-American Conference on Agriculture).	Montevideo . . . . .	Dec. 1–18
Latin American Forestry and Forest Products Commission: Third Session.	Santiago . . . . .	Dec. 11–20
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Second International Conference of University Representatives . . . . .	Nice . . . . .	Dec. 4–9
First Regional Conference of the National Commissions of the Western Hemisphere.	Habana . . . . .	Dec. 8–20
First Latin American Congress of Orthopedics and Traumatology . . . . .	Montevideo and Buenos Aires.	Dec. 8–17
North Atlantic Council: Sixth Session . . . . .	Brussels . . . . .	Dec. 18–19
<b>In Session as of December 31, 1950</b>		
United Nations:		
General Assembly: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Sept. 19–
Seminar on Public Personnel Management . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Oct. 30–
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade): Third Round of Tariff Negotiations of Contracting Parties.	Torquay . . . . .	Sept. 28–
ILO (International Labor Organization): Asian Technical Conference on Cooperation.	Karachi . . . . .	Dec. 26–

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

**Scheduled January 1–March 31, 1951**

ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Legal Committee: Seventh Session . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Jan. 2–
Air Navigation Commission Airworthiness Division: Fourth Session.	Montreal . . . . .	Mar. 20–
Air Navigation Commission Operations Division: Fourth Session .	Montreal . . . . .	Mar. 27–
Fourth Meeting of the International Association for Hydraulic Research.	Bombay . . . . .	Jan. 2–
United Nations:		
Economic and Social Council:		
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:		
Technical Conference on Flood Control . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 7–
Regional Conference of Statisticians . . . . .	Rangoon . . . . .	Jan. 22–
Subcommission on Iron and Steel: Third Meeting . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 12–
Committee on Industry and Trade . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 14–
Seventh Session . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 22–
Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Jan. 22–
Twelfth Session . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Feb. 6 <sup>2</sup> –
Transport and Communications Commission: Fifth Session . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 12–
Fiscal Commission: Third Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 19–
Social Commission: Seventh Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Mar. 19 <sup>2</sup> –
Trusteeship Council: Eighth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	January
Fourth International Congress on Large Dams . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10–
Indian International Engineering Exhibition . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10–
Centenary Celebrations of the Geological Survey of India . . . . .	Calcutta . . . . .	Jan. 10–
First Plenary Session of International Commission on Irrigation and Canals.	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10–
Sectional Meeting of the World Power Conference . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization): Executive Board: Twenty-fifth Session.	Paris . . . . .	Jan. 10–
Inter-American Commission of Women: Regional Seminar . . . . .	San Salvador . . . . .	Jan. 15–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labor: First Session . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Jan. 16–
Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works: Third Session . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 17–
Governing Body: 114th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 26–
WHO (World Health Organization): Executive Board: Seventh Session .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 22–
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Technical Meeting on Rural Cooperatives . . . . .	Port-of-Spain . . . . .	Jan. 22–
Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council: Third Meeting . . . . .	Madras . . . . .	Feb. 1–
Meeting on Agricultural Extension: (Training Centre for Agricultural Extension Workers in Latin American Countries).	Turrialba . . . . .	Feb. 3–
Technical Meeting on Education in Home Economics and Nutrition	Port-of-Spain . . . . .	Mar. 12–
Cotton Advisory Committee, International: Tenth Plenary Meeting .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 1–
Motion Picture Festival (Festival cinematografico) . . . . .	Punta Del Este, Uruguay . .	Feb. 15–
Petroleum Congress, First South American . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Mar. 12–
IMO (International Meteorological Organization): Extraordinary Session of the Directors.	Paris . . . . .	Mar. 15–
WMO (World Meteorological Organization): First Congress . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Mar. 15–
Lyon International Trade Fair, Thirty-Third . . . . .	Lyon . . . . .	Mar. 31–
South Pacific Quarantine Conference . . . . .	Suva, Fiji Islands . . . . .	March

<sup>2</sup> Tentative.

## Airplane Climb Performance Standards

by *George W. Haldeman*

*Chief, Aircraft Division, Civil Aeronautics Administration*

From September 14–October 3, 1950, delegations from the United States and 11 other member governments of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) met at Paris to discuss airplane climb performance standards to be presented for adoption at the next sessions<sup>1</sup> of the Airworthiness and Operations Divisions of ICAO.

Climb performance standards have presented a difficult problem, primarily because these standards determine the maximum weight at which an airplane may operate and, therefore, the maximum pay load which may be carried. Moreover, there are strong economic implications in these decisions. A brief examination of the history of this problem and its present status is noted here.

At the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago, November 1–December 7, 1944, the United States proposed the adoption, as international standards of airworthiness of aircraft, substantially its own domestic civil regulations. This proposal was well received, and, with the exception of climb performance standards, was accepted by ICAO on March 1, 1949, when the Council adopted annex 8 to the convention.

Early objections to the United States climb performance standards were raised on the ground that they were not rational. The United Kingdom, prior to the third session of the Airworthiness Division, proposed an entirely new approach to the establishment of climb performance standards based upon a statistical assessment of the various factors influencing performance. At the third sessions of the Airworthiness and Operations Divisions, although agreement could not be reached upon many of the factors involved, it was the consensus that the climb performance standards should be based upon the principles of the United Kingdom proposal but that the standards which

emerged should be reviewed in the light of their effect upon the operating weights of airplanes for which operating experience existed. If necessary, thereafter, these standards would be so modified as to insure a continuation of the safety record which had been established by these airplanes.

It was recognized that much study of various aspects of the application of these principles to the establishment of a set of climb performance standards would be necessary before complete basic standards might emerge. The special meeting at Paris was recommended as an opportunity to reach a measure of agreement upon this subject sufficient to enable the Airworthiness and Operations Division to recommend to the Council the adoption of climb performance standards.

For this purpose, the delegations of the various participating nations convened at Paris on September 14, 1950. The United States delegate was George W. Haldeman, Chief, Aircraft Division, Civil Aeronautics Administration, who was elected chairman of the meeting.<sup>2</sup>

Participating nations were Australia, Belgium, El Salvador, France, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and United States.

The work of the meeting is covered by a series of working papers, the 96th of which is the final report of the meeting. This report may be characterized as the closest approach which was found possible in the light of information available at the meeting to agreement upon standards covering take-off, landing, and climb performance for consideration by the fourth sessions of the Airworthiness and Operations Divisions.

The participating countries accepted the report and decided that, in the interim before the beginning of the fourth sessions, these standards should be applied to airplanes with which the world has had operating experience. Depending upon the

<sup>1</sup> The fourth sessions of the Airworthiness and Operations Division of ICAO are scheduled to be held in March 1951 at Montreal.

<sup>2</sup> For other members of the U.S. delegation, see *BULLETIN* of Sept. 25, 1950, p. 513.

result of this trial application, modification of these standards by the Divisions might or might not be necessary.

With two possible minor exceptions, the decisions of the meeting conformed with the position established for the United States prior to the meeting. The United States delegation recommended that the United States participate to the fullest extent in the fourth sessions of the Airworthiness and Operations Divisions when, it is believed, agreement will be reached upon international standards covering the area considered. The delegation also recommended that, prior to these sessions, the United States thoroughly assess the effect on the operating weights now permitted of applying to its aircraft, currently in use, the standards recommended at the Paris meeting. It would then be decided whether the recommended standards, provided that they maintain the level of safety resulting from existing United States requirements, are acceptable for application to future types of aircraft.

There was some reluctance on the part of all countries, except the United States, to accept the idea that operational rules should specify a minimum height in feet by which the flight path of an airplane, with one engine inoperative, should clear any terrain over which the airplane must be so operated. The United States took the position that such minima are essential to the complete

definition of airworthiness. There was agreement that the operations rules should state explicitly that the clearance between the flight path and the terrain must be positive, but the main issue of establishing minima remains open for further discussion at subsequent meetings.

Although the meeting agreed that, ultimately, the standard should provide a single value of drag weight ratio, or some practicable alternative, and should provide a single set of factors relating to the landing distance of the airplane to the landing distance available at the airport, it did not agree at this session upon such values. This issue remains open.

The meeting did result in agreement upon a set of climb performance standards recommended for consideration by the fourth sessions of the Airworthiness and Operations Divisions, subject only to such modification or adjustment as might be warranted upon the basis of the result of trial application of the standards to current and projected airplane types between the close of the meeting and the commencement of the fourth sessions. It is believed that final agreement upon a set of standards can be achieved at the fourth sessions. Such an agreement would provide, for the first time since the Chicago Conference, a complete set of airworthiness standards governing the design and operation of transport category A airplanes in international air navigation.

## Fifth Session of ITU Administrative Council

by *Helen G. Kelly*

*Special Assistant on the Telecommunications Policy Staff*

The fifth session of the Administrative Council of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) met at Geneva from September 1 to October 11, 1950. The Administrative Council was set up by the International Telecommunication Convention at Atlantic City in 1947 and normally meets once a year at Geneva.

Sixteen of the 18 members of the Council were present.<sup>1</sup> The U.S.S.R. and Poland did not send representatives. The representative of France, Jean Laffay, served as chairman of the fifth session.

The most important question confronting the Council resulted from postponement of the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference which had been scheduled to convene at The Hague

on September 26, 1950.<sup>2</sup> The postponement had been proposed by the United States and had been concurred in by a majority of the members of the Union. Although agreeing to such postponement, a majority of administrations favored holding a conference in the near future because of a feeling that indefinite postponement would seriously jeopardize the constructive work of the Atlantic City conferences as well as the subsequent work of the Provisional Frequency Board (PFB) and the various regional and service conferences.

It was intended that the Hague Conference would bring to a culmination the plans for an engineered frequency list laid down at Atlantic City. However, it was recognized that, in the

<sup>1</sup> For the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of Sept. 25, 1950, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference, see article on fourth session of the ITU Council by Helen G. Kelly, BULLETIN of Jan. 23, 1950, p. 143.

present state of international affairs, this objective was practically impossible of attainment. The Council set up a special committee to consider the matter. Before the end of the session, the Council had forwarded a proposal to all the members of the Union and had obtained a majority concurrence for holding an Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference at Geneva on August 15, 1951, subject to confirmation of the date by the Administrative Council at its sixth session beginning on April 16, 1951.

The new Conference will have a more limited and more specific agenda than that originally proposed, consisting of two major items. The first is to establish portions of the new international frequency list for those bands in which satisfactory draft frequency lists have already been established and to consider proposals for new methods of bringing the Atlantic City frequency allocation table into force for bands in which no satisfactory draft lists exist. The second part of the agenda concerns the implementation of the Atlantic City frequency allocation table. The Council believed that no great difficulty will be experienced in obtaining approval of the draft lists for frequencies below 4,000 kilocycles and for frequencies employed by the maritime and aeronautical mobile services between 4,000 and 27,500 kilocycles.

Additionally, the agenda provides for consideration of the implementation of those articles, paragraphs, and appendices referred to in article 47<sup>3</sup> of the Atlantic City radio regulations which the Conference considers possible to implement either in whole or in part. Finally, the Conference is to consider the dissolution of the PRFB and the new duties of the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) in light of decisions on the foregoing items.

At previous sessions of the Council, the members had been seriously concerned with the financial status of the Union. The budget ceiling of 4,000,000 Swiss francs for ordinary expenses had been approved before three working languages and five official languages were adopted in the Union. The General Secretariat has found it increasingly difficult to remain within this ceiling and, at the same time, to provide the required personnel for carrying out its increased duties as well as arranging for the necessary linguistic service.

The Council felt that it might be necessary to request approval by a majority of the members of the Union for an increase of 10 percent in the ceiling, but it finally decided to postpone consider-

ation of the problem until April 1951. The Council agreed that the members of the Union should be requested to reimburse the Netherlands Government in the amount of 400,000 Swiss francs.

This session of the Council was characterized by closer coordination with the United Nations with representatives from the United Nations attending all the meetings of the Council. A strong desire still exists, however, on the part of most members of the Council to maintain the IRTU as an autonomous organization and to retain its own methods of procedure, regulations, and forms. The Council did agree to transmit the annual budget of the Union to the United Nations in a form more nearly in line with those submitted by other specialized agencies. It also agreed to enlarge the annual report to make it more readable and comprehensible from a layman's point of view.

The IRTU has never sought publicity, and, as a result, very little is known outside its own circles about its activities. The IRTU recognized that this ignorance of the work is not beneficial to the organization, and, therefore, it requested the Secretariat to prepare a modest information program.

A representative of ICAO attended most of the meetings in connection with the discussions on the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference, which, naturally, is of interest to aviation, although ordinarily the attendance is limited and observers are excluded.

The Council decided to retain its own personnel and financial regulations on a provisional basis, pending study of the regulations of the United Nations. It directed the Secretary-General to request the United Nations to make a study of what would be involved in the IRTU's joining the United Nations pension plan.

It is now generally recognized that the general regulations annexed to the Atlantic City convention are in need of a complete overhauling. The general regulations were adopted toward the end of the Atlantic City conferences when the delegations were working under intense pressure. As a result, they sometimes disagree with the convention, are difficult to interpret, and some are faulty in construction. The Council requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report for discussion at the sixth session, pointing out the reforms necessary. The Council will then draw up proposals to be submitted to the Plenipotentiary Conference at Buenos Aires in 1952 for clarification of the convention and the regulations.

The Council agreed that all countries listed in annex 1 of the convention, regardless of whether they have ratified the convention or acceded thereto, as well as other countries not figuring in the annex which have acceded to the convention, would be considered members of the Union so far as voting is concerned.

In addition to convening the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference at Geneva in

<sup>3</sup> Article 47 pertains to the effective date of the Atlantic City radio regulations. Part of the regulations came into force on Jan. 1, 1949, with the vital exception of the table of allocation of frequencies below 27,500 kc. and of certain articles and appendices including the procedure for the registration of frequencies by the IFRB. These remaining regulations will come into force on a date decided upon by the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference.

August 1951, the Council took the following action regarding proposed future conferences:

(1) The International Telegraph and Telephone Conference, originally scheduled to meet at Buenos Aires in 1952, is to meet in 1954 at a place still to be specified.

(2) The site and date of the Plenipotentiary Conference was reaffirmed, namely, Buenos Aires in 1952.

(3) The question of the convening of the regular Ordinary Radio Conference, which was scheduled to meet at Buenos Aires in 1952, was not decided finally and will be considered again at the sixth session of the Council.

(4) The eighth plenary assembly of the International Telegraph Consultative Committee (CCTC) will meet in 1953 instead of 1951. However, various study groups are scheduled to meet early in 1951 at Geneva.

(5) The sixth plenary assembly of the International Radio Consultative Committee (CICR) will meet at Geneva from June 5 to July 6, 1951.

(6) The next plenary assembly of the Inter-

national Telephone Consultative Committee (CCTC) will be held in October 1951.

The Council was confronted with only one political problem—the seating of a Chinese representative. Representatives of both the Communist and the Nationalist Governments claimed the seat. In a secret ballot, the representative of the Nationalist China Government was seated by a large majority.

The Council considered approximately 60 agenda items and adopted 47 resolutions and numerous decisions. It was agreed for the first time that as a matter of convenience the volume of resolutions which is issued at the end of each session of the Council should also include decisions reached which were not embodied in resolutions.

The four vice chairmen present at the fifth session—the United States, United Kingdom, France, and China—chose the United Kingdom representative as chairman of the Council for the sixth session, which is scheduled to be held at Geneva, beginning April 16, 1951.

## Contracting Parties to GATT End Fifth Session

*[Released to the press December 18]*

Twenty-nine countries who are contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade ended their fifth session on December 16 at Torquay, England, after acting on the most important and extensive agenda that had faced any session. (The tariff negotiations, which began on September 28, 1950, at Torquay adjourned on December 22 and will resume on January 2, 1951.)

The meetings of the contracting parties were held in a spirit of genuine cooperation and goodwill, and member countries settled several troublesome trade disputes. This meeting has demonstrated again the growing vitality and strength of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as a most effective and practical means for dealing with problems of mutual interest in the trade field.

The members carried out consultations, required by the agreement, with a number of countries in the sterling area concerning import restrictions maintained against dollar goods and the possibility of relaxing those restrictions under present conditions. They completed the first stage of the preparatory work looking toward the establishment of a more effective machinery to administer the agreement between plenary sessions of the participating countries. Their decisions included the adoption of (1) a procedure for obtaining in-

formation needed in the detailed examination of current import and export restrictions; (2) a recommended code of standard practices for the administration of the necessary trade restrictions; and (3) procedures to enable contracting parties who are not members of the International Monetary Fund to carry out their Agreement obligations affecting the control of foreign exchange. They rejected a proposal for the amendment of the Agreement to include certain articles of the Habana charter dealing with employment and economic activity.

They agreed, in the light of the current international situation, to extend the time during which parties may use exceptional import controls in regard to commodities in short supply and commodities of which there are large government-owned stocks. The United States now has in effect such import controls on certain fats and oils and on rice.

The fifth session of the contracting parties also studied the settlement of a number of disputes arising out of complaints that the benefits of the Agreement had been nullified or impaired by the action of individual countries. Brazil agreed to take the necessary steps toward the amendment of her internal tax legislation so as to eliminate certain discriminations against imported products.

Australia and Chile announced the settlement of a case brought by the latter that Australia had, through discriminatory subsidy action, nullified the value of a tariff concession granted on sodium nitrate, and the United Kingdom announced that efforts were being made to find a way to eliminate discrimination against imports resulting from the British purchase tax. A Czechoslovak complaint charging that the United States violated the Agreement in recently withdrawing tariff concessions on women's fur felt hats and hat bodies, under the "escape clause" (art. XIX of the Agreement), is being considered by an inter-sessional working party which will report to the next session.

The session was also attended by observers from the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the United Nations, the seven Governments now negotiating for accession to the agreement (Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, Korea, Peru, Philippines, Turkey, Uruguay), and six other countries (El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Venezuela, Switzerland, Yugoslavia).

In consultation between the contracting parties and certain countries maintaining import restrictions against dollar goods, representatives of the International Monetary Fund, and of the United States, Belgium, Cuba, and Canada expressed the view that the dollar position of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, and Southern Rhodesia had reached the point where a beginning of progressive relaxation of these restrictions was possible. The representatives of these countries in the sterling area agreed that their Governments would carefully consider these views and also the analysis presented by the International Monetary Fund. They also expressed the view that insufficient attention had been paid to the danger that the present improvement in their dollar situation might not be typical but was rather the result of abnormal temporary factors.<sup>1</sup>

The action regarding the administration of the General Agreement followed a Canadian proposal to create a standing committee to handle problems between sessions of the contracting parties. This proposal was studied and the results transmitted to the respective governments of the representatives for further study.

In considering the problem of how to deal with parties to the Agreement who have not joined the International Monetary Fund, the contracting parties found that all parties except New Zealand have either joined the Fund, signed a special exchange agreement, or are in process of doing one or the other. The special exchange agreement was worked out at the third session to insure that contracting parties who are not Fund members

fulfill their obligations under the commercial policy principles of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in any use they may make of exchange controls or other financial measures.

The session adopted an extensive questionnaire concerning import restrictions in order to enable the contracting parties to obtain relevant information as regards the policy, technique, and effect of import restrictions now being applied for balance-of-payments reasons. This information is to be submitted early in 1951 by signatory governments who maintain such restrictions and will be used in an over-all review of this problem at the next session. The questionnaire is also designed to obtain information for a second report on the use of balance-of-payments restrictions being used in discriminatory fashion under the special exceptions provided for during the postwar transitional period. The contracting parties also decided to require the submission of statements on export controls and on import restrictions being applied for other than balance-of-payments reasons.

Acting under the provisions of the General Agreement relating to economic development, the contracting parties authorized Haiti to continue certain import controls for 5 years in order to encourage tobacco production and the development of a more diversified economy. Requests for authority to continue similar measures on various products for the same reason submitted by Denmark and Italy were withdrawn during the course of the session.

At the request of the World Health Organization, technical advice was given by the contracting parties on a draft convention concerning the importation of insecticides, which the World Health Organization may recommend to its member governments as a means of achieving its aims in the field of pest control.

The code of practices for the standardization and simplification of import-export and exchange control administration which the representatives recommended to their governments includes provisions designed to simplify the problems of traders arising out of import licensing, changing regulations, exchange allocation, and complex administrative formalities. This text will be released on December 27.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade came into force provisionally on January 1, 1948. At present, the following countries are parties to the agreement: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Italy, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia, Sweden, Syria, Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

<sup>1</sup> A memorandum on the same subject, prepared in the Department of State, is also available.

# Reorganization of the Department of State

## IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HOOVER COMMISSION

Public Law 73, 81st Congress, authorized the appointment of ten Assistant Secretaries of State including existing positions of that rank and clarified and strengthened the administrative responsibility of the Secretary of State with respect to both the Departmental and Foreign Service operations.<sup>1</sup> By that act, all authority which had heretofore been vested in subordinate officers, either in the Departmental or Foreign Service, was vested in the Secretary of State, who was given complete authority for the administration of the Foreign Service. Previously, under the Foreign Service Act of 1946, authority for administration of the Foreign Service had been vested, separately, in a Director General whose relationship to the Secretary of State was not clearly defined.

The major structural changes in the Department's organization have been made. In general, they conform to the plan which had been recommended by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

In conducting its reorganization, the Department established its own task forces composed of operating personnel who were given the assignment of developing the detailed reorganization plans. During the course of putting the reorganization into effect, several hundred people in the Department participated in the devising and testing of the new organizational and procedural arrangements. This was felt to be an important part of the reorganization; that if the reorganization were to be successful it would require the understanding of the many employees in the Department who would have to live with it on an operational basis. The wisdom of this approach has since been borne out.

### Major Changes in Organization

#### ADMINISTRATION

The first major change in the Department was the reorganization of the administrative area,

including the Department's consular activities. This involved the dissolution of the separate Office of the Foreign Service and the pairing of its administrative activities with the parallel Departmental activities. Before the reorganization, there had been an Office of the Foreign Service, an Office of Departmental Administration, an Office of Budget and Planning, and an Office of Controls. Subsequent to the reorganization, there was a more functional distribution of administrative activities among an Office of Personnel, an Office of Management and Budget, an Office of Operating Facilities, and an Office of Consular Affairs. Each of these offices was given responsibility for both the headquarters and field aspects of its subject matter. This was placed into effect on May 16, 1949.

#### SUBSTANTIVE OPERATIONS

The second phase of the reorganization was the establishment on October 3, 1949, of the organizational pattern for the conduct of the substantive operations. The major effect was to dissolve the former regional geographic offices and to replace them with bureaus under a broader concept of operations. Each of the bureaus was given responsibility for all operating actions affecting countries under its jurisdiction. Provision was made for the transfer to the regional geographic bureaus of public affairs, economic, and administrative personnel in order to assure that the bureau will be technically equipped to handle all matters within its scope. In addition, the bureaus were authorized to employ advisers on intelligence and on international organization matters who would also assure proper integration of the activities of the regional bureaus with those of our intelligence area and the newly created Bureau of United Nations Affairs. The Bureau of United Nations Affairs was also established as of October 3, 1949. It replaced the former Office of United Nations Affairs. Subsequent to the establishment of the four regular regional bureaus, including a Bureau of Inter-American

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of June 26, 1949, p. 835.

Affairs, a Bureau of European Affairs, a Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, and a Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, there was established a separate Bureau of German Affairs with a director who was given the administrative rank of Assistant Secretary. Normally, its operations would be included within the Bureau of European Affairs but, because of the magnitude of the occupation task which had been transferred to the Department of State, it was decided to maintain this as a separate operation.

#### **INTELLIGENCE**

The Office of the Special Assistant for Intelligence continues to operate on a centralized basis as recommended by the Hoover Commission and by the Department's own task forces. The basic line of reasoning is that a separate intelligence unit is necessary in order to assure the making of independent intelligence estimates by people who could devote full time to their research with the advantage of central intelligence research facilities.

#### **ECONOMIC**

The economic area of the Department was consolidated under a single Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs through the transfer to that area of the previously separate Office of Transport and Communications.

#### **PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

In the meantime, studies were in process leading to the reorganization of the public affairs area of the Department. This followed the lines of the Hoover Commission recommendation for a General Manager for international information and educational exchange programs who would relieve the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs of the bulk of his operational responsibilities and free him for greater attention to policy matters. The General Manager was appointed on March 15, 1950.

#### **TOP COMMAND**

The top command of the Department has been strengthened through the clarification of the responsibilities of the Under Secretary of State and through the designation of two Deputy Under Secretaries of State who were given responsibility for assisting the Under Secretary in the fields of coordination and policy as directed. One of these Deputy Under Secretaries was also given responsibility for the direction of the administration of the Department and the Foreign Service.

#### **Additional Organizational Changes**

In addition to these basic changes in the De-

partment's organization, there have been certain additional organizational changes in the Department of State that have resulted from new responsibilities in the foreign affairs field, as follows:

#### **MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE**

On October 25, 1949, the position of Director of Mutual Defense Assistance was established in the Office of the Secretary and assigned the general responsibility for carrying out the provisions of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as amended. The Director was assigned a small staff to assist him in administering the program. In addition, the regional bureaus and functional offices of the Department have been developing and administering certain aspects of the program subject to over-all advice, review, and coordination of the Director.

Because of the tremendous step-up in our foreign and domestic programs for increasing our own national security and that of other free nations, the Department of State has recently been devoting considerable efforts toward the development of organizational machinery which will integrate the many programs of military and economic assistance, both within the Department of State and among the various agencies of the Government. Recent international developments require a vigorous and unified direction of United States policy and programs in the international security field.

This Department, in conjunction with the Department of Defense, the Treasury Department, and the Economic Cooperation Administration, has devised machinery to accomplish this purpose. Arrangements are being made for the appointment of a senior officer in the Department of State who will be responsible for coordinating all activities within the Department relating to the North Atlantic Treaty, other similar international programs, and military and economic assistance for mutual defense, and, in addition, will be responsible for providing leadership in the inter-departmental coordination of these programs. This officer will assume the duties now performed by the Director for Mutual Defense Assistance and will be given additional responsibilities and authority commensurate with the role outlined above.

#### **POINT 4**

On October 27, 1950, the Technical Cooperation Administration was established in the Department of State. It is the function of this office to plan, implement, and manage the technical cooperation (Point 4) programs authorized by the Act for International Development (Title IV of Public Law 535, 81st Congress). The Technical Cooperation Administration operates as an integral

component of the Department of State, utilizing the Department's staff services and facilities.

#### OCCUPATION OF AUSTRIA

Executive Order 10171 of October 12, 1950, vested in the Department of State the responsibilities and obligations of the United States in connection with the occupation of Austria. A United States Civilian High Commissioner for Austria was appointed and furnished an organization to carry out these responsibilities in Austria. Departmental support for the High Commissioner has been provided in the Bureau of European Affairs.

#### Developing "Point of Action" Responsibility

The Department was concerned not alone with improving its pattern of operation but also with assuring that in actual operation that duties were clarified and that there were no conflicts in responsibility. The Department adopted the principle that, on any given matter, there should be one point of action responsibility.

The work of each unit of the Department is related in some way to that of one or more other units. In order to fix responsibility and to avoid confusion, clear delineation of responsibilities and clear specification of interrelations was felt necessary. Also, because of the broad range of social, economic, and political interests which are represented within the Department's operating processes, an operating doctrine had to be developed which would encourage the decentralization of decision making so that the top command of the Department could be free for attention to the most important matters. Thus, the action processes of the Department emphasized the making of decisions beginning at the working levels and the referral upwards only of those matters which specifically require higher attention.

#### Procedural Changes

Thus, in addition to basic structural change in its organization the Department has been devoting a great deal of attention to the procedural changes which are necessary to assure effective reorganization. Tangible progress in reaching certain objectives is already reflected in the substantial decrease in the amount of action paper which has heretofore been referred to the Secretary of State for decision and by the extent to which the various Assistant Secretaries have already assumed responsibility for matters within their respective areas of assignment.

Recommendation No. 20 of the Hoover Commission report on foreign affairs<sup>2</sup> proposed an amalgamation of the now separate personnel systems of Departmental and Foreign Service personnel.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Apr. 24, 1950, p. 660.

The Department requested that implementation of this recommendation be deferred pending further study because of the complex nature of the problem.

A preliminary study of the problem was made by a research committee in the Department during the summer and fall of 1949. During January 1950, an Advisory Committee to the Secretary was appointed to advise him whether fundamental changes are required in the personnel systems and relationships of the Department and the Foreign Service. The membership of the Committee included James Rowe, who was a member of the Hoover Commission, as chairman; William E. DeCourcy, Ambassador to Haiti; and Robert Ramspeck, former Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee.

The Committee has made its report to the Secretary. The Department is now reviewing the report and the improvements required in our personnel systems for the more effective conduct of foreign affairs.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

Permitting Free Entry of Articles Imported From Foreign Countries for the Purpose of Exhibition at the Mid-Century International Exposition, Inc., New Orleans, La. H. Rept. 2561, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 489] 2 pp.

Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 2. Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, second session. April 13, 14, and 15, 1950. 158 pp.

State Department. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, second session. March 10 and 12, 1948. 120 pp.

Effects of Foreign Oil Imports on Independent Domestic Producers. Hearings before the Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, second session, pursuant to H. Res. 22, a resolution creating a select committee to conduct a study and investigation of problems of small business. Part 3, Washington, D. C.—April 16, 1950; Jackson, Miss.—April 24, 1950; New Orleans, La.—April 25, 1950; Lake Charles, La.—April 26, 1950; Shreveport, La.—April 26, 1950; Little Rock, Ark.—April 27, 1950; Oklahoma City, Okla.—April 28, 1950; Santa Fe, N. Mex.—May 2, 1950. 441 pp.

Membership and Participation by the United States in the International Trade Organization. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session, on H. J. Res. 236. A joint resolution providing for membership and participation by the United States in the International Trade Organization, and authorizing an appropriation therefor. April 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, May 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1950. (Department of State, indexed) 809 pp.

Establishing a Bureau of Passports and Visas. S. R. 2231, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 3069] 5 pp.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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## Reports of U.N. Command Operations in Korea

### **EIGHTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 16-31, 1950<sup>1</sup>**

U.N. doc. S/1885  
Transmitted Nov. 6, 1950

I herewith submit report number 8 of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 16-31 October, inclusive. Korean releases (numbers 559 through 602) appended hereto provide detailed accounts of these operations.

#### **Ground Operations**

Enemy resistance to United Nations forces advances has been sporadic and weak during most of the period of this report, but had begun to stiffen towards the end of October. Despite the Communist defenders' advantage of extremely rugged, mountainous terrain, their defensive efforts have failed to prevent continued U.N. advances, which have averaged more than 10 miles per day. Defending briefly at most points of contact generally with battalion size units the Communist North Korean forces have yielded 150 miles of territory over the whole front. The wholesale retreat before unrelenting U.N. pressure has been extremely expensive to the enemy both in men and in matériel. Enemy prisoners of war have reached an approximate figure of 135,000. Captured matériel was in proportion.

<sup>1</sup>Transmitted to the Security Council by Ambassador Warren R. Austin, U.S. representative in the Security Council on Nov. 6. For texts of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh reports to the Security Council on U.N. command operations in Korea, see BULLETIN, of Aug 7, 1950, p. 203; Aug. 28, 1950, p. 323; and Sept. 11, 1950, p. 403; Oct. 2, 1950, p. 534; Oct. 16, 1950, p. 603; Nov. 6, 1950, p. 729, and Nov. 13, 1950, p. 759, respectively. These reports are published separately as Department of State publications 3935, 3955, 3962, 3978, 3986, 4006, and 4015, respectively. The eighth, ninth, and tenth reports are published as Department of State publication 4051.

CORRECTION: The U.N. document reference for the text of the seventh report as printed in the BULLETIN of Nov. 13, 1950, p. 759 should read S/1883 instead of S/1588.

On 20 October the United States 187th Regimental Combat Team executed a parachute drop at Sukch'on and Sunch'on. The drop area was about 30 miles north of Pyongyang and was accomplished at the time United States, British and Republic of Korea Army units were attacking to secure Pyongyang. This efficiently executed airborne operation materially reduced the enemy resistance to the south and contributed to the rapid advance of the U.N. units on the west coast.

At no time since the September collapse of the North Korean line around Pusan has the enemy been able to organize a solid, coordinated front. However, with our approach to the Yalu River, the enemy has become somewhat more aggressive, and has resisted much more strongly along a line some 50 miles south of the border. In the west coast sector, elements of the NK 17th Armored, and 32d and 45th Infantry Divisions have built up the semblance of a front extending northeast about 50 miles from Chongju to Onjong, which has temporarily slowed our rate of advance. At Onjong, on the eastern leg of this sector, an estimated two regiments of the NK 45th Division vigorously counter attacked our advanced units, forcing one United Nations unit to make a slight withdrawal. United Nations forces also met increasing resistance in their advance on the east coast sector.

On 26 October, amphibious elements of the United Nations naval forces began an administrative landing of the 1st United States Marine Division and other units of the Corps over the beaches in the Wonsan area. These units had been moved by water from Inchon around the peninsula to Wonsan.

On 29 October the United States 7th Infantry Division with Republic of Korea Army units

landed on the beaches at Iwon which is 178 road miles north of Wonsan.

The 7th Infantry Regiment of the 6th Republic of Korea Division advanced to the northern border of Korea on the Yalu River at one point near Ch'osan on 26 October.

For the first time in the Korean war, Chinese soldiers of the Chinese Communist forces were captured in combat in Korea. They wore North Korean uniforms, and may have been volunteers. There is no positive evidence that Chinese Communist units, as such, have entered Korea, although incomplete interrogation of these prisoners of war indicates that possibility.

Guerrilla operations conducted by enemy bands of from 50 to 2,000 have been relatively intense south of the 39th [38th?] parallel. Such bands carry out frequent raids on defenseless towns and villages, and harass small military convoys and units. United Nations forces in affected areas destroy or disperse these bands when they show themselves, but the process of eliminating this menace is necessarily a slow one, since the mountainous terrain and complex nets of hill trails facilitate their escape.

The First Turkish Armed Forces Command arrived in Korea on 17 October and has been attached to the Eighth Army. This force consists of infantry, artillery and supporting services normal to combat in the field. The Turkish force is a valuable and welcome addition to the United Nations columns.

Two more Republic of Korea infantry divisions were activated during the period.

### **Navy Operations**

United Nations naval forces continued to effectively deny to the enemy the use of Korean Coastal waters. Naval air support and naval gunfire activity were reduced during time of the period of this report, reflecting the decreased intensity of enemy resistance on the ground. Attacks of our carrier based aircraft were concentrated mainly on moving transport and on roads and rail lines on the Korean east coast north of Wonsan and against the off-lying islands near Wonsan harbor. Military targets in the vicinity of Songjin were bombarded by United Nations warships on 17 October.

The only serious problem confronting United Nations naval forces during this period was that of enemy mines. A number of Korean ports lib-

erated by United Nations forces in recent weeks were mined by the enemy. In most cases, the numbers of mines involved are not large. However, the enemy laid a very massive minefield in the approaches to the harbor of Wonsan. To clear a channel through this minefield required the constant employment of a substantial number of United Nations minesweepers throughout a period of more than two weeks. A planned program for clearing principal North Korean ports of enemy laid mines has been instituted.

Evidence continues to accumulate that the design of the mines used by the enemy does not provide for their being rendered harmless as soon as they have broken loose from their moorings, as is required by international law. To date, over 40 drifting mines have been found and destroyed by United Nations naval forces, of which a large proportion proved to be live.

### **Air Operations**

United Nations combat aircraft retain the potential of mounting formidable offensive or defensive efforts but the paucity of North Korean targets has called for few daily sorties in comparison to the rate of air activity during previous periods. Fighters and light bombers are constantly available for close support as the United Nations ground forces drive the aggressor to his northern border but only limited numbers of tanks, vehicles, and artillery provide targets as small enemy groups attempt to organize localized defenses and counter-attacks or disengage and flee in disorder.

The accent has shifted from the combat aircraft to the cargo planes as air dropped equipment and supplies support the United Nations columns knifing deep into hostile territory beyond the capability of immediate normal resupply operations.

Aerial resupply to advanced bases has proved a major contribution to continued ground operations as surface supply routes have been extended. Airlift has provided the principal support for continued advances and will do so until additional seaports in North Korea are opened. Wonsan and Pyongyang are airlift terminals for the east and west sectors, respectively. One day's lift into Pyongyang for the 8th Army approximated 1,400 tons.

On 20 October, in a technically perfect performance, 110 Far East Air Forces cargo aircraft

dropped over 2,800 paratroops of the United States 187th Airborne Regiment with over 300 tons of combat equipment well behind enemy lines at Sunch'on and Sukeh'on. Succeeding drops brought the total of personnel dropped to about 4,000, the total equipment to over 600 tons.

Hostile air activity has consisted of a few nuisance raids by light aircraft at night. No damage has resulted.

#### **Prisoners of War**

The continuing disintegration of the North Korean Army as a fighting force is exemplified by the fact that approximately 135,000 prisoners of war are now in the hands of United Nations forces; of these about 60,000 are now located in five prisoner of war camps in the vicinity of Pusan, 33,000 are detained at a prisoner of war camp in Inehon, 11,000 at Pyongyang, and the remainder are detained in transit enclosures pending transfer to permanent camps.

#### **Atrocities**

United Nations field forces continue to report atrocities and other violations by the enemy of the laws and customs of war. Up to the present time, a total of 74 war crimes incidents, involving approximately 26,000 victims, have been noted in our files. Approximately 400 American military personnel appear to have been the victims of offences of various kinds, while the remaining victims have been South Korean nationals, civilians as well as military. Investigation of the incidents continues as the tactical situation permits.

It has become increasingly evident that in the interest of justice steps must be taken to try before appropriate tribunals of the United Nations Command those prisoners of war, and others who may be taken into custody and who, prior to capture or detention, have committed atrocities and other offences violative of the laws and customs of war. I have, therefore, caused to be prepared in this headquarters, and I have promulgated to the United Nations Command, a set of rules and regulations for the conduct of United Nations military commissions which will be convened, whenever needed, for the trials of such persons under the common law of war. Copies of these rules and regulations are being forwarded for your information. Jurisdiction is limited under the rules of conventional war crimes and the so-called international crimes of waging aggressive warfare

and crimes against humanity, such as genocide, are not included.

#### **Civilian Relief**

Problems of relief and welfare in North Korea have been made more difficult and complex by the absence of local government officials, utilities, transportation, and relief and welfare agencies; however, supplies to prevent disease, starvation and unrest are being distributed as expeditiously as the military situation permits.

The situation in South Korea is becoming more stabilized with most of the refugees having been returned to their homes. Local governments have been reestablished in most areas. Economic conditions are improving and donations from member nations are beginning to arrive; however, critical needs exist for food, clothing, fuel and medical supplies.

Detailed surveys and estimates indicate that the Masan-Taegu perimeter sustained much heavier damages than originally estimated. The original estimate was that there were 30,000 homes destroyed whereas the actual destruction is nearer 120,000. Detailed surveys are now being conducted on a house-by-house, family-by-family basis.

Throughout the destroyed areas people are building temporary huts on former house sites. Progress on reconstruction has been good in the smaller towns and rural areas; however, rebuilding has been slower in the cities due to lack of raw materials.

In spite of the destroyed medical facilities and almost total lack of medical supplies, the general health of the people appears to be good. In some areas less than one-third of the local doctors can be found, either because they were war casualties or became refugees and have not returned to their former homes. Medical supplies for those who desire to resume practice are being provided from United Nations sources to assist in the relief, welfare and prevention of disease throughout Korea. For example, the vaccination program is near completion in the city of Seoul with over 700,000 individuals immunized against cholera, typhoid and smallpox and over 300,000 immunized against typhus. Similar programs are now under way in Inehon and other large towns in the northern areas of Korea.

As indicative of the feeling of the populace in some areas north of the 38th parallel, there was a

United Nations day celebration in the city of Wonsan attended by an estimated 12,000 persons with appropriate flags, banners and speeches.

This event was organized by the local populace without the guidance or influence of United Nations officials, or military forces.

### **Transportation in Korea**

The transportation systems of Korea are in such a condition that extensive rehabilitation is required. The rail line from Pusan to Seoul was opened as a single track line on 21 October 1950 by means of a shoofly bridge across the Han River. This route has an average daily movement of 3,975 short tons and 688 passengers. Another single track line is in operation from Pusan to Tanyang and will be opened to Seoul after rehabilitation is completed on six major bridges and three tunnels. The single track line from Yosu to Kunsan to Taejon is in operation. The Seoul-Wonsan line is open to Tongduch'on-ni. The United Nations forces have rehabilitated and are operating 1,295 miles of railroad in Korea and have in operation 245 locomotives and 4,400 freight cars of all types. Extensive rehabilitation activities are in progress on the rail lines.

The highways from Pusan to Pyongyang are open. These roads are in poor condition and through highway movement is the exception rather than the rule. The main effort on highway rehabilitation has been directed toward restoring damaged bridges and minor repairs to the roads in heavy traffic areas.

As the major means of supplying both the military and civil requirements is by water, the ports of Korea have been rehabilitated materially. However, there still remains much construction to be done before they will be at their pre-war standards. The major ports of discharge are Pusan and Inchon. The discharge rate at Inchon has been raised from 1,000 short tons to 5,000 short tons daily during the period 19-31 October 1950. Many of the smaller ports are in operational condition and will be used for the relief programme in order to reduce the internal distribution problem. The ports of Wonsan and Chinnamp'o are in the process of being cleared of mines. During the period 15-31 October 1950, the ports in Korea discharged 366,507 measurement tons of military cargo, 45,000 metric tons of relief cargo, and out-loaded 19,308 measurement tons of cargo.

With the liberation of large areas of Korea, increasing emphasis is being given by leaflet and by radio to inform the Korean people of the announced objectives of the United Nations in Korea. Special broadcasts and 3,120,000 leaflets were used throughout the nation on 24 October to commemorate United Nations Day. United Nations leaflets disseminated in Korea have passed the one hundred million mark. In areas of military operations, ground and airborne loud-speaker systems are being extensively used to inform many soldiers of the military situation and impress upon them the futility of resistance. Surrender leaflets and loudspeaker messages are having considerable effectiveness in inducing voluntary surrenders. Radio Pyongyang has been restored to operation on a temporary basis, and is expected to resume scheduled broadcasts shortly.

### **Press Censorship**

Despite heavy pressure to the contrary, no military censorship has been instituted by the United Nations Command throughout the Korean campaign. Reliance for security against the premature publication of information helpful to the enemy has instead rested upon voluntary censorship by editors and correspondents. This policy has resulted in the most complete and prompt public dissemination of information on the course of operations of any military campaign in history, without as far as is known a single security breach of a nature to assist the enemy. This may be said to the great and lasting credit of the press of the free world and its responsible publishers, editors, and correspondents. In evaluating the issue between compulsory and voluntary censorship, one must understand that the sole purpose of either is to safeguard against the premature publication of information on plans and operations which would assist the enemy to develop countermeasures. No form of censorship can prevent espionage, nor can it properly be employed to control undue emphasis given to the outcroppings of emotional strain which must, as in the present campaign, find its correction in the balance achieved through maturity gained with battle experience. Nor is it the proper instrument for the avoidance of factual error. Correspondents assigned to cover military operations are the selected representatives of responsible publishers and editors and their ability to assume the responsibility of self-censorship has been amply and conclusively demonstrated in the

course of the Korean campaign. In the many military campaigns in which I have engaged, most of which were covered by a rigid form of news censorship, I have never seen the desired balance between public information and military security so well achieved and preserved as during the Korean campaign.

### **In Conclusion**

1. Operations are continuing to destroy the remains of the North Korean forces.

2. Approximately 135,000 prisoners of war have been captured.

3. Complex airborne and amphibious operations were expertly executed by elements of the United Nations Army, Navy, and Air Force commands.

4. The attitude of the large majority of North Korean people toward the United Nations forces is that of friendly welcome for relief from oppression and conflict.

5. A Turkish Army force has arrived in Korea. Two more Republic of Korea infantry divisions were activated. Army combat forces now in the United Nations Command in Korea represent six different nations.

6. There is no military press censorship in the United Nations Command. Voluntary censorship of editors and correspondents is producing an excellent balance between public information and military security.

7. Repair of roads, rail lines and ports is progressing.

8. The continuation of the relief, welfare, and rehabilitation program in Korea is essential. To insure success of this program, it is imperative that member nations contributions of food, relief, and medical supplies be expedited for shipment to Korea.

### **NINTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD NOVEMBER 1-15, 1950**

Included in U.N. doc. S/1953  
Transmitted Dec. 28, 1950

I herewith submit report number 9 of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 1-15 November, inclusive. Korean releases (numbers 602 through 643) provide detailed accounts of these operations.

### **Introduction**

Chinese Communist Forces in significant strength have moved across the Yalu River and

attacked United Nations Forces. This constitutes an act of international lawlessness far exceeding that of mere brigandage. The course of operations of United Nations Forces in Korea has in consequence changed from that of pursuit of defeated and routed North Korean army remnants to that of a new campaign against a fresh enemy force.

### **Ground Operations**

On 31 October, the dwindling North Korean Forces appeared to be making a last desperate stand in the Unsan area. Elsewhere, they were steadily giving ground to advance to United Nations Forces. However, on 1 November, elements of the 124th Chinese Communist (CCF) Division were identified on the front near Kot'ori, a few miles south of Choshin Reservoir. Within ten days, through interrogation of prisoners from all Chinese units involved, elements of eleven more CCF divisions were identified in the forward areas. Of these, elements of nine had taken up positions between Pakch'on and Topch'on in the western sector, and CCF strength in the Kot'ori area had expanded to identified elements of three divisions. At the same time, United Nations aerial reconnaissance disclosed heavy troop movements near the border, in Manchuria, and into Korea.

To date, Chinese Communist intervention has increased effective enemy strength by an estimated three hundred per cent. By this action, the enemy has made it necessary to integrate advanced United Nations elements into a continuous front on the western and central sectors, for coordinated large scale offensive action. During the period of the United Nations Forces redeployment the Communist Forces were moderately aggressive and mounted numerous small scale attacks at various points in the western and central parts of the front. As United Nations Forces resumed the offensive, the enemy displayed flexibility, and resisted stubbornly at Pakch'on, Won'ni, and particularly at Tokch'on.

In the widely extended east coast sector, no definite front lines exist. Of the three main axes of advance, the Communists interposed a strong defending force only on the approaches to the Choshin and Fusen Reservoirs. On the P'ungsan-Kapsan axis, the North Korean Wonsan Brigade has retreated to Kapsan under steady United Nations pressure. The 507 North Korean Brigade,

carrying out limited delaying actions, has been forced to displace 25 miles northward from Kilchu along the main east coast highway.

In reinforcement and resupply, the enemy is relatively safe from United Nations air interdiction, because he can move from the border to the front lines during the long winter hours of darkness.

Front lines at the end of the period ran generally from Pakch'on, near the west coast, eastward to Tokch'on, thence northeast to Kot'ori, and Kapsan, and thence eastward to Tajin on the east coast.

The 29th British Infantry Brigade Group arrived in Korea on 3 November and the 21st Thailand Infantry Regiment arrived on 7 November. United Nations Army combat forces in Korea now contain units from seven nations. The differences in language, equipment, supplies and methods of operations are being solved satisfactorily and the cooperation between forces of different nations is excellent.

One more Republic of Korea Division was activated during the period.

Enemy guerrilla operations, primarily conducted by by-passed North Korean units, both in the immediate and deep rear areas, continue north of the 38th Parallel. Though by no means a serious factor, these forces are a constant menace to United Nations supply lines, extremely prejudicial to civil control, and require disproportionate numbers of United Nations troops for internal policing action. Conditions south of the 38th Parallel have improved considerably and the counter-guerrilla operations in that area are now being accomplished entirely by Republic of Korea Forces.

#### **Navy Operations**

During the period covered by this report, units of Thailand Navy joined the United Nations naval forces in Korean waters, which forces now are comprised of naval units of nine member nations.

United Nations naval forces of all types and categories, by their constant patrol activity, continued to maintain absolute control of the movement of all surface craft in Korean coastal waters.

Carrier-based naval aircraft carried out an interdiction program on lines of communication in northeastern Korea, attacking bridges, rail lines and enemy transports wherever found. During the latter days of the period, these aircraft shifted their attack to the international bridges over the Yalu, operating under strict orders not to violate

Manchurian territory. Despite the handicaps of this restriction and of unhampered anti-aircraft fire from batteries on the Manchurian side of the river, the attacks of these aircraft have produced excellent results.

Marine fighter bomber aircraft, carrier-based as well as shore-based, furnished daily close air support to units of the X Corps in their operations in northeastern Korea.

Naval gunfire support and bombardment activity reached the lowest level of the Korean campaign, due to the growing lack of military targets within the radius of their guns.

Enemy mines continued to engage a large share of the attention of the United Nations naval forces. The small minesweeping flotilla, and associated units, devoted maximum efforts to this tedious and dangerous task throughout the period and the results of this effort are plainly evident. Shipping was able to dock at berths at Wonsan Harbor on 5 November. Light draft vessels were able to enter Chinnamp'o Harbor on 10 November. Minesweeping continues off Chinnamp'o and Hungnam with the prospect that both these important ports will be completely free of mines in the near future.

To date over eighty drifting mines have been found and destroyed by United Nations naval forces. A large portion of these drifting mines were live mines, in violation of international law which requires that mines shall be so constructed as to automatically become harmless as soon as they have broken loose from their moorings.

#### **Air Operations**

The United Nations complete supremacy in the air has been challenged for the first time during the Korean operations by modern high performance type jet aircraft. Russian-produced MIG-15 have been engaged in combat over Korean territory since 1 November when United Nations planes were attacked in Sinuiju area. This period also has seen a marked increase in the employment of enemy conventional type aircraft against United Nations air and ground forces, though so far they have constituted in the main no more than a nuisance factor.

Comparative losses favor the United Nations forces despite operating factors favoring the enemy. The Communists are taking full advantage of the sanctuary afforded within the areas beyond the Manchurian border, respected by our

forces. Aircraft have been observed taking off from Antung in Manchuria and proceeding to the attack south across the Yalu River. The interception of these planes between the border and the United Nations front lines is a difficult problem—so short a period of flight is involved.

Combat damaged Communist planes which would certainly have been destroyed, had our forces been operating without restriction, have found refuge in Chinese Communist territory. The superiority of United Nations pilots has been nullified upon occasion when hard pressed Communist fliers have utilized the border to break off combat and improve their tactical position by gaining altitude or by other maneuver, and then have returned to combat. Thus handicapped, United Nations aviators cannot anticipate the capability to deny the area to limited Communist aerial offensives.

Planes attacking military objectives south of the border have drawn antiaircraft artillery fire from guns on the Manchurian side. This hostile action has been conducted with impunity as a result of scrupulous efforts of United Nations forces to maintain inviolate the border. The Communists practice this conscienceless derision of justice and peace from their bases of aggression protected solely by a barrier imposed by the democracies' desire to prevent expansion of the arena of conflict.

Interdiction of enemy lines of communications is being vigorously pursued throughout the limited area remaining to the North Koreans. The southern ends of the bridges across the Yalu River are being attacked in an effort to retard the flow of Chinese Communist supplies and personnel, though the most important bases and reserves remain invulnerable within Manchuria. Command, communication and supply centers of North Korea will be obliterated in order to offset tactically the handicap we have imposed upon ourselves strategically by refraining from attack of Manchurian bases.

A South African Air Unit has joined other United Nations air forces in the Far East during the period.

Aerial supply continue to contribute materially to both ground and air combat operations.

#### **Prisoners of War**

Since my last report a new prisoner-of-war camp with two enclosures capable of accommodat-

ing 50,000 prisoners has been established in Pyongyang, Korea. Approximately 22,000 prisoners are now detained there. The three prisoner-of-war camps with eight enclosures now operating in Korea will provide facilities and accommodations for 200,000 prisoners.

All camps are being rapidly developed and improved. Projects now in progress include winterization of tents and other housing facilities, installation of elaborate water systems and construction of additional sanitary facilities and mess facilities. Large additional quantities of warm winter clothing and bedding have been shipped to Korea for issue to prisoners of war.

#### **Atrocities**

In July the units of the United Nations Command were directed to investigate and report all war crimes atrocities uncovered by them. Subsequently, when it became evident that atrocities were being committed by the North Koreans on a large scale, it was deemed advisable to have in being an organization capable of continuing and completing investigations begun by tactical units which subsequently move forward. Therefore a war crimes division was established in the Headquarters of the Eighth United States Army, and to this division has been assigned operational responsibility for the investigation and apprehension of persons suspected and accused of having perpetrated conventional war crimes. Tactical units continue to investigate and report atrocities as heretofore.

It is now estimated that the number of victims of atrocities committed by the North Koreans totals 35,000 of whom the vast majority were non-combatants whose only crime was that they harbored, or were suspected of harboring, beliefs at variance with those of the individuals in power in North Korea. The receipt of new reports of almost unbelievable atrocities continues unabated. An incident only recently discovered occurred on or about 27 September when approximately 50 civilian men and women were arrested by the North Korean authorities. Their hands and feet were tied; they were dropped down two wells, and large rocks were dropped on them. None survived this ordeal. Another incident, discovered on 2 November, occurred on or about 20 October, when more than 400 civilians, believed to have been political prisoners, were executed in the bomb shelter of a coal mine. Twenty persons are said

to have survived this massacre. And, on 8 November, more than 700 bodies were found in another coal mine in the same vicinity.

### **Civil Activities**

To assist in the problems of relief and the reestablishment of local and provincial governments in North Korea, civil assistance teams have been organized to provide the necessary guidance and assistance in the achievement of United Nations aims.

In cities north of the 38th Parallel where tactical conditions permit, local civil governments have been reestablished by the appointment of appropriate individuals to key positions. These temporarily appointed officials provide necessary civil administration and function under the supervision and guidance of the civil assistance teams of the United Nations Command.

To further implement the civil assistance program in the field of public health and welfare, I have recently requested recruitment from United Nations members of technically qualified persons to permit formation of additional public health and welfare teams for use in the areas of North Korea.

The need for relief supplies and equipment in Korea continues to be critical. Economic conditions have improved with the receipt of more than 300,000 metric tons of relief supplies and equipment. However, additional contributions to prevent widespread suffering are becoming more necessary with the approach of the winter season.

The attitude of local inhabitants continues to indicate appreciation of the United Nations effort in Korea. Indicative of this was the recent spontaneous celebration by the citizens of Pusan on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the organization of the United Nations.

### **Psychological Warfare**

The appearance of alien Communist soldiers in northern Korea has intensified the importance of leaflet operation and loudspeaker transmission to enemy forces. Twelve million leaflets were air dropped to enemy troops during the first half of November, including 7 million in Korean and 5 million in Chinese. The Chinese language leaflets reiterate the traditional friendship of the peoples of the United Nations for the Chinese people, and assure Chinese soldiers now in Korea the United Nations forces will respect the inviolability of

Korea's international frontiers. All leaflets convey to enemy soldiers the United Nations guarantee of good treatment for prisoners of war, and urge them voluntarily to lay down their arms. More than 115 million United Nations leaflets have now been disseminated in Korea. Loudspeaker broadcasts, both from the air and on the ground, are proving effective in complementing the influence of leaflets in inducing surrender of enemy soldiers. United Nations broadcasts from Radio Seoul and Radio Pyongyang, as well as from United Nations Command Headquarters, continue to provide the civil population of Korea with authentic news reporting.

### **In Conclusion**

1. Large scale Chinese Communist intervention has profoundly altered the concluding phase of the Korean War.

2. Advances continued in the eastern sector and forces were regrouped in the western sector to contend with the new enemy of the United Nations.

3. The United Nations Command now comprises army forces of seven nations, navy forces of nine nations, and air forces of four nations.

4. Enemy aircraft are attacking United Nations forces in Korea from bases in Manchuria.

5. Requirements continue for civilian relief supplies.

### **TENTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD NOVEMBER 16-30, 1950**

Included in U.N. doc. S/1953  
Transmitted Dec. 28, 1950

I herewith submit report number ten of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 16 to 30 November, inclusive. Korean releases, numbers 644 through 689 and United Nations Command communiqués, numbers 12, 13 and 14, provide detailed accounts of these operations.

### **Introduction**

In order to more clearly present the situation facing the United Nations forces at this time, I present you a résumé of events that have transpired since September.

By the middle of October 1950, the United Nations forces had in prisoner-of-war enclosures over 130,000 north Korean military personnel and had killed or wounded over 200,000 more. Thus, the personnel of the north Korean forces were elimi-

nated, their equipment was captured or destroyed, and all but the northern borders of Korea was held by United Nations forces. For all practical purposes, the conflict with the armed forces of the former north Korean regime had been terminated.

Beginning in October 1950, Chinese Communists started moving into Korea and attempted to cover their moves by statements that it was individual volunteer participation. It is perfectly clear that the Chinese started moving the mass of their forces to position for the invasion by the middle of September. The Chinese Communist forces are now invading Korea and attacking United Nations forces in great and ever increasing strength. No pretext of minor support under the guise of volunteerism or other subterfuge now has the slightest validity. These irrefutable facts prove that the Chinese Communist regime has directed an invasion of Korea and an assault against the United Nations forces.

During the first half of the period there were extensive operations by United Nations air forces of all types in sustained attacks on enemy lines of communications, supplies, and troop concentrations in conjunction with a regrouping and resupply of United Nations Army forces. On 24 November a general attack was launched by all available United Nations forces. The attack progressed satisfactorily for two days, at which time strong attacks, principally by Chinese Communist forces, required readjustment of United Nations forces and resuming defensive operations. The United Nations offensive successfully developed and revealed the strength and intentions of the Chinese Communists.

#### **Ground Operations**

The enemy forces now opposing United Nations operations in Korea demonstrated considerable strategic and tactical skill during the period of this report. These forces, now predominantly Chinese Communist, surrendered very extensive areas in the east coastal sector in the zone of operations of the X United States Corps. United Nations forces were virtually unchallenged within the great quadrangle marked by Chongjin, Hyesanjin, Choshin Reservoir, and Hungnam, except for strong pressure on United Nations units south and west of the Reservoir. The United States 7th Infantry Division met only moderate opposition in its rapid advance to the Manchurian border at Hyesanjin, and Republic of Korea forces

had similar success advancing beyond Chongjin on the east coast. However, in the west sector Communist forces launched a strong offensive, producing a collision with the United Nations general offensive of 24 November.

In the west sector, on a line arching northward between Kasan and Tokch'on the enemy displayed little interest in combat from 16 to 25 November, inclusive. In many instances, United Nations units advanced several miles without contacting the enemy, and United Nations patrols ranging northward five to eight miles met only occasional resistance in the eastern part of the sector. On 26 and 27 November, the enemy, apparently reinforced by several fresh Chinese Communist armies (Corps) from Manchuria, attacked all along the line, devoting his major effort to the United Nations Eighth Army right flank in the Tokch'on area. These strong, sustained attacks, characterized by the usual Communist infiltration and flanking tactics, forced advanced United Nations units on the United Nations Eighth Army left flank and center to displace ten to twelve miles to a main line of resistance extending between Pakch'on and Won-Ni. Powerful Communist thrusts north of Tokch'on forced United Nations units back about twenty-five miles to the vicinity of Taep'yong on the Taedong river. During the intense fighting in these actions, the enemy suffered heavy personnel losses as a result of maximum United Nations air, ground efforts. However, such losses are no longer of crucial military importance, in view of the enemy's tremendous capacity for troop reinforcement from secure bases in Manchuria.

The enemy opposition on the right flank of Eighth Army is now accepted as a major Chinese Communist force thrust which clashed with United Nations forces, and which involved elements of approximately eight Chinese Communist forces divisions, while holding operations on the remainder of the Eighth Army position involved approximately six additional Chinese Communist forces divisions. As part of this general Chinese Communist force offensive, savage attacks were directed against United Nations forces in the general vicinity of the Choshin Reservoir with a Chinese force estimated at six to eight divisions.

During the period 24 November to 1 December, the Chinese Communist forces are credited with having taken over direct responsibility for the entire front in North Korea, except for a short

line of contact north of Chongjin on the east coast. The Chinese Communists reportedly have transferred most of the North Korean forces to Manchuria for retraining and re-equipping. At present, the only significant military power now confronting United Nations Forces in Korea is Communist China.

Identified and accepted Chinese Communist units are as follows:

- 38th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 112th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 113th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 114th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 39th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 115th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 116th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 117th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 40th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 118th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 119th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 120th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 42nd Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 124th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 125th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 126th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 50th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 148th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 149th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 150th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 66th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 196th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 197th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 198th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 20th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 59th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 60th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 89th Chinese Communist Forces Division

This undoubtedly represents a total strength of about 200,000.

Units other than those listed above that have been identified, reported and tentatively accepted are the 70th Chinese Communist Forces Division of the 24th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps) and the 79th and 80th Chinese Communist Forces Divisions of the 27th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps). In addition is the doubtful and unaccepted presence of the 94th Chinese Communist Forces Division of the 32nd Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps).

Judging from experience of the past, it is considered that there is a strong possibility that both the 24th and the 27th Chinese Communist Forces Armies (Corps) are in the area of operations, in which case approximately 55,000 to 60,000 additional Chinese Communist Forces troops would then be added making a total of at least 250,000.

In reviewing the build-up of Chinese Communist Forces in Manchuria and Korea it is necessary to go back to June and July of this year when the decision to move the Chinese Communist Forces 4th Field Army to Manchuria was apparently made and the actual redeployment of these forces implemented. In view of the situation in Korea at the time, the decision to deploy one field army to this critical area could conceivably be supported as tactically and strategically sound and in the best interests of the Chinese Communists from a purely defensive viewpoint. However, the subsequent movement and employment of elements of the 3rd Chinese Communist Forces Field Army and possibly portions of the 1st Chinese Communist Forces Field Army certainly cannot be so justified. The vast quantities of personnel and material now poised along the Yalu River and aggressively employed against United Nations Forces in Korea far exceed the most elaborate requirements for the establishment of a purely defensive structure along the Korean-Manchurian border. It is evident that the assembly of such an array of force could not have been effectively accomplish "over night." These factors, considered with other pertinent manifestations, certainly indicate that plans for the active and aggressive intervention in the Korean war were undoubtedly developed early in the summer.

Front lines at the close of the period in the Eighth Army sector ran generally northeast from the mouth of the Ch'ongeh'on River to Pakch'on east to Won-Ni, and thence southeast to Toep'yong Ni. In the X United States Corps sector on the east coast, no definite front lines exist. Points of contact demarcate a general line north from Sach'ong to Hagaru and Yudam on the Choshin Reservoir, northeast to Samsu and thence northeast to Chongjin on the east coast.

A Netherlands Army battalion arrived on 22 November and a French Army battalion arrived on 29 November. These units have joined the United Nations Forces in Korea which raises to nine the number of nations contributing Army combat forces.

Communist guerrilla units varying from a few hundred to several thousand men are operating in isolated areas throughout the United Nations occupied portion of Korea. At present, nearly thirty per cent of the United Nations troops in Korea are employed against them in the essential task of protecting supply lines and the more vital

urban centers. From 1 to 21 November, for example, there were nearly two hundred guerrilla raids and attacks, most of which required the immediate attention of United Nations anti-guerrilla forces. These units are primarily composed of former North Korean soldiers, and are led by professional leaders, many of whom have had extensive pre-war guerrilla experience. Guerrilla forces now total thirty thousand to thirty-five thousand in strength. There is growing evidence that guerrilla activities are being controlled and coordinated by the enemy high command, and that this menace to United Nations operations will necessitate continued anti-guerrilla measures. Of these, the most successful to date has been the destruction of many major guerrilla supply caches.

### **Navy Operations**

During the period of this report, United Nations naval forces of all types and categories despite extreme cold and considerable snow, continued to deny enemy surface units movement in any of the waters surrounding Korea. Carrier-based aircraft, also hampered by snow and adverse flying conditions, exerted maximum effort against military installations, troop concentrations, supply dumps, communications facilities, and especially the international bridges over the Yalu river over which the enemy is receiving most of his reinforcements and supplies. These carrier-based aircraft encountered intense and accurate anti-aircraft fire from batteries on the Manchurian side of the border when operating over Korean territory in the lower Yalu river valley. On one occasion, in the vicinity of Sinuiju, three carrier-based aircraft were seriously damaged by flak. In addition to anti-aircraft fire, carrier-based units, as well as air force units, have been attacked by planes operating from the Manchurian side of the border. On 18 November, carrier-based aircraft of Task Force 77 were attacked by eight to ten jet planes of Russian MIG-15 type operating from bases in Manchuria. One of these planes was destroyed and several others damaged. They all quickly avoided combat and, except for the one that was destroyed, took refuge over the border in Manchuria. In addition to carrying out interdiction strikes, carrier-based planes, plus Marine shore based planes, furnished close air support to ground units in north-eastern Korea.

Naval gunfire support and bombardment increased during this period and the United Nations

naval units proved to be indispensable in aiding the advance of United Nations ground units north of Wonsan toward the northeastern border.

United Nations minesweeping units are continuing the task of sweeping mines from the harbors essential to our operations, a long and tedious process. While still a source of great danger to United Nations shipping, the menace of mines has been reduced considerably. Channels leading to the harbors of Haeju, Chinnamp'o, Wonsan, Hamhung, Sonjin, Iwon and Kojo have been swept by our minesweeping units and these ports are now open to our shipping. These are in addition to ports previously available to us. Thousands of tons of supplies are entering these ports daily for onward routing over short overland hauls to our United Nations units engaging the enemy to the north. Many drifting mines are still being sighted by our naval patrols both from the surface and the air. Many of these drifting mines are being destroyed and in most instances, as heretofore, prove to be still live, even though they have no moorings. This is further evidence that the North Koreans have deliberately violated international law in planting mines that do not become harmless when they break loose from their moorings. This mine menace, both due to moored mines and drifting mines, will prove to be a source of great danger to the shipping of all nations even after the cessation of hostilities.

### **Air Operations**

Air Forces of five nations, continuing the offensive launched by the United States Far East Air Forces in June, struck repeatedly at Communist forces and installations in the narrow band of North Korea controlled by the aggressor. The major part of the air effort comprised sorties in direct and close support of ground forces. Other than during occasional periods of bad weather ground unit commanders could anticipate early response to their calls for assistance by air.

The effectiveness of the United Nations air effort to prevent resupply and reinforcement of the enemies of the United Nations is seriously reduced by the restrictions to operations imposed by the border. Supply and concentration centers in the zone of action have been repeatedly attacked to the detriment of hostile capabilities, but the most suitable targets, many of them visible to our pilots flying south of the Yalu river, are north of the border, and immune to our attacks. The effects

of destruction of some of the international bridges is being nullified by the freezing of the river which permits crossing on the ice by heavy equipment at many points.

Hostile air activity, during the period 24 November–1 December, inclusive, was noted on twenty-three different occasions, with an over-all total of at least forty-four enemy aircraft reported as being involved. It is not practical to estimate total aircraft committed by the enemy, as sightings on various days might include previously employed aircraft. Although fewer enemy jets were sighted and observations were less frequent than during the past three-four weeks, and, regardless of the fact that there were only three aerial engagements, utilization of enemy aircraft showed signs of becoming more effective. This was indicated by the 28 November and 1 December attacks on Pyongyang airfield during the early morning hours of darkness. The first of these attacks damaged six United Nations aircraft and killed one person, damage resulting from the second has not yet been reported. On 26 November, on the same general vicinity, enemy aircraft accomplished four propaganda leaflet drops. Two unidentified 4-engine aircraft were observed on 28 November and one unidentified twin-engine aircraft, and possibly another, were observed on 26 November. Probable reconnaissance of front line areas by enemy aircraft was indicated by the greater number of friendly ground unit observations.

The enemy aircraft could appear in much greater numbers and become increasingly aggressive. Should this occur, and in the strength believed available to the Chinese Communist air forces, it is believed that the enemy air force would be capable of:

- (1) Diverting a considerable portion of the United Nations air effort from the direct support of ground action;

- (2) Hindering the United Nations air lift in Korea;

- (3) Striking United Nations vessels and installations of Korea; and

- (4) Possible effective support of enemy ground action.

The readily accessible sanctuary in Manchuria has provided the enemy with an advantage that is almost impossible for our airmen to overcome despite our superiority in other respects.

A significant development in the United Na-

tions air operations has been the increased number of attacks mounted at night against the enemy whose major movements are attempted under cover of darkness. Air resupply continues its important contribution to our operations.

### **Prisoners of War**

No large numbers of Communist prisoners were taken during the period of this report; the Eighth Army captured no North Korean prisoners on their front from 20 to 28 November. The total captured to date numbers in excess of 140,000 of which 275 are Chinese.

All enemy prisoners of war of Chinese nationality were being detained in separate compounds segregated from Korean prisoners of war, in accordance with the provisions of article 22 of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war of August 12, 1949.

During the last half of the period covered by this report about sixty United States prisoners of war, nearly all of whom were wounded, were returned to the United Nations control by the Chinese Communists. These recovered United States prisoners have all been evacuated through medical channels and are now being cared for in United States medical facilities located in Japan.

It is interesting to note that more than 6,000 North Korean prisoners of war are being given hospital facilities staffed and operated by United Nations personnel.

### **Atrocities**

The investigation of reported war crimes continues on an increased scope as a result of improved conditions in those areas of Korea which have been liberated from Communist control. No reports of any atrocities have been received from the areas recently taken by United Nations troops. Reports from the very small number of wounded United Nations troops recently released by the Chinese Communists of humane treatment is in marked contrast with all other reports in this regard received since the beginning of hostilities. Too few have been released to draw any valid conclusions as to whether the actions taken and publicly announced by the United Nations Command to insure the punishment of war criminals have convinced the enemy of the necessity that all prisoners of war and non-combatants receive the humane treatment required under international law and demanded by modern civilization.

## Civil Activities

Over-all contributions of civilian relief supplies from United Nations member nations now total approximately sixteen million dollars. These include food, clothing, medical and disease prevention supplies, fuel and miscellaneous items.

The advent of cold weather has made the clothing problem acute. Urgent need exists for additional quantities of blankets and clothing. Although medical and hospital supplies including sanitary materials are arriving in increased quantities a serious shortage of these items still exists due to the looting and destruction by the Communist forces in their withdrawal to the north.

Increasing quantities of rice, barley and flour received through United Nations sources have greatly improved the food situation in urban areas where the situation was acute. Conditions were particularly critical in the city of Seoul but regular free rations from November 3 to 15 caused the price of rice to fall from 8,000 won to 3,700 won per small mal (13.6 pounds). The rice price in June was 2,000 won per small mal. The government expects to collect 700,000 metric tons of rice from the current harvest. However, lack of transportation facilities from the rural to the urban areas may still present feeding problems in the larger cities. As rapidly as conditions permit rice polishing mills are being put in operation with two such mills in the Hungnam-Hamhung area being placed in operation during this period.

Where possible, immunization programs have continued among the civilian population. The existing situation does not permit accurate disease reporting. However, there has been no indication of a serious outbreak of any communicable disease in either north or south Korea.

As rapidly as conditions permit local and provincial governments are being re-established throughout the areas in north Korea. Government officials are temporarily appointed and operate under the supervision of civil assistance officers of the United Nations Command.

Construction has been in the minimum due to scarcity of materials, transportation and equipment. Public buildings and hospitals are undergoing minor repair. Railroads and bridges have been reconstructed to the degree necessary for movement of military supplies and troops. An effort is being made to rehabilitate the fishing

industry. Boats are being repaired and quantities of diesel fuel have been provided.

I would like to reiterate my previous statements that the contributions of member nations of the United Nations in personnel, supplies and matériel are contributing materially to the achievement of the United Nations objective in Korea and that continued assistance to the war torn country will do much to alleviate the suffering that exists.

## Psychological Warfare

Intensive efforts are being made to inform soldiers, both Korean and Chinese Communists, of the truth about the Korean conflict and to persuade them to cease resistance. During the latter half of November 20,000,000 leaflets and numerous loudspeakers broadcasts, both from the ground and from the air, were employed for this purpose, using message in Korean and in Chinese. Messages reiterate the objectives of the United Nations in Korea, and the assurance that the United Nations forces will respect the Sino-Korean frontier. They inform the enemy soldier of the liberation of most of Korea, and point out to him that further resistance serves no effective purpose except to obstruct the efforts of the Korean People to achieve independence and unity. More than 136,000,000 leaflets have now been disseminated in Korea. Similar information is being communicated to the civil population by radio broadcasts from Seoul and Pyongyang, as well as from United Nations Command Headquarters.

United Nations land and carrier-based aircraft have attacked unremittingly and successfully targets in the limited battle area, but the denial to United Nations air of access to the most suitable and important targets north of the privileged border has precluded success in isolation of the battlefield.

Complete organized Chinese Communist units totalling over five Chinese Communist Forces Armies with a strength of approximately 250,000 have already crossed into north Korea and attacked United Nations forces.

At the closing of the period United Nations ground units were on the defensive.

Hostile aircraft continue to attack United Nations forces from the sanctuary of bases in Manchuria.

United Nations naval minesweeping forces have opened the majority of the large ports in north Korea for United Nations shipping.

# Facing Up to the Challenge of the Present World Crisis

by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Question:

Some Americans of authority are saying that this is America's darkest hour. Do you believe that?

*Answer:*

Mr. Severeid, a nation's darkest hour is when its citizens lose their will and their courage. Americans have never done that. During the winter of Valley Forge, many people thought that was our country's darkest hour, but General Washington and his army and the people who supported him in the country never lost their courage and never lost their will. Other people thought that, 9 years ago now, the night of Pearl Harbor, was our darkest hour; but, again, Americans never lost their will, and they never lost their courage. And they faced up to the challenge which that event brought before them.

And, now, today, we are confronted by another aggressive force in the world. A well-armed force, a highly mobilized force, and that calls for action on our part to build our strength. We must build tanks, and guns, and planes, and more of them, and build them faster. We can do this. We are doing it, and we must do still more.

## 2. Question:

Most Americans seem to be keenly conscious of our strategic and military weaknesses in the face of Russia. What are our major points of strength?

*Answer:*

It is a good thing to be conscious of your weaknesses if being conscious of them leads you to do something about correcting them. We have great sources of strength.

In the first place, we have the tremendous source of strength that our cause is right. We are on the side of freedom and on the side of the great spiritual values which have created our country.

In the second place, we have friends who believe in the same values that we believe and this is a great source of strength.

In the third place, we and our friends have the greatest industrial capacity in the world which, in turn, can make us and our friends strong.

And, in the fourth place, we have not merely potential strength but we have strength in being since we have a first-class Navy and we have a strong Air Force, and, in our Army, we have the

nucleus around which we can build a real fighting force.

We have not only these forces in being but we have the power to retaliate against any aggressor who attacks us and our friends and that power cannot be overlooked. We expect to make ourselves respected and to deter aggression.

## 3. Question:

What can the average American now do to help his country through this time of crisis?

*Answer:*

Well, Mr. Severeid, it is precisely the average American who has the future of this country in his hands. In the first place, he must understand what the danger is that confronts us. I think most of our citizens do understand that, and I think that they are prepared to do all that is necessary to meet it. This means acting responsibly, and acting steadily, and acting with courage.

For some of us, this means service in the Forces. For others of us, it means work on farms, in factories, in the Government, in mines. It means not merely that we must produce more and more and more, but it means that we must not do the things which interfere with the effort of the country. We must not buy unnecessary things. We must not waste materials, and we must not try to evade the regulations which are set up for the security of all of us.

In short, the heart of the whole matter is that we must produce more. The prescription which we need today is the prescription which Mr. Churchill gave to England in 1940—blood and toil, sweat and tears—and may I add, faith—faith in our country, faith that the great task before us can be done and that it will be done.

## Orientation Course for Point 4 Experts Completed

The first orientation course for Point 4 experts assigned to jobs in the field has just been completed. After 2 weeks of intensive study in the Foreign Service Institute, the first group of experts to undergo this special training will now go out to do technical assistance work in Liberia, India, Haiti, El Salvador, and other Latin American countries under the Point 4 Program.

The new course is the first to be given in connection with the Point 4 Program. It puts primary emphasis on the understanding of foreign peoples, their cultures, history, customs, and languages.

The next course is planned for the second week in January and Point 4 Administrator Henry G. Bennett expects eventually to extend the period of orientation for all technicians over a 3-6 month period. The Foreign Service Institute has put two experienced anthropologists in charge of planning and instruction. They are Edward A. Kennard and Edward T. Hall. The American Anthropological Association is preparing a general manual for use in the course.

<sup>1</sup> Comments made at an interview with Eric Severeid, CBS commentator, over the Columbia Broadcasting System during its show, "The Challenge of the Fifties—Years of Crisis," on Dec. 31 and released to the press on the same date.

# The United Nations Faces Aggression

by Ernest A. Gross

Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations<sup>1</sup>

On June 25, 1950, international communism made plain, as the President said 2 days later, that . . .

"it had passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war.

The validity of this prediction has received striking confirmation by the Chinese Communist armed invasion and war against the Republic of Korea and the United Nations forces in Korea.

The United Nations is confronted now with the necessity to take decisions which relate generally to the role of the United Nations in the strategy of peace. I shall attempt to analyze some of the factors which I think must be taken into account in reaching these decisions.

The peoples of the United Nations, having formed a coalition which developed and executed a successful strategy of war, organized the United Nations as the primary mechanism for developing and executing the strategy of peace.

## Communist Revolt Against Collective Security

It has, of course, been increasingly obvious during the past 5 years that the Soviet Union, bent upon a course of Communist imperialism, would persist in its violation of the standards of conduct which the United Nations Charter establishes as the basic essentials of peace. "Aggression against the U. N." is simply one way of describing a revolt against the collective security system. Because of the refusal of Soviet communism to comply with the basic requirements of this system, it has been necessary for the free world to take strenuous measures for the maintenance of conditions in which the collective security system could survive

and take root. The Communist leadership, not content with violating its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, has even gone so far as to attack those measures which the free world found it necessary to take in order to prevent the United Nations from being destroyed by these very violations. For example, the North Atlantic Treaty, which was made necessary because of the Soviet subversion of the United Nations collective security system, is attacked by the Soviet Union as being itself a subversion of the Charter. The Soviet, therefore, attacks both the primary and secondary defenses of the collective security system.

The question is whether the United Nations is furthering, or can further, the efforts of the free world to develop the strategy of peace.

## The Need for Quick Decisions

It had seemed that the development of solidarity would be a gradual process, brought on by the business of working and planning together in the United Nations, by the use of this "center for harmonizing the actions of nations." What most of us had expected was admirably expressed by Assistant Secretary Rusk over a year ago:

If danger comes, it will be most effectively met not on the basis of reluctant decisions made under the shadow of tragic events, but on the basis of a common cause and an inescapable decision made in the long process of building a peace.

However, we now see that history may well record the survival or destruction of the United Nations precisely on the basis of its ability or inability to make "reluctant decisions under the shadow of tragic events."

It is not enough that institutions be built upon valid fundamental principles. Institutions survive only if they have the capacity to take decisions essential to their existence. It was not much more than a century ago that intense factional strife

<sup>1</sup>Address made before the American Political Science Association at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

within our own country led John Marshall to say, after his 30 years as Chief Justice:

I yield slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last.

It did last, because the society, whose compact it is, had the capacity to take necessary decisions.

### **Can the U.N. Survive Attacks by a Great Power**

I believe that the fundamental decision which faces the free world members of the United Nations is whether to abandon the collective security system in the face of the large-scale rebellion against that system. The centrally directed Communist imperialism is now engaged in what may be its decisive effort to bring to its own terms the basis upon which the international order will be conducted henceforth. It has proclaimed openly by force of arms, by overt violence, and by crude threat its intention to subvert the international system as it has subverted numerous national systems in countries now reduced to vassalage. It has embarked on a course which, if successful, would leave a stunted United Nations, serving as a Soviet satellite.

There are some who say "The U. N. was never designed to cope with situations in which great powers disagree among themselves." I do not find any such limitation inherent in the United Nations Charter. It is indeed difficult to contemplate with anything but foreboding the chaos into which our international society is being plunged by the Communist revolt against the Charter. But into what darker chaos would the free world be staring if it abandoned the system of collective security which is under assault? What would be the relative positions of the large and small nations if that should occur?

### **Purpose of Collective Security System**

The answer to this question depends upon a practical appreciation of the purposes of a collective security system. I referred at the beginning of my remarks to the fact that the United Nations was established as the primary mechanism for developing and executing the strategy of peace.

Up to this moment of history, there has, of course, never been a successful and durable strategy of peace. The mechanisms of bilateral diplomacy, military coalitions and alliances, regional groupings, organizations of states in the form of commonwealths, federations or leagues, all have succumbed, at one time or another, to attacks by aggressors who found themselves with physical means to accomplish their aggressive designs. The experience of history thus proves that the only hope of insuring that force shall not be used except in the common interest is through what the Charter describes as "the acceptance of the principles and the institution of methods" of a

collective security system. Obviously, a collective security system does not, in itself, insure peace, as the fate of the League of Nations demonstrates. The point is that the absence of a collective security system is, in itself, an invitation to aggression and, hence, will make war almost inevitable in a world in which there lurk powerful aggressors.

### **Deterrent Value of Programs of Strength**

This should be all the more obvious to the peoples of the free world because of the fact that the United States programs of economic and military assistance are based upon precisely the same reasoning. That is to say, that weakness and disunity stand as an open temptation to the predatory to undertake quick and cheap aggressions. The program of military assistance was not based upon an absurd assumption that Western Europe could, within any foreseeable period, establish and equip a military force which, man for man or division for division, could match the armed forces of international communism. On the contrary, the Congress would have disapproved any such program not only because it would have been inherently impractical but also because it would have destroyed the economic base of Western Europe. The fundamental justification for the Military Assistance Program is that a military vacuum in Western Europe would offer to Communist aggression an open invitation to win a quick and easy victory with a minimum of risk to itself.

So, also, the North Atlantic Treaty stands as a deterrent to aggression in that, by a demonstration of unity, it increases the risk to the aggressor and, hence, decreases the risk of aggression. As the Senate Foreign Relations Committee put it in their unanimous report:

The primary objective of the Treaty is to contribute to the maintenance of peace by making clear the determination of the parties collectively to resist armed attack upon any of them. It is designed to strengthen the system of law based upon the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It should go far to remove any uncertainty which might mislead potential aggressors as to the determination of the parties fully to carry out their obligations under the Charter and collectively to resist an armed attack.

The manifest determination of the members of the United Nations collectively to resist aggression and never appease will, if anything can, similarly go far to remove any uncertainty which might mislead potential aggressors into minimizing the risks they run. This is a part of the mobilization of the resources of the free world. It is the best, if not the only, method by which many small countries can contribute to the common struggles in which their survival as free nations is at stake.

There is no doubt in my mind that it is for this very reason that Communist imperialism finds the United Nations in its way. This is why we now confront the open revolt against the Charter.

It is in this light that the free world, particularly the smaller countries, should appraise the carefully contrived Communist effort to isolate them from the United States. We are scaling the face of the cliff together, and, if we allow the rope to be cut, it will not necessarily be the largest of the group who will be the first to fall into the abyss.

### **Identity of U.S. and U.N. Principles**

We ourselves often forget, and it is, therefore, all the more natural that even our closest friends may fail to remember, the close parallel between the principles on which our country was founded and the motives which called the United Nations into being: peace and security; the dignity and worth of the individual and the inviolability of his basic rights; equal treatment of all under impartially administered law; opportunity for advancement commensurate with ability and enterprise.

These are principles common to the United Nations Charter and to the Constitution of the United States. It is against these principles that international communism is in open rebellion. People often take for granted that, whatever the pressures, somehow, these principles will endure, both in practice in the United States and as standards for future achievement in the international society. In many parts of the world today, policies are formulated by governments and accepted by people on the basis of a conviction and a faith in the essential integrity of the United States. Criticism is directed against us not on the ground that we despoil or threaten to take away but that we do not give enough or do not share our gifts equitably. We are assailed not because we are feared but because of faults which are common to all men and which we ourselves are frequently the first to admit. Because we are not feared, we are not appeased. Yet, we would neither seek nor tolerate appeasement because we prefer to have men's respect than to have their fear.

I believe profoundly that the American way of life will survive in the world. But I think it is time for all members of the free world to understand how crucially important it is for them that it does survive. This is the essential significance of the parallel which I have drawn between the principles upon which the United States and the United Nations are based. I do not know if one can long survive the other, but I believe that the free nations cannot survive without both.

### **Soviet Efforts To Isolate Free World From U.S.**

I referred a few moments ago to the efforts by Communist imperialism to isolate the free world from the United States. The clearest example is their carefully developed propaganda line regarding the United Nations action in Korea.

You will recall that the President said in his statement of June 27:

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latest aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far-reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law.

The United Nations did consider the consequences and had the capacity to make a bold and quick decision. It was thus that the world was confronted with no Munich in Korea, and it was only thus that the United Nations survived.

In the face of this decision to uphold the rule of law against the rule of force, the Soviet propaganda machine in Asia at once began to portray the action in Korea as an "American intervention." This, of course, was intended to arouse the latent xenophobia of the Asians as well as the hatreds engendered by long periods of imperial exploitation, including that of the Russians. For American consumption, however, communism has stressed the relatively slight contribution made by other United Nations members so as to discourage American support of the United Nations effort. For European consumption, the Communist line has been that the United States efforts in Korea have detracted from the United States programs of assistance; in the Middle East and Latin America, Communist propaganda has sought to arouse hatred of the United States because we did not have assistance programs of comparable scope to those maintained in Europe.

These inherently contradictory lines have one common objective: the destruction of the collective security system.

### **Attempt To Isolate Free World From U.S.**

Perhaps, the most revealing effort in this direction is the persistent line taken both by Moscow and Peiping that the Chinese Communists are "suspicious of American intentions in Korea." The pattern of the operation is simple.

For months, the people of China have been continuously exposed by their masters to the lie that the Americans are intervening in Korea, that we launched an attack on June 25, that we wished to establish bases in Korea, and that we plan aggression in China. During this same period, with the barbarity of method common to all police states, no other point of view has been permitted expression. The same Communist propaganda organs have worked throughout Asia, the Middle East, and other sensitive and troubled areas, building up the same false picture; that is, an alleged fear on the part of the Chinese people against American aggressive intentions.

Part of the pattern is to accompany this fabric of lies by a pretense that the intentions of no one else but the Americans are suspect. This device helps to entrap the unwary or the wishful into believing that, however vicious the methods of the aggressor, his motives might not be wholly evil.

## Efforts of Cease-Fire Group

A group of 13 Asian and Middle Eastern countries sponsored a resolution which the General Assembly adopted on December 14, 1950, with only the Russian bloc voting against it. This resolution set up a group of three persons to examine the possibility of arranging a cease-fire. The carefully coordinated Moscow-Peiping line did not rest itself upon a mere rejection of this obviously fair and honest procedure. Instead, the Soviet representative to the United Nations and later Mr. Chou En-Lai took the line that these 13 nations, while themselves desiring peace, . . .

had failed to see through the whole intrigue of the United States Government.

Mr. Chou En-Lai, therefore, called upon the group of 13 states to "free themselves from U.S. pressure," to abandon the cease-fire group of three, and to give up the idea of cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards.

The technique employed here is precisely the same as that adopted in the face of reports filed by the United Nations Commission on Korea setting forth the facts of the North Korean aggression on June 25. The Soviet representative to the United Nations repeatedly dismissed the reports of the United Nations Commission as mere products of American domination and intrigue despite the fact that the reports were signed by the 7 members of the Commission, all of whom were representing their governments in the performance of tasks assigned by the United Nations General Assembly.

## Assurances of Free World Willingness To Negotiate

We shall probably be hearing that the so-called suspicions of American intentions may be based, to some extent, on alleged uncertainty concerning our willingness to negotiate issues of concern to the Chinese Communists. We have made it clear, repeatedly and officially, that we shall do everything that we can, through whatever channels are open to us, to seek a peaceful solution of existing issues. This was most recently stated in the communiqué issued by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee on December 8.<sup>2</sup>

In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the cease-fire group established by the General Assembly sent a message to Peiping expressing the clear understanding on their part, as well as on the part of the 12 Asian sponsors, that once a cease-fire arrangement had been achieved, negotiations regarding existing issues would be proceeded with at once and that the Peiping regime would be included in such negotiations. This message was not even referred to in the statement made by the Peiping regime on December 22 rejecting the whole effort of the cease-fire group.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 959.

## Request to Peiping Not To Cross 38th Parallel

Mr. Chou En-Lai remained just as silent on this point as he has remained concerning the declaration adopted on December 5 by 13 Asian and Middle Eastern countries calling upon the Chinese Communists to refrain from crossing the 38th parallel. He has, perhaps, answered the latter appeal by implication. His statement of December 22, again using the familiar tactic of isolating the United Nations from the United States, refers to the "obliteration" of the 38th parallel—

When the invading troops of the United States arrogantly crossed the 38th parallel at the beginning of the month of October.

I have summarized at this length the line followed by Moscow and Peiping in the Korean question because international communism has quite obviously perceived an acute need to isolate the free world from the United States in the Korean case, representing as it does the high-water mark up of the revolt against the collective security system.

I do not think this attempt to corrupt the moral unity of the free world will succeed. There is little danger that the members of the free world will forget the importance of the action boldly taken and loudly cheered on June 25. The military set-back which has ensued from the massive Chinese aggression does not in any way detract from the morality and fundamental wisdom of the action taken by the United Nations on June 25. This action was essential in order to preserve the collective security system, which would otherwise have fallen apart into fragments.

## Collective Security or Chaos

The determination to resist aggression, shown on June 25, made it necessary for Communist imperialism to take a much graver risk in order to pursue its aggressive designs. The risk does not only involve the mobilization of a huge war effort, with a consequent diminution of the public services so badly needed by the Chinese people, it also involves a risk of consequences, the gravity of which is still incalculable. These risks to the aggressors will grow—not diminish—if the collective security system maintains itself intact, preserves its moral position, and strengthens itself with all the measures of self-sacrifice that may be required. The United Nations must, of course, prudently calculate the tactics of time, place, and method in its pursuit of the strategy of peace. But it will become clearer, as adversity increases, that, although a collective security system will not insure peace, the disappearance of the collective security system would be a certain invitation to disaster far exceeding even the great threat which now hangs over civilization.

## **Review of Relations With Near East, South Asia, and Africa**

*Statement by George C. McGhee  
Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian  
and African Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Normally, we Americans, as the year draws to a close, like to look back over what has happened, to recall with pleasure the brighter days, and perhaps to push back in our memory the darker ones. But, as this year comes to an end, no thinking person can dismiss from his mind the gravity of the events that have cast their shadow on the lives of people all over the world. No thinking person can look into the future with complete confidence. We can, however, look back over the recent past and select those factors on which we can build constructively in the days to come.

When we review the cumulative developments of the past year in the countries of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa—I believe we find some indications which offer encouragement for the future. These are three:

progress in the strengthening of our relations with these countries;  
progress toward their own political and economic development;  
progress toward a more realistic understanding of the true nature of the danger that confronts the free world.

### **Relations With Other Countries**

First, our relations with these countries—both our diplomatic relations and our less formal contacts—have grown stronger and more friendly. In the past, there has, unfortunately, been suspicion on the part of some peoples of the world of the United States and its motives. There have been charges of American imperialism, charges of discrimination against certain peoples and of partiality for one state at the expense of another.

The year is closing, I am confident, with a deeper measure of understanding of our objectives. I feel sure that we, in turn, have come to a better appreciation of the aspirations of other peoples. This growth of mutual understanding has been greatly increased by numerous visits of high government officials. It has been strengthened by the many visits of teachers and students, of technicians, journalists, and professional people. We attach high value to this interchange, not only because it furthers the flow of knowledge in both directions but also because of the personal friendships which are made. It is through such channels that we have been able to make ourselves known to the peoples of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa. It is through such channels that we have both come

to realize that our basic aims are identical—that we both desire to improve our way of life and to live in peace, with security against subversion or aggression. The strengthening of our relations through recognition of the mutuality of our interests is an important foundation on which we are building.

### **Economic Progress of Other Countries**

A second element which we welcome is the progress which the Near East, South Asia, and African peoples have made in economic and political betterment. These countries are demonstrating a growing determination to apply the principle of self-help in achieving their own development. It has been gratifying to us that we have been able to extend assistance in several ways—through economic assistance under the ECA; through support of applications for International Bank loans; and through loans from our own Export-Import Bank. Programs of technical assistance are now underway in many countries. Technical assistance agreements have been concluded with Liberia, Iran, Ceylon, and India, and negotiation of several other such agreements is well-advanced. All of these programs, which are being undertaken on the initiative of these countries will improve the well-being of their peoples.

We have also seen progress in political development. To choose at random, we have seen it in the democratic elections in Egypt and Turkey; in the progress toward creation of a new independent state in Libya; in the growth of constitutional government in Jordan. We have seen it generally in the remarkable growth of political institutions in the new states of the area—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Israel—and in the resolute way in which these states have assumed full responsibility for the conduct of their domestic and international affairs. This progress toward development of freedom and strength is a second constructive trend on which to build.

### **Restoring Peace Through the U.N.**

Finally, the countries of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa have demonstrated their desire to work for the restoration and maintenance of peace through the United Nations. While there have been some divergencies as to methods of solving the difficult international problems which confront the world, these nations have been united—with us and with the free world as a whole—in common agreement on objectives.

We are confident that our friends will increasingly direct their attention to the main problem which confronts them, even as it confronts us. We are confident that they will put aside the relatively minor differences between themselves, all of which are capable of solution through the exercise of restraint and wisdom,—so that they will be

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 28 and released to the press on the same date.

able to meet the paramount problem we all face—the problem of assuring our continued survival as free nations. Out of this new awareness, this growing appreciation of the one great danger which confronts the world, the danger of Soviet imperialism, is developing a new hope for closer collaboration. We seek, at the same time, the creation of an international climate in which all peoples can play their part and can realize, to the maximum extent possible, their individual and national aspirations.

The growth of mutual understanding, the economic and political progress of free peoples, and a realistic appreciation of the nature of the danger which we are facing together—on these we can build, indeed we must build, for our common survival in the years ahead.

## **The OAS—Expression of Hemisphere Law and Order**

*Statement by Edward G. Miller  
Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

We have reached the midpoint of the twentieth century. We are about to embark on the second stretch, leading to the year 2000. Probably, in all the 1,950 years of the Christian era, there has never before been a month in which the world—as nations and as individuals—was as fully aware as we are, here and now, of the extent to which our personal lives are affected by the stress and tension of international conflict. Undoubtedly, there has, never before, been such determination on the part of so many nations to stand together and work together in withstanding that stress. The existence of the United Nations is positive proof. Within the United Nations, a cornerstone of the whole, the Organization of American States (OAS), four-square and staunch, represents Western Hemisphere solidarity in a shaken world.

### **Solidarity of Western Hemisphere**

In all sincerity, I believe that our 21 Republics afford an example that should inspire and hearten other regions of the earth. The Americas have proved that countries can discuss their common problems at a common council table and find pacific solutions on a basis of perfect equality and complete respect. I am convinced that our hemisphere New World pattern affords a pattern for a global New World.

In a world shaken by conflict, there is, in the Americas, peace among nations. Disagreements and misunderstandings occur from time to time, but there is wise provision for dealing with them. A most important advance in hemisphere solidar-

ity was achieved when the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed 3 years ago at Rio de Janeiro. This treaty is a pact for the common defense of the American nations, standing together, an impenetrable bulwark of collective freedom. According to it, each is outpost and guardian for itself and its sister states. It is our mutual pledge to cooperate in maintaining regional order and in repelling aggression. The workability of this Rio treaty was reemphasized this year when it was applied to dissensions in the Caribbean area and led to their peaceful solution.

In January of the present year, the United States inaugurated periodical conferences of its diplomatic representatives to the other American Republics. These meetings reaffirm the interest of our Government in the inter-American system and in the Organization of American States as the highest expression of hemisphere law and order.

The present year has been marked also by important developments respecting treaties through which our country helps build solidarity. These include approval by the Senate of the charter of the Organization of American States. This charter, which supplies the structural pattern of the inter-American system, was signed in the form of an inter-American treaty at the Ninth Conference of American States. Other important treaty enactments of our own Government during the past year include the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Economic Development with Uruguay and the Cultural Convention with Brazil.

Early in 1950, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, at an extraordinary session at Washington, agreed to set up a special board and budget to handle technical cooperation among our 21 Republics. This involves basic research on such problems as population, material resources, agriculture, fuel and power, labor, mining, fiscal policy, and transportation. It means that the American Republics will engage in joint endeavor to solve these problems.

In the wider field of world policy, the American Republics asserted both their own solidarity and their support of the United Nations by their swift, unanimous resolution in condemnation of aggression against the Republic of Korea and by their tenacious defense of the United Nations' positions with respect to that aggression.

Our own Government has recently suggested to the other nations of this hemisphere that a meeting of consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs be held in the near future. In so doing, we are seeking means to give expression to what is, I am sure, the common determination of our 21 countries to hold fast to that freedom and democracy upon which all the American Republics are founded and which, please God, individually and collectively, we shall continue to cherish and defend.

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 28 and released to the press on the same date.

## American Efforts To Meet Threats of Aggression

*Statement by George W. Perkins  
Assistant Secretary for European Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Last week, a report from Moscow said that the people of the United States were increasing their demands for peace. For once, the Kremlin was speaking the truth.

Of course, I fully realize that the Communist leaders had a very special reason for making such a statement. They wanted to alarm the people of free Europe. They wanted to plant fear in the minds of Europeans by implying that America would soon return to isolationism.

They wanted to give the impression that America would not stand together with other nations for their common defense against aggression. This is a standard Soviet propaganda trick. They want to break down the unity of the people of the free world.

But let us return to the statement from Moscow about Americans increasing their demands for peace. That is quite true. And the easiest way to prove it is to look at the actions the Americans have taken for peace.

In 1945, the United States had a military force of more than 12 million men and women. The war had ended, and our military forces were brought back home and demobilized.

Did the Kremlin leaders demobilize? No, they did not. They kept large forces under arms to permit them to make satellites of several neighboring countries and fasten their control on many millions of people.

### Steps To Prevent Aggression

Their actions threatened world peace once more. This was contrary to the deepest longings of all the peoples of the world—particularly the people of the Soviet Union, who know so well the horrors of war. Nevertheless, the Kremlin took the road that leads to aggression. So, the American people, anxious to prevent war, took steps to prevent this threat by working with others who felt as they did.

First, the American people sent aid to Greece and Turkey when it became obvious that Moscow wanted to add those two countries to its growing collection of satellites.

Next, the American people approved the Marshall Plan of aid to Europe. In fact, the American people were so anxious to help recreate a peaceful world that they also offered Marshall Plan aid to the Russian people and the people of Eastern Europe. But the Kremlin refused, and ordered

its satellites to do the same thing. The Communist followers of the Kremlin in France, Italy, and elsewhere have been trying to sabotage all efforts to reconstruct a peaceful world ever since.

To meet the continuing Soviet threat of aggression, the people of America then concluded that they must join with other countries to preserve peace. So, they approved a plan to coordinate and combine the defense efforts of the North Atlantic countries to preserve peace.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has become a reality. The American people have agreed for the first time in history to participate with other free European nations in collective defense. In accordance with the United Nations Charter, 12 free nations have started to combine their national defense efforts. Their sole objective is to preserve peace by showing a firm determination to resist armed attack. The character of the NATO is defensive. Its goal is peace.

At the start of these preparations, this past year, an attack was launched against the Republic of Korea. We all know what happened there on last June 25. We all know how swiftly the United Nations responded to this act of aggression. We all know that, when the United Nations asked the Kremlin to intervene in North Korea on behalf of peace, the Kremlin said, "No." We all know that, when the United Nations tried to negotiate with the Communists on the Korea incident, the Communists refused. We all know that, every time the United Nations has taken a vote for peace, the Soviet bloc has voted against.

When Communist aggression became even more flagrant and more formidable in Korea, the American people immediately approved a new and much bigger program to enable them to do more to defend the peace of the free world. Much equipment has already been sent to free Europe. The volume of such deliveries will be much bigger during the coming year.

Last week at Brussels, the Atlantic Pact nations decided to unite their defense forces under a single commander—General Eisenhower. For the first time in history, free nations of the world are organizing a combined defense force under a common commander in chief before an attack instead of after. We all believe that such advance preparations will serve as a warning to any potential aggressor. We know for certain that without any such defense preparations the aggressor would feel free to start war by attack and that he would do so, sooner or later. The American people have agreed, as I mentioned a few moments ago, to increase their own efforts and to have larger forces and to produce more material for defense and mutual aid. The other member nations are also increasing their efforts to defend the peace.

Let me say once again. The people of the world want peace. The people behind the iron curtain, who are now cut off from the free world by their rulers, share with us the dread of war.

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 26 and released to the press on Dec. 28.

This is Christmas time. It is the time when the people of America, together with the other people of the free world, are united in prayers for peace. I want to tell you that at this time, as always, the American people are striving to maintain peace throughout the world. They are willing to do much themselves, and they are willing to work together with others who would join with them to bring the rule of peace and good will to this earth.

## **Our Contributions to the Peace**

*Statement by Dean Rusk  
Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

As 1950 draws to a close, the American people have a right to be proud of a policy which, during the five postwar years, has concerned itself with the building of the peace, the advance of human liberty, and the raising of the standards of living of men and women in every quarter of the globe.

We have attempted by every possible means to make our contribution to the peace. We have made concessions up to the limits of conscience in an effort to reach workable agreements.

Our foreign policy has been reflected in our willingness to submit atomic weapons to international control, in feeding and clothing those stricken by the war, in supporting free elections and government by consent, in building factories and dams, power plants and railways, schools and hospitals, in improving seed and stock and fertilizer, in stimulating markets, and improving the skills and techniques of others in a hundred different ways.

Let these things stand in contrast to a foreign policy directed toward the extension of tyranny and using the big lie, sabotage, suspicion, riot, and assassination as its tools.

The great strength of the United States is devoted to the peaceful pursuits of our own people and to the decent opinions of mankind. But it is not healthy for any regime or group of regimes to incur, by their lawless and aggressive conduct, the implacable opposition of the American people.

The lawbreaker, unfortunately, in the nature of things, always has the initiative, but the peace-loving peoples of the world can and will make themselves strong enough to insist upon peace.

### **Collective Security in the Far East**

In the situation facing us at the year's end, our position, in the final analysis, rests upon the fact that, if the Chinese Communist regime desires

peace with the rest of the world and is primarily concerned with the welfare of China and not with the advancement of Bolshevik interests or the extension of control over neighboring countries, then, specific problems at issue will fall naturally into perspective and can be solved by peaceful means. But, if this is not the desire of the Chinese Communists, if in fact they are dedicated to the overthrow of the national governments of the other Asian states and the destruction of the free world along orthodox Bolshevik lines, then, attempts to solve specific issues will prove futile.

From the time the Chinese Communists moved from subversion to the open conquest of China, they used every opportunity to single out Americans and American interests as special objects of their animosity. By outrageous treatment of our representatives in disregard of all civilized standards, by encouragement of extortionate demands and riotous action on the part of local employees of our consular offices, by arbitrary and illegal seizure of United States official property, the Chinese Communists made plain that they were determined to drive us from their midst.

The reasons are simple. We believe in the political integrity of China. They seem willing to dismember China to suit the Kremlin's interests. We believe in freedom. They have brought tyranny. And the seeds of freedom in their midst were more than they could tolerate.

We have a long record of sympathy for China and have demonstrated our belief that genuine Chinese and American interests are the same, that we have no desire to seek a voice in the internal affairs of China, that we intend to observe scrupulously the political independence and territorial integrity of China.

The plain fact is that, given Chinese Communist intentions as now revealed, the danger of the present serious situation could have been avoided only by submission to aggression, but that would produce even greater dangers to the rest of the world. It could not have been avoided by any action on the part of the United Nations or the United States short of acquiescence in the elimination of the Republic of Korea. That would have destroyed, finally, the principle of collective security and would have left the United Nations moribund.

The Chinese Communists took part in the preparations for the treacherous North Korean assault long before it was actually launched. A large portion of the North Korean forces that drove across the 38th parallel last June had come from China. Many had been transferred to Korea during the preceding year, some just a few weeks before. More followed. And we also now know that considerable Soviet military equipment for the North Korean forces was shipped through Manchuria, with the heaviest shipments, including aircraft, taking place in April and May of

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

this year prior to the aggression. The bulk of the Chinese Communist forces which intervened in Korea in October were units of the Communists' Fourth Field Army which previously had been stationed in South China but which started moving North to the Korean border before the outbreak of hostilities. There can be no doubt now but that the Chinese Communists, from the very start, had every intention of intervening actively should North Korean forces fail in their mission to seize all of Korea.

As President Truman said after his conferences with Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, we have no intention of getting out of Korea. We put our forces in Korea in support of the United Nations Security Council resolutions. Their mission has not changed. We will not get out voluntarily.

We have no territorial ambitions of our own. We seek no special position or privilege in the Far East or elsewhere in the world.

We believe that surrender to Chinese Communist terrorization would speedily be followed by further Chinese Communist encroachment, directly or indirectly, on the other nations on its borders.

The tendency to excuse the conduct of Peiping reflects the success of Communist propaganda in playing upon the hopes of peaceful men. It's an old technique—but one which fails because the action of the aggressor is more convincing than his lies. For it is now unmistakable to anyone that, while the acts staged by Peiping are Chinese, the puppet master is Soviet.

If there was ever any doubt that the Communist imperialists were prepared to use armed force to secure their ends, there is no reason for doubt any more. If there was ever any doubt that Communist talk of peace was a mask for their aggressive plans, that doubt was banished when the Chinese Communists, faithfully echoing the voice of their masters, rejected the peace appeal of the 13 Asian and Arab nations with outspoken contempt.

So, the year ends without peace, but not without hope that peace can yet be achieved by free men joining their strength together as a bulwark against the threat which faces them.

One thing is sure. For the first time in history, the world of free nations—54 free nations—has acted together for the common defense. Collective security is no mere dream. It is a practical necessity for every man and woman in the world. The brotherhood of man that knows no race has been given visible meaning in the year that is ending.

The free peoples of the world, standing shoulder to shoulder in the trying days that are ahead of us, need only recall that the pages of history are littered with the wreckage of empires that sought to rule the world. Let this thought give them courage and sustain them in the belief that their glorious goal of preserving freedom for themselves and for mankind is not an impossible one.

## Answer to Soviet Questions on Principles for Japanese Treaty

[Released to the press December 28]

*The following aide-mémoire, dated December 27, was delivered to J. A. Malik, Soviet representative to the United Nations, at New York.*

On November 20 of this year, Mr. Malik presented to Mr. Dulles an aide-mémoire expressing the desire of the Soviet Government for clarification of a number of points in a tentative United States statement of principles respecting a Japanese peace treaty given Mr. Malik by Mr. Dulles on October 26.<sup>1</sup> After careful study of the Soviet aide-mémoire of November 20, the United States Government has concluded that most of the questions raised by the Soviet Government have, in fact, been answered by the statement of principles given to Mr. Malik on October 26. However, in order to dispel any possible misunderstanding, the points raised by the Soviet Government are further discussed as follows:

1. The United States Government hopes that all nations at war with Japan will participate in the conclusion of peace. The United States does not, however, concede that any one nation has a perpetual power to veto the conclusion by others of peace with Japan. The wartime declaration of January 1, 1942, referred to by the Soviet Union, was designed to assure that all nations at war with Japan, or with the other Axis powers or their associates, would continue to fight until victory had been won. That they did. The United States does not accept the thesis, often put forward by the Soviet Union, that there cannot be peace except on terms that one power dictates. Japan, after its defeat, has now for over five years loyally complied with the agreed terms of surrender and is entitled to peace. The United States should be glad to know whether it is the view of the Soviet Union that there can never be any peace with Japan unless terms can be found which are fully satisfactory to each one of the 47 nations which signed or adhered to the Declaration of January 1, 1942.

2. The Cairo Declaration of 1943 stated the purpose to restore "Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores to the Republic of China". That Declaration, like other wartime declarations such as those of Yalta and Potsdam, was in the opinion of the United States Government subject to any final peace settlement where all relevant factors should be considered. The United States cannot accept the view, apparently put forward by the Soviet Government, that the views of other Allies not represented at Cairo must be wholly ignored. Also, the United States believes that declarations such as that issued at Cairo must necessarily be considered in the light of the United Nations

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1950, p. 881.

Charter, the obligations of which prevail over any other international agreement.

3. The United States Government does not understand the reference by the Soviet Union to "territorial expansion" in connection with the suggestion that the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands might be placed under the United Nations trusteeship system, with the United States as administering authority. Article 77 of the United Nations Charter expressly contemplated the extension of the trusteeship system to "territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War" and certainly the trusteeship system is not to be equated with "territorial expansion."

The Government of the United States also does not understand the suggestion of the Soviet Union that, because the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands are not mentioned in either the Cairo Declaration or the Potsdam Agreement, their consideration in the peace settlement is automatically excluded. The Government of the Soviet Union seems to have ignored the fact that the Potsdam Declaration provided that Japanese sovereignty should be limited to the four main islands, which were named, and "such minor islands as we determine." It is, therefore, strictly in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement that the peace settlement should determine the future status of these other islands.

4. It is the view of the United States Government that, upon conclusion of a peace settlement, the military occupation of Japan would cease. The fact that a "new order of peace, security and justice," as envisaged in the Potsdam Declaration, has not been established, and that irresponsible militarism has not been driven from the world, would at the same time make it reasonable for Japan to participate with the United States and other nations in arrangements for individual and collective self-defense, such as are envisaged by the United Nations Charter and particularly Article 51 thereof. These arrangements could include provision for the stationing in Japan of troops of the United States and other nations.

The United States does not propose for Japan a peace settlement which will deny to Japan what Prime Minister Stalin has described (March 10, 1939) as "the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors."

5. Referring to a policy decision of the Far Eastern Commission, which decisions have been commonly considered to be legally operative only for the period of the occupation except as the substance of particular provisions may be embodied in the peace settlement, the Soviet Government raises two questions relating to the security of Japan after the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Both questions are answered by paragraph 4 of the statement of principles handed to Mr. Malik on October 26 and by the comment thereon expressed above.

6. The United States considers that the Japanese peace treaty should not limit the Japanese peacetime economy nor deny Japan access to sources of raw material or participation in world trade. The United States, without awaiting the formal conclusion of peace, has made very large financial grants to Japan to enable it to acquire food and raw materials needed for its economic livelihood and has encouraged the establishment by Japan of trade promotion offices in many parts of the world in an effort to help Japan to develop a prosperous peacetime economy and steadily advance the living standards of the Japanese people.

7. The present conversations are being conducted by the United States through diplomatic channels and, as the Soviet Union well knows, the Government of the United States has no diplomatic relations with the so-called "Government of the Chinese People's Republic".

It is the earnest hope of the United States that the close attention which the Government of the Soviet Union has given to the peace proposals of the United States in relation to Japan signifies the desire and intention of the Soviet Union not only to enter into discussions of a peace treaty for Japan but to act in cooperation with other nations at war with Japan to make peace a reality.

## **Proposed Agenda for Meeting of American Foreign Ministers**

*[Released to the press December 29]*

At a meeting this afternoon of the Special Preparatory Committee, appointed by the Council of the Organization of American States to recommend the date, agenda, and regulations of the forthcoming consultative meeting of American Foreign Ministers, the representative of the United States, John C. Dreier, proposed that the agenda of this meeting include the following topics:

I. Political and Military Cooperation for the Defense of the Americas in Support of the Efforts of the Free World to Prevent and Repel Aggression.

II. Cooperation to Strengthen the Internal Security of the American Republics.

III. Emergency Economic Cooperation.

A. Production and Distribution for Defense Purposes.

B. Basic Requirements of Civilian Economies for Products in Short Supply.

The United States representative also suggested that the meeting of consultation take place in mid-March.

In accordance with the decision of the Council of the Organization of American States on December 20, the Committee will make recommendations to the Council concerning the date, agenda, and regulations. When approved by the Council, these recommendations will be sent to the Governments of the 21 American Republics.

## Point 4 Agreement With India

[Released to the press December 28]

India, today, concluded a Point 4 agreement with the United States.<sup>1</sup> Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett announced the signing at Delhi of a general Point 4 agreement by United States Ambassador Loy Henderson and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

"The new Point 4 agreement with India," said Dr. Bennett, "creates a magnificent opportunity for two great nations to work together for their mutual progress and well-being."

"The Point 4 method of technical cooperation," said Dr. Bennett, "is the best, the most realistic, and the most practical way of bringing our two peoples closer together in growing understanding and respect. We are working with the Government of India to get a concrete, well-rounded program underway as quickly as possible."

The general or "umbrella" agreement signed today provides the framework into which agreements for specific technical cooperation projects will fit. It is similar in content to the agreement recently concluded with the Government of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> It sets forth the general conditions of cooperation, including both the provision of the services of American experts and the technological training of Indian nationals.

The signing of the general agreement paves the way for expansion of the Point 4 Program in South Asia. The Government of India is submitting to the United States Government a comprehensive proposal for Point 4 projects in the fields of agriculture, river valley development, and transportation, which will be jointly considered and agreed upon by the two Governments. In connection with these projects, it is expected that more than 150 leading Indian experts and technicians will come to the United States during the next 2 years for consultation and advanced study.

Since the Point 4 Program was authorized by Congress last June, five specific projects for India have been approved. Administrator Bennett has tentatively allocated 1.2 million dollars of Point 4 funds for these and other projects which may be approved in the current fiscal year.

Three of the five approved projects are already underway. Two are agricultural projects; the third is in the field of child welfare.

One of the agricultural projects, concentrating on food supply, is headed by Horace Holmes of

North Carolina, who recently returned to India after serving for 2 years as adviser to the Indian Government. On that assignment, Mr. Holmes worked with the farmers in a 100 square mile area around Mahewa, United Provinces, demonstrating the use of improved seed, crop rotation, and simple farm machinery. As a result of this program, the wheat yield of the area was increased 63 percent, and the potato crop was more than doubled. These achievements have awakened the interest and cooperation of farmers for hundreds of miles around. Mr. Holmes also cooperated with the Government of India on adult education and village improvement programs in the United Provinces. He returned at the express request of the Government to continue his work under the Point 4 Program.

In addition to Mr. Holmes, two agricultural specialists are at New Delhi as consultants to the Indian Minister of Agriculture. Earle K. Rambo, well-known for his work as University of Arkansas Extension Agricultural Engineer, is cooperating with the Indian Government's program to bring greater mechanization into its agriculture.

Ford M. Milam, an agronomist with recent agricultural experience in El Salvador and Korea, is working with the Indian Government on agricultural research problems.

An American child health and welfare expert, Miss Deborah Pentz of San Francisco, was assigned last July to the University of New Delhi. Miss Pentz is working with the University in setting up a basic course in child welfare education.

The two other projects, approved but not yet in operation, call for the sending of three United States geologists to India.

One of them is George C. Taylor, Jr., distinguished ground water specialist of the United States Interior Department's Geological Survey. Dr. Taylor was in India last May on a short reconnaissance survey, and will return there early in 1951.

Dr. Taylor has made geological investigations in Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Haiti, the Virgin Islands, Chile, Thailand, and India. On his present assignment, he will work with the Indian Government's Geology Survey in the development of ground water resources.

Another geologist specializing in the selection of dam sites and the use of ground water resources will be assigned to this project.

The second geological project is concerned with the development of mineral resources in India. John A. Straczek, on the staff of the Geological Survey, Department of Interior, since 1938, will leave for India early in February to undertake this assignment.

<sup>1</sup> For text of the agreement, see Department of State press release 1261 of Dec. 28.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 975.

## Impartial Commission To Investigate the Prisoners of War Question

### STATEMENT BY EDITH S. SAMPSON<sup>1</sup>

The resolution on prisoners of war, which we have been discussing, presents in formal language a deeply human problem: the fate of hundreds of thousands of people taken prisoner during the last war who are still unaccounted for and who have not returned to their homes and families.

We join with the United Kingdom and Australia in asking the General Assembly to set up an impartial commission to assist those governments who desire its assistance in finding out what has happened to these people, report their fate to their families, and to assist in repatriating those who are still alive.

I would like to deal briefly with three questions which go to the heart of the matter. First, why do we bring this problem to the United Nations? Second, what are the obligations of governments having charge of prisoners of war? Third, what is the record 5 years after the war?

### Solicitation of United Nations for Aid

The first question is: Why do we bring this problem to the United Nations?

The United States, in cooperation with other governments, has patiently tried by negotiation and agreement ever since the end of the war to get a full accounting and to arrange for the return of prisoners to their homes. As the record—regarding German and Japanese prisoners—read out to you by the representatives of the United Kingdom and Australia shows so clearly, agreements were made, dates set, reports requested, promises given time after time. And the end of all those efforts was a Soviet press report claiming that, with the exception of a few thousand

<sup>1</sup>Made before Committee III (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) on Dec. 5 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date. Miss Sampson is an alternate U.S. representative to the General Assembly.

prisoners they were holding in connection with alleged war crimes and a handful of sick persons, all had been returned.

Even after that announcement—May 4 of this year, in the case of the German prisoners of war—the United States, the United Kingdom, and France addressed a detailed note to the Soviet Union, seeking settlement of the problem.<sup>2</sup> In that note of July 14, 1950, the three Governments asked for an investigation by an impartial international body “in order that the actual fate of the prisoners of war known to have been in Soviet custody may be ascertained.” They suggested “an *ad hoc* commission designated by the United Nations, or a group composed of representatives of the Four Powers now occupying Germany, or representatives of neutral powers, or any other group mutually acceptable,” to get at the true facts. You can see the full document listed as annex X, document A/1339.

Please note that it took the Soviet authorities 78 days to reply, which they did on September 30. And then, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. merely stood by the TASS statement of May 4 and refused to consider the matter further.

After the Soviet Government made the astounding announcement that it had completed the repatriation of German prisoners of war, the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, meeting at London, jointly pledge to take—and I quote—

... all possible steps to obtain information bearing on the fate of prisoners of war and civilians not yet repatriated from the Soviet Union and to bring about repatriation in the largest possible number of cases.

We feel obliged by this pledge to bring this issue involving so many hundreds of thousands of people to the United Nations as the place of last resort.

<sup>2</sup>BULLETIN of July 24, 1950, p. 132.

This is, obviously, the kind of problem which complicates and embitters international relations. Families, anxious over the fate of their loved ones, can hardly be expected not to protest. Until the facts are clearly and impartially established, they will continue to organize, agitate, and appeal on this issue.

The United States joins with others in bringing this matter before the General Assembly because we believe that the facts, whatever they are, should be known, and this issue put to rest.

As one of the occupying powers of Japan and Germany, we bring it here also out of a sense of responsibility to the peoples of those countries.

We bring it here because the international community has a deep and unavoidable responsibility for human rights—in the unexplained disappearance of large numbers of human beings. Like the problems of refugees, of the practice of genocide, of protecting and repatriating children, and of the observance of human rights, we are confronted here with the questions of what value we place upon human life.

I would add another reason for bringing the case here, a reason which appeals to me very personally. I believe we all have an obligation to express the moral sense of responsibility of the peoples in our respective countries. Millions of people in all countries, who are not in any way connected with these particular prisoners of war, can feel and understand the suffering of others.

They cannot be disinterested in what we, as their representatives, do about this human problem. Those who themselves have suffered and struggled hardest for their human rights will feel this situation most acutely. They know that the rights of all men are involved in the struggle for the rights of any group of men. If they know the facts, free peoples everywhere will persist in pressing for a just solution.

Yet, in bringing this resolution to the General Assembly, we do not propose that the United Nations pass a judgment or condemn. We propose a fair and impartial commission to study the facts, to check on the evidence and the records, and to assist in resolving the controversy. How could fair-minded people possibly reject this time-honored method of dealing with important differences in international relations? This is exactly the type of service which the United Nations was established to perform for the international community.

The other Allies in the war made use of international agencies to supervise repatriation and the accounting of war prisoners from beginning to end. If the Soviets had done this, they would not have to ask the world to take their word—their unsupported word alone—on what has happened to the thousands of prisoners.

It is not only in the interest of the international community, but in the interest of the Soviet Union itself to satisfy the demands of the millions of rela-

tives and friends from many countries for a trustworthy and impartial accounting of these prisoners.

And so, Mr. Chairman, we have brought this problem to the General Assembly after exhausting every means of direct negotiation, because we have an obligation to the families of the prisoners, because it involves human rights, which is a major concern of the United Nations, and because we wish to terminate controversy and friction on this issue by using the facilities of the United Nations for peaceful adjustment and settlement.

#### **Obligations for Protection of War Victims**

Now what are the obligations of the governments having charge of prisoners of war? My colleagues of the United Kingdom and Australia have already referred to the obligations under international agreements for the protection of war victims—the Hague convention of 1907, the Geneva Red Cross and prisoners-of-war conventions of 1929, and the four Geneva conventions of 1949.

These generally accepted principles of humanity and international law provide that information regarding captures, serious illness, and deaths shall be immediately reported to the home countries and thus to the families of the prisoners of war, and that prisoners of war may communicate with their loved ones regularly.

According to these international agreements a protecting power, chosen by the home country and representatives of humanitarian organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may go behind the barbed wire to see and report the actual conditions of the prisoners of war. These impartial neutrals assist in maintaining contact between the prisoner of war and his home country.

The only legitimate reason for taking prisoners of war is to prevent them from participating further in the conflict. It is evident, therefore, that once the conflict has ended there is no further legitimate reason for holding them—and that they should be repatriated.

To this end, both the Geneva prisoners-of-war conventions of 1929 and 1949 provided for the repatriation of prisoners of war as soon as possible after hostilities have terminated. That such repatriation should be effected is disputed by no one.

In 1942, Foreign Minister Molotov, referring to German mistreatment of Russian prisoners, had this to say:

In spite of all this the Soviet Government, true to the principles of humanity and respect for its international obligations, does not intend, even in the given circumstances, to use retaliatory, repressive measures in respect to German prisoners of war, and, as in the past, is adhering to the obligations accepted by the Soviet Government in respect to the prisoners of war regime of the Hague convention of 1907, which was also signed by

Germany, but was so treacherously violated in all its points.<sup>7</sup>

Some months after the end of the war, October 12, 1945, to be exact, the Soviet news agency made an announcement in Berlin, promising—

... the exchange of letters between German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union and their relatives in Germany.

It says further, and I quote,

To how many families and homes this news will bring new hope and joy! Wives, mothers and fathers, who, during the years of war, have received the sad message "missing in action," will now look forward to the coming of the postman. Maybe he is still alive.

The trouble is that the postman, in far too many cases, did not ring twice. After receiving one letter bringing that "new hope and joy," thousands of families never heard anything more. Or months would pass by, and, then, some repatriated prisoner would bring word to a family that he had seen their relative in some distant labor camp.

There was one promise in that Soviet announcement of 1945 to which I want to draw your particular attention. I quote:

The German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union were and still are treated following the international law of humanity. Nothing is neglected that can guarantee a safe return.

I am sure that if they had lived up to that promise they would be eager now to prove it to the world through some kind of impartial commission.

Mr. Chairman, there is no need to labor the point. The Soviet Government accepted the obligations toward prisoners of war. This would indicate that the U.S.S.R. has nothing to conceal. And yet, all reasonable requests to look into the fulfillment of these obligations have been refused.

### **The Situation From Statistics**

This brings me to the third question: What is the record 5 years after the war?

You have that record, in considerable detail with facts and figures spelled out, in the statements presented by the United Kingdom and Australia.

You know by the record that the Soviet Government was the only party to the Moscow agreement of April 1947, which failed to repatriate German prisoners by the agreed deadline of December 31, 1948. The U.S.S.R. admitted this on January 24, 1949, when it stated that prisoners of war in its custody would be repatriated during 1949.

They did return many prisoners during 1949 and up to May 4, 1950, when that startling announcement in TASS was made. Except for some 13,000 held in connection with so-called war

crimes or due to illness, TASS announced, and I quote:

The repatriation of German prisoners of war from the Soviet Union to Germany is now completely finished.

Compare that to this fact: A careful registration of German prisoners of war and other missing persons was conducted in the Federal territory of Germany and West Berlin during March of this year. That record lists by name unreturned prisoners of war from whom or about whom definite word has been received since the end of the war. They were alive; they have not been accounted for; and the number on that minimum list is almost 5 times greater than the total which the Soviets admitted they were holding for war crimes and due to illness.

It is unreasonable to ask for an impartial report on what happened to them.

Add this fact. From reports patiently gathered from repatriates, the German authorities have close estimates on the number of prisoners of war left behind in many of the camps when the last prisoners were released. This number, too, is many times the total admittedly held.

Are we to conclude that all of these people have since died?

The Soviet Government claimed during and immediately after the war that they had captured between 3 and 4 million Germans. Its official figures show captures of more than 2 million German prisoners of war during 1945 alone. In announcing the completion of repatriation of German prisoners of war in May 1950, the Soviet Government stated that it had returned some 1.9 million. It, therefore, appears that the Soviet Government has failed to account for a total number of German prisoners of war equivalent to the number captured during the years 1941, -42, -43, and -44.

Did they all die—a million or more? If so, why were their deaths not reported?

The record is full of details on harsh conditions in Soviet prisoners-of-war camps. Conservative estimates indicate a high death rate in such camps. However, many thousands of these more than a million prisoners unaccounted for must still be alive.

We hope and believe they are. We cannot, in all conscience, allow such huge numbers of human beings to disappear from the earth without a trace. If they are all dead, let us know it now and relieve their relatives of further anxiety.

The figures on Japanese prisoners are much more specific and comprehensive. You have heard the record, as read out by the representative of Australia, a record based on the Potsdam Declaration providing for the return of military personnel to Japan, and the SCAP-U.S.S.R. repatriation agreement of December 19, 1946, which included civilians as well.

You have heard the story of the frustrations

<sup>7</sup> *Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union During the Fatherland War*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1946, p. 268.

and delays which accompanied this program, of the tireless efforts of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, of the transportation made available, of the provisions made for the reception of repatriates according to plan. The delays and excuses became so exasperating that even the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and deputies in the Diet felt compelled to join the clamor for the return of Japanese held by the Soviet authorities.

The Japanese Government states on the basis of exhaustive surveys and detailed statistics that at least 369,382 persons are still unrepatiated and unaccounted for. The U.S.S.R. claims that it is only holding 2,467 in connection with alleged war crimes and for medical reasons.

What is the explanation of this huge gap?

Did all of these missing persons die in action? Neither SCAP nor the Japanese Government has any official Soviet report to account for them. All we have is a Soviet press announcement dated September 11, 1945, stating that 80,000 Japanese officers and men were killed in action. This 80,000 is a gruesome total when we recall that the Soviet Union and Japan were engaged in active hostilities for only 6 days.

Did these missing persons die in Soviet prison camps after their capture? The Japanese Government and SCAP have not received a single death report or any list of deceased persons.

Does the Soviet Government call this record living up to its international obligations and agreements, agreements which specifically require death notifications?

As you know, nationals of many other countries fell into Soviet custody. These are also on the lists of the unrepatiated and unaccounted for human beings.

The Austrian Government reports a total of approximately 100,000 Austrian citizens missing. More than half of them were missing in Soviet territory. No official information about them has ever been sent to the Austrian authorities.

Repeated requests for information on Austrians killed in action or who have died in detention camps and are buried in the U.S.S.R. have produced no results.

Some 400 Austrian nationals, including five women, were returned recently. But many hundreds are still unaccounted for and are believed to be alive in prisoner camps. The Austrian Government has made every effort to secure the completion of the repatriation program.

Mr. Chairman, the Italian people are also vitally concerned with this issue. The Italian Government informs us that the Soviet Government claimed, early in 1943, to be holding 115,000 Italian prisoners in its custody. In November 1945, the Soviet Government announced the beginning of repatriation. Later, it announced that 20,096 Italian prisoners had been repatriated. But, in reply to repeated requests for information about

the tens of thousands still not accounted for, the only word was:

No Italian prisoners are found in the Soviet Union.

The Italian Government cannot accept this claim as true because Italian prisoners returning from Russian camps gave specific reports about others they saw there who have not been repatriated or accounted for in any way. Also, postal cards have been received in Italy from many prisoners which prove they were alive after the war but have not been accounted for or allowed to return home.

Large numbers of missing Italian prisoners are undoubtedly dead. The obligation of the country having them in custody to furnish lists and dates of deaths or death certificates has not been fulfilled, according to the Italian Government. No lists of the dead were received, and only 10 death certificates were forwarded.

There are numerous nationals from other countries who have suffered the same treatment. Information reaching the United States indicates that thousands of nationals of Hungary and Rumania are still awaited by their relatives, who are anxious to have them home or, at least, to have word about them whether they are dead or alive.

Large numbers of civilians, women as well as men, were taken into Soviet custody and are still missing, leaving their relatives to wonder whether they are dead or alive. Communication between them and their families and friends is restricted or completely denied.

Some prisoners of war may have been given civilian status. We understand some civilians have been included in prisoner-of-war transports and camps. Thus, in many places, there is no clear line of demarcation between civilians and military personnel. Both are held against their will and denied regular communication with the outside world. No official accounting has been made of either group.

Mr. Chairman, Soviet spokesmen often try to put themselves on the side of the masses, insisting they should not suffer for the sins of their rulers. Yet, in the handling of captives of war, the Soviets have struck at the masses, the millions of ordinary people—prisoners and their families. These families have had to wait and wonder for more than 5 years.

#### **Public Interest Expressed**

The most convincing evidence of the seriousness and scope of the problem before us is the roomfuls of letters in Japan and Germany from these anxious relatives. Just in the last few weeks, since it became known in Japan and Germany that I would speak for the United States on this issue, my mail has been full of letters from mothers and brothers and wives and sisters wanting word about someone they hope is still alive.

From this pile of letters, may I read a few short excerpts? You can understand why the deeply disturbed people who write them, in the very nature of this problem, tend to attach their hopes to any individual who speaks in their behalf. But really, their appeal is directed to all of us—to our Governments.

A wife writes from Germany:

In the Swiss newspaper . . . I read an article dealing with you and your work . . . and I apply to you in my great distress with the urgent request to be kind enough to use your influence on behalf of my husband. . . .

In his last letters he informed me that the Russian authorities were thinking of repatriating him. Repatriated prisoners told me that he was eventually retained from a transport of people eligible for repatriation. . . .

I have sent a letter in German, of which I enclose a copy, in English, to the Russian Foreign Secretary, Mr. Vyshinsky. Apologizing for the trouble I am putting you to, I ask you with all my heart to try to help me and discuss this matter, if there should be any possibility, with Mr. Vyshinsky personally.

A Japanese wife writes, in part:

My husband worked as a guard for the South Manchurian Railway. On the second of March 1946, my husband was carried away by the Soviets. I was repatriated with my two small children looking like beggars. I heard from him in July 1948. . . . Since then I have been looking forward to his homecoming.

My brother-in-law, who was with my husband, was repatriated in February and believed that my husband would soon be repatriated. . . . I can't understand why they keep him there. Brother-in-law says he was not sentenced, nor even accused as a war criminal. I don't understand this situation at all.

His eighty-year-old father is awaiting his return. My boy begs me to go and bring his daddy home. Please ask the United Nations to save us from this awful situation and send our loved-one home.

A German wife writes at great length. She says, in part:

From the statements of a comrade of my husband who was with him but has returned home, I learned that my husband was captured alive and unwounded. . . .

Since his capture I have been without any news from him. The last mail I received from him was dated May 6, 1944. Unfortunately, all conceivable inquiries which I made were in vain. A request for clemency which I directed to the following Soviet authorities has likewise had no results: The Minister of the Interior of the U.S.S.R.; the General in Charge of Prisoners of War Matters in the U.S.S.R.; the Commandant of the Soviet zone of occupation in Berlin.

I am living in the greatest of want with my two children, nine- and ten-year-old boys who are unprovided for. . . . The parents of my husband are old and it is their most fervent wish to see their long-lost son once again. Only the hope of seeing him again has helped us to survive all the hardships and sorrow.

A Japanese mother writes:

Please ask the United Nations to send back my only son. He has written me twice this year, on the 13th of May and again on the 30th. There isn't a shadow of doubt as to his being alive. I am an old woman of 60. I want my son back so badly. I want to see him. I went to Tokyo 4 times in search of information about him, but in vain. . . . Please ask the United Nations to send him back.

And, finally, a short excerpt from the letter of a mother in Germany:

I am the mother of a son who is missing in Russia since 1944 and of another son who returned healthy from English captivity in 1947. . . .

. . . Maybe our son is dead, then we would be content to have the true information of his death. But uncertainty is awful.

Mr. Chairman, these thousands of letters deserve to be answered. We hope these anxious relatives may be assured that their pleas have been heard, that the General Assembly has adopted the resolution on prisoners of war, and that a commission of the United Nations will begin work shortly on this historic task.

[Later in the debate, Mrs. Sampson made the following remarks.]

### Need for Impartial Commission

The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union asserted that this case not only had no legality but also had no validity in fact. That is his opinion; it is not the opinion of the three Governments which placed this item on the agenda. It is not the opinion of the families in Germany and Japan which believe that their husbands, brothers, and sons are still alive in the Soviet Union. Whether there is any validity to this item is for the General Assembly to decide. Whether there is any validity to the Soviet statement that all prisoners have been repatriated should be for the Commission to determine.

I was disturbed to hear the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union say that his Government would have nothing to do with the United Nations on this matter. I hope that I misunderstood the Soviet representative, for it is a serious matter when any member of the United Nations announces that it will have nothing to do with the organization concerning an issue before the General Assembly. It would be a very serious matter if the Soviet Government took such an attitude after the General Assembly created a commission of inquiry. The members of the United Nations are entitled to know the facts in this case, and they are entitled to have the cooperation of every member in ascertaining these facts.

The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union protested, at some length, over the fact that the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan had issued different sets of figures. He complained that the Japanese Government and the Japanese press have issued conflicting statistics. Well, Mr. Chairman, the Soviet delegate put his finger on the crux of the problem before us. No one really knows the true facts and figures—no one outside the Soviet Government. No one knows how to reconcile these apparent discrepancies. It is, for this very reason, that

we have put this item on the agenda of the General Assembly. The world wants to know the facts. The world wants to obtain the correct figures. The people of Germany and Japan want to know the truth behind all these facts and figures.

The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union made many serious charges against my Government and other governments for their treatment of war prisoners. He alleged that the United States and other countries brutally mistreated the prisoners of war under our control and that we used them for slave labor. He charged that we are still holding many thousands of prisoners and refusing to repatriate them. Mr. Chairman, my Government does not for 1 moment admit the validity of any of these charges, but it is quite prepared to have these charges investigated by an impartial body. In fact, the Soviet representative, in making these charges, has offered another excellent reason for the creation of such an impartial body. If the Soviet representative wants the true facts about the number of war prisoners held by the United States and repatriated by the United States, he should vote for the joint resolution before this Committee. Paragraph 3(a) of that resolution offers the Soviet Government an opportunity to learn the true facts, for it relates to "prisoners coming within the custody of any foreign government." Paragraph 3(b) offers every member of the United Nations an opportunity to learn the true facts about war prisoners everywhere. Under that paragraph, the General Assembly would request—

the Commission to seek from the governments, or authorities concerned full information regarding prisoners coming within the custody or control of any foreign government as a consequence of military operations of the Second World War and not repatriated or otherwise accounted for.

In short, Mr. Chairman, this draft resolution asks the Soviet Union to do no more than we are prepared to do ourselves.

The Soviet representative challenged the accuracy of various figures regarding the Japanese prisoners of war. To this, I would say that these are the best we have available; they are based on several censuses taken during the war in the areas occupied by Japan and on Japanese Army and Navy strength figures adjusted to exclude all known battle deaths. But, quite apart from these statistics, the Japanese Government during the past year has been compiling a register of names based on the statements of returning repatriates and the families of persons who are missing. This register, which as yet is by no means completed, already contains over 316,000 separate names together with other data concerning the missing persons. If anything, the present estimate of 369,000 missing Japanese is very low; there is every likelihood that it will finally exceed 400,000 persons. It might even reach half a million per-

sons, the number which the Soviet delegate this morning admitted is missing. Now, whether these persons are in Hawaii or are in areas under Soviet control and influence, we might well leave to our proposed impartial commission to decide.

If, as the Soviet delegate would have us believe, all this information and all these statistics have been fabricated as part of some Machiavelian plot to slander the Soviet Union and promote a third world war, no one should be happier than the Soviet Union itself to have these figures investigated by a completely impartial body, to have this so-called fraud exposed, to have this imagined plot against the Soviet Union brought to light, and the matter laid to rest once and for all.

In short, the more the Soviet delegate questions the information, based as it is on the evidence of the families of the missing persons themselves, the more he establishes the need for exactly the sort of impartial body we are seeking, to investigate and make known the true facts.

## MEASURES FOR THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF PRISONERS OF WAR

U.N. doc. A/1749  
Adopted Dec. 14, 1950  
Vote: 43-5-8

The General Assembly,

MINORIT that one of the principal purposes of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

CONSIDERING that the General Assembly may 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,

BELIEVING that all prisoners having originally come within the control of the Allied Powers as a consequence of the second world war should either have been repatriated long since or have been otherwise accounted for,

RECALLING that this is required both by recognized standards of international conduct and the Geneva Convention of 1949 for the protection of war victims, and by specific agreements between the Allied Powers,

1. *Expresses* its concern at the information presented to it tending to show that large numbers of prisoners taken in the course of the second world war have neither been repatriated, nor otherwise accounted for;

2. *Calls upon* all Governments still having control of such persons to act in conformity with the recognized standards of international conduct and with the above-mentioned international agreements and conventions which require that, upon the cessation of active hostilities, all prisoners should, with the least possible delay, be given an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation and, to that end, to publish and transmit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations before 30 April 1951:

(a) The names of such prisoners still held by them, the reasons for which they are still detained and the places in which they are detained;

(b) The names of prisoners who have died while under their control as well as the date and cause of death, and the manner and place of burial in each case;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish an *Ad Hoc* Commission composed of three qualified and impartial persons chosen by the International Red Cross or failing that, by the Secretary-General himself, with a view to settling the question of the prisoners of war in

a purely humanitarian spirit and on terms acceptable to all the Governments concerned. The Commission shall convene at a suitable date after 30 April 1951 to examine and evaluate, in the light of the information made available to the fifth session of the General Assembly, the information furnished by Governments in accordance with the terms of the preceding paragraph. In the event that the Commission considers that this information is inadequate or affords reasonable ground for believing that prisoners coming within the custody or control of any foreign Government as a consequence of military operations of the second world war have not been repatriated or otherwise accounted for, the General Assembly:

(a) Requests the Commission to seek from the Governments or authorities concerned full information regarding such prisoners;

(b) Requests the Commission to assist all Governments and authorities who so desire in arranging for and facilitating the repatriation of such prisoners;

(c) Authorizes the Commission to use the good offices of any qualified and impartial person or organization who it considers might contribute to the repatriation or accounting for of such prisoners;

(d) Urges all Governments and authorities concerned to co-operate fully with the Commission, to supply all necessary information and to grant right of access to their respective countries and to areas in which such prisoners are detained;

(e) Requests the Secretary-General to furnish the Commission with the staff and facilities necessary for the effective accomplishment of its task;

4. *Urgently requests* all the Governments to make the greatest possible efforts, based in particular on the documentation to be provided, to search for prisoners of war whose absence has been reported and who might be in their territories;

5. *Directs* the Commission to report as soon as practicable the results of its work to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the United Nations.

## **Palestine Question Poses Problem of Refugees and of an International Regime for Jerusalem**

### **STATEMENT BY JOHN C. ROSS<sup>1</sup>**

MR. CHAIRMAN: My delegation has examined with great care the draft resolution which has been tabled in this Committee by the distinguished representative of Egypt, our esteemed colleague and friend, Abdel Monem Mostafa Bey. It is evident that in proposing this resolution the Egyptian representative has been motivated by deep concern for the fate of the hundreds of thousands of innocent refugees from the Palestine conflict. I feel sure that I speak for the whole Committee when I say that all of us are filled with deepest concern for these victims of a conflagration for which they were not responsible.

#### **Refugee Problem**

We are the more concerned as we realize that month after month has passed and that very little progress has been made toward the repatriation of these unfortunate people and the payment of compensation to them or to their resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation. Moreover, as the honorable delegate of the United Kingdom has pointed out this morning, we must face frankly the fact that the international community is not

likely indefinitely to continue its contributions to the support of the refugees.

The resolution tabled by the delegation of Egypt proposes one method of dealing with certain aspects of this most difficult and complex problem, namely, the aspects of repatriation and compensation. The method proposed in the Egyptian resolution is the establishment of a United Nations Agency for the Repatriation and Compensation of Palestine Refugees.

Speaking frankly, I must say that we question very seriously whether it is necessary or desirable to create an entirely new and separate United Nations body to deal with this problem. The draft four-power resolution before us proposes an alternative, that is, the creation of an office which would be under the direction of the Conciliation Commission. With the indulgence of my colleagues, I should like to allude to this aspect of the four-power resolution in a few moments.

I hope I may be confident that our Egyptian colleague and our colleagues of the other Arab delegations will find in our alternative proposal the most effective means of achieving the objectives which they have not only in mind but close to their hearts protection of the best interests of the refugees.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is fully aware of the depth of the wound caused in the Near East by the Palestine conflict. It is only natural that passions should have run high as a result of this

<sup>1</sup> Made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Nov. 29 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date. Mr. Ross is an alternate U. S. representative to the General Assembly.

dispute, and my delegation does not expect miracles of progress toward the final settlement of the issues arising out of such a strife.

### **Settling Conflicts**

However, we should not be discouraged by the progress which has been made so far. The United Nations has played an extremely important role in the steps which have been taken to heal the scars caused by the Palestine war. The name of Count Folke Bernadotte, distinguished son of the Swedish nation, will live with us always as we recall the Count's heroism in devoting himself to the attempt to bring about a settlement between the parties in Palestine. Fully deserved tribute is also due to Count Bernadotte's successor, Dr. Ralph Bunche, who with his associates labored long and well to bring about the armistice agreements which now provide the framework for the relationship between the Arab States and Israel, as well as to Gen. William A. Piley, now in Palestine ably supervising the operation of the armistice agreements on behalf of the United Nations. An end was put to hostilities in Palestine, and we can all be thankful that under the armistice agreements gradual progress is being made away from war toward peace. Since the end of hostilities, the Palestine Conciliation Commission has contributed greatly through able and patient efforts to promote a settlement between the parties.

The task of the United Nations is to promote the establishment of peace all over the world by all means at its disposal. Therefore, it is our duty to attempt to contribute as much as we can to the amelioration of conditions in any part of the world where there is tension and conflict. We must, then, attempt to stimulate further the efforts which the United Nations has already made concerning Palestine, in the interests of the peace and security of the area. This is the guiding principle which has led my delegation to participate in the drafting and sponsoring of the four-power resolution now before us.

My delegation believes that, during the past year, there has been substantial progress toward fuller realization by the Governments concerned of the necessity of establishing better relations between themselves. As the Conciliation Commission points out, the indefinite prolongation of the state of armistice cannot but have adverse effects on the interests of all concerned, both separately and with regard to the area as a whole. It is a fundamental purpose of this resolution to attempt to create the basis for better relations in the area. The resolution recognizes a fact which must be apparent to all of us—that the refugee question is a problem vitally affecting the peace and stability of the Near East. This fact, taken in conjunction with the humanitarian aspects of the refugees tragedy, demands that the problem of these unfortunate people be dealt with as a matter of urgency.

The resolution passed by this Committee on November 27 shows the way to the beginning of permanent reintegration of the refugees through repatriation and resettlement. In this connection, it was with interest and appreciation that my delegation noted the declared intention of the Government of Israel to contribute to the reintegration fund proposed in this resolution. In the opinion of my delegation, the Governments in the Near East should without delay turn to the refugee question as a problem of the greatest priority, since as long as the refugees remain destitute, ill-housed, and dependent upon the charity of others, they will constitute a nucleus of human misery and suffering which can only have a harmful effect upon the well-being of the states concerned and of the area. This consideration is entirely apart from the humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem, which have resulted in generous official and nonofficial contributions by the international community for the relief of these people.

It is in the interests of the refugees that the draft four-power resolution proposes the establishment under the Conciliation Commission of an office to make such arrangements as it may consider necessary for the assessment and payment of compensation in pursuance of paragraph 11 of the General Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948, and to work out such arrangements as may be practicable for the implementation of the other objectives of the same paragraph. It is the intention of the drafters of the four-power resolution that the proposed office would work in closest cooperation and harmony with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

### **Direct Contacts Between Israelis and Arabs Urged**

The draft resolution which I am discussing also notes the concern my delegation feels, and which I am sure is shared by the other members of the Committee, that agreement has not been reached between the parties on the final settlement of the questions outstanding between them. The resolution seeks to promote better understanding and relations among the governments in the area by urging the latter to engage without delay in direct discussions under the auspices of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, or independently, in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of all questions outstanding between them. It is to be noted that for 2 years the parties have been dealing with the Palestine Conciliation Commission, but that there has been practically no direct contact between Arabs and Israelis. It is the belief of my delegation that such direct contact would enable the parties to set forth more effectively their respective points of view. It is our hope that direct contact may enable the parties to realize that there are broad fields where understandings between them will be mutually advantageous and will contribute to the strength and unity of the region. A

recommendation for direct discussions between the parties, under the auspices of a United Nations commission, is not such a remarkable thing. It does not seem illogical to expect that parties to a dispute should sit down together in an effort to reach a peaceful settlement of the issues dividing them. We have not at all disregarded the particularly bitter feelings which were engendered by the Palestine war. However, 2 years have passed since the hostilities ceased, and we believe that it is now our duty to attempt to persuade the parties that they should take the further step of sitting down either under the auspices of the Palestine Conciliation Commission or independently to discuss the questions which are in dispute between them. In urging that this be done, the cosponsors and ourselves have realized that the success of any such discussions, in fact the very undertaking of such discussions, must in the end depend upon the good will of the parties. We, therefore, have seen fit to urge the parties to exhibit this good will and to undertake direct discussions. We believe that a full, frank, and direct exposition by the parties of such doubts, fears, claims, and desires as they may have will be of assistance in contributing toward the betterment of relations between them and to the restoration of peace in the Near East.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a radical resolution. There is no magic formula which will suddenly provide a complete cure for the ills and troubles which beset this area of the world. We confidently believe nevertheless, that this resolution, if loyally carried out by the parties, will contribute to the establishment of better relations between Israel and the Arab States and to the welfare of the Palestine refugees. In discussions with the parties prior to the tabling of the resolution, our cosponsors and ourselves appealed to the representatives of the Arab States and Israel to make genuine efforts to understand the point of view of the other party and to cooperate in the fulfillment of the provisions of this draft, if it is accepted by the Committee. We trust that the Committee will agree that the resolution offers the possibility of progress toward the restoration of peace to the Near East and that it will accord its support to the draft.

#### **STATEMENT BY JOHN C. ROSS<sup>2</sup>**

The purpose of this statement is to set forth the position of the United States on the question of Jerusalem, as well as the views of my delegation concerning the proposals and suggestions which have so far been made in this Committee on the problem we are dealing with. At the outset of these remarks I wish to make clear that the Government of the United States continues to support

<sup>2</sup> Made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Dec. 12 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

the principle of an international regime for the Jerusalem area.

#### **U.S. Position**

The Government of the United States of America has consistently supported the United Nations in its handling of the problem of Jerusalem. It supported the provisions of the General Assembly Palestine resolution of November 29, 1947, concerning the internationalization of Jerusalem, until it became apparent that the resolution as a whole could not be implemented without the use of force.

Subsequently, the United States supported the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution of December 11, 1948. This resolution, in establishing the Palestine Conciliation Commission, instructed the latter to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which would provide for the maximum local autonomy consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area. The United States, as a member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, participated in drafting these proposals, and in the Assembly last year gave them its support in the belief that they represented a reasonable compromise between the interests of the world community and those of the inhabitants of the city. It was a matter of real regret to the United States delegation that the Assembly did not take under active consideration the proposals of the Conciliation Commission and that Israel and Jordan did not see fit to accord them support.

On December 9, 1949, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which determined that Jerusalem should be established as a *corpus separatum*. The Assembly directed the Trusteeship Council to complete the statute for Jerusalem which had previously been drafted under the provisions of the resolution of November 29, 1947, and to proceed at once to its implementation. Believing that such an approach to the question would be an impracticable one, the United States opposed this resolution. With your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, I quote a portion of a statement on this question made by the representative of the United States in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on December 5, 1949:

Mr. Chairman, I regret to have to say that the subcommittee's draft resolution deceives world opinion, particularly Arab and Christian opinion, for it has the appearance of complete internationalization but it offers no assurance whatsoever that any internationalization will be achieved. We do not believe that the United Nations should make a decision knowing in advance that it is not practicable to carry it out. World opinion looks to us not to make irresponsible and fruitless decisions, but to work out reasonable solutions for the problems which confront us. If the General Assembly acts otherwise it will be violating the trust given to it by the world. The question is not whether we shall have an international regime for Jerusalem. The question is rather whether we shall establish an international regime which

will adequately protect the interests of the international community, particularly the religious interests, and which will at the same time be effective.

### **Efforts on Behalf of Jerusalem**

Events have proven that this statement was a prophetic one. As we all know, the Trusteeship Council carried out its mandate as regards the revision and completion of the 1947 statute. As a loyal member of the United Nations, the United States, despite its opposition to the principle under which the Council was working, participated constructively in the task of completing the statute. However, when the President of the Council complied with the Council's instructions to transmit the statute to the Governments of Israel and Jordan and to request their full cooperation in putting it into effect, he was, through no fault of his own, unable to obtain this cooperation and had no alternative but to report this fact back to the Council. Accordingly, the Council resolved to refer the whole question back to the General Assembly.

The Government of the United States continues to be fully aware of the importance of Jerusalem to the family of nations and of the desirability of immediate arrangements to grant to the world community its legitimate rights in the Holy City. The experience of the past year, however, has borne out all too clearly, in the opinion of the United States Government, that there is no practicable way to enforce and implement a statute firmly opposed by the inhabitants of the Jerusalem area and by the Governments exercising control over the city. This does not mean that the Governments of Israel and Jordan should have what amounts to the power of veto over decisions of the United Nations concerning Jerusalem. It does mean that the United Nations should not take decisions, which, by their very nature, give the Governments concerned and the people of Jerusalem no alternative but to oppose them and which, at the same time, would involve the international community in responsibilities not corresponding to its interests in the city. We must not forget that conditions in Jerusalem have greatly changed in the 3 years since the concept of the internationalization of Jerusalem, as contained in the 1947 resolution, was established. Political ties and physical connections between the Holy City and the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan have been established and strengthened. The United States delegation believes that the Assembly must give full consideration to these changed conditions, while still maintaining its efforts to establish an international regime which will be in accord with the legitimate interests of the world community in the area.

We do not consider that it is desirable or practicable to seek to involve the United Nations in countless difficulties and responsibilities in Jerusalem in order to achieve purposes not all of which are of genuine concern to the international com-

munity—such as the establishment of a new and entirely separate political entity which does not conform to the wishes of the local people; the regulation of the day-to-day secular activities of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and the provision of essential services, such as water, light, and sanitation, which are a necessary element in the daily life of a large and modern city. It is also not desirable for the United Nations to take impracticable steps which would delay and endanger the achievement of the purpose which must be the principal concern of every delegate here—to assure the immediate representation of the rightful authority of the United Nations in the Jerusalem area. It is not necessary to dwell again upon the huge financial and administrative burden which would fall upon the United Nations as a result of any attempt to establish and operate a city state in Palestine.

We must seek to avoid plunging the issue into further debate and wrangling, and to take a decision during this session of the Assembly which will resolve once and for all the controversy over the Holy City. Failure to take this action would be detrimental to the interests of the United Nations, to those of the three great religions of the world, and to the prospects of a final settlement of the outstanding differences in the Palestine area. It would also render much more difficult the establishment of any international authority in the area at a later date.

### **Full Cooperation Needed**

Mr. Chairman, the United States Government continues to desire to see established a workable international regime for the Jerusalem area which will give genuine recognition to the international status of the area as a center of three great world religions; which would provide for the necessary protection of and access to the Holy Places under United Nations supervision; which would contribute to the peace and stability of the Jerusalem area; and which would take into account the interests of the principal communities in Jerusalem and the views of Israel and Jordan. We have sought these objectives through our participation in the work of the Palestine Conciliation Commission on Jerusalem, and last year in the General Assembly. We are prepared this year again to offer full cooperation to interested delegations in an effort to reconcile varying points of view on this issue and to arrive at a solution of the Jerusalem problem which will achieve the objectives I have stated.

The United States delegation has studied with interest and appreciation the draft proposal for an international regime for the Jerusalem area tabled by the delegation of Sweden. We consider this effort on the part of the Swedish delegation and of those who have collaborated with that delegation to be a constructive contribution to the

solution of the problem and to our work in this Committee. In the opinion of my delegation, the approach to the problem outlined in the Swedish draft contains the elements of a solution which would take into consideration the international interests and rights in the Holy City, as well as those of Israel and Jordan. Israel has already indicated general acceptance of the Swedish proposal, and the United States delegation was considerably disappointed when the distinguished representative of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan revealed yesterday that important aspects of the draft were unacceptable to his Government. As far as my delegation can see, the terms of the Swedish draft would not involve any appreciable derogation of Jordanian sovereignty in Jerusalem. Be that as it may, however, the representative of Jordan has indicated that his Government is prepared formally to give to the United Nations the pledges outlined in the Swedish proposal. The Jordanian Government is also prepared, as we learned yesterday, to accept and cooperate with a representative of the United Nations sent to Jerusalem to represent the interests of the world community in the Holy City. Presumably, the Government of Israel is also agreeable to these conditions. Under the circumstances, the United States delegation would be interested to learn the reaction of the Committee to a possible modification of the Swedish proposal wherein the greater part of the preamble would be maintained, as well as part A containing the pledges which the Governments in the Holy Land would be invited to give to the United Nations. In lieu of part B, there would be a provision that, pending further decisions by the United Nations on the status of the City, a United Nations representative with staff would be sent to Jerusalem to represent the interests of the world community. The further decisions of the United Nations concerning Jerusalem which have been referred to might be taken on the basis of the recommendations of the United Nations representative, who would have the benefit of experience on the spot and of full and constant consultations with the parties. Such an approach to the problem would, in the opinion of my delegation, not be so satisfactory as that contained in the Swedish draft in its present form, and we would only be prepared to support it should it prove acceptable to the majority of the General Assembly and should Jordan and Israel be prepared to accept or at least acquiesce in it. The Swedish proposal as it now stands, and the modification I have just outlined, would not in themselves constitute a final settlement of the Jerusalem question. They would, however, constitute an important step in the direction of a final settlement, a step upon which later decisions would be built.

I should like to make a few brief comments on the suggestion of the distinguished representative of Belgium that a Committee be established to

negotiate further concerning the status of Jerusalem. My delegation agrees with the representative of Belgium that no stone should be left unturned in this matter, but we consider that the negotiations which have so far taken place on the Jerusalem question have been exhaustive. As a member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, my Government has full knowledge of the painstaking and careful manner in which the Commission examined every aspect of the Jerusalem question before making its recommendations to the General Assembly. We have also been aware of the protracted negotiations which have recently taken place between the delegations of Sweden and the Netherlands on the one hand and those of Israel and Jordan on the other. We are accordingly satisfied that the problem has been thoroughly discussed with the interested parties, and we believe that the Assembly should take a step in the direction of a final settlement during the present session. For this reason, we cannot support the suggestion of our esteemed Belgian colleague.

#### **ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINE REFUGEES**

U.N. doc. A/1603  
Adopted Dec. 2, 1950

The General Assembly,

RECALLING its resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949,

HAVING EXAMINED the report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (A/1451), and the report of the Secretary-General concerning United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (A/1452),

1. *Notes* that contributions sufficient to carry out the programme authorized in paragraph 6 of resolution 302 (IV) have not been made, and urges Governments which have not yet done so to make every effort to make voluntary contributions in response to paragraph 13 of that resolution;

2. *Recognizes* that direct relief cannot be terminated as provided in paragraph 6 of resolution 302 (IV);

3. *Authorizes* the Agency to continue to furnish direct relief to refugees in need, and considers that, for the period 1 July 1951 to 30 June 1952, the equivalent of approximately \$20,000,000 will be required for direct relief to refugees who are not yet reintegrated into the economy of the Near East;

4. *Considers* that, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement, is essential in preparation for the time when international assistance is no longer available, and for the realization of conditions of peace and stability in the area;

5. *Instructs* the Agency to establish a reintegration fund which shall be utilized for projects requested by any Government in the Near East and approved by the Agency for the permanent re-establishment of refugees and their removal from relief;

6. *Considers* that, for the period 1 July 1951 to 30 June 1952, not less than the equivalent of \$30,000,000 should be contributed to the Agency for the purposes set forth in paragraph 5 above;

7. *Authorizes* the Agency, as circumstances permit, to transfer funds available for the current relief and works programmes, and for the relief programme provided in paragraph 3 above, to reintegration projects provided for in paragraph 5;

8. (a) *Requests* the President of the General Assembly to appoint a Negotiating Committee composed of seven or more members for the purpose of consulting, as soon as possible during the current session of the General Assembly, with Member and non-member States as to the amounts which Governments may be willing to contribute on a voluntary basis towards:

(i) The current programme for relief and works for the period ending 30 June 1951, bearing in mind the need for securing contributions from Member States which have not yet contributed;

(ii) The programme of relief and reintegration projects as provided for in paragraphs 3 and 4 above for the year ending 30 June 1952;

(b) *Authorizes* the Negotiating Committee to adopt procedures best suited to the accomplishment of its task, bearing in mind:

(i) The need for securing the maximum contribution in cash;

(ii) The desirability of ensuring that any contribution in kind is of a nature which meets the requirements of the contemplated programmes;

(iii) The importance of enabling the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to plan its programmes in advance and to carry them out with funds regularly contributed;

(iv) The degree of assistance which can continue to be rendered by specialized agencies, non-member States and other contributors;

(c) *Requests* that, as soon as the Negotiating Committee has ascertained the extent to which Member States are willing to make contributions, all delegations be notified accordingly by the Secretary-General in order that they may consult with their Governments;

(d) *Decides* that, as soon as the Negotiating Committee has completed its work, the Secretary-General shall at the Committee's request arrange, during the current session of the General Assembly, an appropriate meeting of Member and non-member States at which Members may commit themselves to their national contributions and the contributions of non-members may be made known;

9. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to advance funds, deemed to be available for this purpose and not exceeding \$5,000,000, from the Working Capital Fund to finance operations pursuant to the present resolution, such sum to be repaid not later than 31 December 1951;

10. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies to utilize to the fullest extent the Agency's

facilities as a point of reference and coordination for technical assistance programmes in the countries in which the Agency is operating;

11. *Expresses* its appreciation to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Refugee Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization for the assistance which they have rendered, and urges them to continue to furnish all possible assistance to the Agency;

12. *Commends* the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the American Friends Service Committee for their invaluable services and whole-hearted co-operation in the distribution of relief supplies until those functions were taken over by the Agency;

13. *Expresses* its thanks to the numerous religious, charitable and humanitarian organizations whose programmes have brought much needed supplementary assistance to the Palestine refugees, and urges them to continue and expand, to the extent possible, the work which they have undertaken on behalf of the refugees;

14. *Extends* its appreciation and thanks to the Director and staff of the Agency and the members of the Advisory Commission for their effective and devoted work.

## **International Court Sets Deadlines for Filing Statements on U.S. Nationals in Morocco**

*[Released to the press by the U.N. Department of Public Information November 28]*

*The following was received at U.N. Headquarters at Lake Success from the Registry of the International Court of Justice, The Hague.*

The International Court of Justice has fixed the following time limits for deposit at The Hague of documents of the written procedure in the case concerning rights of United States nationals in Morocco:

For the Memorial of the Government of the French Republic—1 March 1951.

For the Counter-Memorial of the United States Government—1 July 1951.

For the Reply of the Government of the French Republic—1 September 1951.

For the Rejoinder of the United States Government—1 November 1951.

This timetable was fixed by the Court in an order dated 22 November 1950. The application instituting proceedings against the United States Government was filed with the Court's Registry on 28 October by the French Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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JAN 29 1951



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## Charting the Course for 1951

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*

[Released to the press December 30]

We have gone through a dark year. It was a year of steadily increasing tension which broke, in June, into open fighting, an action which underwent a manifold increase in scale with the flagrant and barefaced attack by Communist China. It was a year in which the leaders of the Soviet Union talked loudly of peace, but their words were drowned out by the noise of their warlike acts. But let us not make the mistake of permitting the deep shadow which overcast 1950 to obscure certain fundamental accomplishments that are a part of the year's record. I call attention to some of them here because they form a part of the foundation on which we are going to build in 1951. They also concern the foreign policy which this Government has been pushing for the past 5 years—a policy which is designed to create unity and security for the free world. It is our firm intention to press forward with this policy. We are confident it is sound.

Last June, the United Nations met squarely the issue of Communist aggression against the Republic of Korea. Fifty-three nations joined in branding the North Koreans as aggressors and called for military action from member nations to drive them out. Twenty-five nations made offers of material contributions to the United Nations army. Infantry units of 13 nations are fighting in Korea under the United Nations flag, and 14 countries have contributed air, naval, and medical contingents.

This is concrete evidence that our associates in the free world are willing to make sacrifices—and, in some instances, the sacrifices entailed are considerable—in the interests of collective security. They are demonstrations of the willingness of these nations to stand up and be counted for the cause of freedom.

### **The Year In Retrospect**

During 1950, the procedures of the General Assembly were strengthened so that the United

Nations could not be rendered impotent by obstructionist use of the veto.

The year, also, saw progress in shaping the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The talks in Brussels this month paved the way for action and made possible the appointment of General Eisenhower as Supreme Allied Commander. We are getting on with the job of marshaling an effective security force for the North Atlantic community.

In the past 12 months, the Mutual Defense Assistance Program moved ahead at a good pace.

Point 4, tremendous in potential though modest in scale, got under way. The European recovery which the Marshall Plan was designed to accomplish has made tremendous strides and, in some nations, is a full year ahead of schedule.

The year produced another move of grim significance to the free world. For the first time since V-J Day, the Soviet Union went a step beyond tactics of indirection and subversion—and encouraged the use of force. Consequently, the air is now cleared of any shred of doubt that might have existed as to the methods which the Soviet Union is willing to use. The Politburo's sanctimonious profession of its desire for peace is shown to be nothing but camouflage to cloak the naked imperialism of its aims.

### **Prospects for 1951**

Thus, the crisis of this past year—and, thus, the need for some very plain talk on plans and prospects for 1951.

The emergency we face is one of extreme gravity. Our freedom, our way of life is menaced. We must rebuild our own defenses and help buttress those of the free world. That means sacrifice. That means maximum effort from each one of us. It means that there must be full understanding of the problems we are facing. It means also that there must be full support for the measures which may be essential to preserve the free world.

I believe that there are certain fundamentals of policy which must be followed in 1951:

This country must remain true to its tradition of standing by its friends. To abandon our allies would gratify the Kremlin. To do so would be appeasement on a gigantic scale. The Soviet Union, holding in unhappy bondage the peoples of Eastern Europe, wields enough power without making the Soviet imperialists a gift of the productive capacity and technical skills of Western Europe, plus the strategic resources and the manpower of the Middle East and Asia.

Regardless of threats, this country will not compromise by appeasement its security or the principles by which a society of free men must live. We will not reward Communist aggression. In Korea, this means that this country will not be intimidated by the threats coming out of Peiping; but will continue under the United Nations to combat the forces of aggression.

This Government will press vigorously ahead with programs and policies, the validity of which has been established by actual test. We will redouble our efforts to build situations of strength to meet trouble wherever it threatens. This is the effective counter to Communist expansion. The present difficulties arise from the lawless and cynical conduct of the Communists who would destroy peace and freedom. This conduct requires us to add rapidly to our military strength. We will continue our efforts to work for peace through the United Nations. That is the kind of people we are—but we now, once again, must see to our arms.

Economic aid will be carried forward—although redirected, where necessary, to contribute to the military strength of the free world.

We will step up the international information program to make sure that the ideals of free men have full expression, that the Soviet Union and its puppets are constantly before the bar of world opinion, and to present an accurate and factual interpretation of American action and intention.

We must strive to close the ranks at home to obtain the strength which derives from unity. The two great parties must continue to consult with each other on international affairs in order to insure that American action will have maximum possible bipartisan backing.

### **Creating Strength To Repel Aggression**

The lesson of Korea has hit home. We must rally to the support of the President in his call for rapid strengthening of our national defenses and for readying the full moral and material strength of the nation to guard against the dangers that threaten us. No sacrifices are too great when the future of this nation is at stake.

I am confident that, if we dedicate ourselves to a build-up of strength in the months ahead, we will come through this crisis. We have the pro-

ductive capacity, the skill, and the manpower that are required. All that is needed is the determination to do the job. There will be no lack of will if we keep ever in mind, during the new year, that American strength is the indispensable component of world peace.

The great resources of this country are now being marshaled and the armed forces rapidly being expanded. New weapons are being forged which will be made available to our own forces and to our allies. Meanwhile, our allies are also increasing their military production and building up their armed forces.

I am sure that this country, together with the other free nations, will create the strength necessary to repel aggression, restore stability, and increase the well-being of the free world.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Recent Releases**

*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 Peru.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2101. Pub. 3967. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Peru providing for extension of program, as modified and extended—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Lima June 28, 1948, and May 22, 1950; entered into force June 30, 1948.

**Report to the President of the United States by the Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines.** Far Eastern Series 38. Pub. 4010. 107 pp. 55¢.

Bell mission report and recommendations for the economic and financial problems of the Philippine Republic.

**United Nations Action in Korea Under Unified Command: Seventh Report to the Security Council, November 3, 1950.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 63. 8 pp. 5¢.

**Courage and Common Sense in Time of Crisis.** General Foreign Policy Series 37. Pub. 4025. 8 pp. Free.

Extemporaneous remarks by Secretary Acheson before a national conference on foreign policy on November 15, 1950.

**Plowing a Straight Furrow.** General Foreign Policy Series 38. Pub. 4026. 7 pp. Free.

Remarks by Secretary Acheson before the 15th National Council of Negro Women, November 17, 1950 at Washington, D. C.

**Aid to Yugoslavia.** European and British Commonwealth Series 16. Pub. 4030. 6 pp. Free.

A fact sheet on plans for economic aid by the United States and other countries.

## Where Are We? A Five-Year Record of America's Response to the Challenge of Communism

by John Foster Dulles  
Consultant to the Secretary<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the year, it is our good custom to pause to think about the past so that we can better plan the future. This year end it is particularly important to do that, and we should be grateful to all who, out of wisdom, experience and proven idealism, help to clarify the grave issues that confront us.

As we look back, we need not feel despondent. Great dangers still surround us and there are many patches of ground fog. But, once we lift our vision so that we see the present in the light of historical perspective, it is apparent that the last 5 years have been years of achievement and that our people have already surmounted a great peril.

### THE DANGER OF WESTERN DECADENCE

Nations are like people in the sense that, while they may die a violent death, they are more apt to die in their beds, particularly as they grow older. The great question of our time has been whether our Western civilization had become so old and decadent that it was bound to pass away, giving place to the younger, dynamic, and barbarian society born out of the unholy union of Marx's communism and Russia's imperialism.

For a thousand years, our Western civilization had been dominant in the world. It won and held that leadership on merit. It produced spiritual, intellectual, and material richness such as the world had never known before. The fruits of Western society were spread everywhere, and men, elsewhere, wanted to share them, rather than to destroy their source.

However, a thousand years is a long time, even for a civilization, and many had come to feel that Western civilization had run its course and had

become infected with the same decay as had rotted other great civilizations of the past. The Communists shouted that everywhere. The West, they said, could no longer produce the vital leadership or creative acts needed to satisfy the dissatisfied masses; only communism could do that.

With that slogan they softened up the opposition and then moved in with terrorism, subversion and civil war to gain political control. By those methods the Russian state and the Bolshevik Party, working hand in hand, brought about 800 million people under their control. That is about one-third of all the people there are. And still they were rolling on toward their announced goal of a Communist "one world."

Who was there to stop them? Many thought that they were unstoppable; and a bandwagon trend was getting under way.

### U.S. RESPONSIBILITY

At this critical moment, heavy responsibility fell upon the United States. We were still a relatively young nation; we had not been devastated by war, and were on that account less susceptible than some others to the poison that the Communist Party distills. If anyone could perhaps demonstrate the faith and works needed to rally men to the cause of human freedom, it should be the United States.

The whole world watched to see. If, at that juncture, we had sought only to save ourselves, that would have been public confession that the Communists were right when they said that the West had rotted. The tide of communism would have rolled on irresistibly, and we would have been encircled, isolated, and finally engulfed. Only, as we sought to help others could we save ourselves.

Our people responded to that challenge by a 5-year record of which we can be proud.

Consider these deeds:

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the American Association for the United Nations at New York City on Dec. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

1. We showed, by example within our own country, that social justice could be had without traveling the Communist road of violent revolution and materialism. Through graduated income and estate taxes, and social security and pension plans, our capitalistic society has come to approach more nearly than the Communist world, the ideal of production according to ability and distribution according to need.

2. Within 5 years the colonial system, which had become a festering sore, has been subjected to orderly liquidation. Over 550 million people have peacefully won political independence. Great Britain, as the principal colonial power, took the lead. Our own direct national contribution has been the granting of freedom to the Philippines and the discrediting of racial discrimination here at home. But, in many other ways, we helped in this whole great process of building between men of different races, creeds, and colors a new relationship of partnership and of equality.

3. Since the end of World War II, we have provided, in loans and grants, over 40 billion dollars for the relief of other people and the reconstruction of other lands, thereby practicing the great commandment that the strong ought to lighten the burdens of the weak.

4. We took the lead in founding the United Nations as an organization for recording the moral judgments of the world and developing ways to put power behind those judgments so as to promote collective justice and security. This year, for the first time in all time, a world organization moved with force to halt aggression. It seemed that the hope of ages had come true. Whatever now be the disappointments, we can know that the sons of the United Nations who in Korea lay down their lives, do so for the noblest cause for which men ever died in battle. They have done the indispensable by showing that world order can be made a practicable possibility. Nothing now can stop the determination of the people to achieve solidly that goal.

#### THE NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Now, I do not suggest for a moment that our record is a record of perfection. Our own social changes may have gone so far as unduly to curtail incentive and self-reliance. In some cases, political independence may have been given to peoples who are so inexperienced in the ways of self-government that it will be hard for them to preserve that independence in the face of the diabolically clever apparatus of Soviet communism. Our loans and grants to others may sometimes have provided temporary relief rather than incentives to bold new creations of unity and strength. Both the United States and the United Nations may have assumed political responsibilities which they did not yet have the power to back up. Policies, themselves good, often lacked efficient and timely execution. There have been grave and perhaps

unnecessary set-backs. Almost surely the free world erred in relying too much on potential power and in not creating enough military strength in being.

There is no occasion for complacency or for whitewash. There is need to expose errors and to point the way to making better use of all the moral and material assets that our people have shown they could provide. Such constructive pressures are needed, and I have been among those who sought to create them. Under our political system, that is a special responsibility of the opposition party.

But, whatever may have been the faults and inadequacies of leadership, our people over the past 5 years have wrought mightily, and not without result.

#### THE "COLD WAR" THWARTED

A year ago, on January 1, 1950, *Izvestia's* leading editorial welcomed the New Year with these words:

Around the U.S.S.R. the camp of the fighters for peace, democracy, and socialism is growing and becoming stronger.

The forces of this camp are multiplying day by day. The camp of democracy and socialism today includes the great Soviet Union, democratic Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, Northern Korea, the Mongol People's Republic, the Chinese People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic.

And the editorial concluded:

Communism is conquering, Communism will triumph!

I do not know what *Izvestia* will say next Monday in greeting to 1951. I do know that, whereas between 1945 and 1950 it was boasting new conquests at the average rate of over two nations and 150 million people a year, there are, this year, no new names of which to boast. I do not predict that we have seen the end of Soviet Communist expansion, but the free world has found the way to slow down Soviet Communist expansion by cheap methods; short of open war. That is no mean accomplishment.

Communism pitted its youth against what it thought was our decrepitude; its universal creed against what it thought was our isolationism; its revolutionary practices against what it thought was our static mood. It found, to its dismay, a people who, when under pressure, did not decompose into factionalism and frustration. Unitedly, and with unpartisan and bipartisan leadership, they joined in an outpouring of compassion, fellowship, and material succor such as history has never before recorded. There is scarcely a man, woman, or child in the United States who has not consciously made some sacrifice, out of the highest motives of which human beings are capable. In the process, they have ennobled their own characters, have given new hope and courage to millions elsewhere, and have discomfited the leaders of Soviet communism.

There are defects, at top and bottom, but the broad outline is not without a certain grandeur. It is not to be belittled; nor is the mood one to be reversed.

We can rejoice in the renewal of the faith that has been the rock of our foundation and out of which have gushed healing waters. We can be confident that that faith, if sustained, assures our capacity to overcome at least one of the twin dangers which, at the end of World War II, confronted us. We are not doomed to die in our beds.

### **The Future**

So much for the past. Let us look now to the future. Have we renewed our youth like the eagle's only to be shot at in battle? That might be. That was the risk our people took when they decided not to die from the internal diseases of old age.

The leaders of Soviet communism would have preferred sickness to be the method of our passing. They have great skill in spreading malignant germs and they prefer to practice that art rather than the art of open war where their nation may have quantitative superiority, but has qualitative inferiority. Party leaders have always distrusted the army and the generals, and are reluctant to give them the power that war exacts. If they have to use any army, they would rather use someone else's.

But, since it seems that the free world has gained a certain immunity to the Communist Party poison, their leaders must now decide whether to accept one of those waiting periods which Stalin has taught may, from time to time, be necessary in order "to buy off a powerful enemy and gain a respite" or whether to resort increasingly to open war.

The fact that the free world succeeded, to the degree it did, in slowing up Communist success by methods short of war, automatically increased the risk of war itself.

But risk is not the same as certainty. Just as we surmounted, in recent years, the primary peril of inner decay, so, in the year ahead, we must seek to surmount also the peril of full-scale foreign war. We must find effective deterrents to Russian armed aggression.

The free world starts out with certain assets which, I think we would all agree, are capable of being developed into deterrents of a general war of Russian origin. Since moral factors do not weigh heavily in the Russian scale, we are forced to think somewhat in material terms.

### **OUR INDUSTRIAL SUPERIORITY**

Our inventive, resourceful, and free society has given industrial productivity far greater than that of Russia. In terms of steel, aluminum, electric power, and oil, the United States has a superiority of 3 or 4 to 1 over Russia. That ratio of supe-

riority would not, of course, hold if Russia could take the industrial power of the Ruhr and Western Europe and the oil of the Middle East. So long as there are impediments to that, the free world has an economic power which operates as a major deterrent to open Russian aggression, particularly if we also have the will to forego some of our pleasures and put our economic machine into creating weapons on a mass production basis.

### **RUSSIAN INTERNAL VULNERABILITY**

Already, within the captive world, there are grave internal weaknesses, and these could be exploited by skillful opponents. Despotism, when looked at from without, usually looks solid and formidable, whereas free societies look divided and weak. Actually, that is an optical illusion. The reality is just the opposite.

Take Russia. Out of its 200 million people, only about 6 million, or 3 percent are members of the ruling Communist Party. The political prisoners number from 10 to 15 million, or twice the total membership of the Party. The Party itself is shot through with distrust and suspicion, and there are periodic purges as between Party factions. No one, even in high authority, feels personally safe. In the case of the satellite countries, the situation is even more precarious. For example, there is much unrest on the China mainland, and, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the people are forced to accept officials of Russian nationality because the Russian masters cannot find any Poles or Czechs they are willing to trust.

When a few men rule despotically 800 million, that is bound to be a vulnerable position. Many of the 800 million are sure to be sullen, resentful, and eager for change. Most of the others will have been so beaten into submissiveness by the harsh discipline of the police state that they have lost all sense of personal responsibility. They could not respond to the unpredictable needs which come out of war disruptions. War can be very unkind to rulers who are despots and who have systematically destroyed the individual initiatives of their people. They know that, and we can increasingly help them to see the light.

### **THE FALLACY OF AREA DEFENSE**

When it comes to straight military strategy, the free world seems, momentarily, in a mood of some confusion and without any agreed deterrent program.

The Soviet Union has interior lines. It has concentrated men, tanks, artillery, and strategic and tactical planes around the hub of the great circle of its control. The rim starts near the North Pole, swings south, along the border of Norway, Finland, Sweden, West Germany, Austria, and Yugoslavia; then east, along the border of Greece, Turkey, the Arab states, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Burma, Indochina, and Malaya; then northward

close to the Philippines, Formosa, Japan, Korea, and Alaska. From within this vast orbit, a single will can, in secrecy, plot and act to strike any one of the many nations with overwhelming force.

It may be possible, by prearranged defense, to make that attack costly, particularly where sea and air power play a role or where, as in Western Europe, there is depth and numbers and military experience on which to draw. But, with more than 20 nations strung along the 20,000 miles of iron curtain, it is not possible to build up static defensive forces which could make each nation impregnable to such a major and unpredictable assault as Russia could launch. To attempt this would be to have strength nowhere and bankruptcy everywhere.

That, however, does not mean that we should abandon the whole idea of collective security and merely build our own defense area with the help of such other countries as we might pick because of their capacity to be useful to us.

The whole world can be confident that the United States will not, at a moment of supreme danger, shed allies who are endangered and to whom we are bound by solemn treaty, by common heritage, and by past fellowship in war and peace. I do not interpret anyone as urging this. Any nation doing that would scarcely be in a position, thereafter, to do much picking and choosing for its own account. It would have elected a dangerous course, for solitary defense is never impregnable. It is possible to plan on paper, and describe in words, what it seems should be an impregnable defense, a China Wall, a Maginot Line, a Rock of Gibraltar, an Atlantic and Pacific Moat. But the mood that plans such a defense carries, within itself, the seeds of its own collapse. A defense that accepts encirclement quickly decomposes. That has been proved a thousand times.

A United States which could be an inactive spectator while the barbarians overran and desecrated the cradle of our Christian civilization would not be the kind of a United States which could defend itself.

#### **THE DETERRENT OF RETALIATORY POWER**

Fortunately, we do not have to choose between two disastrous alternatives. It is not necessary either to spread our strength all around the world in futile attempts to create everywhere a static defense, nor need we crawl back into our own hole in the vain hope of defending ourselves against all the rest of the world. We are not so bankrupt in resourcefulness that we can find only those two choices. There are others.

Around the rim of the captive world, the free world can maintain enough economic and political vigor, enough military strength, and enough will to resist so that these areas cannot be cheaply conquered by subversive methods, by trumped up "civil wars," or even by satellite attacks.

That leaves to be dealt with the possibility of

full-scale attack by the Soviet Union itself. As against that there is only one effective defense, for us and for others. That is the capacity to counterattack. That is the ultimate deterrent.

When I was in the Senate, working for the ratification of the North Atlantic Pact, I took the position that it did not commit the United States to the land defense of any particular area; it did commit us to action, but action of our own choosing rather than action that an aggressor could dictate to us.

In Korea, the United Nations forces suffer the grave handicap of trying to repel an aggressor within the limited area he selected for an attack, at the time he selected, and with methods of war which are dictated by the terrain, and the weather he selected.

Our people have loyally, sacrificially, and rightly backed this historic first attempt at organized suppression of aggression. We have done so despite the fact that this effort involves the inevitable defects of any first endeavor. But we instinctively feel that there is something wrong about the method and do not want to be committed to a series of Koreas all around the globe.

That instinct is quite sound.

Against such military power as the Soviet Union can marshal, collective security depends on capacity to counterattack against the aggressor. Then, there can be concerted, rather than dissipated power, for the force that protects one protects all, and with that there is a good chance of deterring aggression.

The free world is not without power in this respect. It has a strategic air force and a stock of weapons. But total reliance should not be placed on any single form of warfare or any relatively untried type of weapon. It has naval power, and potential strength on the ground. Much more of all of this needs, now, to be brought into being. The arsenal of retaliation should include all forms of counterattack with maximum flexibility, mobility, and the possibility of surprise. The places of assembly should be chosen, not as places to defend, but as suitable stages for launching the means of destroying the forces of aggression, if aggression occurs. The United Nations, if it shows that it has the requisite moral courage, should be given the right to determine the fact of aggression so as to insure the Charter goal of armed forces not being used save in the common interest.

In such ways, the idea of collective security can be given sensible and effective content.

#### **THE HOPE OF RIGHTEOUS PEACE**

We cannot be sure that anything we now do will, in fact, prevent the awful catastrophe of a third world war. The final decision will be made in the Kremlin. Perhaps, it has been made already. That we cannot know. We face a period that is bound to be one of grave anxiety. But so long as

the die has not been irrevocably cast for war, we must assume that righteous peace may yet be possible; and we must work with all the power that lies within us to achieve that peace.

It is not pleasant, at this holiday season, to talk about instruments of death. But events in Korea have shown that peace is not to be found in an unbalance of military power. To correct that balance is a grim necessity. But it is a necessity which also requires that we be vigilant to preserve and not relax the moral safeguards with which military power needs always to be surrounded.

We can rejoice that the United Nations forces in Asia and the North Atlantic forces in Europe are under the command of two men, General MacArthur and General Eisenhower, who have demonstrated, in peace and war, that they put material values second and moral values first. That should be the mood of all people.

It is not easy to do what has to be done without whipping up emotions which are provocative of war. We must make certain that no act of ours increases the already acute danger. So let us, on the eve of this New Year, solemnly consecrate ourselves to that calm resolve which, in moments of peril, is the hallmark of true greatness.

## **Office of U.S. High Commissioner for Germany Moved to Bonn**

*[Released to the press January 3]*

John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner for Germany, announced today that the High Commissioner for Germany's headquarters will be transferred from Frankfurt to the Bonn enclave as soon as housing, office space, and other facilities can be constructed. This is expected to be by September 1, 1951.

Mr. McCloy stated:

The Bonn move is a basic step directed toward the establishment of normal relations with the German Federal Republic at its seat of government.

This move will simplify our working relationships with the federal officials without sacrificing our contacts with the laender. It is especially gratifying to me that it can be accomplished without expense to the German people, as the construction costs and related expenses will be paid with U.S. counterpart funds and will not be charged against occupation costs.

Mr. McCloy's personal headquarters will be included in the move to Bonn, but he will continue to maintain an office at Frankfurt. Certain Hicog units will probably remain at Frankfurt following the shift to Bonn until they are phased out or can be accommodated in the Bonn area. The recently-completed housing project in Frankfurt will be retained during that time and for such additional time as necessary for Hicog and United States Army personnel. As soon as feasible, the space

will be released, as originally planned, to the city of Frankfurt.

Glenn G. Wolfe, Director of the Office of Administration, explained that:

The construction in the Bonn area, at sites not yet determined, will include office facilities and permanent type housing accommodations for both American and German employees, plus other auxiliary requirements.

All construction of Hicog housing facilities is planned in due consideration of ultimate U.S. needs in Germany as well as maximum utilization by the German people and is financed from U.S. counterpart funds accruing from dollar expenditures in Western Germany.

It was pointed out that though the Bonn move will probably speed up the planned contraction of the Hicog headquarters and laender staffs, most of the reduction in personnel would come through normal attrition during the next year in any case; thus the move is not expected to result in large-scale release of laender or headquarters personnel.

## **Chauncey G. Parker, Assistant U.S. High Commissioner for Germany**

On December 29, the Department of State announced the appointment of Chauncey G. Parker as Assistant United States High Commissioner for Germany. Benjamin J. Bittenwieser, presently Assistant High Commissioner, continues in that office where he assists High Commissioner John J. McCloy in matters of policy and representation. Mr. Parker will serve in an executive capacity in the operating field.

## **Relief Assistance for Flooded Areas of India and Pakistan**

*[Released to the press January 5]*

Through the joint cooperative efforts of the Department of Defense and the War Relief Services-National Catholic Welfare Conference, 4 tons of relief supplies including children's clothing, blankets, medicines, and foodstuffs were shipped today in United States Air Force planes to Pakistan and India.

Following heavy floods in Kashmir and the Punjab areas of India and Pakistan, the American Embassies at New Delhi and Karachi reported on these disasters and urged that relief assistance be extended to the flood victims. The supplies will be distributed to the unfortunate people in the stricken areas of India and Pakistan.

A similar relief shipment for the earthquake victims in Assam was flown to India in October 1950 through the combined efforts of the United States Air Force and the American Red Cross.

## Status of Negotiations With Soviet Union on Proposed Foreign Ministers Meeting

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

I have the following comments to make about the exchange of notes<sup>2</sup> relating to the proposed meetings of representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union:

Last November, the Soviet Union proposed that the Council of Foreign Ministers meet to consider German demilitarization on the basis of the Praha communiqué. You will recall that this communiqué, which was full of the usual false allegations against the three Western powers, repeated previous proposals which not only had been rejected by the majority of German opinion but also had been found to afford no basis for a constructive solution of the German problem.

On December 22 the United States replied that existing international tensions arise not from the question of the demilitarization of Germany nor even from the German problem as a whole but from the general attitude adopted by the U.S.S.R. since the end of the war and from consequent international developments of recent months. This being so, the United States, along with France and the United Kingdom, rejected any CFM meeting which would take up only the question of Germany. The United States note stated:

5. The serious tension which exists at present springs neither from the question of the demilitarization of Germany nor even from the German problem as a whole. It arises in the first instance from the general attitude adopted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. since the end of the war and from the consequent international developments of recent months. The Governments of the four powers would be failing in their full responsibility if they were to confine their discussion to the narrow basis proposed by the Soviet Government. Questions related to Germany and Austria would obviously be subjects for discussion. But the U.S. Government believes that any discussions should include equally the principal problems whose solution would permit a real and lasting improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Great Britain and France and the elimination of the causes of present international tensions throughout the world.

<sup>1</sup> Made at press conference on Jan. 3 and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> See also BULLETIN of Jan. 1, 1951, p. 11.

6. The U.S. Government is prepared to designate a representative who, together with representatives of the Soviet, British and French Governments would examine the problems referred to in the preceding paragraph with a view to finding a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the four countries and recommend to their Governments a suitable agenda. It would appear that the presence of representatives of the above-named governments at the seat of the United Nations in New York presents the most convenient opportunity to conduct such exploratory discussions.

The British and French Governments sent similar replies.

The Soviet note received Monday makes no mention of the broader issues which we proposed should be explored but merely restates the Soviet position that the CFM should meet to discuss German questions. The only additional feature in the Soviet reply is the statement that, prior to the CFM meeting, the U.S.S.R. would be willing to have representatives of the four powers meet, but only to draw up an agenda. This is not an acceptance of our proposal for the exploratory talks which I have just described.

It is obvious that we must have further clarification of the Soviet position before we can assume that the U.S.S.R. is ready to accept our proposal to discuss the solution of outstanding problems, including Germany, in regard to which the Soviet attitude has created a sense of insecurity in the minds of peace-loving nations.

We have already begun to discuss with the British and the French the next step to be taken. Since the three Western powers drafted the December 22 note together, these Governments would naturally wish to act together in sending any further note to the U.S.S.R.

### SOVIET NOTE OF DECEMBER 30

[Released to the press January 2]

*Following is an unofficial English translation of the Soviet note of December 30, 1950, which was released by the U.S.S.R. today. The Soviet note is in reply to the joint notes of the United States, United Kingdom, and France dated December 22, 1950:*

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confirms receipt of

the note of the Government of the United States of America of December 22, which is in answer to a note of the Soviet of November 3 of this year on the question of calling a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers and on instruction of the Soviet Government, has the honor to state the following:

1. The Soviet Government in its note of November 3 proposed calling the Council of Foreign Ministers of the U.S., Great Britain, France and the USSR for consideration of the question of fulfillment of the decisions of the Potsdam conference regarding the demilitarization of Germany. Introducing such a proposal the Soviet Government proceeded, thus, from the necessity of holding not simply a meeting of the four ministers for the purpose only of consultations on these or those questions, but also from the necessity of calling the Council of Foreign Ministers for consideration of questions related to the competence of the Council of Ministers as constituted. In this connection the Soviet Government considered it necessary to discuss first of all the question of the demilitarization of Germany as the most acute question for Europe.

Continuing to consider that the question of demilitarization of Germany is the most important in the cause of insuring international peace and security and touches upon the basic interest of the people of Europe and primarily of the peoples who have suffered from Hitlerite aggression, the Soviet Government expressed its agreement to the discussion also of other questions regarding Germany which corresponds to the position of the Soviet Government as set forth in its note of November 3 and to the Prague declaration of eight powers.

The Soviet Government does not object to the proposal for the calling of a preliminary meeting of representatives of the USA, Great Britain, France and the USSR with the purpose that the meeting work out an agenda for the session of the CFM. It goes without saying that in tasks of such a preliminary discussion, consideration of questions which should be considered at the meeting itself of the four foreign ministers will not be included.

As for the place of calling of the preliminary meeting, the Soviet Government proposes that such meeting be called not in New York but in Moscow, Paris, or London in view of the fact that the holding of such meeting in one of the capitals mentioned presents undoubted practical conveniences for the majority of its participants.

2. The assertion of the Government of the United States that proposals set forth in the Praha declaration cannot serve as a basis for the favorable solution of the German problem calls forth legitimate doubt since this assertion was made before the proposals mentioned were subjected to consideration of the four powers. As-

sertions also of the American note that these proposals were allegedly rejected by a majority of the German people are at least baseless and do not at all conform to the real situation. In any event, it is not difficult to be convinced that in broad circles of the German population, including the population of West Germany as well, the proposals of the Praha meeting have met with great interest.

As far as remarks contained in the note of the Government of the United States of America with respect to letters of the High Commissioners to the President of the Soviet Control Commission on the question of conducting all German elections which are simply an evasion of the question having great significance for the German people are concerned, this question was the subject of repeated discussion between the Governments of the four powers and the position of the Soviet Union on this question is well known.

3. From published data it is seen that the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France are creating in Western Germany a regular German army, forming not just some police detachments as has been officially stated by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the three Western powers, but whole divisions. It is known also that in recent days representatives of the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France are carrying on negotiations with the Government of Adenauer concerning the number of German divisions being formed and their armament even with tanks and heavy artillery and concerning the inclusion of these divisions in the so-called "united armed forces." Attempts to camouflage these measures with references to the necessity of strengthening the defense of the USA, Great Britain, France and other states of Europe are clearly untenable since no one has threatened or is threatening these states. All the more untenable are attempts in the note of the Government of the USA to justify plans for remilitarization of Western Germany by references to rearmament allegedly taking place in Eastern Germany. Everything said in the note of the Government of the USA on this matter is fabricated from beginning to end and does not conform to reality in the slightest degree. In the note of the Soviet Government of October 19, it was already pointed out that such assertions of the Governments of the three powers were without any foundation.

4. The note of the Government of the USA of December 22, furnishes a basis for considering that it is agreeable to the proposal of the Soviet Government with respect to joint consideration by the four powers of the question of the demilitarization of Germany. The Soviet Government attaches important significance to this since the carrying out of the demilitarization of Germany is not only provided for by the Potsdam agreement between the USA, the USSR, Great Britain and France, but remains the most important condition for securing peace and security in Europe, corre-

sponding also to the national interest of the German people itself.

Furthermore, it is known to the whole world that in recent time it is in fact the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France which have been taking every kind of measure for the revival of a regular German army and for the restoration of war industry in Western Germany and are already carrying on official negotiations on these questions with the Government of Adenauer, which is an expression of the desire of certain aggressive circles to confront the peoples of Europe with accomplished facts. There is no necessity to prove that such actions by the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France clearly contravene the obligations undertaken by these governments concerning the necessity for carrying out the demilitarization of Germany and also that they cannot but create serious difficulties in the solution of those questions which must be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers, the calling of which is being delayed further and further for some reason or other.

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

#### **REVIEW OF PAST ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION**

This Government has repeatedly made known its willingness to take its part in negotiations for the settlement of outstanding problems with the Soviet Union with the proviso that there exists evidence of a genuine desire and intention to reach agreements. As recently as October 24, the President, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly, reaffirmed the principle that the United States, as one of the members of the United Nations, is prepared, as always, to enter into negotiations for the peaceful settlement of problems as required by the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>3</sup> The insistence which the United States has placed upon the necessity for evidence of a genuine desire to reach agreement, however, is based upon the impressive record of the futility of previous efforts, as well as upon the conviction that an atmosphere of tension and danger is not an auspicious one in which to undertake fragmentary solutions. The whole problem of real negotiations must be kept within this perspective.

#### **Germany**

The record of postwar Allied negotiations with the Soviet Union on the subject of Germany is one of dismal futility, indicating a lack on the part of the Soviet Union of any genuine desire and intention to reach basic agreements or, when agreements are nominally reached, to carry out their terms on any other than a basis of expediency.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1950, p. 719.

The Potsdam Conference of July 17–August 2, 1945, established a Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM) which, for the purpose of considering German questions, consisted of the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France, and the United States. Six regular sessions of this Council have since been held:

1. London—September 11–October 2, 1945
2. Paris—April 25–May 16, and June 15–July 12, 1946
3. New York—November 4–December 12, 1946
4. Moscow—March 10–April 24, 1947
5. London—November 25–December 16, 1947
6. Paris—May 23–June 20, 1949

The last of these sessions—that held at Paris—confirmed a process of fruitless negotiation which had failed to resolve a single one of the major points at issue with the Soviet Union concerning Germany.

The problem of German economic unity may be taken as typical of these issues. Under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement, Germany was to be treated as an economic unit during the period of occupation. From the beginning, however, the Soviets cut their zone off from the rest of Germany, exploited and Sovietized it, and refused even to reveal to the Allied Control Council what they were doing. The issue of economic unity was discussed several times by the Council of Foreign Ministers and caused the breakdown of the fifth meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers held at London late in 1947 when the Soviets insisted on obtaining reparations from current German production. At the Paris meeting of the Foreign Ministers in May–June 1949, economic unity of all Germany was again discussed, but no substantive agreements were reached. Even the quadripartite talks which were subsequently held with a view to mitigating the effects of the administrative division of Germany in the field of trade proved abortive.

A similar account could be given for such issues as the status of the city of Berlin, reparations, demilitarization, and political unification of Germany. In no case, has there been any evidence that Allied good faith and willingness to negotiate were reciprocated by the Soviets, who demanded complete concession to their point of view, or that the conferences were serving much more purpose than to provide for the Soviets a convenient sounding-board for their propaganda efforts.

#### **Austria**

Turning to Austria, we find that the deputies for the Austrian treaty have met 258 times since 1947. Only five comparatively minor articles are still unagreed, but the deputies have, for almost a year, made no progress because the Soviets have resorted to delaying tactics and have continually introduced new and irrelevant issues.

The CRM, in June 1949, reached an agreement on the most important treaty issues: reparations, boundaries, and the Soviet demands for German assets. In spite of this CRM agreement, the Soviets are unwilling to grant Austria a treaty. For several months, they held up discussions on the flimsy pretext that one article could not be settled until the conclusion of bilateral Austro-Soviet "negotiations" on Austria's alleged debt for relief supplies furnished by the Soviets; these "negotiations" ended with an Austrian note sent in December 1949 which the Soviets have not yet found time to answer. Later, the Soviet deputy made the unsupported and untrue accusation that the Western powers and the Austrian Government are encouraging a revival of nazism and demanded that the already agreed article on nazism be reopened. Then, he indicated that an Austrian treaty is impossible until the United States and Britain demonstrated their willingness to abide by the Italian peace treaty by withdrawing their troops from Trieste, an entirely irrelevant issue.

During 12 meetings, in 1950, the deputies have been able to do nothing except argue about procedure and listen to Soviet denunciations. The few remaining treaty articles could be easily settled if the Soviets would discuss them all, without making new demands and reopening articles already agreed.

#### **United Nations**

The record in the United Nations of repeated efforts, during the past 5 years, to obtain Soviet cooperation and to negotiate with them on questions in which they are interested fully justifies the doubts now entertained as to the prospects of prompt and satisfactory settlement of outstanding differences through yet another forum. In general, they have sought to employ three types of devices of noncooperation and obstruction: (1) the walk-out; (2) the refusal to join international bodies; and (3) the veto and other parliamentary tactics in organs of which they are members.

The first demonstration of the tactic of the "walk-out" and of refusing to participate in consideration of matters affecting them took place in early 1946 when Soviet Delegate Gromyko walked out of the Security Council meetings dealing with the complaint of Iran that the U.S.S.R. refused to remove its troops as required by treaty and was engaging in subversive activities designed to separate Azerbaijan from the rest of Iran.

This use of the arbitrary boycott to seek to paralyze the work of United Nations bodies culminated, in the spring of this year, over the question of Chinese representation when the Soviet delegations, as well as those of the captive countries of Europe, walked out of more than 40 different United Nations organs, agencies, and conferences.

Of the nearly a dozen specialized agencies (such as the FAO, WHO, etc.), the Soviet Union has refused to join all but a single one, despite repeated invitations of the rest of the international community to cooperate through these essential bodies in working out the solutions of the world's economic and social problems. Not a single ruble has been contributed to their work or to the various funds set up by the United Nations for the care of refugees, for technical assistance, or for similar humanitarian efforts.

As to the third device, it is hardly necessary to recall the 46 times the U.S.S.R. has cast a veto in the Security Council to forestall decisions on almost all major questions, for the admission of new members to the pacific settlement of disputes, to the appointment of the Secretary-General, to a settlement of the Korean question.

In the particularly important field of atomic energy and disarmament, the futility of previous efforts to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. is strikingly demonstrated.

#### **Conclusion**

Despite this past record of discouragement and futility in trying to reach solutions of international problems through peaceful processes of negotiation, the United States is determined to do everything it can to achieve the aims of removing the causes underlying present tensions.

Since the end of the war, Soviet policies have resulted in the creation of tensions in various parts of the world which, if continued, afford little assurance that there exists now a genuine desire on the part of the Soviet Government to come to real agreements which will remove or alleviate threats to world security and peace. Nevertheless, the United States Government, together with the British and French Governments, is proposing to enter into discussions with the Soviet Government for the purpose of determining whether there exists now a genuine desire on the part of the Soviet Government to eliminate the causes underlying present international tensions and whether an acceptable basis can be found for holding a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the four countries.

#### **U.S.-U.S.S.R. Negotiations on Lend-Lease To Resume**

*[Released to the press January 5]*

U.S.-U.S.S.R. negotiations for a settlement of the Soviet wartime lend-lease account are to be resumed in Washington on January 15, 1951, with representatives of the Soviet Government nominated for this purpose. These discussions will deal with lend-lease matters only. The question

of a settlement of Soviet obligations under the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Master Lend-Lease Agreement of June 11, 1942, has been a subject of discussion between the two Governments since 1945. Formal settlement negotiations were first undertaken in April 1947.

The forthcoming talks result from a United States note of June 15, 1950, to the Soviet Government suggesting the resumption of negotiations in a further effort to reach a long-overdue settlement of this lend-lease account.

The main problems to be dealt with are:

(1) The amount, and terms of payment, for the reimbursable portion of wartime lend-lease aid from the United States to the Soviet Union. This reimbursable portion does not include articles lost, destroyed, or consumed in the common war effort. It thus comprises only a small part

of the total of approximately 11 billion dollars worth of lend-lease aid from the United States to the Soviet Union.

(2) The disposition of naval and merchant vessels loaned to the U.S.S.R. which are subject to return to the United States on request. After the Soviet authorities failed for 2 years to comply with requests for return of certain vessels, the United States, on October 7, 1948, formally demanded the return of 3 icebreakers, 28 frigates, and 186 units of other types, mainly small craft. To date, the U.S.S.R. has returned the frigates and one icebreaker but has failed to comply with the request for the other vessels.

(3) Compensation to United States firms for the use of their patented oil refinery processes supplied to the U.S.S.R. under lend-lease. To date, the U.S.S.R. has reached agreement with only one of the seven interested United States firms.

## Basic Policy Issues in Economic Development

by Willard L. Thorp

Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs<sup>1</sup>

Assistance to the process of economic development of other countries is nothing new to the United States. Foreign missionaries from American churches taught much more than religious dogma. Business men carried capital and technical skill abroad. Engineers created monuments to modern technology. Foundations translated fortunes accumulated in the United States into libraries, universities, and public health centers in other countries.

So far as direct action by the Government is concerned, we need only note that the Export-Import Bank of Washington was established in 1934, that many developmental projects in Latin America during the war were the antecedents of the present Institute for Inter-American Affairs, that under the so-called Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 for the interchange of persons, knowledge, and technical services, much help in economic development has been given, and that the appropriations for the Economic Cooperation Administration each year have included funds for developmental use in the dependent overseas territories of the cooperating European countries. For many years, and on a limited scale, various departments of the Government, notably the Department of Agriculture and the Public Health Service, have been providing foreign technical assistance.

These scattered and sporadic government programs were given a new status when, in 1950, Congress passed the Act for International Development. This act contains the following policy statement:

It is declared to be the policy of the United States to aid the efforts of the peoples of economically underdeveloped areas to develop their resources and improve their working and living conditions by encouraging the exchange of technical knowledge and skills and the flow of investment capital to countries which provide conditions under which such technical assistance and capital can effectively and constructively contribute to raising standards of living, creating new sources of wealth, increasing productivity and expanding purchasing power.

### Policy Objective

Thus, assistance to the economic development of underdeveloped countries is no longer a matter of haphazard and limited incident but is now an established policy objective of the United States Government.

United States foreign policy seeks a number of different objectives. It looks forward to a world of free and independent nations, with an international structure bringing order into international relationships. It seeks a peaceful world. It seeks a world of increasing personal freedom and respect for human dignity. It seeks a more productive and more prosperous world.

These broad objectives are expressed in many policies and programs, varying all the way from

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the American Economic Association at Chicago, Ill., on Dec. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

action against an aggressor nation to concern for displaced persons, from negotiating commercial treaties to the development of the charter of human rights, from arranging for the international exchange of students and professors to the international allocation of broadcasting frequencies.

The basic objectives are interdependent and consistent, but the pursuit of them along so many paths inevitably requires choices among policies or programs. For example, the preservation of free nations may conflict directly with the desire for peace. The pursuit of peace, under today's conditions, may impinge sharply upon individual freedom and physical well-being. Personal freedom may lead to the uneconomic use of resources or instability of business activity. The pursuit of prosperity may make more difficult the defense measures necessary for peace or may undermine the personal freedom of others. And, to the extent that any policy or program is costly, there is the necessary and difficult choice imposed by the fact that government revenues, economic resources, and manpower are, by no means, unlimited.

The elevation of assistance in economic development to a new position, both in terms of policy and program, inevitably raises a new series of choices. Some are internal to the policies and programs for economic development itself, and some represent choices or conflicts with other objectives. Of course, as circumstances change and one objective or another requires emphasis, earlier answers may need to be modified. I can only suggest a few of the policy issues which are troublesome today.

### **Imperialist Dilemma**

First is the so-called imperialist dilemma. Today, in a number of countries, there is a strong undercurrent of nationalism which places in direct conflict the feeling of antagonism toward things which are foreign and the desire for the benefits of a cooperative effort with the outside world. In the first instance, this dilemma is one for the receiving rather than the assisting country. However, it may also raise the problem for the assisting country. Should it assist unless it can play an active rather than a passive role?

Oftentimes, an economically underdeveloped country has an underdeveloped government. It may lack a civil service system for selecting and training personnel; it may lack an effective budgetary control; it may lack a sound fiscal policy; and its governmental structure may lack that clearly assigned responsibility among its parts, so necessary to take action effectively. When it is without an efficient and effective government, the underdeveloped country is under a serious handicap in carrying out its own plans for economic development.

The dilemma is simply this: that, if the United States, through its representatives, imposes its judgments upon other governments and economies, we will be charged with being "political commissars for economic imperialism." Even if we establish severe conditions for the receipt of aid to insure the effectiveness of some program, we may be accused of "invading the sovereignty of independent nations." On the other hand, if we do not take an active role, the developmental effort may be dissipated in inefficiency and confusion, and the net result may well be very slight.

This dilemma has proved to be much more troublesome as a matter of public relations than as a matter of any real threat to sovereignty. American policy is clear that it seeks to build strong, independent nations. So long as this objective can be clearly declared and maintained, the so-called interferences arising from the process of assisting in the economic development of other countries can hardly be called imperialism, except by deliberate liars, particularly since our assistance is provided only on request.

However, decent and honest as we may believe ourselves to be, the dilemma still remains for us to resolve, and we have dealt with it in various ways. In Greece, we assumed very considerable responsibility. In the Marshall Plan countries, we concerned ourselves largely with the use to which our aid was put and the support of objectives such as the liberalization of trade, already subscribed to by the Organization of European Economic Cooperation before any American funds were appropriated. In the case of the Philippines, we gave them their full independence along with substantial monetary assistance. However, since Philippine independence, the fiscal situation in the Islands has deteriorated dangerously, and we are now offering further support, providing a series of specific steps are taken to straighten out the situation.

One important aspect of the problem arises from the proposition that, as one accepts greater participation, one's responsibility also increases. If we are to take a positive role in economic development, we need to know much more than we do about the nature and character of social and economic change. Economists, for example, have been preoccupied with the current American economic scene, except as they have been exposed to economic history, but even that was likely to be devoted to tracing the antecedents of our times, particularly by examining the feudal system.

Our body of economic theory is related to the preconceptions and mores of Western civilization. It is worth remembering that Karl Marx built his system upon an interpretation of historical development while classical economists focused their cogitations much more upon the theoretical operations of economic equilibrium.

We are woefully ignorant of contemporary social and economic institutions in most other coun-

tries. It is clear that these other societies and cultures cannot and should not be made over in the American image, but our accumulated social science knowledge has all too little to tell us about the possibilities and limitations of economic development in the underdeveloped countries. If we hope to give effective developmental aid to other countries, we must be prepared to play an active and responsible part. That means that we need a rapid advance in our understanding of and knowledge about the whole complex of problems involved in social and economic change, with particular reference to the institutions presently existing in the underdeveloped areas. This is a practical job for the social scientists.

### **Timing Dilemma**

One of the most difficult set of choices in economic development may be called the timing dilemma. Some less sophisticated individuals have thought of economic development almost exclusively in terms of capital goods, asserting that the problem could be solved if the underdeveloped countries could only get machinery.

But economic development is no simple matter, and there is no magic formula for raising standards of living rapidly. Usually, major social changes are required. Education and training are a basic necessity. And increased industrial production requires many supporting economic activities, such as transportation and power. Obviously, economic development is a slow process with the possibilities ranging from zero to a small percentage advance each year.

However, there is need for haste. The cumulative process of development may never achieve real vigor unless it quickly arouses hope and captures the imagination and allegiance of peoples. The essential drive must come from within the country itself. Furthermore, political instability and civil disorder are likely to make improvement impossible unless there is evidence of improvement. The improvement called for is an expansion in per capita consumption, itself a difficult achievement in countries with rapidly increasing populations. But, for the success of the enterprise, it is important to make immediate progress.

It is inevitable, therefore, that consumption and capital formation will compete with each other, with consumption having much the stronger drive behind it. There is an inevitable and sometimes subconscious pressure to give special emphasis to programs with immediate results. The local governments are eager to redeem their campaign promises, if there was any campaign, and, in any event, to assure their survival in power by pointing to a record of achievement. Even those abroad giving assistance, be they public or private, like to have definite results to report to the sources of their funds. It is a matter of fact that the most urgent requests from some of the underdeveloped

countries have been for credit to buy consumers goods, sometimes because of natural catastrophes such as earthquakes or famine, but often on grounds of immediate political necessity.

In countries where productivity is already extremely low, domestic capital formation is necessarily limited. This situation may even lead to a condition where economic development can best be furthered by providing foreign consumers goods, which then can be translated into local currencies and used for the local costs of developmental enterprises which would not, otherwise, be met without depressing the already substandard of living.

The fact remains that economic development is inherently a slow process. It may be necessary to break through the dead hand of custom, made particularly difficult because fixed ways and attitudes often have a moral or religious basis. Luckily, there is a good deal of evidence that economic development can be an accelerating process. It is slow, at first, because the margin of saving for capital formation is small, because the number of people able to act as catalysts are few, and because the idea of change must become acceptable before people become teachable. Both capital formation and teachability tend to pick up speed as production grows, education spreads, and horizons widen.

Much can be done with promises about the future, as the Communists have demonstrated. But, sooner or later, there must either be a police state to deal with complaints or there must be a demonstration of progress. Programs must be developed not merely as sound economic blueprints but with the needs and nature of the human beings involved clearly in mind. If the people of a country are starving, it is a hard choice for its rulers between using its credit to buy rice or wheat or to develop irrigation systems and build fertilizer plants. Since those who provide the credit also have an option to provide it for one purpose or another, they face the same problem.

### **Private Enterprise Dilemma**

Next, may I cite the private-enterprise dilemma. We credit much of our own tremendous industrial development to the releasing of individual energies and imaginations through the institution of private enterprise. It follows that we cannot help feeling that this great motive force would accomplish wonders in the underdeveloped countries if fostered and aided.

On the other hand, underdeveloped countries are wary of private enterprise. In the past, foreign private enterprises have not always been locally popular, and, in many countries, a form of pre-industrial local private enterprise has led to the growth of divergent wealthy and poor classes such as Marx mistakenly held to be inevitable for all capitalist societies. Hence, government policies, regulations, and attitudes may inhibit not

only foreign-financed but even domestic private enterprise.

American policy has strongly supported the notion that the channels should be cleared for the flow of private capital abroad as a means of providing American capital, technical skill, and management experience to other countries. To that end, sustained efforts have been made to negotiate commercial treaties which would give assurances of fair treatment to foreign investors. However, treaties or no treaties, private capital seems to be loath to go abroad in these days of political and economic insecurity unless its prospective rewards are so great as to make these risks worth taking. The necessity of a high rate of return appears to rule out all but a few fields of endeavor (certainly eliminating the basic public service developments such as transportation, power, and irrigation) or to arouse such cries of foreign exploitation as to lead to further regulation by foreign governments. Some have suggested the use, as an incentive, of reduced taxation in the United States of foreign earnings, but there are many other interests (besides educational and charitable institutions) which would like similar encouragement. At any rate, the fact is that, at present, private enterprise is not doing the job. As a result, governments are playing a large role, and one American principle comes in conflict with another.

As to private enterprise in general, it is, of course, true that many countries, even our own, today take the form of mixed economies. Private enterprise is perhaps most valuable in the pioneering activities where experiment and imagination are attracted by large potential rewards. In an underdeveloped country, the problem is largely one of utilizing the experience of other countries. Thus Russia, between the two wars, was able to move ahead rapidly because she started far behind the established levels of the more advanced countries and could take over, without the costs of trial and error, the advanced technology of the Western world. Many individuals in other countries would argue that private enterprise is not as essential in a country which is far behind the procession. They say that, since the problem is one of how best to use scarce skills, capital, and resources, a central planning and control agency, i. e., government, is the minimum requirement, and government operation itself may be the most effective device to get things done.

The attitude in other countries toward private enterprise has changed noticeably during the last 3 years. There is much less confidence in government operation as a panacea for all economic ills and much more recognition of the part which private enterprise can play in an expanding economy.

Not merely for them but also for us the private enterprise dilemma raises a host of difficult specific problems. Can we expect private capital to flow abroad in larger volume? (The Marxist would answer, of course, that it will and must do so.)

What special encouragement, if any, should be given by the government? What should our attitude be toward an underdeveloped country which employs government screening of foreign investment and government direction of private investment? How about government-to-government loans? How about the development of an economic plan for a country? What can be done to encourage private savings and investment in forms other than jewelry and real estate? These are not hypothetical questions. They are inevitable in a world of varying economic and political structures.

### Trade Policy Dilemma

Next, let us consider the trade-policy dilemma. Economists have long had a clear-cut doctrine that trade barriers interfere with the most efficient use of resources, physical and human. For 17 years, American foreign policy has been directed toward the liberalization of trade although, I must confess, that consistency has not been perfectly achieved in this field.

Many of the underdeveloped countries have a great desire for industrialization. They are eager to reduce their dependence on one or a few major farm or mine products. They see the so-called industrial countries as those with the highest standards of living. They believe that economic well-being is highly and positively correlated with the proportion of the population engaged in industry. Many of them are particularly eager to develop heavy industry even at high cost, because of the degree of independence which it gives them, the economic counterpart of political nationalism. It is interesting to note that, even in the more sophisticated countries of Western Europe, the efforts of the Economic Cooperation Administration to program, in terms of specialization of labor, within the area of the cooperating countries, were considerably defeated by the unwillingness of each country to increase its dependence upon other countries, even if it were a mutual interdependence.

This urge for the development of industry leads to a desire for high tariffs. They are eager to build up industries that will compete with, not complement, those already existing in the developed areas. They are interested in growing more food and fibres only if, in fact, they are now importing them. So the "infant industry" tariff defense once more appears in force.

When 56 nations met at Habana 3 years ago to endeavor to find a common basis for an international charter in the trade field, one of the most vigorous and sustained controversies among the representatives revolved around this very problem. The net result was that, while the basic policy agreement on which the charter was predicated was directed toward the reduction of trade barriers, there were complicated escape provisions outlining methods by which underdeveloped coun-

tries might, for purposes of development, obtain release from commitments assumed in trade agreements and, under the charter itself, with respect to commercial policy. Some such compromise was the only basis upon which agreement could be reached.

Parenthetically, it may be interesting to note the interesting twist which the dilemma takes when American management and capital establishes an infant industry in a foreign country behind a protective tariff. On several occasions, the United States Government has been under considerable pressure from American export producers to obtain lower tariffs into a country on a given product and from other American interests manufacturing within the foreign country not to expose them to the devastating competition of the continentals. The Americans operating abroad will argue that their costs are higher for a number of reasons, such as the small scale of their operation, higher per unit labor costs, and the fact that usually they produce only an incomplete line, all of which conditions they claim will be corrected over time although I have yet to hear of a case where that time has been reached. Furthermore, they have painfully developed a local market under a given set of conditions including the tariff, and now it should not be available to others who have devoted no effort to its creation. Finally, they say, how can economic development ever take place if new enterprises in the underdeveloped areas must compete with the efficiency of modern American industry? (The next caller may outline the problems which he faces in the United States as the result of cheap labor products being imported from abroad.)

In the field of trade policy, the underdeveloped countries are extremely suspicious of the policies of the industrial countries. Some, apparently, believe that the basic purpose of present desires to liberalize trade is to obtain foreign markets for manufactured goods and that the advanced countries are endeavoring to deny to underdeveloped nations freedom to use the very devices by which the industrial powers have established their pre-eminence. The argument parallels that of the Marxist, that capitalist countries must export to live and that heavy industry is the basis for sound economic development. One must add that many American businessmen fear the industrialization of other countries, either as a threat to their foreign markets or as potential invaders of the American market itself.

It has long been apparent that commercial policy problems cannot be resolved simply by reference to the principle of comparative advantage. They arouse conflicting interests which confuse the determination of the national interest, and they involve national objectives beyond those which can be calculated from supply and demand curves. Plans for economic development will take quite different shapes according to whether they

are made within a pattern of expanding international trade or on the basis of economic nationalism. It is somewhat difficult to see the basis on which nations can expect to receive international assistance in order that they may achieve economic nationalism. From the economic point of view, assistance can best be justified on the assumption of expanding world trade, with its resulting mutual benefits. However, even if the broad basis for action were generally accepted, there would still remain innumerable specific cases, both at home and abroad, where the notion of reducing trade barriers and expanding world trade would be vigorously challenged.

#### **Allocation of Resources Dilemma**

At this moment, we are faced with a new and disheartening series of choices, the allocation-of-resources dilemma. Any previous set of priorities among government programs must now be revised in the light of the requirements of the national emergency. To be sure, economic development assistance on the part of the Government always has been a charge against our national budget, but the requirements, in terms of goods and services, have been against an economy not operating under pressure or at full capacity. It has not been tested in a period rife with inflationary forces.

Today, we must give first priority to building our defenses. The combination of reiterated Kremlin-Communist doctrine and the continued high rate of expenditure for increasing Communist military strength have presented for many months an increasing threat to our security. The recent events in Korea have demonstrated a callous and confident willingness to enter upon aggression and even to defend it loudly and lengthily in the halls of the United Nations. We have no choice but to endeavor to prevent a world-wide conflagration by building such strength as to make the calculated risk to the aggressor one which no group in power anywhere would dare to chance.

The process of building strength means that the United States will soon be short of government revenue, technicians, investment capital, capital goods, spare parts, and all the exportable ingredients of economic development. Other nations concerned with preserving the free world will also be devoting increased efforts to rearmament and will develop similar shortages.

As a partial offset, is the fact that some of the underdeveloped areas are important producers of raw materials, and one of the immediate results of the expanded military programs has been to increase sharply the prices of their exports. They may well find themselves with rapidly accumulating supplies of dollars and other foreign currencies but with limited opportunities to spend them for technical assistance or for capital goods. Policies with respect to priorities can, of course, limit

economic development, either by restricting dollar aid or export availabilities, or both.

Upon careful examination, it is clear that the choice is, by no means, a simple one between two clear-cut alternatives. Even those who would insist that all our attention should be focussed upon building up our own military strength would agree that economic development projects in other countries, which would yield additional quantities of strategic materials in short supply, should be rapidly prosecuted. But there are still other considerations. Building strength is not solely a matter of military power, nor are all Communist successes the result of military aggression. Part of the process of reinforcing the free world must be to create situations of political and economic strength in areas whose weakness may otherwise invite aggression, direct or indirect. Through concrete evidence at the grass roots of constructive American interest in their welfare and through the hope created by forward movement, resistance can be created to the coming to power of Communists or seriously hostile governments. In the present world contest, every country is important.

Even though our blue chips may be stacked on military preparedness for ourselves and friendly countries, it may still be the part of wisdom to place some of our white chips on economic development. If we accept the idea that assistance for economic development has a valuable place in our policies, even during the national emergency, there remain the difficult problems of how much and where. It will be a period of cut-backs in many directions, and no program can operate on a "business as usual" basis. However, we must build for the future as well as for the present, and we can hope that, in the not too distant future, the tremendous expenditures for armaments can be reduced, and we can then devote a substantial part of that energy and those resources to economic development.

#### **Digression of Objectives by National Emergency**

The five dilemmas which have been outlined are, by no means, a complete listing of the policy issues which face those responsible for carrying forward in the field of economic assistance to underdeveloped countries. They are illustrative of the variety and complexity of the choices which must be made. Perhaps, most of all, they suggest the difficulty in isolating any particular program and evaluating it except against a background of the totality of objectives in foreign policy.

Today, we must deal with a national emergency. This is the paramount requirement. But our long-run objectives of world peace and prosperity are not changed one iota by this necessary digression. Toward our long-run purpose, there can be no question of the importance of American aid as our contribution to "the efforts of the peoples of

economically underdeveloped areas to develop their resources and improve their working and living conditions." To be sure, there are problems and policy issues. There is nothing unusual about this in the field of economic foreign relations. What is important is to regard these policy and program conflicts not as obstacles to action but as problems which must be resolved again and again. The wisdom of the solutions will depend, in large part, upon the breadth of knowledge and the depth of understanding of the social and economic processes involved. To these basic requirements, it is my conviction that the economists of this country can make an ever-increasing contribution.

#### **Graduate Study in Latin America**

Fellowships for United States graduate students to study or do research in certain American Republics will again be available for the academic year 1951-52, the Department of State announced on December 18.

The fellowships will be made under terms of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, which provides for an annual exchange of students between the United States and each of the signatory republics. The participating countries, in addition to the United States, are as follows: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela.

The United States Government provides transportation for American students to and from the receiving country, and the host country pays tuition and a monthly maintenance allowance. In some cases, a small allowance is also allotted for books and incidental expenses. It is sometimes necessary, however, for the student to supplement his maintenance allowance.

Students desiring to apply should have the following general qualifications: United States citizenship, a bachelor's degree or its equivalent, the initiation or completion of some graduate study, and a satisfactory knowledge of the language of the country in which study or research is to be undertaken. All other considerations being equal, students under 35 years of age and veterans will be given preference.

Full information regarding these fellowships and application forms may be obtained from the Division of International Educational Relations, United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C. The completed forms must be returned to the Office of Education no later than January 15, 1951. The Advisory Committee on Exchange of Students will nominate five candidates for the panel to be submitted to each of the participating governments. Final selection of the two students will be made by the governments of the respective countries.

## German Federal Republic's Monthly Economic Review <sup>1</sup>

Economy of the German Federal Republic continued to expand during October and November, but pressure of shortages is braking the rate of increase. At a moment when production should normally leap to answer demand, the critical dearth of coal and electricity clamped down on what had been phenomenal economic activity. Earlier in the fall months the Federal Republic had begun to feel the effects of shortages in certain imported raw materials and in specialized workers. The unhealthy balance-of-payments position of the preceding 2 months was still in danger, and remedial efforts taken in October were still too recent to allow an exact appraisal of their effects.

But there were generally favorable developments. Foreign trade reached record figures in October in exports (\$214,000,000) as well as imports (\$312,000,000), and export prospects continue excellent. The number of unemployed (1,230,200) at the end of October was at its lowest point since April 1949. The increase in unemployment, which appeared in November, appears to be due solely to seasonal factors.

While labor has benefited from recent wage increases, conflicting factors have brought about increasing agitation by labor during the past 2 months for new wage hikes.

### Industry

In October, the Federal index of industrial production (excluding building, stimulants, and food processing) rose another 3 points to the high point of 128 of the 1936 production level. Despite this record, bottlenecks in raw materials including coal, some nonferrous metals, and the tightening steel situation, made the increase considerably more moderate than in the previous months. Output of finished products in the investment goods and consumer goods fields continued to climb, with increases in vehicle, electrical equipment, and metal goods production. Chemical production tended to drop.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the January issue of the *Information Bulletin*; prepared by the Analytical Reports Branch of the Program Review Division of the Office of Economic Affairs, Hrcog.

The Federal Republic and occupation authorities as well as private industry and the individual, took measures to meet a worsening coal situation, as supplies became more critical in the face of winter weather and expanding industry. First priority for coal delivery is reserved for export, with domestic uses at the bottom of the list, and heavy and light industry falling respectively in between. Coal stocks in the consumer goods industries are in most cases extremely low for this time of year and some industries contemplated an industrial holiday between Christmas and the New Year to conserve their stocks.

Coal production in November rose from 370,000 metric tons per day in the first week to 391,000 tons daily for the week ending November 26, including 1 day when production touched 400,000 tons. In addition, a total of 827,000 tons was produced in what amounted to 2.16 extra normal days, on holidays and Sundays. Incentives for increased output appeared in a new wage agreement effective November 1, which raised wages for the miners 10 percent, and provided a bonus of 3 percent for full attendance in all shifts during the month. A further provision was made for a 50-75 percent increase in wages for extra shifts, of which it is contemplated there will be six during each quarter for the fourth quarter 1950 and first quarter 1951. To attract new labor to the mines, the Federal Republic has announced a program amounting to DM 110,000,000 for miners' housing and has requested release of DM 45,000,000 counterpart funds to support this program.

Crude steel production for November was 1,110,703 metric tons, approximately 24,000 tons under the previous month's record output. Preliminary estimates for pig iron production for November were about 52,000 metric tons under the previous month and totaled 874,990 tons. Less fuel in December will result in lower production figures.

New electric power generating capacity of about 100 megawatts, financed mainly by ECA funds, was completed during October. The coal shortage, however, prevented the power industry from utilizing all available capacity and obliged the Federal Ministry of Economics to issue power allocations for consumption in each state. Fortunately, heavy rainfalls resulted in 60,000,000 extra kilowatt-hours supplementing the normal

power production, and thereby avoiding heavy curtailment except in Bavaria where large power consumption, particularly in the chemical industry, had to be reduced.

The coal shortage hit the gas industry, too; grid gas supply forced restrictions on large industrial consumers. In a number of municipal gas works, situated far from the coal source, coal stocks were extremely low. This was aggravated by short deliveries of Saar gas coal, to be supplied on a contract basis. No real improvement is to be expected for the coming months. Consumption of gas in October 1950, incidentally, was about 27 percent higher than in 1949.

German crude oil production showed an increase of 5 percent over last month and 30 percent compared with the same period last year. Total refinery output, as well as the production of gasoline and diesel oil, remained unchanged, while the civil consumption of gasoline increased 10 percent over the consumption figures of last month.

#### INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(1936=100)

	1950		
	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
<b>TOTAL ALL INDUSTRIES</b>			
(incl. electricity and gas <sup>1</sup> ) . . . . .	115	r 125	128
(excl. electricity and gas <sup>1</sup> ) . . . . .	113	r 123	126
Investment goods (total) . . . . .	113	r 124	128
Raw materials . . . . .	98	r 103	104
Finished products . . . . .	123	r 138	143
General production goods			
(incl. electricity and gas) . . . . .	130	137	137
(excl. electricity and gas) . . . . .	124	131	129
Consumer goods . . . . .	101	r 112	119

<sup>1</sup> Excluding food processing, stimulants and building.  
r=Revised.

#### PRODUCTION OF MAJOR COMMODITIES

COMMODITY	Unit of Measure <sup>1</sup>	Aug. <sup>2</sup>	Sept. <sup>2</sup>	Oct. <sup>2</sup>
Hard coal (gross mined) . . . . .	thous. t	9, 445	9, 216	9, 499
Crude petroleum . . . . .	t	98, 800	95, 265	100, 350
Cement . . . . .	t	1, 134, 202	1, 147, 216	1, 169, 832
Bricks (total) . . . . .	1,000	483, 761	493, 785	448, 283
Pig iron . . . . .	t	858, 021	875, 912	918, 895
Steel ingots . . . . .	t	1, 050, 173	1, 050, 176	1, 104, 741
Rolled steel finished products	t	751, 290	763, 841	781, 449
Farm tractors (total) <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	pieces	8, 985	9, 486	9, 095
Typewriters <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	pieces	17, 910	19, 961	21, 690
Passenger cars (incl. chassis) . . . . .	pieces	20, 465	21, 026	23, 219
Cameras (total) . . . . .	pieces	179, 148	185, 287	176, 445
Sulphuric acid (incl. oleum) . . . . .	t-SO <sub>3</sub>	102, 318	102, 740	109, 081
Calcium carbide . . . . .	t	59, 333	60, 691	47, 337
Soap (total) . . . . .	t	16, 122	17, 755	14, 657
Newsprint . . . . .	t	15, 026	13, 987	14, 507
Auto and truck tires . . . . .	pieces	285, 559	319, 250	328, 155
Shoes (total) . . . . .	1,000 pairs	6, 801	8, 379	9, 169

<sup>1</sup> All tons are metric tons.  
<sup>2</sup> Excluding accessories, parts, and spare parts.  
<sup>3</sup> Standard, long-carriage, and portable typewriters.  
r=Revised.  
p=Preliminary.

#### Transportation and Communication

November traffic demands on the railways, although slightly below those of October, nonetheless exceeded 60,000 cars per working day. By continuing the emergency measures of October, these demands were met in full, including additional commitments for flour shipments to Yugoslavia (scheduled at 10,000 tons per week) and increased supply traffic to Berlin.

Wage and salary hikes, plus added supply costs brought the Bundesbahn management face to face with a new increase in operating costs. A temporary agreement, retroactive to October 1, 1950, and expiring January 31, 1951, has been reached between the Bundesbahn management face to face with a new increase in operating costs. A temporary agreement, retroactive to October 1, 1950, and expiring January 31, 1951, has been reached between the Bundesbahn management and the railway unions. Salaries and pensions were upped by 6 percent and wages by an average of 8 percent. This represents an estimated DM 175,000,-000 annual rise in costs. In addition, the Bundesbahn is faced with an increase in the price of coal and other supplies which will add DM 120,000,000 to yearly operating costs. It is contemplated, however, that this increase will be met by a general increase of freight tariffs so that the seven-point Bundesbahn program initiated by the Coverdale & Colpitts report will not be affected.

During November, telephone service between Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Argentina was opened via the direct radio telephone circuit Hamburg-Buenos Aires. This expanded use of German facilities for international transit telecommunications services was designed to increase the foreign currency earnings of the Bundespost. Transit telephone services have earned approximately \$130,000 monthly. Of these amounts, 69 percent accrue to the Federal Republic under quadripartite agreements now in effect.

A direct telegraph circuit has been installed between Frankfurt/Main and London to handle telegrams between Germany and the extra-European countries now routed via the United Kingdom (e.g., Africa, the Near East). Foreign currency earned will accrue to the Bank Deutscher Laender as export credits.

#### Labor

Seasonal depression of employment in the outdoor occupations caused a greater rise in unemployment in November than had been anticipated in view of the extraordinarily favorable situation in October. The number of registered unemployed rose by 86,000 during November to a total of 1,316,000. The November 1949 increase was 67,000. Assuming that this summer's monthly average increase in the labor force (60,000) continues, employment of wage and salary earners dropped by only 25,000 to about 14,375,000.

While it seems certain now that the 1950 peak of general employment was reached, as in 1949, at the end of October, employment in manufacturing and trade may not begin to decline seasonally until shortly before Christmas. Industrial and residential building is still at a high level in spite of a very rainy month. Shortages of raw materials, half-fabricates and coal increased the number of factory workers on short time and discouraged many manufacturers from hiring additional labor

as orders in hand would warrant. In only a few cases have shortages caused dismissal of employees, and these only in small manufacturing establishments outside the main industrial centers.

Except for the wage increase for railroad workers and for hard coal miners, there was little movement in wage rates. Threats of industrial unrest, however, sounded from headquarters of the Trade Union Federation at Duesseldorf. In a referendum of employees in the Ruhr iron and steel industries conducted on November 29-30, 95.8 percent of the 201,512 participants expressed their readiness to strike, if necessary, to secure equal voice in the economic affairs of management ("economic co-determination"). The decision to hold this poll came on the heels of sharp attacks leveled by top industry and employers' associations against union demands for "co-determination." On December 1, the Mine Workers Union Convention unanimously called for a similar referendum in the mining industry at the earliest possible date. Federal legislation on codetermination is still pending in Parliament.

### Prices

The index of basic material prices rose 1 point (0.5 percent) in October to a new postwar record of 220 percent of the 1938 level. The increase was the smallest since the outbreak of the Korean war, reflecting a balance between opposing tendencies—a 3-point decline in the agricultural component of the index, and a 4-point rise in the industrial component.

The agricultural component of the index declined 3 points (1.7 percent) to 177 percent of the 1938 level—the first monthly decline since May 1950—due mainly to price decreases for live cattle, sheep, and hogs. The agricultural component of the index was 6 percent less than a year ago but 5 percent higher than last June.

The industrial component of the index rose 4 points (1.6 percent) to a postwar record of 249 percent of the 1938 level—21 percent higher than a year ago. The October rise was due mainly to price increases for aluminum, calf skins, cotton, flax, lead, linen yarn, raw rubber, roofing tiles, sawn wood, and zinc.

### BASIC MATERIALS PRICE INDEX

1938=100

	Monthly Average		
	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.*
Food . . . . .	176	180	177
Industry . . . . .	227	245	249
Total . . . . .	207	219	220

\*Preliminary.

The consumer price index which had been a postwar low in August and September rose 1 point in October, reaching 149 percent of the 1938 level. Fruits and vegetables rose 3 percent, while food (excluding fruits and vegetables) and stimulants remained unchanged. Clothing rose 2 percent and household goods 1 percent. All

other groups increased slightly (but less than half of one percent).

The largest particular October increases were fresh vegetables (12 percent), shoes (4 percent), shoe soles (3 percent), rubber goods (3 percent) and woolen goods (2 to 3 percent). The increase in fresh vegetable prices is seasonal, while that for shoes, soles, woolens, and rubber goods reflects the recent sharp rises in world raw material prices.

### CONSUMER PRICE INDEX—BIZONAL AREA<sup>1</sup>

1938=100

(Wage/salary earner's family of four, with one child under 14)

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
Food . . . . .	149	150	152
Stimulants . . . . .	275	275	275
Clothing . . . . .	154	157	159
Rent . . . . .	103	103	103
Heat and Light . . . . .	118	118	119
Cleaning and Hygiene . . . . .	147	148	148
Education and Entertainment . . . . .	140	141	142
Household goods . . . . .	160	161	163
Travelling . . . . .	133	133	133
Total . . . . .	148	149	150

<sup>1</sup>The Consumer Price Index is not yet available on a trizonal basis.

### Foreign Trade

West German exports and imports reached postwar record monthly levels in October 1950. Total exports of \$214,200,000 were 29 percent above the previous month's figure of \$165,700,000 and 20.7 percent above the previous postwar monthly high of \$177,600,000 in August 1950. Total imports of \$312,200,000 were 30.6 percent higher than the figure of \$239,100,000 recorded in September 1950, and 13.2 percent above the previous postwar monthly high of \$275,700,000 in December 1949. The October 1950 total trade deficit was \$98,000,000.

Exports to the United States (\$16,200,000) and to Latin America (\$21,800,000) rose sharply in October to reach postwar monthly record figures. The same was true for exports to the participating countries (\$143,700,000). However, within the OEEC group, the record rise in exports was mostly accounted for by shipments to the non-sterling participating countries. October exports to the participating sterling countries (\$11,300,000) were still below the postwar peak of \$13,200,000 reached in July 1950. October exports to Eastern Europe were \$10,600,000 and those to the non-participating sterling area were \$8,300,000 (a new postwar high). October imports from the United States (\$42,700,000) and from the non-OEEC sterling area (\$16,300,000) increased considerably over figures for September 1950. Deliveries from Latin America (\$18,500,000) and Eastern Europe (\$14,800,000) were slightly above September 1950 figures. Imports from the participating countries (\$202,000,000) were at a new postwar high, 28.2 percent above the previous postwar peak of \$157,500,000 set in September 1950. This rapid rise was shared in equally by imports from both the participating sterling and participating non-sterling areas.

The commodity breakdown shows the export rise accounted for almost entirely by finished goods. The increase in imports was seen in all commodity groups, with semifinished goods predominant percentage-wise. A review of these foreign trade figures reflects a rapidly expanding West German economy. During the last year the source of imports has made a marked shift from the United States to the European Payments Union (EPU) countries, much to the gratification of ERP planners. Exports have developed favorably to all areas. Whereas a year ago, the West German trade deficit was almost exclusively a problem of trade with the United States, it is now becoming increasingly a problem of trade with EPU countries.

#### WEST GERMAN FOREIGN COMMODITY TRADE

October 1950

(Thousand Dollars)

CATEGORIES	Imports	Exports
Food and Agriculture	133,608	6,453
Industry	178,581	207,773
Raw materials	87,586	25,965
Semifinished goods	48,429	33,898
Finished goods	42,566	147,910
Total	312,189	214,226
AREA		
Total Non-participating Countries	109,869	69,983
USA	42,708	16,186
Canada	1,092	1,187
Latin America	18,465	21,797
Non-participating Sterling Countries	16,310	8,347
Eastern Europe	14,763	10,608
Other Countries	16,531	11,858
Participating Countries	202,014	143,721
Non-Sterling	165,081	132,411
Sterling	36,933	11,310
Unspecified	306	522
Total	312,189	214,226

IMPORT SURPLUS: October \$97,963,000.

#### Monetary Developments

The volume of short-term commercial bank credit increased DM 615,000,000 during October to DM 13,102,000,000 as compared to the previous month's increase of DM 633,000,000. However, the volume of money (currency and deposits) showed an increase of DM 756,000,000 to DM 26,048,000,000, as compared to the September increase of DM 401,000,000. Commercial Bank excess reserves as a proportion of minimum reserves showed a sharp decrease from 5.5 percent at the end of September to 2.9 percent at the end of October, reflecting the increase in reserve requirements which was effective October 1. At the same time net indebtedness of commercial bank to the Central Banking System has shown the following movements:

	(DM Million)			
Since July:	July	August	September	October
	2,290	2,104	2,786	3,070

These movements give no definite indication as to future short-run monetary developments. Sufficient time to show effects of the Central Bank restrictive measures has not yet passed. Prelimi-

nary reports for November from samples seem to indicate a marked slowdown in the rate of credit expansion.

#### Agricultural Production

At the beginning of November, mild but very unsettled weather set in, with almost incessant rainfall over the whole Federal area. The rain impeded fall cultivation and interrupted seeding of winter wheat. Rains also delayed the beet harvest, but during the short dry period, much of the sugarbeet crop was harvested. Some local areas of grassland, and even cropland to a minor degree, were flooded.

Final estimates of this year's bumper potato crop indicate a total of almost 28,000,000 metric tons, an increase of 34 percent over last year. Preliminary estimates of the sugarbeet harvest show an increase of 38 percent over last year due to increased hectareage and better yields. The following table presents the total production of some major crops as compared with last year and prewar averages.

#### PRODUCTION OF MAJOR CROPS

(Thousand metric tons)

	Bread-grain	Fodder-grain	Potatoes	Sugar-beets	Fodder-beets and rutabagas
1935-38	5.689	4.798	19,538	4,253	25,872
1949-50	5.954	4.267	20,875	4,735	21,583
1950-51	5.792	4,414	27,958	*6,547	25,231
in % of					
1949-50	97.3	103.4	133.9	138.3	116.9

\* Preliminary.

The total production of hops is estimated at 9,400 metric tons, a postwar record, and reaching prewar levels. The grapewine harvest has been completed and bears out previous forecasts of above-normal quantities. The quality of this year's vintage will also be above normal, but will not reach the excellence of the past few years' vintages.

The stand of growth of fall-seeded grains and oil crops is satisfactory. Some difficulties are anticipated in the procurement of certain types of clover and grasses.

The health and weight status of all livestock is reported as good. The seasonal removal of livestock from pasture has been completed in the beginning of November. Farm-to-market deliveries for cattle showed a seasonal increase during November, while hog supply was still somewhat short in most places so that prices generally remained at the high level of July-October. Milk production continued its seasonal downward trend. Total milk production during the past economic year (July 1949-June 1950) amounted to 12,800,000 metric tons as compared with 10,000,000 during the preceding year.

During November, the Federal Republic agreed to a barter transaction of sugarbeet molasses for cane sugar from the United States at ratio of

3 to 1. The price for sugarbeet molasses was established at approximately \$35 per ton FOB German ports.

The Federal Republic has submitted a report to the ECA Mission indicating an export potential for 1950-51 of the following types and quantities of fertilizer:

Nitrogen (pure N) . . . . .	150,000 MT .	Average price, all types, \$220 per MT, FOB German port
Superphosphate (P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> ) . . . . .	30,000 MT .	World market price
Potash . . . . .	300,000 MT .	World market price

### Flour for Yugoslavia

In November, the ECA Mission made arrangements with the Federal Republic to ship immediately to Yugoslavia approximately 30,000 tons of flour. This flour is urgently required by Yugoslavia in view of the recent drought. The Federal Republic will receive approximately 50,000 tons of grain from the United States which will replace the wheat used and also be used to pay for the costs of milling and transportation of the flour to Yugoslavia. This arrangement not only provides for immediate emergency shipments of flour to meet urgent Yugoslavian requirements, but also enables Western Germany to more fully utilize its flour-milling capacity and to receive increased imports of dollar wheat to pay for labor and other Deutsche Mark costs. There is a possibility that further arrangements will be made for similar shipments of flour to Yugoslavia, through the assistance of the Federal Republic.

### Legislation

Pursuant to the extension, passed in October, of the Emergency Ordinance on Economic Controls, an order was issued prolonging the validity of 19 marketing regulations thereunder. Also, two price ordinances were issued: the first established surcharges on imported wheat of DM 40 (thous. kg.) for amber durum wheat and DM 3 for all other varieties; effective from October 1950 to June 1951, inclusive; the second set import and retail prices for Mexican canned beef. Lastly, a law was passed authorizing tax reductions on specific quantities of tobacco products resold to tobacco growers, maximum quantities being fixed in relation to the area of tobacco cultivated.

### Berlin

Preliminary estimates indicate that Berlin's net output during the third quarter of 1950 amounted to DM 935,000,000 and was approximately DM 140,000,000 higher than during the previous 3 months. Employment and output data for October make it quite improbable that this rate of progress could be maintained in the fourth quarter of 1950. Industrial production during October rose by only 1 index point to 39 percent of 1936.

While unsubsidized employment rose moderately from July through October, the increase came to a halt in the first half of November with a reduction of 700. Increased output in November thus seems highly doubtful.

Shipments to West Germany and foreign countries in October exceeded the monthly average of the third calendar quarter by 20 percent and amounted to DM 106,600,000. Shipments arriving in October increased approximately in the same proportion (21 percent) and amounted to DM 229,200,000. Thus the gap widened and Berlin's balance of trade shows a DM 122,600,000 deficit for October; this represents an increase of DM 21,600,000 over the monthly average of the third quarter, and of DM 24,900,000 over September. While the increase in exports was insufficient to pay for the additional imports, the composition of goods arriving in the city clearly indicated that seasonal buying, apparently the stocking of pre-Christmas inventories, is the primary cause for increased arrivals. The largest increases noted were in foodstuffs and other consumer goods. In connection with longer run balance-of-payments considerations it may be well to remember that Berlin's industries largely specialize in producers goods and therefore Berlin's external position in the short run is sensitively affected by seasonal changes in consumer demand.

## Light Cruisers Offered to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile

*[Released to the press January 4]*

The Department of State announced today that preliminary negotiations have been satisfactorily concluded with naval representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile and the United States Department of the Navy for the proposed transfer of two light cruisers to each of these Governments in connection with plans for the defense of the hemisphere.

A formal offer of sale of these World War II vessels, which have been determined to be in excess of the mobilization reserve requirements of this Government, was made today in diplomatic notes presented to each of the Ambassadors of these Governments at Washington.

The proposed sales will be made under the authority of the Mutual Defense Act of 1949, as amended.

It is expected that, once formal acceptance is received from the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile of the terms and conditions under which the vessels can be sold, arrangements will be made for the rehabilitation and outfitting of these vessels and the training of the naval personnel of the three countries prior to the ultimate transfer.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### United States Delegation Report on FAO

**SPECIAL CONFERENCE SESSION, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
NOVEMBER 3-11, 1950**

*by Clarence J. McCormick, Under Secretary of Agriculture*

The special session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) convened at Washington on November 3 in an atmosphere of uncertainty and adjourned, on November 11, with the reaffirmed faith of the member governments strongly expressed in words and actions. Between convening and adjourning, the Conference, under the chairmanship of André Mayer of France, took a number of noteworthy actions.

The Conference admitted five new members, continued the appointments of the present Director-General and independent Chairman of the FAO Council, amended the constitution, rules of procedure and financial regulations, approved the program and budget for 1951 and gave a good deal of thought to future programs and budgets, continued the Committee on Commodity Problems with a broadened frame of reference, promised cooperation with United Nations actions on land reform and Korean reconstruction, and made a number of other decisions.

The Conference agenda was much more extensive than had originally been anticipated for what was essentially a special session devoted primarily to business. Normally, a Conference would not have been held this year since, at the 1949 Conference, the Organization had voted to hold the next meeting in April 1951. However, pressing problems and the forthcoming move to Rome justified a shift to an earlier date.

In recognition of the fact that this is the last Conference FAO will hold with headquarters at Washington and also in recognition of the fifth anniversary, the Organization held a commemorative ceremony midway in the Conference deliberations honoring more than 60 FAO pioneers, who

had participated in the founding of the Organization at Hot Springs and at Quebec.

#### **U.S. Leadership on Expanded Budget**

The feeling of uncertainty tinged with pessimism that clouded the early Conference sessions and those of the FAO Council of 18 governments, which met for a week before the Conference, was the product of several factors.

One factor was the likelihood that the Organization would have to adopt a reduced program for 1951 in order to live within its income. Another uncertain factor was the effect that the move to Rome might have on the Organization's finances, personnel, and ability to meet demands while in process of moving and restaffing. The cost of the move would be greater than had originally been anticipated, largely because of the cost of making final payments to the staff members electing not to move with the Organization.

The United States delegation sensed this feeling of uncertainty and pessimism and felt that, if unchecked, it would prove damaging to the future of the Organization on which so much depended. The delegation, therefore, worked hard to dissipate and overcome the feeling. At the session of the FAO Council that preceded the Conference, a United States member stated that these problems could be readily solved, "if we keep our minds on the objectives of the Organization, the idealism that lies behind it and the future which can be in store for it with the continued support of member governments."

For the first time, the United States had been in a position to urge or support an expanded

budget for FAO although the Organization had been in financial difficulties for several years. The reason for the difficulties was twofold: the limitation of the budget to 5 million dollars and the fact that available funds never came to so much as that figure because the original contribution scale used until 1949 included governments which failed to join and because some member governments were seriously in arrears on paying their contributions. The major portion of these contributions in arrears are represented by the contributions of China, of Eastern European members which have now announced withdrawal, and of other members which dispute the date of their entry into membership. Thus, though the membership had increased by nearly 60 percent since its founding, the budget had remained static, and the available funds had reached the point where the Conference could approve an expenditure level of only 4.5 million dollars for 1951 although the budget had been approved at 5 million dollars.

Suiting action to words, the United States member proposed that the Director General be instructed to plan for an expanded regular program and budget in 1952 and 1953. This proposal gained support and was finally adopted at the council session after the Conference.

A budget of 5 million dollars was agreed when FAO was formed at Quebec in 1945. On the basis of this figure and the United States percentage contribution which was also agreed at the time, the United States Congress set a ceiling on the contribution to FAO of 1.25 million dollars. This action had the effect of tending to restrict the total FAO budget to 5 million dollars since the United States makes the largest single contribution. The previous FAO Conference, the fifth, had modified the scale of contributions to be made by each government and had raised the United States share from 25 to 27.1 percent of the total, making the amount required from the United States 1.36 million dollars. With the United States ceiling already set at 1.25 million dollars this increase would put the United States in arrears on its 1950 contribution. However, Congress, in September, raised the ceiling to 2 million dollars.

By this action the United States was able to recommend an expansion in FAO's total regular budget for 1952-53. The United States position was that it should be a modest expansion, rather than one that would require going to the new United States ceiling right away. Therefore, no mention of specific figures for an expanded budget was made.

The Council, at its session after the Conference, having been instructed by the Conference to give the Director General guidance on the level of the budget he should plan for 1952-53, agreed that he should plan an expenditure budget of 5 million dollars. Because of the constitutional necessity of assessing members which have announced withdrawal in the past year, and certain other mem-

bers who may not be in a position to pay within the year, this would mean a so-called income budget of over 5 million dollars.

### General Conference Actions

During the special session of the Conference, five new members were admitted to FAO. These were Cambodia, Vietnam, the German Federal Republic, Jordan, and Spain. The admission of Spain was made possible by the vote of the United Nations General Assembly, while the FAO Conference was in progress, to allow Spain's admission to specialized agencies of the United Nations. Spain's earlier application had been shelved until such time as the General Assembly might remove the ban on its membership in specialized agencies.

With the five new members admitted, FAO's total membership became 68 at the time of the Conference although Czechoslovakia ceased to be a member in December 1950, and Poland will withdraw in April 1951.

The Conference reappointed the present Director-General of FAO, Norris E. Dodd, for another year and invited the independent chairman of the Council, Viscount Bruce of Melbourne, to continue to serve for another year. Lord Bruce indicated that he would like to relinquish his post as soon as a suitable successor could be found. The FAO Council will present nominations to fill both of these posts to the next session of the Conference.

The Conference agreed to extend for another year the terms of the six council members who would have retired this year.

A thorny problem that the Conference tackled was the interpretation of the date of membership of member governments in FAO. The question was whether membership of countries in FAO dated from the time that the countries' representatives signed the constitution at the Quebec Conference in October 1945 or whether they were members only from the time that their legislative bodies had ratified their membership. This question had a number of serious implications, among them that of how much money was due from the countries in contributions and whether they should be regarded as members for the purpose of assessing contributions as well as all other purposes. If assessed from the time of signing, countries were technically in arrears for more than 2 years and should thus lose their voting rights at the Conference.

A few countries maintained that their date of membership was the date of ratification, and some in this group had not yet secured ratification. This position was maintained in spite of action taken at last year's Conference, which noted that the majority of countries which signed the constitution, as original members of FAO, felt under moral obligation to contribute to the expenses of the Organization from that date since they had

participated fully in all activities continuously from the time of signing.

The Conference agreed that it had no legal alternative but to accept the position, taken by the nations in question, that their membership dated only from ratification. Since this Conference had no time to go into all the implications of accepting this position, it requested the council, with the assistance of the Committee on Financial Control, to study the problem so that a final settlement could be made at the next regular session of the Conference.

A number of other general actions of the Conference should be noted. The Director General was asked to consult with the Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS) on ways of working out closer relations between the two organizations in fields of common interests. The purpose of these consultations will be to develop joint or complementary activities, avoid duplicating ones, and utilize common services. The Director General is to work out with the OAS a draft general agreement on the subject.

The Conference considered a proposed international plant protection convention. This proposal was designed to facilitate development of world-wide plant quarantine regulations and establish a central reporting service. This service would provide information on outbreaks of plant disease and coordinate efforts to prevent its spread. Since several governments felt that they needed more time to consider the proposal, the Conference put off final action until the next session.

### **Expanded Technical Assistance Program**

A full discussion of FAO's expanded technical assistance program led off with a report from the Director General on the progress FAO had made with the use of the 29 percent of the United Nations Technical Assistance Fund allotted to it.

In the discussion of the program and the consideration of the report that the Council had made on its discussion prior to the Conference a number of points were brought out.

One was that progress was limited by two factors: neglect of some countries to make usable contributions to the special account and lack of information on the part of recipient countries on how to qualify for technical assistance projects.

Another point was that some problems were arising in recruiting experts—problems both for FAO in getting the specialists needed and for the countries contributing experts which might feel that their own operations would suffer if FAO recruited too many technical people. The Conference also noted that technical assistance is not limited to supplying expert assistance but that it also encompasses equipment needed as part of technical assistance work and the organization of training arrangements within the recipient countries to enable them to carry on projects after the initial stages. The technical assistance provided

by FAO can serve only as a spearhead for wider development by the country concerned and it must be designed to enable the recipient country to carry on the work once the project is concluded.

If the program is to achieve economic development and raise living standards, capital investment will be required in addition to technical assistance.

After hearing the discussion, the Conference approved the progress that the Director General was making on the program and endorsed his arrangements for administration both within FAO and with the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. It urged fullest cooperation from all member countries in paying their contributions to the United Nations Special Technical Assistance Account, in making technicians and equipment and training facilities available, and in following through on local activities required to make technical assistance effective.

Several specific requests were made of the Director General for his future operation of the program: one, that he should, as far as possible, present the technical assistance work in future programs and budgets in such a way as to be compared with the regular program and evaluated in relation to the program; another, that adequate provision be made to insure that information growing out of the projects be carried down to the individual producer and that special attention be given in technical assistance work to questions of land tenure and immigration and land settlement.

### **Land Tenure**

The Conference heard a report on the discussions that were then taking place in the United Nations General Assembly on land tenure and other aspects of the depressed living standards of rural people. The resolution, which the Assembly was then drafting, called for a study of this subject by the Secretary General in cooperation with FAO because of the importance for economic development and for the welfare of small farmers throughout the world. The Conference recommended that the Director General furnish as full cooperation as possible in making the study called for by the resolution, which was adopted by the General Assembly on November 20. The study is to be presented to the next session of the Economic and Social Council for use in preparing recommendations to the General Assembly on improving conditions. The recommendations will cover land reform, cheap agricultural credit facilities, technical assistance, promotion of rural cooperatives, development of small agricultural machinery factories and processing facilities, revised tax policies, promotion of family-owned and cooperative farms, and other measures to promote the security of tenure and welfare of agricultural workers, tenants, and owners of small- and medium-sized farms.

The General Assembly also recommended that governments avail themselves of United Nations facilities for advice on these measures. Thus, FAO can go forward with activities in these fields without waiting for the study to be completed and approved.

### **Commodity Problems**

A Committee on Commodity Problems had been established by the fifth session of the FAO Conference in 1949 with the primary purpose of considering surplus commodity situations arising from balance-of-payment difficulties. This session of the Conference considered the report the Committee had made on the work and the recommendations of the Council session preceding the Conference and felt that the Committee had proved worthy and that it should not only be continued but that the scope should also be broadened. The new definition of the scope of the Committee is "that its terms of reference shall be those laid down by the fifth session of the Conference, save that the Committee will address its attention to commodity problems falling within the competence of FAO to consider, whether arising from balance-of-payment difficulties or from other causes." Also, the Conference approved the Committee's method for devising ways for disposing of surplus foods at concessional prices in such a way as to "serve the legitimate interests of producers and consumers."

The International Cooperative Alliance introduced a proposal to the Conference inviting the marketing and consumer cooperatives of the world to form a world surplus commodity cooperative. This cooperative would purchase commodities in surplus and, through exchanging them and possibly processing materials received in exchange, get commodities surplus in one area used, if possible, in another. Part of the proposal was to negotiate a loan from the International Bank to start the cooperative. This proposal was referred to the Committee on Commodity Problems for study.

### **Korean Relief and Reconstruction**

The Conference reviewed the plans for Korean relief and reconstruction developed by the United Nations General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council and approved the action the Director General of FAO had taken at the beginning of the Korean crisis in offering the full cooperation of FAO to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and authorized FAO's continued cooperation with United Nations arrangements for Korean relief.

### **Program of Work**

The Conference approved the proposed reorganization of FAO's staff. The main changes

included the combination of the Distribution Division with the Economics and Statistics Division and of the Rural Welfare Division with the Agriculture Division.

On the question of FAO's regional offices, the Conference approved the termination of the European Regional Office after FAO moves to Rome and the creation of the North American Regional Office. It took no action on the location of the Far East Regional Office which is temporarily located at Bangkok and left to the Director General the location of further Latin American Offices, other than those now at Santiago, Chile, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The question of the relations of the FAO Regional Office for the Near East with the Government of Israel was considered apart from the discussions on other regional offices. The Conference considered the difficulties of establishing direct relations between Israel and the Near East Regional Office and decided that the Director General should explore the problem and find the best method of making the full services of FAO available to the Government of Israel.

The Conference considered at length the long-term trends of the Organization. This problem was first raised by the United States Government at the FAO Council session in May 1950. The feeling prevailed that, with 5 years' experience in working toward its objectives, FAO would do well to examine operations in the light of experience and make any adjustments that appeared necessary. The Conference agreed to appoint a working party, responsible to the Council and made up of representatives selected for their special abilities, to make a thorough study and report on the problem. It also asked member governments to submit their ideas on FAO's long-term work not later than February 15, 1951.

The general trend of the discussion on FAO's long-term trends was that its objectives were as valid today as when it was founded. It is only its means of achieving its objectives that need careful consideration.

### **Financial and Administrative Decisions**

One of the main concerns of the United States delegation in the financial and administrative field was the action that the Conference might take on revising the scale of contributions of member governments to FAO. The United States spokesman on this subject, Ralph S. Roberts, Director of Finance of the United States Department of Agriculture, stated the United States position that "the largest contribution must not be so high as to place the Organization in a position of great dependence on it." For this reason, he said, the United States should not be asked at this session to make a further increase in its percentage share in FAO.

He stated that—

. . . The United States does not intend that its contribution percentages to various international organizations shall never be subject to modification. . . . When substantial downward adjustments in the United States percentage share takes place, particularly in the United Nations as well as in WIO and UNESCO, some upward adjustments become possible in the case of those organizations where the United States share is relatively low.

The Conference decided that, for the time being, the present ceiling on contributions of 27.1 percent should be continued. Some support for a proposal had been put forward by several members that the ceiling should be fixed at 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent as a target to be approached as rapidly as possible. Also on this subject, the Conference approved the recommendation of the Special Committee on the Scale of Contributions that national income statistics should be used as the basis for developing a more fundamental revision of the scale of contributions, rather than the United Nations scale of contributions itself. It instructed the Special Committee to prepare a revised scale of contributions based on national income statistics for presentation to the next regular session of the Conference.

For 1951, the Conference adopted the scale of contributions recommended by this Committee as well as the assessments for new members.

The Conference also took a number of other actions in the fields of finance and administrative problems. It established a Special Headquarters Removal Fund to pay for the cost of moving to Rome. Part of this fund is to be made up of a loan of \$800,000 from the United Nations and the rest of the estimated total cost of \$1.6 million from resources available within FAO. It approved, subject to review at the next Conference, the Director General's recommendations for applying a cost-of-living differential of 10 percent of 7.5 percent of the salary of each international staff member at Rome. It put off until the next Conference a decision on what currency the contributions of member governments should be paid in when the Organization is established at Rome. It decided that the Working Capital Fund should be established at 1.75 million dollars for 1951 by payments from members on the basis of membership and scale of contributions for 1951.

It urged member governments to make their payments as soon as possible and, in order to encourage payment of contributions which are in arrears, requested the Director General, in principle, not to send missions to or hold meetings or conferences in countries whose arrears amount to as much as their dues for the two preceding financial years.

#### **Amendments to Constitution, Rules of Procedure, and Financial Regulations**

This session of the Conference made extensive revisions in FAO's constitution, rules of procedure,

and financial regulations. The principal purpose of the amendments was to bring them into conformity with the decision to change over from annual to biennial conferences and with United Nations procedure. The Conference agreed that none of the revisions adopted was to be regarded as limiting or prejudicing future consideration of uniform provisions that may be proposed for United Nations agencies. The Conference felt that the greatest warranted degree of uniformity consistent with technical requirements of individual agencies is greatly to be desired.

#### **Conclusions**

An undercurrent of sentiment prevailed at the Conference that FAO is at the crossroads. The Conference reaffirmed allegiance to the hope that FAO remain the vehicle for the expression of the best hope for human affairs. FAO's Director General Norris E. Dodd said, at the ceremony commemorating the pioneers of FAO, "Even if FAO as we know it should disappear, it would rise again in some other form."

#### **Milner B. Schaefer Appointed to Tropical Tuna Commission**

The Department of State announced on December 28 the appointment of Milner B. Schaefer as Director of Investigations by the newly formed Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission. Mr. Schaefer will assume his duties on January 1, 1951.

The Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission was established by a convention between the United States and Costa Rica which entered into force on March 3, 1950. Chairman of the Commission for the first year is José Luis Cardona-Cooper, Chief of the Department of Fisheries of the Ministry of Agriculture and Industries, San José, Costa Rica. President Truman appointed three members to serve on behalf of the United States: Milton C. James, assistant director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior; Lee F. Payne, member of the California Fish and Game Commission; and Eugene D. Bennett, an attorney of San Francisco.

The Department stated that the Commission has been established to make a joint study of certain tuna fisheries, namely, yellowfin and skipjack, in the tropical waters of the eastern Pacific Ocean, and of the kinds of fish used as bait by tuna fishermen. Because these fisheries present problems to other countries besides the United States and Costa Rica, provision has been made for other interested countries to become participants. The territorial waters of Costa Rica are an important source of bait, and it is understood that the Commission plans to establish branch headquarters in that country although the main office and laboratory will be located in southern California.

## Conference on Central and Southern Africa Transport Problems

A midcentury evaluation of the present development and future prospects of transportation in the great subcontinent of Central and Southern Africa has just been made at an intergovernmental meeting in the chief city of that area. The occasion was the Central and Southern Africa Transport Conference held at Johannesburg, Union of South Africa, October 25–November 16, 1950, and attended by Government representatives of the four metropolitan powers with overseas territories in Africa south of the Sahara—Belgium, France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom; the Union of South Africa and South West Africa; Administrations of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, East Africa High Commission (Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya), Belgian Congo, Mozambique; United Kingdom High Commission for the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland; and Madagascar. The United States and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were represented by observers.

### The Conference

The Transport Conference designated February 28, 1951, as the final date for governments concerned to submit their official views on the matter of establishing a permanent transport organization. If that principle was agreed upon, a further conference would be held on June 1, 1951, in order to complete and sign a draft constitution.

A number of proposals for railway and port development in Africa north of the Union and south of the Sahara were examined in detail. The conference endorsed international through-rates and recommended principles for establishing rates.

The meeting adopted a highway numbering system and a highway classification system with maximum permissible load and dimensional limits, and it also adopted African standard railway gauge (42 inches) and made important recommendations on railway equipment, service, and interchange of equipment.

### BACKGROUND AND AGENDA

The Conference was held at the invitation of the Government of the Union of South Africa,

pursuant to a decision made at a Conference on Central African Transportation which had been convened at Lisbon in May 1949 upon the initiative of the Government of Portugal.<sup>1</sup> The agenda for the Johannesburg meeting was fixed at the Lisbon session. Further preliminary discussion of the problems under consideration occurred at a special meeting on transport problems in Africa south of the Sahara, convened by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation at Paris in February 1950. At both these preliminary meetings the United States was represented by observers.

The agenda of the Johannesburg Conference was printed in the BULLETIN of July 4, 1949. In general, the objective of the Conference was to consider the sound and coordinated improvement and expansion of transport facilities as a basic factor in the general economic development of the vast and promising region south of the Sahara. To achieve this objective the Conference was to consider the establishment of a permanent interterritorial organization.

### UNITED STATES DELEGATION

The United States delegation of observers was composed of the following persons:

- John G. Erhardt, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of South Africa, Pretoria
- Henry H. Kelly, Chief, Inland Transport Policy Staff, Department of State, Washington, D.C.
- Allan Hugh Smith, Director, Overseas Territories Division, Office of Special Representative, ECA, Paris
- George Clemens, Alternate Representative for ECA, Paris
- Frank H. Whitehouse, Assistant Chief, Economics Division, Munition Board, Department of Defense, Washington, D. C.
- John A. Birch, Commercial Attaché to the Embassy of the United States of America, Pretoria
- Miss Virginia M. Robinson, Attaché (Geographic) to the Embassy of the United States of America, Pretoria
- Stephen J. Shuttack, (Secretary) Administrative Officer, American Consulate General, Johannesburg

The United States observers took part in the deliberations of all of the committees except the Steering Committee, composed of the heads of the

<sup>1</sup> For an article on the Lisbon conference by Maxwell Harway, see BULLETIN of July 4, 1949, p. 852.

various participating delegations, and the Final Act Drafting Committee.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Following the opening ceremonies presided over by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, Dr. D. F. Malan, on October 25, the first plenary session on October 26 elected P. O. Sauer, the South African Minister of Transport and leader of the South African delegation, as president and E. De Baeker, the Belgian Royal Inspector of Colonies of the Ministry of Colonies and leader of the Belgian delegation, as vice president.

The following substantive committees were appointed by participating delegations on October 28, 1950:

- Committee I—Steering Committee
- Committee II—Economic Development Committee
- Committee III—Railways, Marine Ports and Inland Waterways Committee
- Committee IV—Roads Committee
- Committee V—Fiscal and Rating Committee
- Committee VI—Transportation Committee
- Committee VII—Constitution Committee (Permanent Organization)
- Committee VIII—Final Act Drafting Committee

The Conference Secretariat was under the direction of W. Marshall Clark, Secretary-General both of the Conference and the Interim Transport Organization for Central and Southern Africa. He was assisted by a Deputy Secretary-General, two Assistant Secretaries-General (administrative), a Public Relations Officer and a technical staff.

#### Work of the Committees

The committees produced recommendations which were adopted by the Conference in plenary session on November 16.<sup>2</sup>

#### BASIC TRANSPORTATION NEEDS

Generally speaking, under the terms of reference Committee II was to investigate the problem of transportation requirements of the different African territories as indicated by their problems of economic development and present traffic requirements, as well as proposed new road, rail, and inland waterway routes, and conclude whether such proposals were necessary, were adequate, and whether additional transportation would be required. Under the terms of reference, the Committee was assigned 24 specific transportation and port problems.

The Committee first received statements in general terms of the economies of the different

<sup>2</sup> These recommendations are set forth in detail in a public statement issued by the Secretary-General at the close of the Conference. Text of this statement may be obtained by writing to the Office of Transport and Communications Policy, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

territories and the general nature of transportation plans. The Committee then received detailed statements of specific transportation proposals set forth in the terms of reference. In most cases, the Committee merely noted the statement and the Committee report itself contains ten "conclusions and recommendations," of which four are merely noted and do not represent action by the Committee.

Major discussion in the Committee—sitting in conjunction with Committee III—included full statements relating to the improvement of the port of Beira. The Committee expressed the opinion that the prompt conclusion of improvement on this port was essential. The Committee heard an exhaustive statement concerning the relative economic merits of the alternative rail links to Lourenço Marques through Beit Bridge and through Pafuri, together with a carefully documented argument by South Africa on the capacity of the Mafeking Line, all of which represented frank ventilation of the problems involved in this decision. On this problem the Committee did not recommend a choice between the alternatives but recommended that a forthcoming ECA survey should be expedited.

The Committee received interesting and valuable information concerning the economic possibilities of the development of Northern Rhodesia and of the western part of the territories of British East Africa as the result of construction of the proposed rail link from the Rhodesia railways to one or another of the Tanganyika ports.

#### CAPACITY OF TRANSPORT FACILITIES

The work of Committee III was largely technical in nature. It agreed on the capacity figures for the port of Beira in Mozambique as being presently 2,100,000 short harbor tons and at the end of 1951 approximately 4,013,000 short harbor tons. It also agreed on an African standard railway gauge of 3 feet 6 inches and upon standardization of railway equipment moving in inter-territorial traffic.

#### ROADS

Although the agenda gave priority to the problems of railways and maritime ports, discussions in the Conference itself showed full recognition of the importance of highways. Committee IV produced a useful substantive set of resolutions.

The United States observers explained current highway practices in the United States, the work of the United Nations in sponsoring an international convention on road traffic, the present status of road signs and signalization in other parts of the world, and similar technical details.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For an article by H. H. Kelly on the subject, see BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1949, p. 875a.

The Conference made decisions which will eventually facilitate the development of highway transport throughout the area. These practices include the classification and numbering of a system of interterritorial highways—the future “Cape to Cairo” road was designated as A-104; endorsement of the provisions of the Road Traffic Convention of 1949, including its traffic regulatory principles, and its permissible maximum dimensions and weights of large motor vehicles (for example, 18,000 pounds or 8 metric tons per axle). Agreement was also reached on a basic system of highway signs and signals, based on the Geneva Protocol of 1949, but with recognition of the fact that the United Nations has appointed a committee of experts to consider the problem of a single world-wide system. The United States observers gave the Secretariat of Committee IV materials prepared by the United States Bureau of Public Roads on the subject of highway planning surveys and stated that the matter of intelligent planning of a highway network should receive the careful attention of any permanent organization. This fact was recognized by the Committee in its recommendations on research.

#### **RATES AND TARIFFS**

Committee V achieved two important results. It received a list of agreements that were presently in force between different railway administrations affecting rates and conditions of interterritorial traffic. It did not, however, accept the texts of any such agreements, although texts were offered by several delegations. Secondly, it endorsed the principle of interterritorial through-rates and adopted a statement of the principles that should guide railway administrations in reaching such agreements.

This Committee did not examine specific rates or tariff structures, nor did it attempt to explain or define the effect of railroad tariffs upon the economy of the territories served.

The Committee recommended investigation of the possibility of abolishing visas for in-transit passengers and recommended improvement of facilities relating to hotel accommodations, supplies of motor fuel, repair shops, and telephone and telegraphic communications.

#### **COORDINATION OF TRANSPORT FACILITIES**

Committee VI decided that matters affecting the control and regulation of competition among rail-

way, road, and water transportation are entirely matters of domestic concern and recommended “that these matters be not discussed.”

The affirmative achievements of Committee VI are all technical in character, affecting interchange of rolling stock, railway timetables, and related matters.

#### **PERMANENT ORGANIZATION**

Committee VII considered the establishment of a permanent interterritorial council in accordance with the recommendations of the Lisbon Conference. All delegations, including the United States observers, were represented on the Committee.

The Committee gave full consideration to the views of the member delegations but, while able to agree unanimously in principle that continuing collaboration in the field of transport is necessary and desirable, was unable to agree on the form that such collaboration would take. The principal issue was whether a formal organization consisting of an interterritorial council and secretariat should be created or whether continuing cooperation could be satisfactorily achieved through a series of rotating annual conferences. A subcommittee examined various draft constitutions put forward by several of the delegations and drafted a constitution, but, because of the lack of unanimous agreement, the Committee was unable to recommend it to the participating Governments. Accordingly, the draft constitution containing provisions for a permanent organization was forwarded to the Governments for consideration.

Under the terms of the final act of the Conference, it is recommended that the respective Governments be given until February 28, 1951, to indicate their decision on the principle of establishing a permanent organization. Should they so agree, it is recommended that comments be forwarded to the Secretary General of the Interim Organization before June 1, 1951, on which date a meeting of the participating Governments should be convened to complete and sign the constitution.

The Conference agreed that an Interim Organization should continue only until February 28, 1951, for the purpose of completing the work of the Johannesburg Conference. If the Governments agree to the establishment of a permanent organization, the Interim Organization would continue until a permanent body comes into being.

This article was prepared by H. H. Kelly, Allan Hugh Smith, and John A. Birch, all members of the United States observer-delegation to the meeting.

## Report to the General Assembly From Group on Cease-Fire in Korea

U.N. doc. A/C.1/643  
Dated Jan. 2, 1951

[1.] On 14 December 1950 the General Assembly adopted the following resolution which had been sponsored by thirteen Asian Powers:

The General Assembly,

VIEWING with grave concern the situation in the Far East,

ANXIOUS that immediate steps should be taken to prevent the conflict in Korea spreading to other areas and to put an end to the fighting in Korea itself, and that further steps should then be taken for a peaceful settlement of existing issues in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Requests the President of the General Assembly to constitute a group of three persons, including himself, to determine the basis on which a satisfactory cease-fire in Korea can be arranged and to make recommendations to the General Assembly as soon as possible.

2. In pursuance of the resolution, the President forthwith constituted a group consisting of Mr. L. B. Pearson of Canada, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India and himself, and announced this fact to the General Assembly. The Group met almost immediately afterwards and decided to associate the Secretary-General of the United Nations with its work.

3. A copy of the resolution was sent on 15 December to Ambassador Wu, the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China who was then in New York.

4. On 15 December, as a first step in carrying out its task the Group consulted the representatives of the Unified Command as to what they considered to be a satisfactory basis for a cease-fire. The suggestions which emerged from this consultation and which in the circumstances the Group felt constituted a reasonable basis for discussion, are summarized below:

(1) All governments and authorities concerned, including the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the North Korean authorities, shall order and enforce a cessation of all acts of armed force in Korea. This cease-fire shall apply to all of Korea.

(2) There shall be established a demilitarised area across Korea of approximately twenty miles in depth with the southern limit following generally the line of the 38th parallel.

(3) All ground forces shall remain in posi-

tion or be withdrawn to the rear; forces, including guerrillas, within or in advance of the demilitarised area must be moved to the rear of the demilitarised area; opposing air forces shall respect the demilitarised zone and the areas beyond the zone; opposing Naval forces shall respect the waters contiguous to the land areas occupied by the opposing armed forces to the limit of 3 miles from shore.

(4) Supervision of the cease-fire shall be by a United Nations Commission whose members and designated observers shall insure full compliance with the terms of the cease-fire. They shall have free and unlimited access to the whole of Korea. All governments and authorities shall co-operate with the Cease-Fire Commission and its designated observers in the performance of their duties.

(5) All governments and authorities shall cease promptly the introduction into Korea of any reinforcing or replacement units or personnel, including volunteers, and the introduction of additional war equipment and material. Such equipment and material will not include supplies required for the maintenance of health and welfare and such other supplies as may be authorized by the Cease-Fire Commission.

(6) Prisoners of war shall be exchanged on a one-for-one basis, pending final settlement of the Korean question.

(7) Appropriate provision shall be made in the cease-fire arrangements in regard to steps to insure (a) the security of the forces; (b) the movement of refugees; and (c) the handling of other specific problems arising out of the cease-fire, including civil government and police power in the demilitarised zone.

(8) The General Assembly should be asked to confirm the cease-fire arrangements, which should continue in effect until superseded by further steps approved by the United Nations.

5. The Group then attempted to consult the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and, for this purpose, sent a message by hand to Ambassador Wu and repeated it by cable to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Peking. The text of this message is reproduced below:

DEAR AMBASSADOR WU, As you have already been informed by Resolution 1717, a copy of which was sent to

you yesterday, a Committee was set up by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the previous day, December 14, consisting of myself and my two colleagues, Sir Benegal Rau of India, and Mr. L. B. Pearson of Canada, charged with the duty of determining whether it is possible to arrange appropriate and satisfactory conditions for a cease-fire in Korea. The purpose of this cease-fire in Korea will be to prevent the conflict from spreading to other area, to put an end to the fighting in Korea, and to provide an opportunity for considering what further steps should be taken for a peaceful settlement of existing issues, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The above Committee has now met representatives of the Unified Command in Korea, and has discussed with them, in an exploratory manner, possible conditions upon which a cease-fire might be established. Since the Government of the Communist People's Republic of China has expressed strong views on the future of Korea, and about the present state of warfare in that country, and since Chinese are participating in that warfare, the Committee wishes also to discuss with your Government or its representatives, and with the military authorities in command of the forces operating in North Korea possible conditions upon which a cease-fire might be established. For this purpose, we desire to see you at your earliest convenience, and we should be grateful to know when a meeting can be arranged.

We realised that your Government which sent you here with other objects in mind, may prefer other arrangements by which a cease-fire can be discussed with them. We wish your Government to know that, in the interests of stopping the fighting in Korea and of facilitating a just settlement of the issues there in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, we are prepared to discuss cease-fire arrangements with your Government or its representatives either here or elsewhere, as would be mutually convenient. We urge only that arrangements for these discussions should be made with the least possible delay. With this in mind, we are sending the text of this communication directly to your Government by telegram.

Yours sincerely,  
December 16, 1950.

NASROLLAH ENTEZAM.

6. On 18 December, Mr. Pearson, on behalf of the Group, submitted a brief preliminary account of its activities to the First Committee, hoping that a fuller report would be made in the near future.

7. On 16 December, the President, acting on behalf of the Group, had availed himself of the good offices of the Swedish Delegation to transmit through the Swedish Embassy in Peking a request to the Central People's Government that Ambassador Wu be instructed to stay on in New York and discuss with the Group the possibility of arranging a cease-fire. The reply to the request, communicated to the President on 21 December, through the same channel was as follows:

The Central People's Government acknowledges receipt of a message dated 18th December 1950 from Mr. Entezam, President of the General Assembly, transmitted via the Swedish Government and ask the Swedish Government to transmit the following reply to Mr. Entezam, President of the General Assembly.

The representative of the People's Republic of China neither participated in nor agreed to the adoption of the Resolution concerning the so-called 3-men Committee for Cease Fire in Korea by United Nations General Assembly. The Central People's Government has repeatedly declared that the Central People's Government would regard as illegal and null and void all major resolutions especially those concerning Asia which might be adopted by the United Nations without the participation and approval

of the duly appointed delegates of the People's Republic of China. Therefore the Central People's Government cannot instruct its representative General Wu to continue to remain in Lake Success for negotiations with the above-mentioned 3-men illegal Committee. After the Security Council unreasonably voted against the "Complaint against the United States armed aggression against Taiwan" raised by the People's Republic of China General Wu was instructed by the Central People's Government to continue to stay at Lake Success for participation in the discussion of "the complaint of the U.S. aggression against China" submitted by the USSR representative; although he has waited for a long time and until the United Nations General Assembly was declared adjourned, he was still not given the opportunity to speak. Under such circumstances, the Central People's Government deems that there is no more necessity for General Wu and his staff to remain at Lake Success and has therefore instructed him to start their homeward journey on December 19.

2. As to the question of how the United Nations may get in touch with the Korean Democratic People's Republic the Central People's Government is of the opinion that United Nations should address direct inquiry to the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

8. On 19 December, acting on a recommendation from the sponsors of the twelve-Power resolution introduced in the First Committee on 12 December, the Group sent another message to the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government. This was intended to remove any possible misunderstandings which may have arisen out of the separation of the twelve-Power resolution from the thirteen-Power resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December. The text of the message is given below:

CHOU EN-LAI,

Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Central People's Government of People's Republic of China  
(Peking, China)

In the consideration which you are giving to our earlier message, we are anxious that there should be no misunderstanding as to the relationship between the United Nations Resolution establishing a cease fire group, and resolution proposed by twelve Asian Government, recommending appointment of a committee to meet as soon as possible and make recommendations for peaceful settlement of existing issues in Far East. It is our clear understanding and also that of the twelve Asian sponsors, that once a cease fire arrangement had been achieved, the negotiations visualised in the second resolution should be proceeded with at once. Indeed, the preamble to cease fire resolution states specifically that steps should be taken for a peaceful settlement when fighting in Korea is ended. It is also our view, as well as that of the twelve Asian governments sponsoring the second resolution, that Government of the Peoples Republic of China should be included in the Negotiating Committee referred to in that resolution. We feel that this Committee could become an effective channel for seeking peaceful solution of existing issues in Far East between the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China. For that purpose, in our opinion, it should be set up with minimum of delay, but to make that possible a "cease fire" arrangement must be put into effect. This point of view has been communicated to your Delegation which left New York today, and we express the hope that you will give full weight to it.

Committee of the General Assembly  
NASROLLAH ENTEZAM,  
President of the General Assembly  
SIR BENEGAL RAU  
LESTER B. PEARSON

9. On 23 December, the President of the General Assembly, in his capacity as such, received from the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government the text of a statement issued by the latter in Peking on 22 December explaining the attitude of the Central People's Government on the Resolution constituting the Cease-Fire Group and on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This document is reproduced as an Annex. It appears to be in the nature of an answer to the Group's message of 16 December.

10. In these circumstances and in spite of its best efforts, the Group regrets that it has been unable to pursue discussion of a satisfactory cease-fire arrangement. It therefore feels that no recommendation in regard to a cease-fire can usefully be made by it at this time.

## **ANNEX I TO THE REPORT OF THE GROUP ON CEASE FIRE IN KOREA**

*(Cablegram dated 23 December 1950 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China addressed to the President of the General Assembly)*

PEKING, December 23, 1950

NASROLLAH ENTEZAM,  
*President of the Fifth Session  
of the United Nations General Assembly,  
Lake Success.*

The attitude of the Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China on the so-called "three man committee for cease-fire in Korea" and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question is to be found in my statement issued on December 22. Besides being broadcast by the Hsiu Hua News Agency on the same date, the said statement is hereby transmitted by cable for your information.

CHOU EN-LAI,  
*Minister for Foreign Affairs of the  
Central Peoples Government of the  
Peoples Republic of China,*

PEKING, December 22, 1950.

Statement by Chou En-Lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China on the resolution concerning the "three-man committee for cease-fire in Korea" illegally adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, on December 14, 1950.

The General Assembly of the United Nations illegally adopted a resolution submitted by thirteen nations concerning a so-called cease-fire in Korea. This resolution provided for the establishment of a three-man committee, consisting of the President of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, Entezam, the Indian Delegate Rau, and the Canadian Delegate Pearson both appointed by him, to conduct talks to determine whether it is possible to arrange appropriate and satisfactory conditions for a cease-fire in Korea, and then to make recommendations to the United Nations General Assembly. With reference to this resolution, Chou En-Lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central Peoples Government, the Peoples Republic of China, issues the following statement:

"1" The Representative of the Peoples Republic of China neither participated in nor agreed to the adoption of the resolution concerning the so-called "three-man commit-

tee for cease-fire in Korea" by the United Nations General Assembly. Prior to this, the Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China had repeatedly declared that the Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China would regard as illegal and null and void all resolutions on major problems, especially those concerning the major problems of Asia, which might be adopted by the United Nations without the participation and concurrence of the duly appointed Delegates of the Peoples Republic of China. Therefore, the Government of the Peoples Republic of China and its Delegates are not prepared to make any contact with the above mentioned illegal "three-man committee".

"2" The Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China has always held and still holds that the hostilities in Korea should be speedily brought to an end. In order to end the hostilities in Korea, genuine peace must be restored in Korea, and the Korean people must have genuine freedom to settle their own problems. The reason why the hostilities in Korea have not yet been put to an end is precisely because of the fact that the United States Government has despatched troops to invade Korea and is continuing and extending its policies of aggression and war. As far back as the beginning of the hostilities in Korea, we here stood for the peaceful settlement and localisation of the Korean problem. For this reason, the Government of the Peoples Republic of China and that of the USSR have repeatedly proposed that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea, and that the Korean people be left alone to settle the Korean problem themselves. However, the United States Government not only rejected such a proposal, but also rejected negotiations for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. When the invading troops of the United States arrogantly crossed the 38th parallel, at the beginning of the month of October, the United States Government, recklessly ignoring warnings from all quarters and following the provocative crossing of the border by Syngman Rhee in June, thoroughly destroyed, and hence obliterated forever this demarcation line of political geography. In the later part of November, when the Representative of the Peoples Republic of China was invited to take part in the discussion by the Security Council on the charge against United States aggression in Taiwan, he again submitted the proposal that the United States and other foreign troops be all withdrawn from Korea, and that the People of South and North Korea be left alone to settle their domestic affairs. But the United Nations Security Council, under the domination of the United States, rejected this reasonable peace proposal from the Government of the Peoples Republic of China. From this it is evident that since the United States Government has from the very beginning refused to withdraw its troops, it has absolutely no sincerity in ending the hostilities in Korea, still less in letting the Korean people have genuine peace and freedom.

"3" This being the case, why does the American Delegate, Mr. Austin, now favour an immediate cease-fire in Korea, and why does President Truman also express willingness to conduct negotiations to settle the hostilities in Korea? It is not difficult to understand that, when the American invading troops were landing at Inchon, crossing the 38th parallel or pressing toward the Yalu River, they did not favour an immediate cease-fire and were not willing to conduct negotiations. It is only today when the American invading troops have sustained defeat, that they favour an immediate cease-fire and the conducting of negotiations after the cease-fire. Very obviously, they opposed peace yesterday, so that the United States might continue to extend her aggression; and they favour a cease-fire today, so that the United States may gain a breathing space and prepare to attack again, or at least hold their present aggressive position in preparation for further advance. What they care about is not the interests of the Korean people and the Asian peoples, nor those of the American people. They are only interested in how American imperialists can maintain their invading

troops and aggressive activities in Korea, how they can continue to invade and occupy China's Taiwan and how they can intensify the preparation for war in the capitalist world. Therefore, the Representative of MacArthur's Headquarters said bluntly that they could accept a cease-fire only on a military basis and without any political conditions. This means that, all the status of aggression will remain the same after the cease-fire, so that they can fight again when they are prepared. Further, they could take this opportunity to declare the existence of a state of emergency and to prepare for mobilisation in the United States, in Western Europe and Japan, thus driving the peoples of the United States, Western Europe and Japan down into the abyss of war. Is this not what Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Marshall and MacArthur are doing now? With reference to the so-called proposal for cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards, irrespective of the fact that the proposal by the twelve nations had neither been adopted by the Security Council nor by the United Nations General Assembly and irrespective of what countries are to be included in the negotiating conference and even if all these had been agreed upon, the agenda and contents of the negotiation could still be discussed endlessly after the cease-fire. If the conference is not a conference of the legal Security Council or of the legal Five Power conferences, or is not affiliated to them, the U. S. Government in the last resort can still manipulate its voting machine. Thus to discuss the cease-fire and start negotiations not on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settling of Korean domestic affairs by the Korean people themselves is to act hypocritically and would therefore suit the designs of the U. S. Government, and hence cannot satisfy the sincere desire of the peace-loving peoples of the world. The three-man committee—a cease-fire on the spot—peace negotiations—launching of a huge offensive: this Marshall formula is not in the least unfamiliar to the Chinese people, because in 1946, General Marshall assisted Chiang Kai Shek in this way, repeatedly for a whole year, and in the end had to admit failure and leave. Will the people of China, who had learned this lesson in 1946 and later gained victory, fall into such trap today? No, the old trick of General Marshall will not work again in the United Nations.

"4" Moreover, the present issues are definitely not confined to the Korean problem. While the United States Government was engineering the hostilities in Korea, it despatched the Seventh Fleet to invade China's Taiwan and then bombed North-East China, fired on Chinese merchant vessels and extended its aggression in East Asia. Against all this, the Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China has repeatedly lodged charges with the United Nations. But under American domination, the majority in the United Nations has not only upheld American aggression against Korea and supported American invasion and occupation of Taiwan, the bombing of North-East China, but also rejected the three proposals submitted by our representative on the charge against the United States for armed aggression against Taiwan, and shelved the charge of the United States aggression against China made by the Delegate of the Soviet Union. Our Representative was kept waiting for a long time and until the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly was indefinitely adjourned, he was not given a chance to speak.

This attitude which was taken by the majority of the United Nations under the domination of the Anglo-American bloc, obviously violates the United Nations Charter and its purposes. They are furthering rather than checking American aggression. They are undermining rather than defending world peace.

What particularly arouses the world's indignation is that, in spite of the fact that during the past several months the United Nations held innumerable discussions on China or on important questions concerning China,

the Delegates of the Peoples Republic of China, who are the only Representatives of the four hundred and seventy-five million people of China, are still being kept out of the doors of the United Nations, whereas the Representatives of a handful of the Chiang Kai Shek reactionary remnants are still being allowed to usurp the seats of the Chinese Delegation in the United Nations. To such an extent the Chinese people have been slighted and insulted!

Therefore, the Chinese people, who, impelled by righteous indignation, have risen to volunteer in resisting the United States and helping Korea, and thus protecting their homes and defending their country are absolutely reasonable and justified in so doing. The Chinese peoples' volunteers, who have been forced to take up arms side by side with the Korean Peoples' Army to resist the American aggressors, under the Unified Command of the Government of the Korean Democratic Peoples Republic, are fighting for their own existence, fighting to aid Korea and fighting for the peace of East Asia as well as the peace of the whole world.

"5" It must be pointed out that the proposal for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem submitted by the majority of the Delegates of the thirteen Asian and Arabian nations was originally based on their desire for peace, and this is understandable. But they have failed to see through the whole intrigue of the United States Government in supporting the proposal for a cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards, and therefore they have not seriously considered the basic proposals of the Chinese Government concerning the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem.

The original thirteen-nation resolution was not wholly palatable to the United States Government, so it was separated into two resolutions. The first resolution, or the resolution providing for the so-called "three man committee for cease-fire in Korea", which is satisfactory to the United States, was, under pressure, given priority for discussion and was consequently adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. But the second resolution, or the resolution providing for a so-called "negotiating conference" "negotiating commission", with which the United States was either not satisfied, or not quite satisfied, was therefore shelved for the time being.

The difference between these two resolutions was remarkably demonstrated by the attitude of the Philippine Delegate. The Philippine Delegate, who always follows in the footsteps of the United States, only agreed to the first resolution but withdrew from the second resolution. This trick of close co-operation displayed by the Philippines in the role of demanding a cease-fire and by the United States in the role supporting it has thus been exposed.

From this fact itself, the lesson can be drawn that if the Asian and Arabian nations wish to gain genuine peace, they must free themselves from United States pressure and must abandon the "three man committee for cease-fire in Korea", and give up the idea of cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards.

"6" The Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China solemnly declares that the Chinese people eagerly hope that the hostilities in Korea can be settled peacefully. We firmly insist that, as a basis for negotiating for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Korea, and Korea's domestic affairs must be settled by the Korean people themselves. The American aggression forces must be withdrawn from Taiwan. And the Representatives of the Peoples Republic of China must obtain a legitimate status in the United Nations. These points are not only the justified demands of the Chinese people and the Korean people; they are also the urgent desire of all progressive public opinion throughout the world. To put aside these points would make it impossible to settle peacefully the Korean problem and the important problems of Asia.

# The United States in the United Nations

[December 22, 1950—January 11, 1951]

## General Assembly

Although the work of the fifth session of the General Assembly has been largely completed, Committee I (Political and Security) continues to be active having still on the agenda certain items relating to the situation in the Far East. On January 3, the Committee met for the first time since December 18 to hear Sir Benegal Rau (India) report on the efforts of the three-member group appointed under the Assembly resolution of December 14 for determining the basis on which a satisfactory cease-fire in Korea might be arranged. All moves, Sir Benegal stated, to consult with the Chinese Communists had been fruitless. In addition to describing the steps taken by the group, and the eight points suggested by the unified command as the basis for a cease-fire, the report had appended a lengthy cable from the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister denouncing the cease-fire group as "illegal" and demanding immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea as a prerequisite to peaceful settlement.

After thanking the group, Ambassador Warren R. Austin (U.S.) asserted that the onus for the lack of success should be placed on the Chinese Communists, who, by their large-scale offensive against United Nations forces, had compounded the original North Korean aggression. He stressed that the United States was ready to discuss with the Peiping regime, at an appropriate time and in an appropriate forum, ways to achieve by peaceful means United Nations objectives in Korea.

At the January 5 meeting, Canadian Representative Pearson, as spokesman for the cease-fire group, informed the Committee that the group was not yet prepared to report on principles that might underlie an agreed solution of the Korean and other Far Eastern problems. In a general statement of the United States position, Ambassador Austin emphasized that "it would be incomprehensible for the United Nations as the cohesive force in the free world to ignore" Chinese Communist aggression. To do so could only mean that "big aggression can succeed with impunity." However, he said, we would acquiesce in the request of the cease-fire group for more time to prepare a statement of principles, in the interest of free world unity and because "we believe that it may be a step leading to a pacific settlement." The Committee rejected a Soviet proposal to see a "documentary" film on United States "atrocities" in Korea.

Following a decision on January 8, to adjourn for 3 days to give the cease-fire group additional

time, the Committee on January 11, heard a five-point statement of principles to underlie a cease-fire settlement in Korea, presented as a supplementary report by the cease-fire group. The statement called for: (1) immediate arrangement of a cease-fire, safeguarded to prevent use as a screen for further attacks; (2) advantage to be taken either of the cease-fire or of a lull in hostilities to pursue further peacemaking moves; (3) withdrawal of all non-Korean forces progressively to allow eventual free elections; (4) interim arrangements for the administration of Korea; and (5) following a cease-fire, an appropriate body to be set up by the General Assembly to achieve a settlement of Far Eastern problems. Among the problems specifically mentioned in the fifth point were Formosa and Chinese representation in the United Nations. The contemplated General Assembly body to work out this projected settlement would include the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the "People's Republic of China." Support for this plan was voiced by Norway, France, India, the United Kingdom, the United States, Israel, Turkey, and Chile. The preliminary comment of Soviet Representative Malik, however, was unfavorable.

## Economic and Social Council

The Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations met on January 4 to consider three items proposed for inclusion on the provisional agenda for the twelfth session of the Economic and Social Council in February. The Committee decided to recommend to the Secretary-General that the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) item on the lowering of living standards as a result of war economy not be included. It also took a negative position on an International Confederation of Free Trade Unions proposal but recommended favorably in the case of an International Chamber of Commerce item concerning the conclusion of an international convention on customs treatment of samples and advertising material. The United States representative on the Committee stated that he voted against the WFTU proposal because it was bound to be considered at the twelfth session of the Council in connection with another agenda item and because the supporting WFTU document was inaccurate and tendentious. On January 11, the agenda committee of the Council met to discuss the provisional agenda for the twelfth session, but final decisions were postponed until the Committee's February 16 meeting at Santiago, Chile.

# United States Delegations to International Conferences

## Development of Water Resources

The Department of State announced on December 28 that Gail A. Hathaway, special assistant to the chief of engineers, Department of the Army, and president-elect of the American Society of Civil Engineers, has been designated as chairman of the United States delegation to each of several international engineering conferences which are to meet in India in January 1951 to consider questions relating to the control and development of water resources.

The Fourth International Congress on Large Dams will be convened at New Delhi on January 10, 1951, under the sponsorship of the International Commission on Large Dams, a subsidiary organization of the World Power Conference, to consider such matters as methods for determining the maximum discharge of water which may be expected at a dam and for which it should be designed, the design and construction of earth and rockfill dams, sedimentation of reservoirs, and the effect of various conditions on the properties of concrete. Concurrently, a sectional meeting of the World Power Conference will discuss the use of energy, in particular the use of electricity in agriculture and the coordination of the development of industries and the development of power resources. A list of the names of the members of the United States delegation to these two conferences follows below.

The Indian National Committee of the World Power Conference has also made arrangements for an exhibition of engineering activities relating to the conservation and use of water and power to open at New Delhi on January 10. Various countries have been invited to show what they have accomplished in these fields and will display working and still models of machinery and devices relating to river control, flood control, irrigation, navigation, water supply, bridges and allied structures, and power generation, transmission, and utilization, as well as charts, maps, and photographs. The exhibit of the United States Government consists of three units which have been developed, respectively, by the Corps of Engineers of the Department of the Army, the Department of the Interior, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Before the opening of the two conferences and the exhibition at New Delhi on January 10, Mr. Hathaway and other members of a United States delegation will participate in a Meeting of the International Association of Hydraulic Research, to be held at Bombay, January 2-5, 1951. The International Association of Hydraulic Research was organized approximately 15 years ago for the purpose of developing and exchanging technical information in the field of hydraulics, particularly with respect to hydraulic design and model testing.

At its forthcoming meeting, attention will be focused on questions relating to the design of lined canals, headworks to exclude solid materials from canals, the effect of barrages and dams on the regime of rivers, and the distribution and control of water and solids in canals.

From January 7-January 9, Mr. Hathaway, assisted by Leslie N. McClellan, chief engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, Denver, Colorado, will also serve as the United States delegate to a Technical Conference on Flood Control to be held at New Delhi. That conference is being convened by the Bureau of Flood Control of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to consider a report which it has prepared on methods of flood control.

Following are the members of the United States delegation to the Fourth International Congress on Large Dams and the sectional meeting of the World Power Conference, New Delhi, India, January 10, 1951:

### Members

- Francis L. Adams, assistant chief, Bureau of Power, Federal Power Commission
- Preston T. Bennett, civil engineer (Soils Mechanics), Omaha District, Corps of Engineers, Omaha, Nebr.
- Clarence E. Blee, chief engineer, Tennessee Valley Authority
- Waldo G. Bowman, editor, *Engineering News-Record*, McGraw-Hill Publications, New York, N. Y.
- William C. Cassidy, hydraulic engineer, South Pacific Division, Corps of Engineers, San Francisco, Calif.
- Henry L. Deimel, Jr., counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, American Embassy, New Delhi, India
- Jacob H. Douma, hydraulic engineer, Civil Works, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army
- Francis S. Friel, president, Albright and Friel, consulting engineers, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Leslie N. McClellan, chief engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, Denver, Colo.
- Robert J. Pafford, Jr., hydraulic engineer, Missouri River Division, Corps of Engineers, Omaha, Nebr.
- Louis E. Rydell, civil engineer, Walla Walla District, Corps of Engineers, Walla Walla, Wash.
- Michael W. Straus, commissioner of reclamation, Department of the Interior.
- Claude R. Wickard, administrator, Rural Electrification Administration, Department of Agriculture.

The same delegation will represent the United States at the Meeting of the International Association of Hydraulic Research at Bombay, India, on January 2, 1951, with the exception of the following:

- Henry L. Deimel, Jr., counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, American Embassy, New Delhi, India
- Michael W. Straus, commissioner of reclamation, Department of the Interior.
- Claude R. Wickard, administrator, Rural Electrification Administration, Department of Agriculture

### Executive Board (WHO)

The Department of State announced on January 5 that Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, whom President Truman appointed in October 1948 as the United States representative on the Executive Board of

the World Health Organization (Wno), will head the United States delegation to the seventh session of the Executive Board, beginning on January 22 at Geneva.

Dr. Hyde will be assisted by Howard B. Calderwood, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, as the alternate United States representative. Dr. Frederick J. Brady, assistant chief, International Organizations, Division of International Health, United States Public Health Service, and Alvin Roseman, United States representative for specialized agency affairs, Geneva, will serve as advisers.

Dr. Hyde will be unable to attend a preliminary meeting of the Executive Board's Standing Committee on Administration and Finance, beginning on January 8 at Geneva. In his absence, Dr. Brady has been appointed as alternate United States representative, and Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Roseman will serve as advisers.

The Executive Board, composed of 18 member states of Wno, is responsible for putting into effect the decisions and policies of the Organization's main constituent organ, the Health Assembly. Meetings of the Executive Board are held at least semiannually.

The forthcoming meetings will give consideration, among other items, to the proposed program and budget for 1952 and financial matters affecting Wno. In addition, the Executive Board has included in its provisional agenda such topics as the prevalence of tropical ulcer and of leprosy throughout the world, technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, and reports on the progress made by various expert and regional committees concerned with such matters as tuberculosis, mental health, venereal diseases, and school health services.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Appointments to Foreign Service Selection Board Announced

[Released to the press December 19]

The State Department announced today that plans have been completed for the 1951 Selection Boards to review the records and recommend promotions for career officers of the United States Foreign Service. The Boards will convene on January 8, 1951, and will continue in executive session for 6 weeks.

The annual Selection Board meetings were developed as a consequence of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, which included among its objectives the declaration that "promotions leading to positions of authority and responsibility shall be on

the basis of merit and selection on an impartial basis of outstanding persons for such positions."

There are three Selection Boards, each composed of four Foreign Service officers and two public members. The officers who serve must have outstanding performance records, established reputations for sound judgment of personnel, and enjoy the confidence of the Service. In addition, these officers are selected as nearly as possible so that experience in the major areas of the world and in the major functions of the Service are represented on each Board.

The 12 Foreign Service officials who are members of the Board are: J. Rives Childs, Ambassador to Jidda; William DeCourcy, Ambassador to Port-au-Prince; David McK. Key, Ambassador to Rangoon; Robert Murphy, Ambassador to Brussels; Harold Minor, recently Counselor of Embassy, Athens; Sidney Belovsky, Consul General at St. John's, Newfoundland; Sam Berger, recently First Secretary of Embassy and Consul, London; Thomas Hickok, Member of Inspection Corps; Gerald A. Drew, Minister to Anman; Francis Flood, First Secretary of Embassy, Ottawa; Waldo Bailey, Consul, Bombay; and Richard A. Johnson, Consul, Guadalajara, Mexico.

The public members are men—not connected with the government—who are prominent in American business, labor, and academic fields and who are willing to devote considerable time in order to be of service to the government. The names of the public members will be announced later.

Members of the Selection Boards are assisted in their deliberations by observers representing Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

The Foreign Service is the field-operating arm of the Department of State which represents the United States Government abroad. It consists of more than 16,000 employees, including approximately 1,400 career officers, at approximately 280 consulates and diplomatic missions scattered throughout the world. Through these posts, the United States conducts its business with other nations. In addition to their well-known diplomatic functions, officials of the Foreign Service perform many other services for this Government and its citizens. These services include the issuance of passports and visas, economic and political reporting, reporting for the benefit of American business on possible markets for United States products or possible supplies of raw materials, and protecting American citizens abroad. At one time or another, officials of the Foreign Service may be charged with performing any or all of these functions in posts ranging from Capetown to Helsinki or from Buenos Aires to Rangoon.

### Consular Offices

The American Consulate General at Dusseldorf, Germany, was opened December 1, 1950.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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## The State of the Union

### *Message of the President to the Congress*<sup>1</sup>

*Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress:*

This Eighty-second Congress faces as grave a task as any Congress in the history of our Republic.

The actions you take will be watched by the whole world. These actions will measure the ability of a free people, acting through their chosen representatives and their free institutions, to meet a deadly challenge to their way of life.

We can meet this challenge foolishly or wisely. We can meet it timidly or bravely, shamefully or honorably.

I know that the Eighty-second Congress will meet this challenge in a way worthy of our great heritage. I know that your debates will be earnest, responsible, and to the point. I know that from these debates there will come the great decisions needed to carry us forward.

At this critical time, I am glad to say that our country is in a healthy condition. Our democratic institutions are sound and strong. We have more men and women at work than ever before. We are able to produce more than ever before—in fact, far more than any country in the history of the world.

I am confident that we can succeed in the great task that lies before us.

We will succeed, but we must all do our part. We must all act together as citizens of this great Republic.

As we meet here today, American soldiers are fighting a bitter campaign in Korea.

We pay tribute to their courage, devotion, and gallantry.

Our men are fighting, alongside their United Nations allies, because they know, as we do, that the aggression in Korea is part of the attempt of the Russian Communist dictatorship to take over the world, step by step.

<sup>1</sup> Delivered to the Congress on Jan. 8 and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

Our men are fighting a long way from home, but they are fighting for our lives and our liberties. They are fighting to protect our right to meet here today—our right to govern ourselves as a free nation.

### **The Soviet Threat**

The threat of world conquest by Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of world in which the free spirit of man can survive. This threat is aimed at all peoples who strive to win or defend their own freedom and national independence.

Indeed, the state of our Nation is in great part the state of our friends and allies throughout the world. The gun that points at them points at us, also.

The threat is a total threat and the danger is a common danger.

All free nations are exposed and all are in peril. Their only security lies in banding together. No one nation can find protection in a selfish search for a safe haven from the storm.

The free nations do not have any aggressive purpose. We want only peace in the world—peace for all countries. No threat to the security of any nation is concealed in our plans or programs.

We had hoped that the Soviet Union, with its security assured by the Charter of the United Nations, would be willing to live and let live. But that has not been the case.

The imperialism of the czars has been replaced by the even more ambitious, more crafty, and more menacing imperialism of the rulers of the Soviet Union.

This new imperialism has powerful military forces. It is keeping millions of men under arms. It has a large air force and a strong submarine force. It has complete control of the men and equipment of its satellites. It has kept its sub-

ject peoples and its economy in a state of perpetual mobilization.

The present rulers of the Soviet Union have shown that they are willing to use this power to destroy the free nations and win domination over the whole world.

The Soviet imperialists have two ways of going about their destructive work. They use the method of subversion and internal revolution, and they use the method of external aggression. In preparation for either of these methods of attack, they stir up class strife and disorder. They encourage sabotage. They put out poisonous propaganda. They deliberately try to prevent economic improvement.

If their efforts are successful, they foment a revolution, as they did in Czechoslovakia and China, and as they tried unsuccessfully to do in Greece. If their methods of subversion are blocked, and if they think they can get away with outright warfare, they resort to external aggression. This is what they did when they loosed the armies of their puppet states against the Republic of Korea, in an evil war by proxy.

### **Free World To Meet the Challenge**

We of the free world must be ready to meet both of these methods of Soviet action. We must not neglect one or the other.

The free world has power and resources to meet these two forms of aggression—resources that are far greater than those of the Soviet dictatorship. We have skilled and vigorous peoples, great industrial strength, and abundant sources of raw materials. And above all, we cherish liberty. Our common ideals are a great part of our strength. These ideals are the driving force of human progress.

The free nations believe in the dignity and worth of man.

We believe in independence for all nations.

We believe that free and independent nations can band together into a world order based on law. We have laid the cornerstone of such a peaceful world in the United Nations.

We believe that such a world order can and should spread the benefits of modern science and industry, better health and education, more food and raising standards of living—throughout the world.

These ideals give our cause a power and vitality that Russian communism can never command.

The free nations, however, are bound together by more than ideals. They are a real community bound together also by the ties of self-interest and self-preservation. If they should fall apart, the results would be fatal to human freedom.

Our own national security is deeply involved with that of the other free nations. While they need our support, we equally need theirs. Our

national safety would be gravely prejudiced if the Soviet Union were to succeed in harnessing to its war machine the resources and the manpower of the free nations on the borders of its empire.

If Western Europe were to fall to Soviet Russia, it would double the Soviet supply of coal and triple the Soviet supply of steel. If the free countries of Asia and Africa should fall to Soviet Russia, we would lose the sources of many of our most vital raw materials, including uranium, which is the basis of our atomic power. And Soviet command of the manpower of the free nations of Europe and Asia would confront us with military forces which we could never hope to equal.

In such a situation, the Soviet Union could impose its demands on the world, without resort to conflict, simply through the preponderance of its economic and military power. The Soviet Union does not have to attack the United States to secure domination of the world. It can achieve its ends by isolating us and swallowing up all our allies. Therefore, even if we were craven enough to abandon our ideals, it would be disastrous for us to withdraw from the community of free nations.

We are the most powerful single member of this community, and we have a special responsibility. We must take the leadership in meeting the challenge to freedom and in helping to protect the rights of independent nations.

### **U.S. Program for Action Against Communism**

This country has a practical, realistic program of action for meeting this challenge.

#### **EXTENDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE**

First, we shall have to extend economic assistance, where it can be effective. The best way to stop subversion by the Kremlin is to strike at the roots of social injustice and economic disorder. People who have jobs, homes, and hopes for the future will defend themselves against the underground agents of the Kremlin. Our programs of economic aid have done much to turn back communism.

In Europe, the Marshall Plan has had electrifying results. As European recovery progressed, the strikes led by the Kremlin's agents in Italy and France failed. All over Western Europe, the Communist Party took worse and worse beatings at the polls.

The countries which have received Marshall Plan aid have been able, through hard work, to expand their productive strength—in many cases, to levels higher than ever before in their history. Without this strength, they would be completely incapable of defending themselves today. They are now ready to use this strength in helping to build a strong combined defense against aggression.

We shall need to continue some economic aid to European countries. This aid should now be specifically related to building their defenses.

In other parts of the world, our economic assistance will need to be more broadly directed toward economic development. In the Near East, in Africa, in Asia, we must do what we can to help people who are striving to advance from misery, poverty, and hunger. We also must continue to help the economic growth of our good neighbors in this hemisphere. These actions will bring greater strength for the free world. They will give many people a real stake in the future and reason to defend their freedom. They will mean increased production of the goods they need and the materials we need.

#### CONTINUING MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Second, we shall need to continue our military assistance to countries which want to defend themselves.

The heart of our common defense effort is the North Atlantic community. The defense of Europe is the basis for the defense of the whole free world—ourselves included. Next to the United States, Europe, is the largest workshop of the world. It is also a homeland of great religious beliefs shared by many of our citizens—beliefs which are now threatened by the tide of atheistic communism.

Strategically, economically, and morally, the defense of Europe is part of our own defense.

That is why we have joined with the countries of Europe in the North Atlantic Treaty, pledging ourselves to work with them.

There has been much discussion recently over whether the European countries are willing to defend themselves. Their actions are answering this question.

Our North Atlantic Treaty partners have strict systems of universal military training. Several have recently increased the term of service. All have taken measures to improve the quality of training. Forces are being trained and expanded as rapidly as the necessary arms and equipment can be supplied from their factories and ours. Our North Atlantic Treaty partners, together, are building armies bigger than our own.

None of the North Atlantic Treaty countries, including our own country, has done enough yet. But real progress is being made.

Together, we have worked out defense plans. The military leaders of our own country took part in working out these plans and are agreed that they are sound and within our capabilities.

To put these plans into action, we sent to Europe last week one of our greatest military commanders, General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

General Eisenhower went to Europe to assume command of the united forces of the North Atlan-

tic Treaty countries, including our own forces in Germany.

The people of Europe have confidence in General Eisenhower. They know his ability to put together a fighting force of allies. His mission is vital to our security. We should all stand behind him and give him every bit of help we can.

Part of our job will be to reinforce the military strength of our European partners by sending them weapons and equipment as our military production expands.

Our program of military assistance extends to nations in the Near East and the Far East which are trying to defend their freedom. Soviet communism is trying to make these nations into colonies, and to use their people as cannon fodder in new wars of conquest. We want their people to be free men and to enjoy peace.

Our country has always stood for freedom for the peoples of Asia. Our history shows this. We have demonstrated it in the Philippines. We have demonstrated it in our relations with Indonesia, India, and China. We hope to join in restoring the people of Japan to membership in the community of free nations.

It is in the Far East that we have taken up arms, under the United Nations, to preserve the principle of independence for free nations. We are fighting to keep the forces of Communist aggression from making a slave state out of Korea.

Korea has tremendous significance for the world. It means that free nations, acting through the United Nations, are fighting together against aggression.

We understand the importance of this best if we look back into history. If the democracies had stood up against the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, or the attack on Ethiopia in 1935, or the seizure of Austria in 1938, if they had stood together against aggression on those occasions as the United Nations has done, the whole history of our time would have been different.

The principles for which we are fighting in Korea are right and just. They are the foundations of collective security and of the future of free nations. Korea is not only a country undergoing the torment of aggression; it is also a symbol. It stands for right and justice in the world against oppression and slavery. The free world must always stand for these principles—and we will stand with the free world.

#### WORKING FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS

As the third part of our program, we will continue to work for peaceful settlements of international disputes. We will support the United Nations and remain loyal to the great principles of international cooperation laid down in its Charter.

We are willing, as we have always been, to negotiate honorable settlements with the Soviet Union. But we will not engage in appeasement.

The Soviet rulers have made it clear that we must have strength as well as right on our side. If we build our strength—and we are building it—the Soviet rulers may face the facts and lay aside their plans to take over the world.

That is what we hope will happen, and that is what we are trying to bring about.

That is the only realistic road to peace.

These are the main elements of the course our Nation must follow as a member of the community of free nations. These are the things we must do to preserve our security and help create a peaceful world. But they will be successful only if we increase the strength of our own country.

### **Preparing for Wartime Mobilization**

Here at home we have some very big jobs to do. We are building much stronger military forces—and we are building them fast. We are preparing for full wartime mobilization, if that should be necessary. And we are continuing to build a strong and growing economy, able to maintain whatever effort may be required for as long as necessary.

### **EQUIPMENT**

We are building our own Army, Navy, and Air Force to an active strength of nearly 3½ million men and women. We are stepping up the training of the reserve forces, and establishing more training facilities, so that we can rapidly increase our active forces far more on short notice.

We are going to produce all the weapons and equipment that such an armed force will need. Furthermore, we will make weapons for our allies, and weapons for our own reserve supplies. On top of this, we will build the capacity to turn out on short notice arms and supplies that may be needed for a full scale war.

Fortunately, we have a good start on this because of our enormous plant capacity and the equipment on hand from the last war. For example, many combat ships are being returned to active duty from the “mothball fleet” and many others can be put into service on very short notice. We have large reserves of arms and ammunition and thousands of workers skilled in arms production.

In many cases, however, our stocks of weapons are low. In other cases, those on hand are not the most modern. We have made remarkable technical advances. We have developed new types of jet planes and powerful new tanks. We are concentrating on producing the newest types of weapons and producing them as fast as we possibly can.

This production drive is more selective than the one we had during World War II, but it is just as urgent and intense. It is a big program and a costly one.

Let me give you two concrete examples. Our present program calls for expanding the aircraft industry so that it will have the capacity to produce 50,000 modern military planes a year. We are preparing the capacity to produce 35,000 tanks a year. We are not now ordering that many planes or tanks, and we hope that we never have to, but we mean to be able to turn them out if we need them.

The planes we are producing now are a lot bigger—and a lot better—than the planes we had during the last war.

We used to think that the B-17 was a huge plane and the block-buster it carried was a huge load. But the B-36 can carry five of those block-busters in its belly, and it can carry them five times as far. Of course, the B-36 is much more complicated to build than the B-17, and far more expensive. One B-17 costs about \$275,000, while now one B-36 costs about 3½ million dollars.

I ask you to remember that what we are doing is to provide the best and most modern military equipment in the world for our fighting forces.

This kind of defense production program has two parts.

### **SPEED**

The first part is to get our defense production going as fast as possible. We have to convert plants and channel materials to defense production.

This means heavy cuts in the civilian use of copper, aluminum, rubber, and other essential materials. It means shortages in various consumer goods.

The second part is to increase our capacity to produce and to keep our economy strong for the long pull. We do not know how long Communist aggression will threaten the world.

Only by increasing our output can we carry the burden of preparedness for an indefinite period in the future. This means that we will have to build more power plants, and more steel mills, grow more cotton, mine more copper, and expand our capacity in many other ways.

### **LEGISLATION**

The Congress will need to consider legislation, at this session, affecting all the aspects of our mobilization job. The main subjects on which legislation will be needed are:

First, appropriations for our military build-up.  
Second, extension and revision of the Selective Service Act.

Third, military and economic aid to help build up the strength of the free world.

Fourth, revision and extension of the authority to expand production and to stabilize prices, wages, and rents.

Fifth, improvement of our agricultural laws, to help obtain the kinds of farm products we need for the defense effort.

Sixth, improvement of our labor laws to help provide stable labor-management relations and to make sure that we have steady production in this emergency.

Seventh, housing and training of defense workers, and the full use of all our manpower resources.

Eighth, means for increasing the supply of doctors, nurses, and other trained medical personnel critically needed for the defense effort.

Ninth, aid to the States to meet the most urgent needs of our elementary and secondary schools. Some of our plans will have to be deferred for the time being. But we should do all we can to make sure our children are being trained as good and useful citizens in these critical times ahead.

We are building up our strength, in concert with other free nations, to meet the danger of aggression that has been turned loose on the world. The strength of the free nations is the world's best hope of peace.

#### **Appeal for Unity**

I ask the Congress for unity in these crucial days.

Make no mistake about my meaning. I do not ask, or expect, unanimity. I do not ask for an end to debate. Only by debate can we arrive at decisions which are wise and which reflect the desires of the American people. We do not have dictatorship in this country, and we will never have it.

When I request unity, what I am really asking for is a sense of responsibility on the part of every member of this Congress. Let us debate the issues, but let every man among us weigh his words and deeds. There is a sharp difference between harmful criticism and constructive criticism. If we are truly responsible as individuals, I am sure that we will be unified as a government.

Let us keep our eyes on the issues and work for the things we all believe in.

Let each of us put our country ahead of our party and ahead of our own personal interests.

I had the honor to be a member of the Senate during World War II, and I know from experience that unity of purpose and of effort is possible in the Congress without any lessening of the vitality of our two-party system.

Let us all stand together as Americans. And let us stand together with all men everywhere who believe in human liberty.

Peace is precious to us. It is the way of life we strive for with all the strength and wisdom we possess. But more precious than peace are freedom and justice. We will fight, if fight we must, to keep our freedom and to prevent justice from being destroyed.

These are the things that give meaning to our lives, and which we acknowledge to be greater than ourselves.

Tenth, a major increase in taxes to meet the cost of the defense effort.

#### **Additional Messages**

The Economic Report and the Budget Message will discuss these subjects further. In addition, I shall send to the Congress special messages containing detailed recommendations on legislation needed at this session.

In the months ahead, the Government must give priority to activities that are urgent—like military procurement and atomic energy and power development. It must practice rigid economy in its non-defense activities. Many of the things we would normally do must be curtailed or postponed.

But in a long-term defense effort like this one, we cannot neglect the measures needed to maintain a strong economy and a healthy democratic society.

The Congress, therefore, should give continued attention to the measures which our country will need for the long pull. And it should act upon such legislation as promptly as circumstances permit.

To take just one example—we need to continue and complete the work of rounding out our system of social insurance. We still need to improve our protection against unemployment and old age. We still need to provide insurance against loss of earnings through sickness and against the high costs of modern medical care.

Above all, we must remember that the fundamentals of our strength rest upon the freedoms of our people. We must continue our efforts to achieve the full realization of our democratic ideals. We must uphold freedom of speech and freedom of conscience in our land. We must assure equal right and equal opportunities to all our citizens.

As we go forward this year in the defense of freedom, let us keep clearly before us the nature of our present effort.

This is our cause—peace, freedom, justice.

We will pursue this cause with determination and humility, asking Divine Guidance that in all we do we may follow God's will.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 8, 1951.

## THE EWE PROBLEM: A CASE STUDY IN THE OPERATION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

*by Benjamin Gerig and Vernon McKay*

When the United Nations Trusteeship Council opens its eighth session on January 30, it will again be confronted with the Ewe problem<sup>1</sup>—a challenging issue that has arisen at every session since the Council was inaugurated nearly 4 years ago. The Ewe people, more than 800,000 in number, are West Africans, have a common language, tradition, and customs but are divided by political boundaries of three territories—the two trust territories of British Togoland and French Togoland and the British colony of the Gold Coast. In their desire to be united under a single administration, Ewe leaders have sent more than 140 petitions to the Trusteeship Council. The issue thus raised, involving a proposal to change political boundaries, poses questions of wide significance for the future of Africa. The Ewe question is a striking example of the complex issues before the Council, and it provides an informative case study of how the Council operates in carrying out its three main tasks of examining annual reports, dealing with petitions, and sending missions to study conditions in the areas under its supervision.

### **Characteristics of Eweland**

The Ewe people inhabit an area of about 10,000 square miles lying between the Volta and Mono rivers along the humid, tropical Guinea Coast of West Africa. In 1884, the eastern part of this area was taken over by the Germans who founded the colony of Togo. Invaded and partitioned by the British and French at the outbreak of World War

I, Togo was redivided after the war into the two mandated territories of British Togoland and French Togoland. Essentially agricultural, the Ewe area exports cocoa, tapioca, coffee, palm kernels and palm oil, and other tropical products. It has a small fishing industry, but its mineral resources are not of sufficient importance to attract mining enterprise. Three short branches of a French railroad converge on Lomé, the capital of French Togoland and the only significant port in the whole Ewe region. By special arrangement with the French, most of the cocoa produced in British Togoland is shipped over this railroad to Lomé for export. The Ewe areas of British Togoland and the Gold Coast, as the Trusteeship Council's first visiting mission found, have no railroads and only a poor road system, and no bridges over the rivers. The area's revenues, like its resources, have, in the past, been too limited to permit extensive economic development.

### **Origins of the Ewe Movement**

The Ewe people migrated westward from their first known home in Nigeria to found, at an unknown date, the walled town of Notsi in French Togoland. From the middle of the seventeenth century, the beginning of their modern history, they moved on from Notsi until they reached their present settlements. These settlements subsequently developed independently of each other although they formed alliances in time of war.

When Christian missionaries entered Ewe country in the midnineteenth century, they found that the Ewe language, like most of Africa's 800 languages, was a vernacular which had not been

<sup>1</sup> Ewe is pronounced eh'-vay.

transcribed into writing. A German missionary published the first Ewe grammar in 1856. Together with an excellent Ewe translation of the Bible, it paved the way for the standardization of the literary form of the language. When mission schools began to give the Ewe people a formal education, they became increasingly conscious of a common origin and hopeful of a common destiny.

In September 1919, a number of Ewe chiefs, in a protest to the British Colonial Office, alleged that—

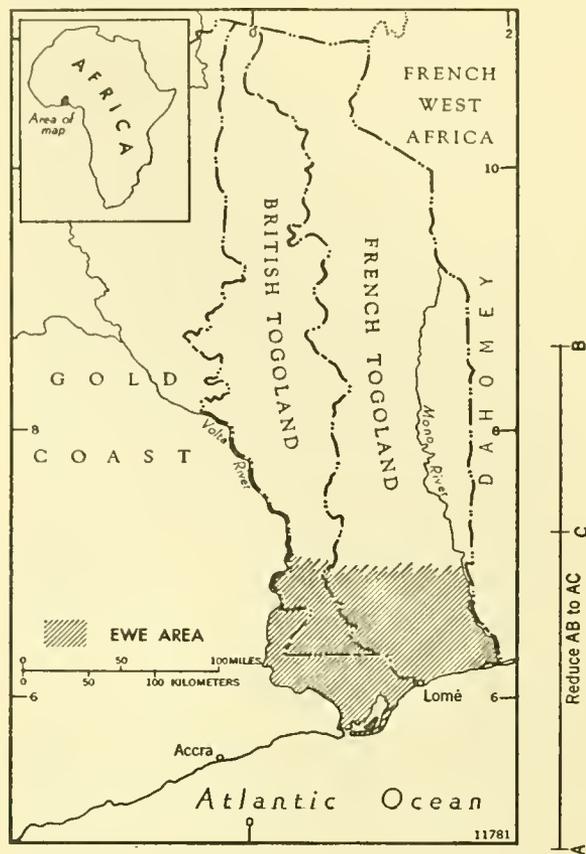
... the absorption of Togoland into French colonial possessions will sever members of Ewe-speaking tribes of Togoland from those in the South-eastern part of the Gold Coast and seriously interfere with their economic progress.

A note to President Harding in 1921 made a similar allegation. Other Ewe protests were included among the ten petitions regarding the frontier problem which were submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The Mandates Commission, however, took little action. In the case of petitions dealing with customs-frontier difficulties and the separation of villages from farms, it expressed the hope that the mandatory power would take appropriate measures to meet the situation.

To promote their objectives, Ewe leaders have, in the past, formed a number of unions and associations. In its present advanced form, however, the Ewe movement is an outgrowth of World War II. Ewe discontent was enhanced by the imposition of additional frontier restrictions between the two Togolands, particularly during the Vichy period.

As the war drew to a close, Ewe leaders foresaw that the future of the mandates would be an important problem in any plans for a new postwar world organization. With this idea in mind, they set out to strengthen the Ewe movement. In May 1945, a Gold Coast Ewe on the faculty of Achimota College began the monthly publication of the *Ewe-News-Letter*, and, in April 1947, another Ewe journal, *Le Guide du Togo*, began semimonthly publication in Lomé. On June 9, 1946, Ewe leaders from British and French Togoland and the Gold Coast held the first meeting of an All-Ewe Conference which drew up the All-Ewe Convention referred to in several petitions. These efforts undoubtedly crystallized Ewe opinion. In November 1947, the British and French Governments informed the Trusteeship Council that they had

good reason to believe that the objects and views of the All-Ewe Conference were those of the mass of the Ewe people, whether educated or not.



### How the Ewe Question Came Before the Council

The Ewe people were among the earliest petitioners to present their case to the Trusteeship Council, their first petition having been sent by cable in April 1947 during the Council's first session. Seven Ewe petitions were examined by the Council during the second session, two during the third session, one during the fourth session, and one during the fifth session. More than 100 other Ewe petitions, presented to the visiting mission which traveled through British and French Togoland between November 30 and December 16, 1949, were dealt with at the seventh session in the summer of 1950.

The first Ewe petition was called to the Council's attention by its President on April 23, 1947. Noting that the petition had not been received 2 months before the opening of the session and,

therefore, in accordance with rule 86 of the rules of procedure, could not be placed upon the agenda without a special vote to that effect, the Council decided to place the petition on the agenda of the next regular session.

In the interval between the first and second sessions, Ewe leaders petitioned for the opportunity to send representatives to supplement their written petition with an oral statement in accordance with rule 80. Since this request involved the setting of an important precedent, it was discussed at length on November 20, 1947, the opening day of the second session. The President stated that, in his view, the hearing of oral petitions was a matter of grace and not of right and a matter which the Council should determine in each individual case. After the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out that it was possible to travel from the Gold Coast to New York in 24 hours by airplane, the Council approved a motion by the representative of Mexico to accord an oral hearing to the petitioners if they could send a representative within 2 weeks. Immediately after the meeting, the Secretariat telegraphed this decision to the petitioners.

#### **The First Anglo-French Joint Memorandum**

Meanwhile, in a joint memorandum dated November 17, the British and French Governments submitted to the Council their observations on the Ewe petitions thus far received. Expressing the view that substantial progress had already been made in the social, economic, political, and cultural spheres, the two Governments, nevertheless, recognized that—

. . . there are disabilities arising from the present system, and that the Ewes have certain legitimate grievances.

Although willing to take steps to remedy these grievances, the two administering authorities were opposed to the political unification of the Ewe people since—

. . . such a territorial unit based on tribal unity could not, under any circumstances, possess a national character in the modern sense of the word.

They were also opposed to reuniting the two Togolands; they believed that any advantage which the Ewes might gain would be more than counterbalanced by the disadvantages to the tribes farther north.

The two Governments announced an agreement, however, on certain economic, fiscal, and cultural

measures which, in their opinion, would go far to meet Ewe grievances. In the economic field, they had decided to instruct local governments to remove, as far as possible, obstacles to the movement of individuals and people across the frontiers. Furthermore, they would consult together in order to establish, within a fixed period of time, a conventional zone designed to remove all the disabilities arising from the customs frontier, on condition that the establishment of this zone would not prejudice the principle of exchange control between French and British territories in Africa. To remedy fiscal grievances, steps were to be taken to insure that the same individual was not taxed in both territories for the same reasons; and an attempt was to be made to achieve a closer approximation between the total burden of taxation per head of the native population in the two territories. In the cultural sphere, the two Governments agreed to introduce the teaching of the French language in the schools of British Togoland and the teaching of the English language in the schools of French Togoland, beginning with the higher primary schools. A university fund would be created to permit the exchange of specially qualified students and to give them the opportunity to continue their studies in higher educational institutions in British or French Togoland.

To coordinate and "give the necessary impetus to the carrying out of this work," a standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs would be established that would consist of two representatives of the inhabitants of each of the trust territories and under the joint chairmanship of the Governor of the Gold Coast and the Commissaire de la République of French Togoland.

#### **Sylvanus Olympio Presents the Ewe Case**

On December 8, 1947, 3 weeks after the submission of the Anglo-French joint memorandum to the Council, Sylvanus Olympio appeared for the first time at the Council table to present the Ewe case. In addition to being an outstanding leader in the Ewe movement, Mr. Olympio is president of the Representative Assembly of French Togoland and manager of the Lomé branch of the United African Company. Fluent in French and English as well as his native Ewe language, he impressed the Council by the moderation and conviction of his statements. He summed up the Ewe case as—

. . . the simple request of a tribe of one million people to be allowed to live together under one roof, and one government, so that they could achieve peace and prosperity.

He recalled that the Ewe country had been divided between Germany and England in 1884, had been redivided in 1914, and had been partitioned a third time after the peace treaty in 1920 when the British relinquished to the French a part of the territory they had occupied. The problem created by these arbitrary partitions, Mr. Olympio declared, had been a constant source of irritation and dissatisfaction.

He felt that the economic, fiscal, and cultural reforms proposed in the Anglo-French joint memorandum were "hopelessly inadequate." The solution that the two Governments proposed was, at most, a makeshift arrangement which did not solve the basic problem. The orderly and true progress of the Ewe country required a common educational system, the same political organization, and economic unity, which could be brought about only by the complete unification of the country under one administration. In concluding this introductory statement, Mr. Olympio asked the Trusteeship Council to investigate the problem on the spot.

In a 3-day discussion, the members of the Council questioned Mr. Olympio closely. Special representatives of France and the United Kingdom and two officials from Ewe areas were also asked to present their views. This questioning and cross-questioning enabled the members of the Council to form a clearer idea of the complexity of the Ewe question and of the extent to which the reforms proposed by the two Governments were likely to meet Ewe demands. The representative of the United States obtained from the French delegation an important clarification which helped the Council toward the adoption of a preliminary resolution.<sup>2</sup> He asked whether the reform proposals could be regarded as a first step toward unification; if so, it would, perhaps, give a good deal of satisfaction to the petitioners, who felt that these steps did not go far enough. The French representative responded that the United States suggestion seemed reasonable but that the two Governments could not say that the measures pro-

<sup>2</sup> At the first and second sessions, the United States representative, Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, served as the Council's first president. During this period, Benjamin Gerig, United States deputy representative, took the seat of the United States representative at the Council table.

posed in the memorandum were necessarily the first steps toward unification in the foreseeable or immediate future "because this goes beyond the competence of the Trusteeship Council." He felt, however, that the reform proposals could be regarded as a first stage, a transitional measure. The United States representative stated that he would not wish to admit at this point that the question of frontier modifications went beyond the competence of the Trusteeship Council. He thought it might be legitimate for the Council to make recommendations to the administering authorities for frontier changes although, of course, before such changes could be made, the trusteeship agreements would have to be modified.

The French declaration that the reform proposals could be regarded as a transitional measure made it easier for the Council to reach agreement. On December 10, the president, remarking that the Ewe question was one of the really important problems before the Council, suggested that the drafting committee on petitions, composed of the representatives of Australia, China, Iraq, and the United States, should draft a resolution that would embody the thoughts which had been expressed in the debate. A resolution presented to the Council by the chairman of the drafting committee was discussed and adopted unanimously on December 15 with minor amendments.

#### **The Council's First Ewe Resolution**

This resolution is of sufficient importance in the history of the Ewe question to merit summary. A long preambular section lists the main steps in the Council's consideration of the Ewe petitions and notes the action agreed upon by the administering authorities to improve economic, fiscal, and cultural conditions. The fact that the representative of the All-Ewe-Conference considered these measures inadequate and that the representatives of the administering authorities considered the measures to be transitional is also noted.

Two other important paragraphs are contained in the preamble. In the first of these, the Council observes that the petition of the All-Ewe-Conference represents the wishes of the majority of the Ewe population and that the representatives of the administering authorities have recognized the point of view of the Ewe people.

In the second paragraph, the Council repeats an assurance that had been given earlier by the

special representative of France during the discussion of an Ewe petition protesting against a ban placed on an Ewe meeting by the French Togoland Government. The special representative had declared—

. . . that it is the policy of his Government to grant full freedom of assembly to the people of the Trust Territory and that tribal meetings and meetings of various sections of the Ewe population will not, shall not and cannot be forbidden or repressed.

The operative part of the resolution contains seven paragraphs, the most important of which welcome the measures proposed by the administering authorities as an earnest and constructive initial effort, decide that the first visiting mission to the two trust territories shall devote special attention to the problem set forth in the petitions, and provide for a reexamination of the Ewe question at the Council's session in which the report of the visiting mission to the two trust territories is considered.

#### **Examination of First Annual Reports**

The Council did not, however, await the report of its first visiting mission before taking up the Ewe question again. Ewe petitions received brief mention at the third session in the summer of 1948, and the problem arose inevitably at the fourth session, beginning January 24, 1949, when the Council examined the first annual reports submitted by the British and French Governments, respectively, on their administrations of the two Togolands.

Both annual reports contained summaries of the work of the newly established Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission and, in addition, on February 15, the Council was presented with a second joint Anglo-French statement, this one on the measures thus far taken to alleviate frontier difficulties. Officials from the two territories were again present as special representatives of the administering authorities, and the Council was given an opportunity to question them concerning the work of the Consultative Commission.

This information revealed that the Commission had held its first two meetings in 1948, at Lomé, on May 26–27, and at Accra, capital of the Gold Coast, on November 30–December 21. The Representative Assembly of French Togoland had elected Sylvanus Olympio and Fare Djato to serve on the Commission during the life of the Representative Assembly. The representatives of British Togoland, E. Amu and W. S. Honu were

nominated by the Governor of the Gold Coast since no suitable election machinery existed. Arrangements were subsequently made by the British for an election, however, and the two British Togoland appointees were confirmed for a 1-year term at a public election held at Kpandu on August 11, 1948.

#### **Achievements of the Consultative Commission**

Since the terms of reference of the Consultative Commission did not enable it to take up the basic Ewe demand for political unification, the Ewe people were certain to be dissatisfied with the Commission. The Council learned from the statements of the administering authorities, however, that the Commission had taken a number of positive steps to remedy partially certain economic, fiscal, and cultural grievances. In the economic field, in 1948, it implemented the proposals of the original Anglo-French memorandum for the removal, as far as possible, of obstacles to the movement of individuals and to the transporting of personal property, local goods, and individual headloads of locally produced food stuffs and, in addition, made concessions with respect to imported household goods, glassware, and currency. After the first session of the Commission, the two Governments agreed to allow £10 in either French West African francs or British West African currency, or a combination of the two, to be carried across the frontier. Arrangements were also made for "reasonable remittances" in the case of proceeds from the sales of crops, laborers returning with their savings, maintenance of dependents, and payments of school fees. Moreover, the British and French customs posts at Aflao were to be moved together as an experiment to permit joint examinations in order to reduce the number of occasions on which a lorry had to stop for inspection. No progress was made, however, toward the establishment of a conventional zone as envisaged in the original Anglo-French memorandum. In their joint statement of February 15, 1949, the two Governments reported that their economic and financial experts were studying the establishment of a conventional zone, but they advised the Council that this study was likely to reveal the great difficulties of establishing such a zone at a time when exchange control was in force.

The information presented to the Council indicated that steps had also been taken to implement

the fiscal and educational measures proposed in the original memorandum. At the first meeting of the Commission, the Governments had agreed to work out procedures to prevent double taxation. When it came to equalizing the tax burden in the two territories, however, the Commission's discussion revealed numerous differences between the two taxation systems which would be very difficult to reconcile. As for the educational measures proposed in the memorandum, they were discussed in the Commission in 1948, and plans were made to begin their implementation.

It is significant to note that the Commission also discussed numerous matters in the fields of education, communications, and health which went beyond the specific proposals of the original Anglo-French joint memorandum. Shortly after the first session of the Commission, an experimental program for community development (mass education) was started in the Kpandu subdistrict of British Togoland with the understanding that the extension of this program in both territories would be considered when the results were known. The Commission also made proposals for completing important road, telephone, and telegraph links, and an agreement was reached, effective January 1, 1949, to reduce postal rates between the territories to the level of those in force for internal postage. Similar reductions in telephone and telegraph rates were under consideration in 1948. Plans and achievements of Anglo-French cooperative endeavors in the fields of health, agriculture, and veterinary medicine were also discussed in the Commission.

Many of these steps were undertaken in response to suggestions by the Ewe representatives in the Commission. Although these representatives expressed their gratitude and their willingness to cooperate in developing the Commission into an effective organ, they emphasized the fact that their goal is still complete unification. The early activities of the Commission are, nonetheless, a promising development for the future of the area.

#### **Council Postpones Action**

Since the mission had not yet made its visit to the Ewe country, the Council's action at the fourth session was limited to the hearing of this additional information furnished by the administering authorities in the annual reports and the joint memorandum of February 15 and to supplement-

ary information furnished by the special representatives in answer to written and oral questions submitted by members of the Council. The only resolution adopted by the Council postponed action on a petition from the Natural Rulers of the southern section of British Togoland until the Council received the report of the visiting mission.

The Council did decide, however, on the composition of the visiting mission to West Africa and the time at which it would make its visit.<sup>3</sup> The United Kingdom and French representatives pointed out that the only period at which the territories to be visited could be traversed without difficulty was the dry season beginning in November. The Council, therefore, decided that the mission should leave for West Africa at the beginning of November 1949. The composition of the mission was tentatively voted on on March 21 although replacements for two of the members who were unable to take part were elected at the fifth session and the first special session of the Council. The mission was composed of A. Khalidi (Iraq), Chairman, A. Claeys-Boúnaert (Belgium), A. Ramos Pedrueza (Mexico), and Benjamin Gerig (United States). Its terms of reference, adopted at the fifth session on June 20, 1949, directed the mission to give particular attention to the Ewe problem.

#### **Report of the Visiting Mission**

The four members of the mission, accompanied by six members of the United Nations Secretariat, departed from New York by air on October 28, 1949. After a month in the two Cameroons, the mission arrived on November 30 in Lomé. As the plane circled the airport for a landing, a large welcoming crowd could be seen below carrying huge placards bearing the word "Unification." From the moment the party landed until it left the Ewe country a week later, its attention was constantly taken up with the Ewe problem. A large number of Ewe chiefs and leaders were received by the mission and their views were freely expressed. All aspects of the problem were laid before the mission, both by the Ewe leaders and the French and later the British authorities. The Ewe views were expressed in moderate and well-reasoned terms. It was evident that a great deal

<sup>3</sup>The Council had earlier decided to send its first regular visiting mission to East Africa in 1948 and to send missions to West Africa in 1949 and the Pacific in 1950. Thereafter, each of the three areas was to be visited every 3 years in regular rotation.

of thought and organized effort had been given the question, for the various Ewe leaders invariably spoke in similar if not identical terms. They did not ask for national independence or for immediate self-government. They sought recognition for their existence as one people.

The Ewe people organized a mass demonstration in the Municipal Stadium at Lomé to which the mission was invited. A score or more Ewe tribal leaders and chiefs, supported by thousands of their followers, assembled from all parts of the area. Each chief or leader, in turn, addressed the mission and the assemblage through a public address system, giving the reasons why the existing frontiers were believed to be detrimental to the development of the Ewe people and calling upon the mission to present their case before the Trusteeship Council.

The visiting mission left French Togoland to study the problem in British Togoland. Again discussing the question with both administrators and Ewe leaders, the mission visited frontier posts and saw the extent to which the two Governments had taken steps to ameliorate frontier difficulties, particularly with reference to passage of goods and exchange of currency. The mission noted with satisfaction the efforts which had been made to reduce the inconveniences caused by the frontier and agreed that an appreciable step forward had been taken. It came to the conclusion, however, that those measures in themselves were insufficient to solve the problem.

The mission discussed with the Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission the efforts made to establish a conventional zone for the area which would further ameliorate problems of exchange control and economic interchange. It was informed, however, that technical reasons would prevent the establishment of such a conventional zone at present.

When the mission came into contact with non-Ewe tribes in the North, it found how difficult it would be to give satisfaction to Ewe claims without, to some extent, injuring the future interests of these northern tribesmen. The mission was told repeatedly by these tribesmen that they were not prepared to accept the dominant position which the Ewe people would have if their full claims were recognized and that they preferred, for the time being, to be governed by French and British authorities. It, thus, became clear to the mission that the Ewe problem could not be viewed exclu-

sively as a matter which concerned the Ewe peoples alone but would have to be examined in the light of its effects upon neighboring tribes and peoples. The problem had far-reaching and complex ramifications which must be viewed in the light of the future development of a larger area in West Africa.

The visiting mission in fact found the problem too complex for any precise and clear-cut recommendation to the Trusteeship Council. The mission's report was received by the Ewe people themselves with a certain degree of disappointment, which was later expressed by their spokesman, Mr. Olympio at the sixth session of the Council at Geneva in February 1950.

The report of the visiting mission, however, sets forth clearly the conflicting claims and views of various groups and parties in the two Togolands and suggests three lines along which a solution might be sought; namely, (a) a political solution within the framework of the two existing Togolands; (b) an economic solution within the framework of the two Togolands; or (c) a general solution within a wider economic and political framework including the two Togolands. The mission concludes that the problem has attained the force and dimensions of a nationalistic movement and that a solution should be sought with urgency in the interest of peace and stability in that part of the world.

The value of the visiting mission function of the Trusteeship Council was clearly demonstrated in its handling of the Ewe question. This was recognized by both the Council and by the two administering authorities which expressed their appreciation for the care with which the visiting mission conducted its task and for its constructive suggestions.

#### **Mr. Olympio's Second Oral Presentation**

The mission's report was presented to the Trusteeship Council in February 1950 at its sixth session. Moreover, on February 28, the Council voted unanimously to grant a request for a second oral hearing for the Ewe petitioners. Two weeks later, however, the president announced that the French and British delegations proposed to defer until the seventh session the examination of the reports concerning the two Togoland territories. The French representative then read a statement from his Government to the effect that the two Governments would continue to do their utmost

to dispose of the nonpolitical aspects of the unification movement and would, in addition, seek a political or administrative solution; such concrete proposals as may have been agreed upon between the two Governments would be communicated to the Council at the seventh session.

The Council agreed to the proposed postponement and telegraphed this decision to the petitioners, but the president stated on March 15 that the telegram had reached them after the departure of the three Ewe representatives from West Africa. They had just arrived at Geneva where the Council was meeting. At the president's suggestion, it was decided to grant them a hearing on March 20. On this day, Mr. Olympio, along with two other representatives of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. E. Amu and Mr. Stimson, took their places at the Council table. Mr. Olympio again reviewed the background of the Ewe complaint and termed the work of the Consultative Commission to be "utterly inadequate." The Commission, he said, had "outlived its day" and should be replaced by a body with full powers to deal with all aspects of the problem. After a question period for the remainder of the meeting, the president thanked the representatives of the All-Ewe Conference and added that they would be welcome at the next session if they should desire to be heard again.

#### **The New Anglo-French Proposals**

When the Council met again for its seventh session it received, on June 19, 1950, the joint observations of the Governments of France and the United Kingdom on the special report of the visiting mission concerning the Ewe problem. These observations contained the new proposals which the two Governments had agreed to give the Council. The two administering authorities paid tribute to the visiting mission for presenting an objective report which showed clearly the complexity of the Ewe question. They stated that, in the light of a report of the joint Anglo-French working party of experts which visited Togoland in 1949, they had reluctantly come to the conclusion that to establish a conventional zone in the two trust territories under present circumstances would be to expose the economies of the two territories to great risks which the two Governments would not feel justified in taking. With regard to a political solution, they remained of the opinion that no one solution readily offers itself as being clearly preferable to the present state of affairs.

The joint observations stated, however, that the two Governments had decided to take steps to consult the representatives of the peoples of both territories in order to establish their real wishes and interests. To this end, they would greatly expand the membership of the Commission to make it fully representative of all the people of both territories and, moreover, would expand its functions by charging it with the responsibility of submitting to the two Governments its views as to the practical means of satisfying, within the framework of French and British administration, the wishes of the inhabitants of all parts of the two trust territories. They had decided to include in the Commission 17 representatives of the people of British Togoland and 28 representatives of the people of French Togoland although these numbers were, at present, provisional. Elections would take place at an early date so that the new Commission could start work without delay.

#### **The Third Oral Hearing**

With the terms of this new proposal in mind, the Council began, on July 5, the third oral hearing of Ewe petitioners. On this occasion, in addition to Sylvanus Olympio, who represented the All-Ewe Conference for the third time, several other petitioners took their places at the Council table. S. G. Asare and F. Y. Antor were present as representatives of the Togoland Union, the Natural Rulers of Western Togoland, and the Togoland Farmers Association; Pedro Olympio and D. Ayeva represented the Togoland Progress Party; and Mr. Ayeva also spoke on behalf of the chiefs and population of Northern Togoland. Speaking first, Sylvanus Olympio stated that the Ewe people had been deeply disappointed when the administering authorities had made known their latest joint proposals. He announced that the All-Ewe Conference had no alternative but to reject these proposals outright and that the All-Ewe Conference did not propose to take part in the establishment of the proposed Consultative Commission since it was convinced that that body's terms of reference did not permit it to study the question of the unification of the Ewe people as it ought to be studied. He stated that, if the administering authorities still doubted the Ewe peoples' desire, the All-Ewe Conference was prepared to put the Ewe issue to a plebiscite under United Nations supervision although it was

most anxious that the unification of the Ewe people and the unifications of the two Togolands should be treated as separate questions.

The next Ewe representative, Mr. Asare, stated the case for the unification of the two Togolands. He used many of the arguments and reasons which had been previously given for the unification of Eweland. This same view was then presented by Mr. Antor, who concluded with the hope that the Council might insure a program of development which would enable Togoland to attain self-government within 5 years. A different view was presented to the Council by the other two spokesmen. Pedro Olympio, cousin of Sylvanus Olympio, stated that the Togoland Progress Party felt it to be its duty to work in close and loyal cooperation with France so as to enable the people of Togoland gradually to take over responsibility for the country's affairs. His party, he said, was opposed to unification because it would not meet a real need of the Ewe people. This view was shared by D. Ayeva, who stated, on behalf of the chiefs and population of Northern Togoland, that the Ewe movement was a subversive movement which they fully and severely condemned because it entailed a change in the status of the people of Northern Togoland, who were strongly opposed to the unification of the two Togolands.

Six meetings of the Council between July 5 and July 14 were devoted to a searching and sometimes heated discussion. As a result of the opposition expressed to the new Anglo-French proposals, the British representative called attention to what he termed a misunderstanding about that part of the proposals referring to a solution "within the framework of British and French administration." He stated that the British and French delegations, therefore, proposed to clarify this paragraph by adding to the above words the phrase "and not precluding the unification of any parts of the two trust territories." Other delegations expressed their appreciation of this addition to the proposal, and the representative of the United States commented on July 11, that it was now clear that the Commission was authorized to make recommendations regarding the unification of the Ewe people and that such unification could take place either under British, French, or Anglo-French administration.

When the president asked the Ewe representatives their opinion regarding the amendment proposed by the British delegation, Sylvanus Olympio

responded that he wished to have an assurance that the interpretation given by the representative of the United States was the correct one; that interpretation implied that the Consultative Commission would be empowered to recommend Ewe unification under French, British, or Anglo-French authority. Both the British and French representatives subsequently agreed that the interpretation given by the United States representative was correct. Mr. Olympio then expressed his appreciation of this concession which, he said, permitted the Ewe people at least to discuss their unification but stated that he could not accept it as a satisfactory solution. He could do no more than simply inform the people he represented that the concession had been made.

In the ensuing discussion, the United States and Argentine delegations submitted a joint draft resolution on the Ewe question which, in effect, noted the plan put forward by the administering authorities and expressed the hope that they would proceed along the lines proposed. Amendments to this resolution were put forward by the Chinese, Iraqi, and Philippine delegations. As the United States representative commented, however, these amendments proposed that the new decisions reached by the administering authorities should be completely ignored and asked the Council to decide that, as matters stood, the extremely complex problem could only be solved by one method, namely, the unification of the Ewe people under a single administration. Moreover, the proposed amendments asked the administering authorities to ignore the opinion of the northern peoples. On July 14, the amendments were rejected by 8 votes to 3.<sup>4</sup> The Argentine-United States proposal was then adopted by the Council by 8 votes—2 (Iraq, Philippines), with 1 abstention (China). This resolution expresses the hope that the administering authorities will proceed along the lines proposed and will take all appropriate steps to insure that the Consultative Commission will equitably represent the different sections and groups of the two trust territories; requests the administering authorities concerned to inform the Council, at its next session, of the steps which have been taken to give effect to the plan for the expanded Consultative Commission and to submit to the Council a progress report on the deliberations of the Consultative Commission to date;

<sup>4</sup>The Soviet Union was not represented at either the sixth or seventh sessions of the Council.

and recommends that the administering authorities concerned take all necessary and appropriate measures in order to insure that, until a definitive settlement is reached, the common traits and traditions of the Ewe peoples in the two trust territories be preserved.

#### **Ewe Question at the Fifth General Assembly**

The next step in United Nations treatment of the Ewe question marked a new departure in procedure. The eighth session of the Trusteeship Council was not to open before January 1951, but, on September 30, not long after the opening of the fifth session of the General Assembly, the Ewe petitioners cabled the Secretary-General and protested against the methods devised by the French for the choice of members of the Consultative Commission. Subsequent petitions alleged that several persons protesting were arrested and imprisoned after a summary trial.

On October 9, the Philippine delegation brought these petitions to the attention of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. Although the French representative reminded the Committee that a procedure is established whereby the Trusteeship Council dealt with petitions, and other delegations suggested that a special session of the Trusteeship Council might be called, the Committee decided to take up the question without waiting for Trusteeship Council action. On October 18, the representative of France made a detailed statement explaining French procedure for the elections and denying the major allegations in the petitions.

Two weeks later, the delegations of India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Philippines, and Yugoslavia submitted to the Fourth Committee a joint draft resolution which was adopted by the Fourth Committee after several amendments and was subsequently approved by the General Assembly on December 2 by a vote of 48-0-6.

The resolution calls for an adequate solution, as soon as possible, in full accordance with the real wishes and interests of the people concerned. The necessity of conducting elections to the Consultative Commission in a democratic manner that will insure a true representation of the people is stressed, and the administering authority is asked to investigate promptly the practices complained of in the petitions with a view to ascertaining whether the methods of election which have been applied insure that the views of all sections of the

population are faithfully reflected. The administering authority is also asked to report on this investigation at the next session of the Trusteeship Council, and the Council is requested to devote to the Ewe question a special chapter or subchapter of its annual report to the sixth session of the General Assembly.

#### **Conclusion**

The Ewe question will, thus appear, again on the agenda when the eighth session of the Trusteeship Council opens on January 30. It is already possible, however, to draw certain tentative conclusions regarding the Council's treatment of the Ewe petitions. In the first place, certain restrictions and difficulties resulting from the existing frontier have been minimized, a benefit of no small value to the Ewe people. Secondly, the development by the two Governments of a joint approach to the handling of common problems is a tangible asset. This promising innovation can be further developed to the advantage of the Ewe people and might be a helpful precedent for a joint approach to the handling of similar border problems in other African territories. A third plus value, perhaps more intangible, is the fact that a large group of Africans with a common grievance have been given an opportunity to air their views before an official international forum, a fact which, in itself, should be a source of satisfaction to the Ewe people and to others interested in their case. Finally, it may be said that the international discussion of the Ewe case has revealed complexities but has helped to clarify the various issues.

The Trusteeship Council's treatment of the Ewe question is at once a measure of the Council's limitations and of its possibilities. The Council can make recommendations, but the decision as to whether these recommendations are to be carried out is in the hands of the administering authorities. The efforts of the administering authorities to meet Ewe grievances are, however, an undeniable indication of the Council's effectiveness and prestige as a forum for the expression of the international conscience.

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## FIFTH REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Summary of Action: September 19-December 15, 1950

by Elizabeth Ann Brown

The fifth regular session of the General Assembly convened September 19. On December 15, 4 items remained on the agenda: (1) intervention of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in Korea; (2) the question of Formosa; (3) complaint by the U.S.S.R. regarding aggression against China by the United States; and (4) complaint by the U.S.S.R. regarding the violation of Chinese air space by the air force of the United States and the machine-gunning and bombing of Chinese territory by that air force, and against the bombardment and illegal inspection of a merchant ship of the People's Republic of China by a military vessel of the United States. These items are now being dealt with by the First Committee (Political and Security). At the meeting of the Assembly December 15, the President indicated that when the First Committee finished its work, he would reconvene the Assembly, thus making possible completion of the agenda for the fifth session.

### PLENARY SESSIONS

#### Chinese Representation

Before the internal organization was completed, the Assembly was confronted with the difficult question of Chinese representation. In an unprecedented move, Sir B. N. Rau (India) introduced a resolution under which the Assembly would have decided that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China [*sic*] should be entitled to represent the Republic of China in the Assembly. Mr. Vyshinsky (U.S.S.R.) submitted a motion to the effect that the representatives of the Kuomintang regime could not take part in the work of the Assembly and its organs because they did not represent China and subsequently proposed that the representatives of the Chinese People's Government be invited to participate in the Gen-

eral Assembly. A third motion, introduced by Lester Pearson (Canada), provided for the establishment of a special committee of seven members to consider the question of Chinese representation and report to the Assembly after the Assembly had considered the Cuban item on the recognition of representatives of states members of the United Nations. The Indian and Soviet proposals were rejected, and the resolution submitted by Canada was adopted. On December 12 Canada, Ecuador, India, Iraq, Mexico, the Philippines, and Poland were elected to the Special Committee, which held its first meeting December 15 and adjourned subject to the call of its chairman.

#### Internal Organization

The Assembly on September 19 elected Nasrollah Entezam (Iran) President of the fifth regular session. On September 21, in successive sessions of the six main committees, their respective chairmen were chosen, and thereafter the seven vice-presidents of the Assembly, were elected. These officers who, with the President, constitute the General Committee are: the chief delegates of Australia, China, France, United Kingdom, United States, U.S.S.R., Venezuela, vice-presidents; Roberto Urdaneta (Colombia), Gustavo Gutierrez (Cuba), G. J. van Heuven Goedhart (Netherlands), Prince Wan (Thailand), Jam Saheb (India), and Vladimir Outrata (Czechoslovakia) chairmen of Committees I-VI, respectively. Dr. Victor Belaunde (Peru) was elected chairman of an *Ad Hoc* Political Committee which shared the political items on the agenda with the First Committee.

#### Adoption of Agenda

The Assembly adopted an original agenda of 70 items, and during a second series of plenary ses-

sions, October 6-7, added five items. On December 6, an item entitled "Intervention of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in Korea" was included thereby bringing the total to 76 items.

#### **Admission of Indonesia**

Indonesia was admitted by unanimous vote as the sixtieth member of the United Nations on September 28, 1950.

#### **Elections to United Nations Councils**

On September 29, the General Assembly elected Brazil and the Netherlands to the Security Council to succeed Cuba and Norway, but in 12 ballots failed to break the deadlock which had developed between Turkey and Lebanon for the seat held by Egypt. In a second series of ballots October 7, Turkey was elected, following Lebanon's withdrawal, on the fourteenth ballot. On September 29, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and Poland were reelected, and Uruguay, the Philippines, and Sweden were chosen to replace Brazil, Australia, and Denmark on the Economic and Social Council. The Dominican Republic and Thailand were elected to the Trusteeship Council September 29, the former being reelected after having filled an unexpired 1-year term, and the latter succeeding the Philippines.

#### **Appointment of the Secretary-General**

In view of the inability of the Security Council to reach agreement on the recommendation of a candidate for the post of Secretary-General, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, India, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia submitted a joint resolution according to which the Assembly would decide to continue the present Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, in office for a period of 3 years. The representative of the Soviet Union introduced a draft resolution whereby the Assembly would defer decision on the question and request the Security Council to continue consideration of the matter and submit recommendations to the Assembly, in accordance with article 97 of the Charter. The Soviet proposal for adjournment of the debate on this item was rejected 45-5-9.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-six states participated in the general debate, which began with a speech by the representative of the United States in behalf of the joint resolution and Mr. Lie and was closed by the representative of Iraq, who introduced a draft resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of seven to study the question and to report to the Assembly within 2 weeks.

<sup>1</sup> The third figure in the tabulation of votes will refer to abstentions.

The Assembly, in voting on the various proposals on November 1, first rejected the Soviet resolution by a vote of 37-9-11. The Iraqi resolution was defeated next by a vote of 35-15-7. Finally, the 15-power resolution was adopted by 46-5-8. At the next meeting, the Secretary-General stated that he regarded this vote as a reaffirmation by the Assembly of the independence and integrity of the office of the Secretary-General; Mr. Lie thus continues in office for 3 more years.<sup>2</sup>

#### **International Bureau for Declarations of Death**

The Assembly, on November 16, adopted by a vote of 38-6-13, a resolution which approves the establishment of the International Bureau for Declarations of Death under the Convention on the Declaration of Death of Missing Persons.

#### **Development of a 20-Year Program for Peace**

After personal interviews with the President of the United States, and the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, France, and the U.S.S.R. in April and May, the Secretary-General circulated to all members of the United Nations a 10-point memorandum for consideration in the development of a 20-year program for achieving peace through the United Nations and subsequently formally placed this matter on the Assembly's agenda. The 10 points were inauguration of periodic Security Council meetings, together with development and use of other United Nations machinery for conciliation; a new attempt toward establishment of international control of atomic energy; a new approach to the problem of bringing armaments under control; a renewal of efforts to reach agreement on armed forces to be made available to the Security Council under article 43 of the Charter; rapid progress toward universality of membership; technical assistance; more vigorous use of the specialized agencies; development of United Nations work for observance and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; use of the United Nations to promote the advancement of dependent, colonial, or semi-colonial peoples to a place of equality in the world; and active use of all Charter powers and all United Nations machinery to speed up development of international law.

On November 20 the Assembly, by a vote of 51-5-1, approved a resolution commending the Secretary-General for his initiative, and requesting the appropriate United Nations organs to give consideration to those points in the memorandum with which they are particularly concerned and to inform the Assembly at the sixth session of any progress achieved.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 20, 1950, p. 831.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1950, p. 907.

## Admission of New Members

The General Assembly adopted, on December 4, 1950, a resolution on new members proposed jointly by Brazil, Canada, the Philippines, Sweden, and Syria. This resolution, approved by 46-5-2, noted that the Security Council had not made recommendations for the admission of certain states (Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Jordan, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Nepal) whose membership applications were pending and requested the Council to keep the applications under consideration.

## International Control of Atomic Energy

Without prior action by a committee, the General Assembly, on December 13, approved a joint resolution on atomic energy proposed by Australia, Canada, Ecuador, France, Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States. This resolution provides for the establishment of a committee of 12, consisting of representatives of the members of the Security Council as of January 1, 1951, together with Canada, to consider and report to the next Assembly session on ways and means whereby the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments may be coordinated, and on the advisability of their functions being merged under a new and consolidated disarmament commission. In the preamble of the resolution, the Assembly recognizes the inability to achieve agreement to date in this field and recalls the plan developed in the Atomic Energy Commission and later approved by the General Assembly for the international control of atomic energy and also recalls the useful planning work carried on by the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The resolution was approved on December 13, 1950, by a vote of 47-5-3.<sup>4</sup>

## Place of Next Meeting

On December 14 the General Assembly, by a vote of 31-16-11, approved a resolution to convene the sixth regular Assembly session in Europe, with instructions for the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General to select the city most suitable for this purpose and to make the necessary arrangements.

## REPORTS OF FIRST COMMITTEE (POLITICAL AND SECURITY)

### Korea

In three plenary sessions October 6 and 7, the General Assembly took action upon the report of the First Committee (Political and Security) with respect to the problem of the independence of

Korea. At the outset, a Soviet motion to invite representatives of North and South Korea to state their views was rejected.

The eight-power resolution recommended by the First Committee was adopted by a vote of 47-5-7.<sup>5</sup>

The resolution with respect to Korea adopted by the Assembly, after preambular reference to previous actions of United Nations bodies on Korea and to the present Korean situation, (1) recommends (a) that all appropriate steps be taken to insure conditions of stability throughout Korea; (b) that all constituent acts, including the holding of elections under United Nations auspices, be taken for the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic government in the sovereign state of Korea; (c) that United Nations forces should not remain in Korea otherwise than so far as necessary for achieving these objectives; and (d) that all necessary measures be taken to accomplish the economic rehabilitation of Korea; (2) establishes a United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, consisting of Australia, Chile, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, and Thailand to represent the United Nations in bringing about the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic government of all Korea, and an interim committee composed of these states to consult with and advise the United Nations unified command; and (3) requests the Economic and Social Council, in consultation with the specialized agencies, to develop plans for relief and rehabilitation on the termination of hostilities and to report to the General Assembly within 3 weeks of the adoption of the resolution and to expedite the study of long-term measures to promote the economic development and social progress of Korea.

Pursuant to this resolution, the interim committee of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea held several meetings at New York, and the full Commission is now in Korea. The Economic and Social Council met in special session to consider the Korean relief program.

## Uniting for Peace

Following general discussion of the report of the First Committee, the Assembly on November 2 approved in substance the resolutions<sup>6</sup> recommended by that Committee after rejecting various Soviet amendments.

The first of these resolutions, which was submitted jointly by Canada, France, Philippines, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay, is divided into five sections. The resolution as a whole was adopted 52-5-2.

Section A, adopted by a vote of 52-5-1, provides that, if the Security Council, because of lack of

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 25, 1950, p. 1026.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 23, 1950, p. 648.

<sup>6</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 20, 1950, p. 823.

unanimity among the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly shall immediately consider the matter in regular or emergency special session and make appropriate recommendations to members for collective measures, including, when necessary, the use of armed force. The Assembly is authorized to meet in emergency special session within 24 hours at the request of the Security Council acting by vote of any seven members, or of a majority of the members of the United Nations.

Section B, accepted 57-0-2, provides for the establishment of a Peace Observation Commission which can observe and report on the situation in any area where there is international tension likely to endanger international peace and security. China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay were named to the Peace Observation Commission.

Section C, adopted 45-5-7, invites members to survey their resources to determine what assistance they can render in support of any recommendations of the Security Council or General Assembly for the restoration of international peace and security. It is recommended that each member maintain, within its national armed forces, elements which can be promptly made available to the United Nations on the recommendation of the Council or Assembly. Provision is also made for appointment of a panel of military experts.

Section D, approved 49-5-3, provides for the establishment of a Collective Measures Committee to study and report to the Council and Assembly by September 1, 1951 on methods and resources which can be made available to the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. The members of the Collective Measures Committee are Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, the Philippines, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Section E, which was adopted 54-0-1, urges members to respect fully and to intensify joint action in cooperation with the United Nations to develop and stimulate universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to intensify individual and collective efforts to achieve conditions of economic stability and social progress. An annex, prescribing necessary changes and additions in the Assembly's rules of procedure was adopted 51-5-2.

The Assembly then adopted, by a vote of 52-0-6, a second resolution, developed from a Soviet draft, recommending to the Security Council that it take the necessary steps to insure that action provided for under the Charter is taken with respect to matters likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and that it devise

measures for the earliest application of articles 43, 45, 46, and 47 of the Charter regarding the placing of armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council.

A third resolution, introduced by Iraq and Syria, was unanimously approved. This resolution recommends that the permanent members of the Council meet to discuss collectively or otherwise and, if necessary, with other states concerned, all problems likely to threaten international peace and hamper United Nations activities with a view to their solution.<sup>7</sup>

A Soviet resolution recommending consultation among the great powers under article 106 for the purpose of taking joint action to maintain international peace was rejected 39-5-11.

### **Peace Through Deeds; Condemnation of Propaganda Against Peace**

The action taken in the two resolutions entitled "Peace Through Deeds"<sup>8</sup> and "Condemnation of Propaganda Against Peace"<sup>9</sup> grew out of an agenda item submitted by the U.S.S.R., under the title "Declaration on the Removal of the Threat of a New War and the Strengthening of Peace and Security Among the Nations." A Soviet resolution, rejected in the First Committee and thereafter in the plenary when reintroduced, would have had the General Assembly condemn the propaganda in favor of a new war being conducted in a number of countries and urge all states to prohibit such propaganda; declare the use of the atomic weapon to be unconditionally prohibited and institute a strict system of international control; declare that the first government to use the atomic weapon or any other means for mass destruction would thereby commit a crime against humanity and should be regarded as a war criminal; and unanimously express the desire that the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China, and the U.S.S.R. should combine their efforts for peace and conclude among themselves a pact for the strengthening of peace, and that these powers should reduce their present armed forces by one-third during 1950-51, the question of a further reduction to be brought up for consideration at a forthcoming Assembly.

Following the rejection of various amendments proposed by the Soviet bloc, the Assembly, on November 17, by a vote of 50-5-1, approved the resolution "Peace Through Deeds." This resolution (1) reaffirms that, "whatever the weapons used, any aggression, whether committed openly, or by fomenting civil strife in the interest of a foreign power, or otherwise, is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security;" (2) determines that for the realization of peace and security (a)

<sup>7</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1950, p. 750.

<sup>8</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 13, 1950, p. 767.

<sup>9</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 989.

it is indispensable that "prompt united action be taken to meet aggression wherever it arises;" and (b) that every nation agree to accept effective international control of atomic energy, to strive for the control and elimination, under the United Nations, of all other weapons of mass destruction, to regulate all armaments and armed forces under a United Nations system of control and inspection with a view to their gradual reduction, and to reduce to a minimum the diversion for armaments of human and economic resources and to strive toward their development for the general welfare with due regard to underdeveloped areas; and (3) declares that these goals can be attained "if all Members of the United Nations demonstrate by their deeds their will to achieve peace."

By a vote of 49-0-7, the Assembly adopted the second resolution recommended by the First Committee, "Condemnation of Propaganda Against Peace." The resolution reaffirms previous resolutions in this general field and declares that propaganda against peace includes incitement to conflicts or acts of aggression, measures tending to isolate peoples from any contact with the world, and measures tending to silence or distort United Nations activities in favor of peace or to prevent peoples from knowing the views of other states members.

#### **Permanent Commission of Good Offices**

On November 17, the General Assembly approved a resolution according to which the question on establishing a Good Offices Commission is referred to the Interim Committee, which is to study the problem in connection with its continuing systematic examination of machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes. The resolution was approved by 45-5-3.

#### **Duties of States in the Event of the Outbreak of Hostilities**

On November 17, the Assembly acted upon the item proposed by Yugoslavia concerning duties of states in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. Two resolutions were adopted.<sup>10</sup> The first, approved by a vote of 49-5-1, recommends that if a state becomes engaged in armed conflict with another state or states, it take all steps practicable in the circumstances and compatible with the right of self-defense to bring the armed conflict to an end at the earliest possible moment and make a public statement proclaiming its readiness, provided that those with which it is in conflict will do the same, discontinue all military operations and withdraw its forces; and immediately notify the Security Council of the circumstances surrounding the conflict, invite United Nations to dispatch the Peace Observation Commission to the area, if it is not already functioning there.

<sup>10</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 993.

It further recommends that the conduct of the states concerned shall be taken into account in any determination of responsibility for the breach of peace or act of aggression; and determines that the provisions of the resolution in no way impair rights and obligations of states under the Charter nor decisions or recommendations of any competent United Nations organ.

The second resolution, also adopted by a vote of 49-5-1, refers to the International Law Commission for consideration in conjunction with matters already under study in that body, a Soviet proposal which provided, *inter alia*, that, in an international conflict, that state should be declared the attacker which first committed one of certain enumerated acts, such as declaration of war, invasion by armed forces of the territory of another state, bombardment of the territory, landing of forces, and naval blockade.

#### **Threats to the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of China**

An item on threats to peace in the Far East, proposed by China for consideration by the fourth regular session and at that time referred to the Interim Committee, came back to the Assembly at its fifth session when the Interim Committee decided not to debate the question in view of the forthcoming session and the scope of the item in the context of the existing political situation. On December 1, 1950, the Assembly approved two resolutions. The first, adopted by a vote of 35-17-7, instructs the Interim Committee to continue its inquiry and to report to the next regular session. The second resolution draws the attention of all states to the necessity of faithful compliance with the recommendations in General Assembly Resolution 291 (IV), the object of which was to promote stability of international relations in the Far East, recommending specific principles to that end, including scrupulous observance of the various treaties in force; it was approved by 39-6-14.

#### **Threats to the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of Greece**

On December 1, the General Assembly approved three resolutions on Greece. At the same time, it decisively rejected a Soviet resolution recommending the dissolution of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, the declaration of a general amnesty, the holding of universal free elections, cessation of military and political intervention in Greek affairs by the United States and the United Kingdom, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece and Albania, and between Greece and Bulgaria. It also rejected a second Soviet resolution requesting the President of the Assembly to negotiate with the Greek Government concerning the repeal of death

sentences passed by the military courts on "Greek patriots."

The first resolution, approved by a vote of 53-5-1, which concerns those members of the Greek armed forces who were captured by the Greek guerrillas and taken into countries north of Greece, recommends the repatriation of all those who so wish, calls upon the states concerned to take the necessary measures of implementation, and instructs the Secretary-General to request the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to insure liaison with the national Red Cross organizations of the states concerned, with a view to implementing the resolution.

The second resolution, adopted by 53-6-0, after reference to the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, approves the report, continues the Special Committee in being until the sixth Assembly session with the same terms of reference as previously, unless the Committee recommends to the Interim Committee its own dissolution, and authorizes the Interim Committee to act on such recommendation as it thinks proper.

The final resolution, which was approved by 50-0-5, deals with the problem of the repatriation of Greek children. It requests the Secretary-General and the International Red Cross and League of Red Cross Societies to continue their efforts in accordance with previous Assembly resolutions, urges all states harboring Greek children to make necessary arrangements for their early return to their parents, establishes a Standing Committee, composed of Peru, the Philippines, and Sweden to act in consultation with the Secretary-General, and to consult with the states concerned with a view to early repatriation of the children, and requests the Secretary-General to report to members on the progress made, the International Red Cross organizations and the Secretary-General being requested to report to the sixth session of the Assembly.

## REPORTS OF AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE

### Violation of Human Rights in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania

The General Assembly, on November 3, adopted by a vote of 40-5-12, the resolution on violation of human rights in the Balkans<sup>11</sup> recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This resolution takes note of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice with respect to this case, condemns the willful refusal of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania to fulfill their obligation under the peace treaties to appoint representatives to the treaty commissions, states the opinion that the conduct of the three Governments indicates their

<sup>11</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 27, 1950, p. 872.

awareness of the breaches of the peace treaties and their indifference to the sentiments of the world community, notes with anxiety the continued serious accusations on the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in these three states and the lack of satisfactory refutation of these accusations, and invites members of the United Nations to submit any evidence on this question to the Secretary-General, who is asked to notify members of any such information received.

### Relations of States Members and Specialized Agencies With Spain

Following general discussion of the Committee's report, the General Assembly adopted on November 4, by a vote of 38-10-12, a resolution revoking the recommendation for the withdrawal of Ambassadors and Ministers from Madrid, contained in General Assembly Resolution 39 (I) of December 12, 1946, and the recommendation intended to debar Spain from membership in international agencies established by or brought into relationship with the United Nations.<sup>12</sup>

### Former Italian Colonies

#### REPORT OF THE U. N. COMMISSIONER IN LIBYA

Acting on the basis of the above reports and referring to its decision at the fourth regular session that Libya should be constituted a united independent and sovereign state, the General Assembly, on November 17, approved by a vote of 50-0-6, the resolution recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This resolution (1) expresses confidence that the United Nations Commissioner in Libya (Adrian Pelt), with the assistance and advice of the Council for Libya, will take the necessary steps to discharge his functions toward achievement of independence and unity; (2) calls upon the authorities concerned to take all steps necessary to insure early, full, and effective implementation of the Assembly's action; (3) recommends that a National Assembly duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya shall be convened as early as possible, and before January 1, 1951, that this Assembly shall establish a provisional government, with April 1, 1951, as a target date, that powers shall be progressively transferred to the provisional government by the administering powers, and that the United Nations Commissioner, with the assistance of the Libyan Council, shall proceed immediately to draw up a program in cooperation with the administering powers for the transfer of power; (4) urges the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies, and the Secretary-General to extend to Libya such technical and financial assistance as is possible in order to establish a sound basis for economic and social progress; and (5) reaffirms its recommenda-

<sup>12</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 13, 1950, p. 772.

tion that, upon her establishment as an independent state, Libya be admitted to the United Nations.

Another aspect of this problem, having to do with the economic and financial provisions to be applied in Libya in accordance with annex XIV of the treaty of peace with Italy, was dealt with late in the session after detailed consideration by an *ad hoc* subcommittee. On December 15, the Assembly adopted three resolutions. The first, adopted by a vote of 47-5-2, provides for Libya to receive the movable and immovable property located in Libya owned by the Italian state and sets down specific conditions regarding transfer. Certain other property and assets are to be handled by special agreement on conditions to be established by agreement between Italy and Libya. A United Nations Tribunal will be set up, composed of three persons selected by the Secretary-General for their legal qualifications from nationals of three states not directly interested, which will give any necessary instructions with respect to implementation of the resolution, and which shall decide all disputes concerning its interpretation and application. The second resolution authorizes the Secretary-General to remunerate members of the Tribunal and to assign the necessary staff facilities; the vote was 49-5-2. The third resolution, adopted unanimously, refers to the fact that Libya as a result of the war has suffered extensive damages to private and public property and instructs the Secretary-General to study the problem of war damages in connection with the technical and financial assistance which Libya may request from the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies and the Secretary-General, and to report to the sixth Assembly.

#### REPORT OF U. N. COMMISSION FOR ERITREA

On December 2, 1950, the Assembly adopted, by a vote of 46-10-4, a resolution regarding the future status of Eritrea. The resolution provides that Eritrea shall constitute an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown; that the Eritrean government shall possess legislative, executive, and judicial powers in the field of domestic affairs; that the jurisdiction of the federal government shall extend to defense, foreign affairs, currency and finance, foreign and interstate commerce and external and interstate communications, including ports, the federal government having the right to impose uniform taxes throughout the Federation to meet expenses of federal functions and services; that the area of the Federation shall constitute a single area for customs purposes; that an Imperial Federal Council composed of equal numbers of Ethiopian and Eritrean representatives shall meet at least once a year to advise upon the common affairs of the Federation; that a single nationality shall prevail through the Federation; that the federal government, as well as Eritrea, shall insure to re-

sidents in Eritrea the enjoyment of enumerated human rights and fundamental liberties; that there shall be a transition period, not to extend beyond September 15, 1952, during which the Eritrean government will be organized and the Eritrean constitution prepared and put into effect; that there shall be a United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea; that during the transition the present administering authority shall continue to conduct the affairs of Eritrea and in consultation with the United Nations Commissioner prepare as rapidly as possible the organization of an Eritrean administration, making arrangements for and convoking a representative assembly of Eritreans; that the United Nations Commissioner shall, in consultation with the administering authority, Ethiopia and the inhabitants, prepare a draft of the Eritrean constitution to be based upon the principles of democratic government; that the Federal Act and the Eritrean constitution shall enter into effect following ratification of the Federal Act by the Emperor of Ethiopia; that the Commissioner shall maintain headquarters in Eritrea until the transfer of power has been completed, reporting to the Assembly concerning discharge of his functions and may consult with the Interim Committee; and that the Secretary-General is authorized to remunerate and provide for the staffing of the Commissioner's office.

A second resolution, establishing a Committee composed of the Assembly President and two Assembly vice-presidents, Australia and Venezuela, the chairman of the Fourth Committee and the chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, to nominate a candidate or if no agreement is reached candidates for the post of United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea, was approved by a vote of 45-5-6. On December 13, this Committee nominated the following candidates: Victor Hoo (Assistant Secretary-General for Trusteeship Affairs), Justice Aung Khine (Burma), and Eduardo Anze Matienzo (Bolivia). Anze Matienzo was elected.

#### DELIMITATION OF BOUNDARIES

On December 15, without debate, by a vote of 44-5-0, the General Assembly adopted a resolution defining the procedure to delimit the boundaries of the former Italian colonies. With respect to Libya, the resolution recommends that the portion of her boundary with French territory not already delimited by international agreement be delimited, upon her independence, by negotiation between the Libyan and French Governments, assisted upon request of either by a third person. With respect to the trust territory of Somaliland, it provides that any portion of her boundaries with British Somaliland, as well as with Ethiopia, not already delimited by international agreement, be delimited by bilateral negotiations between the United Kingdom Government and the administering authority in the one case, and Ethiopia and

the administering authority in the other, any differences which arise to be resolved through a mediation procedure under a United Nations mediator to be appointed by the Secretary-General and arbitration if necessary. The resolution also recommends with respect to any other boundaries not delimited by international agreement that the parties concerned seek to reach agreement by negotiation or mediation.

#### **Assistance to Palestine Refugees**

On December 2, by a vote of 46-0-6, the Assembly approved a resolution with respect to assistance to Palestine refugees.<sup>13</sup> This resolution notes that contributions sufficient to carry out the program previously authorized have not been made and urges governments to make every effort to make voluntary contributions; and recognizes that direct relief cannot be terminated now as previously provided and authorizes the Agency to continue to furnish direct relief, considering that approximately 20 million dollars will be required. It further considers that reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement, is essential; instructs the Agency to establish a reintegration fund (which for the period July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952, is set at not less than 30 million dollars); makes various arrangements for financing the program, including establishment of a negotiating committee of seven or more members to consult with members and nonmembers regarding contributions; calls upon the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies to utilize the Agency's facilities as a point of reference and coordination for technical assistance programs in the area; and expresses appreciation to the various agencies and organizations which have assisted in the relief program and to the Director and staff of the Agency and its Advisory Commission.

#### **Treatment of People of Indian Origin in Union of South Africa**

The General Assembly, on December 2, approved by a vote of 33-6-21, a resolution which recommends that India, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa proceed with a round-table conference; recommends that in the event of failure to hold such a conference before April 1, 1951, or to reach agreement in such conference within a reasonable time, there shall be established to assist the parties a commission of three members, one to be nominated by the Union Government, another by India and Pakistan, and the third by the other two members, or in default of agreement by the Secretary-General; calls upon the governments concerned to refrain from action prejudicial to the success of their negotiations, in particular

implementation or enforcement by the Union Government of the "Group Areas Act"; and includes this item in the next session's agenda.

#### **Report of the Security Council**

The Assembly, in accordance with its usual practice, by a vote of 45-0-6, took note of the report of the Security Council.

#### **Question of an International Regime for Jerusalem**

The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee recommended the adoption of a resolution which would instruct four persons, to be appointed by the Trusteeship Council, to study, in consultation with the Governments at present in *de facto* control of the Holy Places and with the other states, authorities and religious bodies concerned, "the conditions of a settlement capable of ensuring the effective protection, under the supervision of the United Nations, of the Holy Places and of spiritual and religious interests in the Holy Land;" and would invite them to report to the next Assembly. However, when the matter came before the plenary meeting on December 15, the recommended resolution failed to receive the required two-thirds majority, the vote being 30-18-9.

#### **Recognition of Representation of a Member State**

The item on representation was placed on the agenda by Cuba with the thought in mind that it would be desirable for the United Nations to adopt criteria by which it might be possible to reach a uniform and practical settlement of the problem of representation on the various organs and organizations of the United Nations of countries of which two or more authorities claimed to be the only regular government. A subcommittee reported out a resolution setting up criteria to be included among factors to be taken into account in determining the question of representation, but was rejected in the full committee. On December 14, the General Assembly, by a vote of 36-6-9, adopted the resolution recommended by the Committee, together with an amendment proposed by Egypt. This resolution, as amended, after preambular references to the desirability of uniformity in the procedure applicable whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a member, and a statement that the Assembly, by virtue of its composition, is the organ of the United Nations in which consideration can best be given to this matter, recommends (1) that whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a member and the question becomes the subject of controversy, it should be considered in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case; (2) that when such question arises it should be first considered in the Assembly,

<sup>13</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1951, p. 78.

or if it is not in session, in the Interim Committee, and that the attitude adopted by the Assembly or Interim Committee should be taken into account in other United Nations bodies; (3) declares that the attitude adopted by the Assembly or Interim Committee shall not affect the direct relations of individual members with the state concerned; and (4) requests the Secretary-General to transmit the resolution to other organs of the United Nations and to the specialized agencies for such action as may be appropriate.

### Repatriation of Palestine Refugees

Following the rejection of a Soviet proposal, by a vote of 48-5-1, which would have terminated the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, and rejection of several Soviet amendments to the resolution recommended by the Committee, the General Assembly, on December 14, adopted a resolution dealing with Palestine refugees. The resolution refers to the report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, notes with concern that agreement has not been reached between the parties on the final settlement of the questions outstanding and that repatriation, resettlement, economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees, and the payment of

compensation have not been effected, and recognizes that, in the interests of peace and stability of the Near East, the refugee question should be dealt with as a matter of urgency. The operative part of the resolution urges the governments and authorities concerned to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Commission or directly, with a view to final settlement of the questions outstanding; directs the Commission to establish an office to make such arrangements as necessary for assessment and payment of compensation pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 194 (III), work out arrangements for implementation of other objectives of that resolution, and continue consultation with the parties regarding measures for protection of the rights, property, and interests of the refugees; and calls upon the governments concerned to undertake measures to insure that refugees, whether repatriated or resettled, will be treated without any discrimination. This resolution was approved by a vote of 48-5-4.

*This article was prepared by Elizabeth Ann Brown, who is a Foreign Affairs officer, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, Department of State.*

EDITOR'S NOTE: Part II will appear in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

## Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea

U.N. doc. A/1595  
Adopted Dec. 1, 1950

### A.

The General Assembly,

HAVING REGARD to its resolution of 7 October 1950 on the problem of the independence of Korea.

HAVING RECEIVED and considered a report of the Economic and Social Council submitted in accordance with that resolution,

MINDFUL that the aggression by North Korean forces and their warfare against the United Nations seeking to restore peace in the area has resulted in great devastation and destruction which the Korean people cannot themselves repair,

RECOGNIZING that as a result of such aggression the people of Korea are desperately in need of relief supplies and materials and help in reconstructing their economy.

DEEPLY MOVED by the sufferings of the Korean people and determined to assist in their alleviation.

CONVINCED that the creation of a United Nations programme of relief and rehabilitation for Korea is necessary both to the maintenance of lasting peace in the area and to the establishment of the economic foundations for the building of a unified and independent nation,

CONSIDERING that, under the said resolution of 7 October 1950, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is the principal representative of the United Nations in Korea and hence must

share in the responsibility for the work undertaken by the United Nations in furtherance of the objects and purposes mentioned in the said resolution,

CONSIDERING that it is nevertheless desirable to set up a special authority with broad powers to plan and supervise rehabilitation and relief and to assume such functions and responsibilities related to planning and supervision, to technical and administrative matters, and to questions affecting organization and implementation as are to be exercised under the plans for relief and rehabilitation approved by the General Assembly, such authority to carry out its responsibilities in close cooperation with the Commission.

*A. Establishment of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea*

1. *Establishes* the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) under the direction of a United Nations Agent General, who shall be assisted by one or more deputies. The Agent General shall be responsible to the General Assembly for the conduct (in accordance with the policies established by the General Assembly, and having regard to such general policy recommendations as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea may make) of the programme of relief and rehabilitation in Korea, as that programme may be determined from time to time by the General Assembly;

2. *Authorizes* the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea :

(a) To recommend to the Agent General such policies concerning the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency's programme and activities as the Commission may consider necessary for the effective discharge of the Commission's responsibilities in relation to the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in Korea ;

(b) To determine, after consultation with the Agent General, the geographical areas within which the Agency shall operate at any time ;

(c) To designate authorities in Korea with which the Agent General may establish relationships; and to advise the Agent General on the nature of such relationships ;

(d) To take such steps as may be needed to support the Agent General in fulfilling his task in accordance with the policies established by the General Assembly for relief and rehabilitation ;

(e) To consider the reports of the Agent General to the General Assembly and to transmit any comments thereon to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly ;

(f) To call for information on those aspects of the work of the Agent General which the Commission may consider necessary for the proper performance of its work ;

3. *Authorizes* the Commission to consult from time to time with the Agent General in regard to the provisional programme adopted by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council and especially with regard to the adequacy of that programme to meet the needs of Korea as defined in the statement of general policy, and to make recommendations thereon to the Economic and Social Council ;

4. *Directs* the Agent General :

(a) To co-ordinate his programme with measures taken by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly relating to the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in Korea, and to support the Commission in fulfilling this task ;

(b) To commence the operation of the programme in Korea at such time as may be agreed upon by the United Nations Unified Command, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the Agent General ;

(c) To consult with and generally be guided by the advice of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea on the matters set forth under paragraph 2 (a) and be governed by its advice on the matters covered in paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c) ;

5. *Further directs* the Agent General, in the carrying out of his operational functions :

(a) To ascertain, after consultation with the designated authorities in Korea, the requirements for supplies and services for relief and rehabilitation made necessary by the consequences of armed conflict in Korea ;

(b) To provide for the procurement and shipment of supplies and services and for their effective distribution and utilization within Korea ;

(c) To consult with and assist the appropriate authorities in Korea with respect to measures necessary for the rehabilitation of the Korean economy and the effective distribution and utilization within Korea of supplies and services furnished ;

(d) To submit reports to the General Assembly through the Secretary-General, transmitting copies simultaneously to the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and to the Economic and Social Council ;

(e) To be guided in matters of administration, to the

extent consistent with the special requirements of the programme, by the rules and regulations established for the operation of the Secretariat of the United Nations ; Specifically he shall :

(1) Select and appoint his staff in accordance with general arrangements made in agreement with the Secretary-General, including such of the staff rules and regulations of the United Nations as the Agent General and the Secretary-General shall agree are applicable ;

(2) Utilize, wherever appropriate, and within budgetary limitations, the existing facilities of the United Nations ;

(3) Establish, in consultation with the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, and in agreement with the Advisory Committee established under paragraph 6 below, financial regulations for the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency ;

(4) Arrange, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, for the rendering and audit of the accounts of the Agency under procedures similar to those applicable to the rendering and audit of the accounts of the United Nations ;

6. *Establishes* an Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of . . . (five Member States) to advise the Agent General with regard to major financial, procurement distribution and other economic problems pertaining to his planning and operations. The Committee shall meet on the call of the Agent General but not less than four times a year. The meetings of the Committee shall be held at the Headquarters of the United Nations except in special circumstances, when the Committee, after consultation with the Agent General, may meet elsewhere if it deems that this would be essential to the proper performance of its work. The Committee shall determine its own methods of work and rules of procedure ;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General, after consulting the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the Advisory Committee to appoint the United Nations Agent General for Korean Reconstruction, and authorizes the Agent General to appoint one or more Deputy Agents General in consultation with the Secretary-General ;

8. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to establish a special account to which should be credited all contributions in cash, kind or services, the resources credited to the account to be used exclusively for the programme of relief and rehabilitation and administrative expenses connected therewith ; and directs the Secretary-General to make cash withdrawals from the account upon request of the Agent General. The Agent General is authorized to use contributions in kind or services at his discretion ;

9. *Recommends* that the Agent General in carrying out his functions :

(a) Make use at his discretion of facilities, services and personnel that may be available to him through existing national and international agencies and organizations both governmental and non-governmental ;

(b) Consult with the Secretary-General and the heads of the specialized agencies before appointing his principal subordinate personnel in their respective fields of competence ;

(c) Make use of the advice and technical assistance of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and, where appropriate, request them to undertake specific projects and special tasks either at their own expense or with funds made available by the Agent General ;

(d) Maintain close contact with the Secretary-General for the purpose of ensuring fullest co-ordination of efforts of the organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in support of the programme ;

10. *Authorizes* the Agent General to enter into agreements with such authorities in Korea as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea may designate, containing terms and conditions governing measures affecting the distribution and utiliza-

tion in Korea of the supplies and services furnished, in accordance with the statement of general policy on Korean relief and rehabilitation contained in section B of the present resolution;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to make available to the maximum extent possible, and subject to appropriate financial arrangements, such facilities, advice and services as the Agent General may request;

12. *Requests* the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to make available to the maximum extent possible, and subject to appropriate financial arrangements, such facilities, advice and services as the Agent General may request;

13. *Requests* the Economic and Social Council to review the reports of the Agent General and any comments which the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea may submit thereon, and such other data as may be available on the progress of relief and rehabilitation in Korea and to make appropriate reports and recommendations thereon to the General Assembly;

14. *Calls upon* all Governments, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations, pending the beginning of operations by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, to continue to furnish through the Secretary-General such assistance for the Korean people as may be requested by the Unified Command;

15. *Invites* countries not Members of the United Nations to participate in financing the programme of relief and rehabilitation in Korea;

#### *B. Statement of general policy on relief and rehabilitation in Korea*

16. *Approves* the following statement of general policy:

1. The United Nations programme of relief and rehabilitation in Korea is necessary to the restoration of peace and the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in Korea.

2. To this end, it is the objective of the United Nations to provide, subject to the limit of the resources placed at its disposal for this purpose, relief and rehabilitation supplies, transport and services, to assist the Korean people to relieve the sufferings and to repair the devastation caused by aggression, and to lay the necessary economic foundations for the political unification and independence of the country.

3. The United Nations programme of relief and rehabilitation for Korea shall be carried out in practice in such a way as to contribute to the rapid restoration of the country's economy in conformity with the national interests of the Korean people, having in view the strengthening of the economic and political independence of Korea and having in view that, in accordance with the general principles of the United Nations, such assistance must not serve as a means for foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of Korea and must not be accompanied by any conditions of a political nature.

4. The United Nations programme is to be a supplement to the general recovery effort that will be undertaken by the Korean people on their own initiative and responsibility, through the most effective utilization of their own resources as well as of the aid which is rendered under the programme.

5. Whilst the programme should be consistent with the pattern of long-term economic development in Korea, it is itself necessarily limited to relief and rehabilitation, and contributions and supplies furnished under this programme shall be used exclusively for that purpose.

6. First priority shall be given to the provision of the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter for the population of Korea and measures to prevent epidemics. Second highest priority shall be given to projects which will yield early results in the indigenous production of basic necessities; this will include the reconstruction of transport and power facilities. As the programme de-

velops, emphasis should be shifted to the provision of other materials, supplies and equipment for the reconstruction or replacement of war-damaged facilities necessary to the economic life of the country.

7. The necessary measures shall be taken to ensure that distribution shall be so conducted that all classes of the population shall receive their equitable shares of essential commodities without discrimination as to race, creed or political belief.

8. Subject to adequate control, the distribution of supplies shall be carried out, as appropriate, through public and co-operative organizations, through non-profit-making voluntary organizations such as the Red Cross and through normal channels of private trade. At the same time, measures shall be taken to ensure that the cost of distribution and the profit from the sale of supplies are kept to the minimum. Measures shall be taken to ensure that the special needs of refugees and other distressed groups of the population are met through appropriate public welfare programmes, and accordingly the sale of relief supplies will take place only in justifiable cases and under conditions agreed upon with the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

9. The local currency proceeds derived from the sale of relief and rehabilitation supplies or, at the discretion of the Agent General, an amount commensurate with the value of goods and services supplied, shall be paid into an account under the control of the Agent General. The Agent General, after consultation with the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and in agreement with the Advisory Committee referred to in paragraph 6 of Section A of the present resolution, shall use these funds for appropriate additional relief and rehabilitation activities within Korea, for the local currency expenses of the relief and rehabilitation operations of the United Nations, or for measures to combat inflation. The proceeds shall not be used for any other purpose.

10. The necessary economic and financial measures shall be taken by the authorities in Korea to ensure that the resources provided under the United Nations programme, as well as Korean resources, are effectively employed to aid in laying the economic foundations of the country. Among these, special attention should be given to measures to combat inflation, to sound fiscal and monetary policies, to the requisite pricing, rationing and allocation controls (including the pricing of goods imported under the programme), to the prudent use of Korean foreign exchange resources together with promotion of exports, and to the efficient management of government enterprise.

11. Import taxes shall not be imposed on relief and rehabilitation supplies received under the United Nations programme.

12. The authorities in Korea should maintain such records and make such reports on the receipt, distribution and use of relief and rehabilitation supplies as may be determined by the Agent General after consultation with them.

13. All authorities in Korea shall freely permit the personnel of the United Nations to supervise the distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies, including the examination of all storage and distribution facilities as well as records.

14. The personnel of the United Nations shall be accorded within Korea the privileges, immunities and facilities necessary for the fulfilment of their function.

15. All authorities in Korea and the Secretary-General shall use their best efforts to inform the people of Korea of the sources and purposes of the contributions of funds, supplies and services.

16. In determining Korea's needs for relief and rehabilitation, in drawing up programmes and plans, and in implementing such programmes and plans, the Agency created to administer the relief and rehabilitation programme should consult with and utilize, to the greatest extent feasible, the services of Korean authorities.

## The General Assembly

1. *Requests* the President to appoint a Negotiating Committee composed of seven or more members for the purpose of consulting, as soon as possible during the current session of the General Assembly, with Member and non-member States as to the amounts which Governments may be willing to contribute towards the financing of the programme for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea;

2. *Authorizes* the Negotiating Committee to adopt procedures best suited to the accomplishment of its task, bearing in mind:

(a) The need for securing the maximum contribution in cash;

(b) The desirability of ensuring that any contribution in kind is of a nature which meets the requirements of the contemplated programmes; and

(c) The degree of assistance which can be rendered by specialized agencies, non-member States and other contributors;

3. *Requests* that, as soon as the Negotiating Committee has ascertained the extent to which Member States are willing to make contributions, all delegations be notified accordingly by the Secretary-General in order that they may consult with their Governments;

4. *Decides* that, as soon as the Negotiating Committee has completed its work, the Secretary-General shall, at the Committee's request, arrange, during the current session of the General Assembly, an appropriate meeting of Member and non-member States at which Members may commit themselves to their national contributions and the contributions of non-members may be made known.

\* \* \*

In accordance with the terms of the above resolution, the President of the General Assembly, at the 318th plenary meeting on 4 December 1950, announced that he had appointed a Negotiating Committee. The following States Members were appointed: Canada, Egypt, France, India, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Uruguay.

## Executive Order 10195 Designating Korea and Adjacent Waters as Combat Zone<sup>1</sup>

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 22 (b) (13) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended by section 202 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1950, approved September 23, 1950 (Public Law 814, 81st Congress), there is hereby designated, for the purposes of paragraph (13) of section 22 (b) of the Internal Revenue Code, as an area in which armed forces of the United States have engaged in combat:

Korea, including the waters adjacent thereto within the following-described limits: From a point at Lat. 39°30' N, Long. 122°45' E southward to Lat. 33° N, Long. 122°45' E; thence eastward to Lat. 33° N, Long. 127°55' E; thence northeastward to Lat. 37°05' N, Long. 133° E; thence northward to Lat. 40°40' N, Long. 133° E; thence northwestward to a point on the east coast of Korea at the juncture of Korea with the U. S. S. R.

The date of the commencing of combatant activities in such area is hereby designated as June 27, 1950.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
December 20, 1950.

<sup>1</sup> 15 Fed. Reg. 9177.

## Communiqués Regarding Korea to the Security Council

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander in Chief of United Nations command, has transmitted communiqués regarding Korea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the following United Nations document numbers: S/1919, November 29; S/1920, November 30; S/1924, December 1; S/1927, December 5; S/1929, December 6; S/1931, December 7; S/1935, December 8; S/1938, December 12; S/1939, December 12; S/1940, December 13; S/1941, December 14; S/1944, December 15; S/1945, December 19; S/1946, December 19; S/1949, December 19; S/1951, December 21; S/1954, December 28; S/1955, December 28; S/1956, December 28; S/1957, December 26.

## Cooperation Among Free World in Controlling Scarce Materials

*Statement by France, U.K., and U.S.*

*[Released to the press January 12]*

In recent weeks representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France have given consideration to ways and means of bringing about cooperation among the countries of the free world to increase the production and availability of materials in short supply and to assure their most effective use.

Work in the field of materials has been going forward for several months in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and, more recently, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization of American States (OAS). The OEEC in particular has made valuable studies of the growing problems of scarce materials and has recommended the calling of appropriate international conferences to deal with them.

The events of the last few weeks have made these problems of even greater urgency. They have also made it clear that commodity problems cannot be dealt with on a regional basis but must take account of the needs and interests of the whole of the free world. Continuing international machinery is needed through which all of the interested governments of the free world, whether or not they are members of the OEEC, NATO, or OAS organizations, can cooperate in the solution of commodity shortages which are worldwide in scope and effect.

Accordingly, the three Governments have agreed that proposals should be made to other interested governments for the creation of a number

of standing international commodity groups, representing the governments of producing and consuming countries throughout the free world which have a substantial interest in the commodities concerned. These commodity groups would consider and recommend to governments the specific action which should be taken, in the case of each commodity, in order to expand production, increase availabilities, conserve supplies, and assure the most effective distribution and utilization of supplies among consuming countries.

Early action is called for with respect to certain commodities. The Government of the United States has therefore agreed to send invitations immediately to other interested friendly governments for the establishment of certain of the

commodity groups referred to above. Others can be created as the needs of the free world require. Also, the three Governments will establish immediately in Washington a temporary central group to provide a servicing mechanism for the standing commodity groups. There will be early consultations with interested governments and appropriate international organizations with respect to the continuing functions and membership of the central group.

The new international arrangements on materials which are now proposed will, of course, be greatly assisted by the contributions in this field of the OEEC, the NATO, the OAS, and the several existing international commodity organizations.

## Providing Foodstuffs for Yugoslavia

### AGREEMENT SIGNED AT BELGRADE

[Released to the press January 8]

*There follows the text of an agreement signed at Belgrade on January 6, 1951, by United States Ambassador George V. Allen and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Edvard Kardelj regarding the provision of foodstuffs by the United States Government to the Yugoslav people in accordance with the provisions of the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950.*

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia having heretofore agreed on the terms and conditions under which initial shipments of food would be made to Yugoslavia to meet the immediate emergency resulting from the recent drought;

Desiring to set forth understandings which will govern the furnishing of additional relief assistance pursuant to the authority of the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950 have agreed as follows:

#### Article I

1. The Government of the United States of America will, subject to the provisions of the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950, furnish assistance to the people of Yugoslavia by making available such assistance as may be authorized by the Government of the United States of America.

#### Article II

1. The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia recognize that it is in their mutual interest that full publicity be given to the objectives and progress of the assistance being rendered pursuant to this agreement and that all pertinent information be made available to the people of Yugoslavia. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will encourage the dissemination of such information by giving full and continuous publicity through the press, radio, and all other available media in Yugoslavia to the assistance furnished by the United States Government pur-

suant to this agreement, and will allow to the United States Government, in cooperation with the Yugoslav Government, the use of such media as may be required to accomplish this purpose.

2. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will permit and facilitate in every way the freedom of representatives of the Government of the United States of America, duly designated for this purpose by the United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia, without restriction, to observe, supervise and report on the receipt and distribution in Yugoslavia of commodities and other assistance made available pursuant to this agreement, and to cooperate fully with them by permitting them to have full access to communication and information facilities. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will grant to representatives of the United States press full freedom to observe and report on the receipt and distribution of commodities and other assistance made available pursuant to this agreement.

3. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will make available to the Government of the United States of America such amounts, in dinars, as may be required by the Government of the United States of America to meet its expenses in Yugoslavia in connection with the administration and operation of the program of assistance provided pursuant to this agreement.

4. Commodities and other assistance made available pursuant to this agreement and similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources will be distributed equitably among the people of Yugoslavia without discrimination as to race or political or religious belief.

5. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will, when any dinar proceeds are realized from the sale of commodities made available pursuant to the authority of the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950 including flour shipped from Germany and Italy, use an equivalent amount of dinars to provide relief to needy persons and to children for charitable and medical purposes or for such other purposes as may be mutually agreed to by the two Governments.

6. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will take all appropriate economic measures to reduce its relief needs, to encourage increased production and distribution of foodstuffs within Yugoslavia, and to lessen the danger of future conditions of food shortage similar to the present emergency.

#### *Article III*

The Government of the United States of America reserves the right at any time to terminate its assistance to Yugoslavia made available pursuant to this agreement, including termination of deliveries of all supplies scheduled but not yet delivered.

#### *Article IV*

This Agreement shall take effect on the day of its signature.

Done at Belgrade, in duplicate, in the English, and Serbo-Croat languages, this sixth day of January 1951.

## **Point 4 Agreement With Costa Rica**

*[Released to the press January 11]*

Costa Rica today became the fourth Latin American country to conclude a Point 4 general agreement with the United States. At San José, Foreign Minister Mario Echandi and United States Chargé d'Affaires Andrew E. Donovan II signed the agreement which will assure continued technical cooperation between the two nations. The United States has previously concluded agreements with Panama, Paraguay, and Nicaragua, in addition to a number of countries outside the Western Hemisphere.

In announcing the signing, Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett called attention to three technical cooperation projects already in existence with Costa Rica under authority of earlier legislation. He said the Technical Cooperation Administration has also approved a fourth project, which will soon be in operation.

Of the existing projects, two are being carried out by the Department of Agriculture; one by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. Five Department of Agriculture technicians are working with Costa Rican experts in increasing the rubber supply of the American Republic. Two research experts—one a plant pathologist, the other a rural sociologist—are also representing the Department of Agriculture.

Eight technicians from the Institute of Inter-American Affairs are working with 22 extension offices throughout Costa Rica, advising on problems of irrigation and drainage; insect and disease control; and soil, crop, and livestock improvement.

The project, soon to begin, will also make use of the services of the Institute. The Costa Rican Government plans to establish a health mission designed to introduce new measures of health and sanitation to residents of rural areas. Now an agency of Point 4, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs has been working at technical cooperation with Latin America since 1942.

## **VOA To Broadcast in Finnish**

*[Released to the press December 29]*

The Voice of America will begin a daily 15-minute broadcast in Finnish, starting January 1, the Department of State announced today.

The initial program will include the New Year's Day messages of President Truman and Secretary Acheson; special messages by Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs; and George W. Perkins, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs; and a special New Year's message in Finnish by the Rev. Arvi H. Saarisuu, minister of the Harlem Finnish Lutheran Church. The January second program will contain an interview with the Finnish Trade Union delegation, and subsequent programs will consist of American press opinion on topics of interest to Finnish listeners, news commentaries, discussions of American life and the American scene, interviews with Americans of Finnish descent, and a request program based on questions submitted by Finnish listeners.

The program will be broadcast shortwave from the United States on three frequencies from 1:30 to 1:45 p.m., e.s.t., which will be picked up and recorded in London for rebroadcast on BBC facilities on three frequencies from 2:15 to 2:30 p.m., e.s.t. (9:15 to 9:30 p.m. Finnish time).

The Finnish program will be the immediate responsibility of Henry Arnold, who has just returned from Finland after serving 5 years as the United States Public Affairs Officer at Helsinki. The addition of Finnish will increase to 26 the number of languages utilized by the Voice of America in its world-wide broadcasting service.

Also, on January 1, the Voice of America will increase its Arabic language broadcast from 30 minutes to 1 hour daily.

## **U.S. Military Training Mission To Advise Liberian Government**

*[Released to the press January 11]*

Upon the request of the Liberian Government, the United States Government has agreed to furnish Liberia with a United States military training mission. The agreement covering this mission was signed today by both Governments at Washington.

The purpose of this mission is to cooperate with the Armed Forces authorities and personnel of Liberia in the training and organization of these forces and to advise and assist the Armed Forces of Liberia on any matter with a view to enhancing the efficiency of these forces in maintaining internal security.

Secretary Acheson represented the United States Government, and Secretary of State Gabriel L. Dennis, who headed the Special Liberian Commission which negotiated the agreement, represented the Government of Liberia at the signing ceremony in the Department of State.

Present at the signing were C. D. B. King, Liberian Ambassador to the United States, and the following members of the Liberian Special Commission which negotiated the agreement: C. Abayomi Cassell, Attorney General of Liberia; Charles B. Sherman, Liberian Government Economist; and Mrs. Mai Padmore, Secretary to the Commission.

Also present were George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs; James C. Evans, Civilian Assistant to the Secretary of Defense; Brig. Gen. B. O. Davis, USA, Ret.; Col. James H. Robinson, USA; and Col. West A. Hamilton, USA, Ret.

## U.S. and France Conclude Consultation on Civil Aviation

[Released to the press December 26]

The Department of State and the French Foreign Office announced today that a French delegation, of which Fernand Hederer, Secretary General of Civil Aviation, Ministry of Transport, was chairman, and a delegation of the United States, headed by Walter A. Radius, Director, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State, had concluded on December 22 a formal consultation on civil aviation matters connected with the Franco-American air transport agreement.

Agreement was reached on a basis for the preparation of statistics relevant to the problem of relating capacity to the traffic demand which will be considered when the consultations are resumed in Paris during the latter part of January. Arrangements were made for future closer consultation and collaboration on mutual problems. The two delegations also agreed upon an amendment of the disputes article of the bilateral air transport agreement. This amendment was suggested by the French delegation and will bring the article into line with current practice.

The chairmen of both delegations expressed their satisfaction at the cordial and frank spirit of cooperation which governed the discussions. They expressed their conviction that although problems would inevitably arise in connection with the growing aviation industry, cooperation in the spirit of the joint French-United States interest in the development of sound international carriers by both countries would assure mutually satisfactory solutions.

## New Tariff Quotas on Imports of Crude Oils

[Released to the press December 29]

The new tariff quota which will be applicable to imports of crude oil, topped crude, and fuel oil beginning January 1, 1951, has, today, been allocated by Presidential Proclamation as follows: Venezuela 59.4 percent, the Netherlands (including overseas territories) 18.7 percent, all other countries 21.9 percent.

As a result of the termination of the trade agreement with Mexico, effective December 31, 1950, taxable imports of crude oil, topped crude oil, and fuel oil in 1951 will be taxed at the rate of 10½ cents a barrel in the case of imports not in excess of 5 percent of the crude runs to stills in the United States during 1950. Taxable imports in excess of the 5 percent quota will be taxed at the rate of 21 cents a barrel. It is the low duty imports to which the allocations apply.

The quantity of crude oil processed in the United States in 1950 against which the quota will be calculated will be announced by the Treasury Department after determination by the Department of the Interior. A forecast in November by the Bureau of Mines estimated that the crude runs to stills in the United States in 1950 will be slightly in excess of 2 billion barrels. It is estimated that roughly one-third of the taxable imports in 1951 of the products covered will be within the quota allowed and thus qualify for the 10½ cent rate. More than half of the total will be at the new high rate of 21 cents. The remainder is for government purchase or for use as bunkers of ships and therefore tax free.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

Authorizing Credits to Certain Public Agencies of the United States for Costs of Construction and Operation and Maintenance of Flood Protective Levee Systems Along or Adjacent to the Lower Colorado River in Arizona, California, and Lower California, Mexico. S. R. 2240, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 1140] 12 pp.

Protecting the National Security of the United States by Permitting the Summary Suspension of Employment of Civilian Officers and Employees of Various Departments and Agencies of the Government. S. R. 2158, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 7439] 9 pp.

Authorizing the President To Invite the States of the Union and Foreign Countries To Participate in the First United States International Trade Fair, To Be Held at Chicago, Ill., August 7 through 20, 1950. S. R. 2163, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 453] 2 pp.

Annex to International Telecommunication Convention—Telegraph Regulations (Paris Revision, 1949) and Final Protocol. S. Ex. R. 9, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 9 pp.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### United States Delegations to International Conferences

#### Inter-American Commission of Women

The Department of State announced on January 13 that the Inter-American Commission of Women will hold, on January 15, the first in a series of three regional seminars to study the civil, political, economic and social, and educational status of women in the Western Hemisphere. The United States Government will be represented at the first seminar covering the Central American region, to be held at San Salvador, by the following delegation:

##### *Chairman*

Miss Mary M. Cannon, chief, International Division, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor; and United States delegate, Inter-American Commission of Women

##### *Delegates*

Mrs. Lou Nora Spiller Axelrod, assistant United States attorney, Houston, Texas

Mrs. Gladys Dorris Barber, former member, Governor's Commission on Child Labor, Annapolis, Maryland, and former President, League of Women Voters in the State of Maryland; Lima, Peru

Miss Maria Socorro Lacot, supervisor of home economics, Division of Vocational Education, Department of Education, San Juan, Puerto Rico

The first seminar will serve as a working model for the two following seminars. With respect to problems relating to the civil status of women, the first seminar will make an analysis of the civil rights of women as set forth in the statutes of various countries, as well as ways in which those statutes may be improved. The contribution of women to the political and administrative life of America and the participation of women in political parties are among the political subjects to be discussed. In its study of the economic and social status of women, the Seminar will concentrate on the problems of women workers, in particular, farm workers, industrial workers, professional workers, government employees in private industry, and domestic workers. Stress will be placed on the questions of protecting women workers against discrimination on the ground of sex, of

providing maternity protection, and of providing such services as clinics, maternity centers, nursery schools, and kindergartens. Among the topics related to the education of women which the Seminar will consider are: the fight against illiteracy of women; the vocational, technical and professional training of women; civic education; aesthetic education; and the training of women for family life. In connection with its work in each of the four basic topics, the Seminar will formulate recommendations to the Inter-American Commission of Women regarding measures to be adopted for the improvement of the status of women.

The Inter-American Commission of Women is a permanent intergovernmental body organized pursuant to a resolution of the Sixth International Conference of American States at Habana in 1928. It is composed of representatives of the 21 American Republics, and its secretariat is located at the Pan American Union in Washington. The present chairman of the Commission is Amalia de Castillo Ledon of Mexico.

#### Freedom of Information

On January 13, the Department of State announced that the Committee on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information will convene at Lake Success on January 15 pursuant to a United Nations General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1950. The United States delegation is as follows:

##### *United States Representative*

Carroll Binder, editorial editor, *Minneapolis Tribune*

##### *Deputy United States Representative*

Samuel de Palma, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

##### *Advisers*

Herzel Plaine, special assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice

Marjorie M. Whiteman, acting assistant legal adviser for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

The Committee, composed of 15 member governments, has been requested to prepare a draft

convention on freedom of information, taking into consideration the draft approved by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information and of the Press held at Geneva in March-April 1948; the text voted during the second part of the third session of the General Assembly at Lake Success in April-May 1949; article 14 of the provisional text of the draft of the First International Covenant on Human Rights; and the observations contained in the summary records of the General Assembly's Third Committee dealing with the question. The Committee has been requested also to report to the thirteenth session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, scheduled to be held at Geneva in July 1951, on the results of its work and to submit recommendations regarding the advisability of convening a conference of plenipotentiaries with a view to the framing and signature of a formal convention on freedom of information.

Prior to the convening of the meeting, a discussion of the interests and position of the United States will be held at the United States mission to the United Nations on January 13. Approximately 15 people, leaders in the field of press, radio and motion pictures, have been invited to attend. Howland H. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs; Walter Kotschnig, Director, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, and Samuel de Palma will participate in the discussion for the United States Government.

## **Protocol on Control of Narcotic Drugs Proclaimed**

*[Released to the press January 10]*

The President today proclaimed the protocol, signed at Paris under date of November 19, 1948, bringing under international control drugs outside the scope of the convention of July 13, 1931, for limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs, as amended by the protocol signed at Lake Success under date of December 11, 1946. The protocol of 1948 entered into force with respect to certain countries, not including the United States, on December 1, 1949, pursuant to article 6 thereof which provides for entry into force upon the expiration of 30 days following the day on which 25 or more states have signed it without reservation or accepted it in accordance with article 5, provided that such states shall include five of the following: China, Czechoslovakia, France, Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States, and Yugoslavia.

The United States Senate, on July 6, 1950, gave its advice and consent to ratification of the proto-

col, and the protocol was ratified by the President on August 7, 1950. An instrument of ratification was deposited on behalf of the United States on August 11, 1950, and the United States became a party to the protocol, pursuant to article 7 thereof, on September 11, 1950, upon the expiration of 30 days following such deposit, which constituted acceptance.

The 1931 convention to which the United States is a party and to which the 1948 protocol refers, enlarged the area of narcotics control by limiting the world manufacture of certain narcotic drugs to the world's medical and scientific needs and by limiting in each country party thereto the accumulation of stocks of such drugs. Discoveries in the field of synthetic drugs, modern pharmacology, and chemistry have made the existing control system in effective in some respects. The 1948 protocol will make an essential contribution to effective international control of the traffic in narcotics by limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution not only of existing deleterious drugs which fall outside the scope of the 1931 convention but also of any future drug of that character as well.

## **Policy Group To Consider U.S. Positions for ITU Meeting**

*[Released to the press January 12]*

A special *ad hoc* policy group consisting of James E. Webb, Under Secretary of State; Robert A. Lovett, Deputy Secretary of Defense; and Wayne Coy, chairman, Federal Communications Commission, has been established to consider the basic policy positions which the United States should take with respect to the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference of the International Telecommunication Union scheduled for August 1951, at Geneva and make suitable recommendations to the Department of State.

The Geneva Conference is the next step in the course of implementing the Radio Frequency Allocation Table adopted at the Atlantic City International Radio Conference in 1947. This involves various radio services such as fixed, international broadcast, maritime, and aeronautical. While considerable preparatory work has been under way through the medium of government-industry radio committees under the guidance of the Department of State, there still remain certain policy questions which fall within the sphere of higher government policy level authorities.

This policy group has designated Walter A. Radius, director, Office of Transport and Communications Policy, Department of State; Maj. Gen. H. M. McClelland, USAF, director, Communications-Electronics, Joint Chiefs of Staff,

Department of Defense; and Commissioner E. M. Webster, Federal Communications Commission, to act as their alternates to carry out this assignment and report to them as appropriate. Furthermore, the policy group and their alternates will be assisted in this work by several outstanding independent experts of recognized competence who will serve as consultants.

Thus far, E. K. Jett, a former commissioner with the Federal Communications Commission, now vice-president and director of television for some Baltimore papers, and Haraden Pratt, vice president, commercial radio corporation, have, with the consent of the companies with which they are now associated, been designated as consultants and will be engaged from time to time in reviewing the situation and assisting in the work.

The first meeting of the alternates with Mr. Jett and Mr. Pratt was held on January 12, 1951, at which meeting plans were made for the conduct of the work involved.

### **Amory J. Bradford Appointed Special Assistant to U.S. Deputy on NATC**

The Department of State announced on January 12 that Amory J. Bradford was appointed as Special Assistant on the staff of the United States Deputy on the North Atlantic Treaty Council.

### **THE FOREIGN SERVICE**

### **Appointment of Public Members to Foreign Service Selection Board**

Carlisle H. Humelsine, Deputy Under Secretary, greeted on January 8 the members of the 1951 Selection Boards who met in executive session at the State Department to begin their review of performance records and to recommend promotions for the career officers of the United States Foreign Service.

In welcoming the six public members and the twelve Foreign Service officers<sup>1</sup> who comprise the three Selection Boards, Mr. Humelsine congratulated the Board members on their designation and expressed the sincere appreciation of the Department to the public members for their willingness to leave their professional and business duties at considerable personal inconvenience in order to be of service to the Government. Mr. Humelsine stressed the fact that the basis of the Foreign

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 15, p. 119.

Service promotion system was the fair and impartial recognition of meritorious performance.

H. P. Martin, Director of Personnel, and R. P. Butrick, Director General of the Foreign Service, also addressed the Selection Board members and described the procedure and criteria to be applied by the Boards during their deliberations. The Boards are expected to be in session for 6 weeks.

The six public members of the 1951 Selection Boards are: Dr. Robert E. Buehnan, recently retired educator from Iowa State College; Dr. Arthur E. Burns, dean, School of Government, George Washington University; Gordon W. Chapman, secretary-treasurer of the State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFL), Wisconsin; Elmer F. Cope, European representative for CIO; Dr. Pitman B. Potter, dean, Graduate Division, American University; William A. Schoenfeld, on special assignment with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of Interior.

### **THE DEPARTMENT**

### **Director, International Security Affairs Established**

*[Released to the press January 4]*

Effective January 8, 1951, there will be established in the Department of State the position of Director, International Security Affairs. The Office of the Director, Mutual Defense Assistance established October 25, 1949, is abolished and its personnel, records, and functions, including the functions vested in the Secretary of State by Executive Order 10099, as amended, have been transferred to the Director, International Security Affairs.

The Director, Thomas Dudley Cabot, will occupy the senior position authorized by section 406 (e) of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as amended. The Director shall perform his functions under the direction of the Secretary of State. He shall have authority over, and be responsible for, the general direction and coordination of all activities within the Department of State relating to:

- a. The North Atlantic Treaty and other similar regional and bilateral arrangements concerned primarily with collective defense or mutual defense assistance;
- b. the military security phases of other regional or bilateral arrangements, such as the Organization of American States;
- c. military assistance programs;
- d. programs of economic assistance which are designed to support programs of military assistance;
- e. the export or foreign sale of military matériel or the release to other nations of classified military information. In addition, the commitment of United States military resources for United Nations purposes shall be coordinated with the Director. As to all such matters, he shall represent and speak for the Department of State. In performing these several functions, he shall be responsible for appropriately relating his performance to the development and execution of other foreign policies and programs.

The Director shall have such staff as may be necessary for the effective execution of his responsibilities but shall, to the extent consistent with the effective discharge of his responsibilities, utilize the resources of the regional and functional bureaus and offices. The regional and functional bureaus and offices of the Department shall give to the Director all appropriate assistance and shall be responsible to the Director for all activities within the field of his responsibility. The Director within the area of his responsibility set forth shall:

a. Coordinate and direct the development of objectives, policies, and programs for international security and assistance affairs.

b. Approve programs for military and economic assistance for mutual defense, and review, coordinate, and expedite the implementation of approved programs.

c. Assure the establishment and maintenance of effective working relationships concerning international security and assistance matters with all Government agencies having policy, advisory, or operational responsibilities within this area.

d. Evaluate the effectiveness and progress of policies and programs in the field of international security and assistance and prepare or direct the preparation of all necessary reports with respect thereto.

e. See that appropriate instructions to United States representatives abroad concerned with international security and assistance matters are developed and issued.

f. Assure development, coordination, and implementation of policies to control, under appropriate provisions of law, the export and import of arms, ammunition, and implements of war.

g. Assure formulation of Department of State policy on all questions relating to disclosure to foreign powers of classified information in the field of international security and assistance affairs.

h. Have primary responsibility, subject to the budget and fiscal policies and procedures of the Department of State, for the control, allocation, and utilization of funds made available for aid and assistance programs and related activities, including responsibility for budget formulation, for budget justification before the Bureau of the Budget and Congress, and for budget execution.

i. Assure the development, through existing organizational arrangements, of domestic and overseas programs of public information with respect to international security and assistance affairs.

The Director shall be the Department of State representative on and chairman of the Committee on International Security Affairs. The Director shall determine, in consultation with the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, State Department representation on, and shall be responsible for and generally supervise State Department participation in, the activities of such additional interdepartmental committees and working groups as exist or may be created in the field of international security and assistance.

On international security and assistance matters, the Director shall be responsible within the Department of State for all relationships of the Department of State with the Department of Defense, with the Economic Cooperation Administration, and with other Departments and agencies.

## Appointment of Officers

Max McCullough as Director and Richard Heindel as Deputy Director of the UNESCO Relations Staff, both appointments effective December 1, 1950.

G. Lewis Jones as Director, Office of Near East Affairs, effective December 13, 1950.

Mose Harvey as Chief, Division of Research for U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, effective December 19.

Gerald B. Brophy as Special Consultant to the Secretary of State, effective December 19, 1950.

## Robert Rout West Appointed Special Consultant to the Secretary

The Department of State announced on January 5 the appointment of Robert Rout West, as special consultant to the Secretary of State. In this capacity, Mr. West will specialize in migration affairs, giving special consideration to United States Government policy toward solution of problems of excess population in certain areas of Europe, which present an obstacle to Western European political and economic stability. He will also be concerned, during the emergency defense period, with the relation between manpower resources in Europe and international efforts to meet essential civilian and defense production requirements.

## Russell B. Adams Appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary

The Department of State announced on January 3 the appointment of Russell B. Adams as a special assistant to the Secretary of State. In his new capacity, Mr. Adams will specialize in multilateral negotiations particularly in regard to aviation matters. He will assume his duties on January 15, 1951.

## New Research Divisions Announced

On December 19, 1950, the Department of State established within the Office of Intelligence Research the Division of Research for U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe (DRS). This change also renames the former Division of Research for Europe as the Division of Research for Western Europe (DRW).

## PUBLICATIONS

## Report on Educational Exchange Activities Issued

[Released to the press January 6]

Programs to promote the free flow of persons between this country and other nations as part of United States policy to spread the truth about democracy are completely reviewed and analyzed in the latest report of the Presidentially appointed United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, *Two Way Street*, made public today.

The report of the Commission, a comprehensive document illustrated by numerous charts and photographs, presents a broad picture of the Government's activities in cooperation with private agencies in the field of international exchange during 1950. It shows how, by the exchange of persons and materials, American life and institutions are being brought to peoples of other countries and how the United States, in turn, is profiting from the knowledge and experience of other free nations.

Divided into four major sections, *Two Way Street* tells why, where, and how the United States is conducting programs of international exchange. It brings together, for the first time, information on the whole range of educational exchange activities conducted by the Department of State and other agencies of the Government.

In making the report public, Dr. Harvie Branscomb, Chairman of the Commission and Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, declared,

... The Soviet masters are seeking to turn the world against the United States in hatred and suspicion through their shrewd, continuous and malicious untruths. Our counter-attack is to make the truth known. The free exchange of peoples and their ideas is one of the surest means of combatting communism. It is a vital part of our total effort, the Campaign of Truth.

As President Truman said recently, "... when men throughout the world are making their choice between communism and democracy the important thing is not what we know about our purposes and our actions—the important thing is what they know!"

*Two Way Street* has been prepared to inform private groups and individuals concerning the Government's activities. Its audience is the American people.

The report deals with such programs as USIE (Smith-Mundt), Fulbright, Finnish Educational Exchange, Chinese Aid, Point 4 operations, the program for democratization of Germany, and the activities of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. In addition, it includes a review of the exchange activities of the Department of the Army and the Economic Cooperation Administration and touches on the wide range of educational exchange activities sponsored by private organizations which cooperate with or receive assistance from the Department of State.

*Two Way Street* also reviews exchange activities of locally governed binational cultural organizations in the American Republics, United States libraries and information centers throughout the world, translations of American books, "traveling" book exhibits, the exchange and distribution of publications, cooperative scientific and technical projects, assistance to American-sponsored schools abroad, and the exchange of persons with representative groups throughout the world.

Following an over-all review of educational exchange activities, *Two Way Street* reviews individual operations in over 90 countries in all areas of the world—the American Republics, Europe and the British Commonwealth, the Far East, the Near East, South Asia, and Africa.

The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange was established by the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402) to insure public participation in the international exchange program. It is a five-member body of leading private citizens who are specialists in educational, cultural, scientific, technical, and public-service fields. The members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. In addition to Dr. Branscomb, the Commission is composed of

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

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Article by Lincoln Palmer Bloomfield which, with the exception of minor revisions, is reprinted from *International Organization*, World Peace Foundation, vol. iv, No. 3, p. 400.

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Address by Secretary Acheson, delivered on November 29, 1950, from Washington to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, meeting in Cleveland.

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**United Action for the Defense of a Free World.** General Foreign Policy Series 41. Pub. 4058. 7 pp. 5¢.

Extemporaneous remarks by Secretary Acheson made at a news conference in Washington, D. C., on December 22, 1950, concerning the Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

# The United States in the United Nations

[January 12-18, 1951]

## General Assembly

Continuing consideration of the "Intervention of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in Korea," the Political and Security Committee, on January 18, opened debate on the Chinese Communist reply to the statement of principles transmitted by the Committee Chairman on January 13. United States Ambassador Austin, the first speaker, declared that the time had come to face facts and that the United Nations should adopt a resolution recognizing that the Peiping regime had committed aggression, calling upon that regime to cease hostilities against United Nations forces and to withdraw forces from Korea, affirming United Nations determination to continue efforts to meet aggression in Korea, and calling on all states and authorities to lend assistance to the United Nations and refrain from aiding the aggressors.

The United States thought that the General Assembly should call on some such body as the Collective Measures Committee to consider what further collective measures be taken, Ambassador Austin continued, and to report recommendations to the General Assembly as soon as possible. He believed the resolution also should reaffirm the United Nations policy to bring about a Korean cease-fire with a view to peaceful settlement and achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea and should provide for a United Nations group to be ready at all times to use its good offices to that end. Many of the other speakers, during the first day of debate, agreed with Mr. Austin that the Peiping reply had constituted rejection of the statement of principles.

The principles, drawn up by the three-man cease-fire group, had been approved on January 13 by a vote of 50-7, with 1 abstention, the U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, and El Salvador voting negatively, and the Philippines abstaining.

In a reply on January 17, the Peiping regime stated that it could not agree to the principle of a cease-fire in Korea to be followed by negotiations on Far Eastern problems and submitted the following counterproposals: (1) negotiations should be held among the countries concerned on the basis

of agreement to the withdrawal of "all foreign troops" from Korea and the settlement of Korean domestic affairs by "the Korean people themselves;" (2) the subject-matter of the negotiations should include the withdrawal of United States armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and related Far Eastern problems; (3) the countries to participate in negotiations should be the People's Republic of China, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, France, India, and Egypt, and the "rightful place" of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be established as from the beginning of the seven-nation conference; and (4) the seven-nation conference should be held in China.

## Freedom of Information Committee

A 15-nation committee to prepare a text of a convention on freedom of information began work at Lake Success on January 15. The members, elected by the General Assembly at the fifth session, are Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia. After completing work, the Committee will report to the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, and the Council will consider the advisability of convening a conference of plenipotentiaries to approve and sign the convention.

During the general debate, completed on January 17, Carroll Binder, United States representative, urged the Committee to recommend that the freedom of information convention be held in abeyance, pending definite action on the Human Rights Covenant, which, he believed, embodied the maximum constructive agreement on this subject now attainable. Only then, he said, would the United Nations be able to determine the extent possible to advance still more the cause of this freedom. After reviewing the differing points of view, he suggested that a temporary impasse should be acknowledged and stated that the United States was strongly opposed to any compromise that was likely to endanger freedom of information.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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*January 29, 1951*

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## Discussion of Principles for Cease-Fire Arrangement in Korea

### STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN<sup>1</sup>

Radar is not more sensitive to atmospheric vibrations than the personalities who sit around this great table here and constitute the First Committee of the General Assembly are to the political atmosphere of our times and especially to the atmosphere of this particular meeting of the First Committee. The feeling of gratification which prevails in this room at this moment is a perfectly natural reaction from the agreement reported by the group of three. This fact of agreement is an encouraging event in the history of the United Nations.

As I told the Committee the other day, my Government feels that the United Nations must face the facts of the Chinese Communist aggression against Korea and against the forces of the United Nations. In our view, the free world can not afford to accept this situation without a demonstration of its united will to withstand aggression. Only by so doing, can we maintain the confidence of the peoples of the world in the principles of collective security upon which our Charter is based. And only by so doing, can we maintain our own self-respect and dignity. I am sure that we all agree on such basic ideas and objectives. The immediate problem before us today is what means we choose to advance toward such objectives.

We have before us a supplemental report of the cease-fire group containing a statement of principles which that group and a number of other members of the Committee believe may further our efforts toward a peaceful and honorable solution of the problems that face us.<sup>2</sup> My Government has given its sincere support to the efforts of the cease-fire group in their diligent search for a peaceful solution.

As the group has already reported to this Committee, their efforts have been rebuffed by the Chinese Communist regime. Nevertheless, the

cease-fire group believes that the new effort proposed by them may perhaps open another channel for achievement by negotiation of the objectives of the United Nations in Korea. A substantial number of the members of the United Nations are in favor of supporting this recommendation of the group of three.

A principal objective of the United States is to maintain the strength of the United Nations by promoting the unity of the members who are genuinely dedicated to the support of the collective security system. In view of the fact that the cease-fire group itself, and a numerous body of members, view this proposed step as offering a basis upon which to maintain the unity of the free world, I shall vote in favor of the proposal which has been tabled or if it does not arrive in that manner, or if the question arises on a resolution of transmittal, I shall vote in favor of that. My Government is in accord with the principles embodied in the statement and to the draft resolution such as I have indicated.

The principles themselves provide a restatement of the essential policy which the United Nations has followed in its efforts to seek a peaceful solution and maintain the basic position of the United Nations that there must be a cessation of hostilities before there can be any hope for successful negotiations. The statement of principles makes

#### Resolution Adopted By Committee I

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/651  
Adopted Jan. 13, 1951

#### The First Committee

*Invites* the Chairman of the First Committee through the Secretary-General to transmit the principles approved by it on 13 January 1951 to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and invite them to inform him as soon as possible whether they accept these principles as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and other Far Eastern problems. Upon the receipt of the reply from the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China the Chairman of the First Committee will convene the Committee to consider that reply.

<sup>1</sup> Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Jan. 11 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> For text of the group's first report, see BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1951, p. 113.

it clear that further steps can be taken for the restoration of peace as a result of a formal cease-fire arrangement or a lull in hostilities pending the working out of the details of the cease-fire arrangement. The statement also maintains the objective of the United Nations that Korea should be a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign state with a constitution and government based upon free popular elections. The arrangements for reaching these objectives are to be in accordance with United Nations principles.

We feel that enough time should be allowed to transmit these principles to the Peiping regime and to receive their reply, but we feel that a limitation of time is important in the world situation. If this effort fails to produce the hoped-for result, I have a strong feeling that we shall be firmly united in opposing aggression.

### **SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE GROUP ON CEASE-FIRE IN KOREA**

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/645  
Dated Jan. 11, 1951

The objective shall be the achievement, by stages, of the programme outlined below for a cease-fire in Korea, for the establishment of a free and united Korea, and for a peaceful settlement of Far Eastern problems.

1. In order to prevent needless destruction of life and property, and while other steps are being taken to restore peace, a cease-fire should be immediately arranged. Such an arrangement should contain adequate safeguards for ensuring that it will not be used as a screen for mounting a new offensive.

2. If and when a cease-fire occurs in Korea, either as a result of a formal arrangement or, indeed, as a result of a lull in hostilities pending some such arrangement, advantage should be taken of it to pursue consideration of further steps to be taken for the restoration of peace.

3. To permit the carrying out of the General Assembly resolution that Korea should be a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign State with a constitution and a government based on free popular elections, all non-Korean armed forces will be withdrawn, by appropriate stages, from Korea, and appropriate arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the Korean people to express their own free will in respect of their future government.

4. Pending the completion of the steps referred to in the preceding paragraph, appropriate interim arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the administration of Korea and the maintenance of peace and security there.

5. As soon as agreement has been reached on a cease-fire, the General Assembly shall set up an appropriate body which shall include representa-

tives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China with a view to the achievement of a settlement, in conformity with existing international obligations and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, of Far Eastern problems, including, among others, those of Formosa (Taiwan) and of representation of China in the United Nations.

### **STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON**

*[Released to the press January 17]*

*At his press conference today, Secretary Acheson made the following statement:*

There has been a good deal of discussion in this country regarding the latest cease-fire proposal in the United Nations and why this Government voted for it. I should like to comment briefly on this matter.

First. The proposal was put forward by the Cease-Fire Committee—the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Pearson of Canada, Sir Benegal Rau of India. It had the support of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations members. This support was founded on two principal attitudes. One was the belief of many members that the Chinese Communists might still be prevailed upon to cease their defiance of the United Nations. While we did not share this belief, we recognized that it was sincerely held by many members.

The second attitude was that, even though there might be little prospect of success in the approach to Peiping, the United Nations should leave no stone unturned in its efforts to find a peaceful solution. Holders of each view believed and

### **Chinese Communists Reject Cease-Fire Proposal**

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*

*[Released to the press January 17]*

The reply of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations cease-fire proposal is still further evidence of their contemptuous disregard of a world-wide demand for peace. Their so-called "counterproposal" is nothing less than an outright rejection.

Once again, the Peiping regime has shown a total lack of interest in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

There can no longer be any doubt that the United Nations has explored every possibility of finding a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Now, we must face squarely and soberly the fact that the Chinese Communists have no intention of ceasing their defiance of the United Nations.

I am confident that the United Nations will do that. The strength of the United Nations will lie in the firmness and unity with which we now move ahead.

stated to us that opposition or abstention by the United States would destroy any possibility of success which the proposal might have.

Peaceful settlement is one of the cardinal purposes of the United Nations. The resort to force in Korea came from the North Koreans first and the Chinese Communists second. The United Nations has constantly demanded that this should end and that the United Nations objectives should be attained by peaceful means—we have stood and still stand for this position. Also, it has been our goal to so act as to maintain the unity of the free nations against aggression which has marked the United Nations actions in Korea. Accordingly, we voted for the resolution to demonstrate our adherence to these basic principles even though we did not share the beliefs of other members, mentioned above, that it would achieve its purpose.

Second. As to what the five principles mean:

If they are accepted, first, there would be a cease-fire in Korea. Then, after the fighting has stopped, there would be negotiations among all interested parties to find a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and other outstanding problems in the Far East.

The five principles contain three elements: (1) a termination of hostilities in Korea; after the cease-fire has become effective, two further steps are contemplated; (2) arrangements to insure the achievement of United Nations objectives of an independent and democratic Korea by peaceful means and the withdrawal by appropriate stages of all non-Korean troops; and (3) a discussion of Far Eastern problems.

These principles are entirely consistent with the United Nations Charter, United Nations objectives in Korea, and United States policy. The General Assembly resolution of October 7 made it clear that United Nations forces should not remain in Korea longer than necessary to achieve United Nations objectives there.

We don't want our troops in Korea longer than is absolutely necessary. If satisfactory arrangements for an independent and democratic Korea are put into effect, there is no longer any reason for maintaining United Nations forces in Korea.

The fifth principle provides for discussions on Far Eastern problems and stipulates four of the parties which will participate. It goes without saying that other parties with interests in Far Eastern problems will also participate. It mentions two of the problems which should be considered at a conference on Far Eastern problems—Formosa and Chinese representation in the United Nations. We have discussed these questions freely in the past, stated our views frankly, and also stated that the problems should be settled by the peaceful means of discussion and debate. There is no reason why we should oppose discussion of these questions in the future under proper circumstances. If such a conference is held, there

will undoubtedly be other items on the agenda, including some which the United States may wish to add. Obviously, we have not committed ourselves on any questions which might be discussed.

## CHINESE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT REPLIES TO U. N. CEASE-FIRE ORDER

U.N. doc. A/C.1/653  
Dated Jan. 17, 1951

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the cablegram dated 13 January 1951, transmitted by Mr. Owen at the request of the First Committee of the General Assembly, on the principles concerning the Korean and other Far Eastern problems. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China I wish to reply as follows:

1. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has always maintained and still maintains that a rapid termination of the hostilities in Korea should be sought by negotiations among the various countries concerned with a view to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settlement of Korean domestic affairs by the Koreans themselves; that United States Armed Forces must be withdrawn from Taiwan (Formosa); and that the representatives of the People's Republic of China must assume their rightful place in the United Nations. These principles were also mentioned in my statement of 22 December 1950, transmitted by cable to Mr. Entezam, president of the General Assembly, on the same day, and are now well known to the whole world.

2. On 13 January 1951, the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly adopted without the participation of the representative of the People's Republic of China various principles concerning the Korean and other Far Eastern problems, the basic points of which are still the arrangement of a cease-fire in Korea first and the conducting of negotiations among the various countries concerned afterwards. The purpose of arranging a cease-fire first is merely to give the United States troops a breathing space. Therefore, regardless of what the agenda and subject-matter of the negotiations may be, if a cease-fire comes into effect without first conducting negotiations to fix the conditions therefor, negotiations after the cease-fire may entail endless discussions without solving any problems. Besides this fundamental point, the other principles are also not clearly defined. It is not clearly stated whether the so-called existing international obligations refer to the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, and this may easily be utilized to defend the position of aggression maintained by the United States in Korea, Taiwan and other parts of the Far East. We understand that many countries in the First Committee agreed to the principles adopted on 13 January 1951 because of their desire for peace. It must be pointed out, however, that the principle of a cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards would only help the United States to maintain and extend its aggression, and could never lead to genuine peace.

Therefore the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China cannot agree to this principle.

3. With a view to a genuine and peaceful solution of the Korean problem and other important Asian problems, I hereby submit, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the following proposals to the United Nations:

A. Negotiations should be held among the countries concerned on the basis of agreement to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settlement of Korean domestic affairs by the Korean People themselves,

in order to put an end to the hostilities in Korea at an early date.

B. The subject-matter of the negotiations must include the withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and Far Eastern related problems;

C. The countries to participate in the negotiations should be the following seven countries: the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, India and Egypt, and the rightful place of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be established as from the beginning of the Seven-Nation Conference;

D. The Seven-Nation Conference should be held in China, at a place to be selected.

4. If the above-mentioned proposals are agreed to by the countries concerned and by the United Nations, we believe that it will be conducive to the prompt termination of the hostilities in Korea and to the peaceful settlement of Asian problems to hold negotiations as soon as possible.

CHOU EN-LAI,  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China,*

PEKING, 17 January 1951

## U.N. Collective Action Urged Against Communist Regime in China

*Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin  
U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations*<sup>1</sup>

I have examined with care the answer that Mr. Chou En-lai has sent to this Committee. I must say that I have found in it no echo of sympathy to the generous offer that this committee made to the Peiping regime by a vote of 50 to 7 on January 13. I have examined the response in vain for some indication that the Chinese Communists are aware that over the past 5 weeks, the greater part of the civilized world—the nations that believe in peace—have made three separate efforts to persuade the Peiping regime to cease its aggression against the United Nations and to adopt instead the way of peaceful negotiation.

Three times we have turned our cheek. Three times our sincere efforts for peace have been scorned as weakness and treated with derision.

On December 16, 1950, the cease-fire group requested from the Peiping regime and is representative at Lake Success, General Wu, an opportunity to discuss arrangements for a cease-fire in order to provide opportunity for considering what further steps should be taken for a peaceful settlement of existing issues, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

On December 21, Mr. Chou En-lai replied that his regime considered null and void all major resolutions, especially those concerning Asia, which the United Nations might adopt without participation and approval of his regime. Mr. Chou refused to allow General Wu to remain longer at Lake Success and contemptuously referred to the cease-fire committee as "the illegal three-man committee."

Meanwhile, on the 19th of December, the United Nations cease-fire group had dispatched a second message to the Peiping authorities. In this message, the group indicated that once a cease-fire had been achieved, a committee could meet with the

Chinese Communists to recommend peaceful settlement of existing issues in the Far East.

On December 23, the President of the General Assembly received a reply from Peiping to the second message. The message repeated Peiping's reference to the "illegal three-man committee." It echoed the same wild charges of "American aggression" that we have heard so often from the Soviet representative here. It made the familiar claim that the several hundred thousand Chinese regular troops now in Korea are only "volunteers." And it made the charge that the proposals suggested by a group of Arab and Asian nations were only a trap engineered by United States intrigue.

### No Stone Unturned

Mr. President, even that did not entirely discourage members of this Committee. Some members of the United Nations believed that—even then—the Chinese Communists might still be prevailed upon to cease their defiance of all the free world. Some members believed we should leave no stone unturned in our efforts to find a peaceful solution.

Some members of this Committee suggested that a third attempt might win agreement from the Peiping regime. Those members stated to us that opposition or abstention by the United States would destroy any possibility of success that a third attempt might have.

You know that on last Saturday, the United States, mindful of the fact that the greatest strength of the United Nations lies in its unity, voted for the cease-fire commission's statement of principles.

Some have accused the United Nations of an excess of forbearance. In Peiping, our forbearance seems to have strengthened the contempt in which this organization is apparently held by

<sup>1</sup>Made before Committee I (Political and Security) of the General Assembly on Jan. 18 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

those whose conquest of their native land is a matter of such recent history.

We have now received the evidence of this attitude in the final rebuff of our peaceable approaches to the Chinese Communist regime.

What—in fact—does that regime say?

They say that they will not agree to a cease-fire followed by negotiations on Far Eastern problems.

The Chinese Communists demand the right to continue their assault on the United Nations until negotiations are concluded.

But that is not all. They insist that before any talks are held their regime be admitted to the United Nations as the official representative of China.

Nor is that all. They insist that as a condition of negotiations on the question of Formosa, the

United Nations must accept in advance the principle that American forces should be withdrawn, thus bringing an end to the policy of neutralizing the island and limiting the area of the conflict in Korea.

They tell the United Nations that they will talk only with representatives of six particular countries, which they name.

They announce that they will choose the place as well, and that the six countries must come to them.

If all these conditions are fulfilled, Mr. Chou and his colleagues may agree to a cease-fire.

But if the result of such negotiations should displease the Chinese Communists, what would be the consequences?

If the Communists are not seated as the representatives of China before cease-fire and before negotiations, will they then break into the United Nations with mortars and grenades?

Unfaithful to the characteristics, traditions and interests of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communists have put their necks into the Soviet collar.

They cannot make an honest acceptance. The very phrases of their response are those of the Soviet rulers. Those old tricks with which we are so familiar are there in that response. The tricks of dialectics found in this response have the label of the Politburo. For example, there is the false label, that is, falsehoods stated as facts. In this very telegram, they say, of the proposal of a cease-fire which we made, that the purpose is merely to obtain a "breathing space" for the United States troops. Another trick, concealing their own guilt, was accusation of the same crime of which they are guilty, accusation of others. Thus, and I quote from their reply, we see the phrase "to defend the position of aggression maintained by the United States in Korea," and, again, "would only help the United States to maintain and extend its aggression." We have heard this before from another source, have we not?

Then there is that ancient trick, the "stop thief" trick. They said in their telegram that the basis of this negotiation must be withdrawal from Korea of all foreign troops, meaning, though concealing that meaning, the troops of the United Nations. All others, even Chinese Communist armies, are labeled volunteers, and thus they are presumed to belong to Korean troops and are not included in the Communist counterproposal.

Really this response is not Chinese; it is their masters' response, that of the Soviet ruling circles. Why, the Chinese Communist regime must regard the United Nations as a very trivial and contemptible body indeed to have sent us such a reply. I do not think this reply is of a character to occupy much of our time. The response of the Chinese Communist regime differs from earlier responses in only one respect; the absurd fiction that the Chinese Communists' attack on Korea was being conducted by individual volunteers seems to have been abandoned. The Peiping regime seems to begin to

### Text of U.S. Resolution <sup>1</sup>

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/654  
Dated Jan. 20, 1950

#### The General Assembly

NOTING that the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, has failed to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in regard to Chinese Communist intervention in Korea;

NOTING that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has rejected all United Nations proposals to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement, and that its armed forces continue their invasion of Korea and their large-scale attacks upon United Nations forces there;

Finds that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, by giving direct aid and assistance to those who were already committing aggression in Korea and by engaging in hostilities against United Nations forces there, has itself engaged in aggression in Korea;

Calls upon the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to cause its forces and nationals in Korea to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw from Korea;

Affirms the determination of the United Nations to continue its action in Korea to meet the aggression;

Calls upon all states and authorities to continue to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea;

Calls upon all states and authorities to refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors in Korea;

Requests a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committees as a matter of urgency to consider additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression and to report thereon to the General Assembly;

Affirms that it continues to be the policy of the United Nations to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and the achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and

Requests the president of the General Assembly to designate forthwith two persons who would meet with him at any suitable opportunity to use their good offices to this end.

<sup>1</sup> Introduced before Committee I (Political and Security) of the General Assembly on Jan. 20.

assume responsibility for its actions in Korea. The statement speaks throughout of the regime's attitude, the regime's motives, the regime's plans and intentions. Is it true that the regime now openly seeks to use its armed forces in Korea as an instrument to blackmail the United Nations into acceptance of its demands? Since the regime has now apparently publicly accepted the responsibility, it follows, does it not, that it must accept the consequences?

The cease-fire effort has failed. We have failed—not because of any lack of effort or good will on the part of the United Nations—but because those who fear and hate the United Nations have derided our effort and mocked our good will.

So be it. I trust that this gesture may not be too costly to the Chinese people—I put the emphasis where it belongs: the Chinese people—whose destinies presently lie within the power of Peiping.

We have more important work for us today than this holding of post-mortem examination of our dead hopes. That work is to build a structure of collective security so firmly that neither the Chinese Communists nor any other aggressor power can shatter it.

We are called upon to deal with some fundamental truths in our deliberations today, Mr. President. This is a duty that no member of this committee can shirk. For it is a question of life or death—for the United Nations as a whole—and even for individuals related closely to this organization.

We must face the fact that aggression has been committed.

We cannot—we will not—fail at this great crossroads in the existence of the United Nations.

A regime that controls vast manpower and vast territories has defied the United Nations. It is seeking to destroy a country that sought only the elementary right guaranteed by our Charter to live and to be independent. At this instant, young men from many of our countries are dying, in order to uphold the right of that small country to be free and independent.

Mr. President, when the Charter of the United Nations was signed,

the peoples of the United Nations determined . . . to reaffirm faith . . . in the equal rights . . . of nations large and small.

We determined then—

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.

The first purpose of this organization includes

to take effective collective measures . . . for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

Among our first principles is that—

all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means . . . and . . . refrain . . . from the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any state.

Further, it is stated,

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.

### Must Examine Purposes

I recall these sentences from our Charter because this is a time when we must examine our first purposes and principles in order that their validity may be tested by the flame of experience.

A powerful regime has committed aggression. We must consider calmly and soberly what we shall do. The world watches us for upon our decision much depends.

Shall there be one law for a small power and another for a great power?

Or shall we try to apply the law only to small aggressions—and turn our faces the other way when a powerful regime commits a big aggression?

I do not believe we can do that. We cannot do that if we believe that the rule of law is higher than the rule of force.

No nation is strong enough to stand alone unaided. The weak must depend on the strong and the strong depend on the weak. Together we are secure. Separated, none of us is secure.

Security is indivisible. Once we start slicing it up into bits and pieces it no longer exists. We cannot let one nation fall unheeded before aggression—and expect to protect another nation at some future date.

I say that if we should do that we should destroy here and now the principle of collective security on which the safety of our nations rests.

I believe that if we did that, the peoples of the world would turn away not only from the United Nations but from the principle of the interdependence of nations.

Since last June 25, this organization has done what no world-wide union of nations has ever done. We have taken collective action under law to repel aggression. It was not to wage war; it was to make the peace-making functions of the United Nations prevail.

### House Passes Resolution on Communist China<sup>1</sup>

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United Nations should immediately act and declare the Chinese Communist authorities an aggressor in Korea.

<sup>1</sup> Introduced to the House of Representatives by Rep. John M. McCormack of Massachusetts, Democratic leader of the House, with the collaboration of the Republican leader, Rep. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts on Jan. 19 and passed by the House on the same date.

We know that we cannot win peace by remaining passive in the face of aggression. We are all familiar with that beautiful animal, the rabbit; he is lovely to look at. But you know of course that he has no courage, that he has no character. In the presence of danger he squats; he sits down. Even the house cat that does not weigh as much as the rabbit can break the rabbit's neck because of the rabbit's lack of determination and courage. He has the equipment by which he may run away and outrun any cat that lives. We can only achieve peace by firm resolve and determined, continuous effort.

A fundamental principle of the Charter outlaws armed aggression. Under our law it is a crime.

Let us show by our determination, by the resolutions we take and by our acts that no power can defy this principle with impunity. Humanity demands this. If we should fail humanity at this period, we would be denying the hopes of millions of people in every land under the sun. That would be a grave decision for us around this table to take.

### **Prompt Action Urged**

The existing attack by the Chinese Communists and North Koreans challenges us to strengthen the ties that bind most of us—and most of the world—together in equality and security. Time—and time enough—has already gone by. We must act while we can, for if we wait, we may find our young unity permanently broken up.

My Government has given lengthy and careful thought to the problems that confront us—to some of which I have alluded. My Government believes that the United Nations should not shrink from facing up to the aggression that is being committed in Korea by the Chinese Communist regime of Peiping.

That aggression is part of the world-wide pattern of centrally directed Soviet imperialism. It is an aggression which clearly serves no legitimate Chinese national interest, but only the interests of that expanding power which, under the guise of throwing off the yokes of an old and discredited colonialism, would impose a new and far more rigorous colonialism upon the peoples of Asia struggling to emerge to full national independence.

The United Nations has had experience in the past with this expansionist power. The chain of crises has run from Iran through Greece and Berlin back across the world to Korea. The United Nations has learned from these past experiences that each crisis was met only by our determination to stand together. In each crisis, our standing together has had the eventual effect of bringing the Soviet imperialist power to a standstill. Our united resolution has compelled at least temporary stabilizations.

We must hope that by our united resolution now we can once again bring those responsible for this new aggression to realize that flinging its armies

against the United Nations is in the long run neither prudent for the regime nor helpful to the welfare of the Chinese people whom Peiping now controls. I hope that that realization will not be too long delayed.

Because the aggression in Korea is part of a world-wide pattern, my Government believes that the actions we take in the United Nations must be tailored to fit that pattern. Our program of action must take into account the distribution of power in the world and the imminence of danger elsewhere. What is important, in our view, is that by facing up to this threat to the collective security of the world, the United Nations should discourage present or future aggression.

### **Action Consistent With Facts**

My Government believes that the United Nations should now adopt a resolution which notes the facts and recommends action consistent with the facts. The facts are that the Peiping regime has rejected efforts to bring about a cease-fire in Korea, has rejected proposals aimed at a peaceful settlement, and has continued its invasion of Korea and its attacks upon the United Nations forces there.

In view of these facts, it is clear to my Government that the Peiping regime has committed aggression and that the General Assembly must say so. We believe that the General Assembly should call upon the Peiping regime to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw its forces from Korea. We believe that the General Assembly should affirm the determination of the United Nations to continue its efforts to meet the aggression in Korea. We believe the General Assembly should call upon all states and authorities to lend their assistance to the United Nations, and to refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors.

*(Continued on page 198)*

## **Letters of Credence**

### *Ecuador*

The newly appointed Ambassador of Ecuador, Señor Don Luis Antonio Peñaherrera, presented his credentials to the President on January 17. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 36 of January 17.

### *Spain*

The newly appointed Ambassador of Spain, Señor Don José Felix de Lequerica y Erquiza, presented his credentials to the President on January 17. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 35 of January 17.

## The Road Ahead in Collective Defense of Free Nations

by Ambassador Warren R. Austin<sup>1</sup>

I welcome this opportunity to meet with the leaders of the university world, to turn for a little while from the international conference table and talk with my fellow Americans about the difficult road ahead.

To get our bearings, let us begin by recalling a few of the milestones along the way we have come to this critical fork in the road. We will be guided by what we have learned on the journey, especially during the last decade.

### International Situation in 1941

Ten years ago, we were engaged in a great debate on foreign policy. In the midst of that debate, France had fallen to the so-called "invincible forces of Hitler." In January 1941, Britain was being blasted by the Luftwaffe and threatened with imminent invasion.

Do you remember that milestone set by Winston Churchill when he pitted the spirit of an almost defenseless Britain against the full fury of a victorious Nazi military machine? Surveyed by the cold eye of a practical analyst, has the situation of the free world ever seemed more hopeless? Yet, in retrospect, that undaunted British courage marked the turning point.

At that time, two national committees led the debate in the United States. One called "America First" was really pleading that America be last on the aggressor's list of victims. The other called "Defend America by Aiding the Allies" found, month by month, fewer allies left. But it did muster the public opinion needed to create an "arsenal of democracy" in America.

It was not difficult in those days for the defeatists to paint a dark and hopeless picture. They arrayed the statistics on the hundreds of Nazi and Fascist divisions, their overwhelming air

power, and thousands of tanks, which made the rescued battalions from Dunkirk and the little fleet of Spitfires look like sick chickens.

The picture was to become still darker. In December 1941, much of the Pacific fleet lay in ruins in Pearl Harbor. The Philippines, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Thailand, and Indochina were quickly seized by the Axis. But America was at last on the march, in step with its Allies. The great debate was over. And the next milestone was marked with words: "Declaration of the United Nations." Many of these United Nations were already occupied and fighting through underground forces.

Soon, we were devoting almost 40 percent of our national production to the common cause of victory. We realized then, as we should now, that weapons and supplies delivered to the hands of our Allies were as damaging to the common enemy as those carried by our own forces to battle. We could only regret that we hadn't started to lend-lease the tools of defense from the "arsenal of democracy" when there were still hands on the continent of Europe able and eager to use them.

In the process, we discovered something about ourselves and our economic system. We found out that, before the war, we were living up to less than half of our creative capacity. Under the spur of necessity, our production doubled in spite of the fact that millions of workers were taken away from the farms and out of the factories to serve in the armed forces.

We learned something else about our economic system. Operating in high gear, it was eating up terrific quantities of raw materials and resources, many of which were in short supply in this hemisphere. We desperately depended upon far-flung free markets around the world to procure the essential material for a highly technical and refined industry. Fortunately, we found many of these things still outside the reach of the Axis. While our Allies held the enemy at bay, we hastily built new industries to produce synthetics and sub-

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address made before the Association of American Colleges at Atlantic City, N.J., on Jan. 9 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

stitutes for those required resources already denied us by the enemy.

Then we realized that, if we were permanently cut off from certain vitamins of industry, we could be starved and weakened in critical sectors of our economy without an enemy crossing an ocean to get at Washington. Then, we saw how we had almost been made ready for the kill by an enemy determined to encircle and isolate us. This milestone in experience we must now remember.

### **The Hope of the U.N.**

While the United Nations fought successfully to turn back the tide of aggression, they began to plan a system of collective security to prevent or stop future aggression. This was embodied in the United Nations Charter.

The great hope at San Francisco was that the member nations, and especially the large powers, would faithfully carry out the obligations to which they pledged themselves and cooperate in building the collective security system called for by the Charter. That hope was sabotaged by one powerful member.

What did that member sabotage? The principles and the efforts of all the other members to organize a system of collective security.

Shall we conclude, then, that the principles were wrong? No, the principles are right. The more they are flouted by a few, the closer all the others must unite to uphold them.

Shall we conclude from this record of obstruction that a system of collective security is futile and the effort to develop such a system should be abandoned? No, the belligerent behavior of a few makes it all the more necessary to proceed without delay to build up the system of collective security.

We are engaged now in doing it. Let us recall two more events from the past.

### **Unilateral Disarmament After World War II**

After the war we took the lead in going off on a dangerous detour marked: unilateral disarmament. We created a military vacuum in Europe before making peace. But the Soviet Union did not follow our lead. It was a perfectly natural impulse of a peace-loving democracy to want to enjoy the liberties which had been preserved. "Bring the boys home" was an almost universal cry. We demobilized, put the ships and planes in moth balls, and converted industry back to peacetime production of the good things of life.

There were other mistakes of judgment and policy, but this was the crucial one. Let him who did not concur in it throw the first stone.

### **Repulsing Aggression in Korea**

In the records of the United Nations, you will find the most recent milestone on the road to today.

For the first time in history, an international organization acted to stop and repulse an aggressor when the North Korean Communists launched their attack on the Republic of Korea.

Without an organized system of collective security in being, with only the most limited military establishments available, and those widely dispersed, the United Nations—53 of them—pledged their support to the victim of aggression.

Five long years of perplexing and frustrating experience lay behind that act of faith and courage. Patiently, they had sought peace and security according to the terms of the Charter.

Time after time, they had averted or stopped conflicts in tinderbox areas where new world conflagrations might have got started. And against every contrary sign, they nursed the hope that, given time and patience, the majority could stay the hand of the trouble-making minority.

Year by year, these members of the United Nations witnessed the unfolding of the Soviet design for aggression, albeit through the fog of the most confusing double-talk. They had all, to some extent, suffered the lash of Soviet invective. Some hoped that the barking dog would not bite.

It has not been easy for Americans to endure the insults and accusations heaped upon our country and to defend our honor with dignity. But we were not alone. I say, in all seriousness, that the unity of 1950 was, in large measure, the result of the unreasonable, arrogant assaults of the Soviet spokesmen upon the sensibilities of the other delegations.

It is no easy decision for small countries on the doorstep of a belligerent giant, or for nations which have long escaped the horrors of war by neutrality, or for large countries struggling to their feet after being trampled by a brutal invader—I say it is no easy decision for such countries to stand up and be counted against the determined will of the world's most heavily armed empire.

We have never suffered the torture of modern war as the victim of a ruthless attack. We have not had to dig out of the wreckage and labor in tears to rebuild a battered civilization. We can only imagine what courage it takes for such a people, whose every fiber cries out for a respite of peace, to unite in their weakness with others to resist a far-off aggression.

From every quarter of the globe, without advance plans, specialized training or scheduled transport, fighting forces—land, sea, and air—began to converge on the besieged tip of Korea. By December—less than 6 months after the Communist aggression—forces from 14 nations were in action under the United Nations command. It is well to remember that, in World War I, it took the United States 18 months to get into action in Europe.

In numbers, the largest forces were the defending Koreans, more than matching the total from

all the others. The American forces came next, being closest to the scene of the aggression. Units contributed by small nations, while not large in numbers, represented a significant proportion of their inadequate standing defenses.

Yet, events proved that the forces brought against the original aggressor were adequate to resist and repulse him. At the same time, even larger forces were engaged against Communist assaults in other areas. Most of the free world stood guard against threats and pressures from Hong Kong to Berlin.

This is the miracle of our times. Such courage and foresight have never before been shown by men of such varied races, languages, customs, and national circumstances. This first improvised collective action against aggression is not to be measured by a slide rule but by an imaginative understanding of the spirit which animated the undertaking. With that spirit, numbers can be raised up for the future and the power of the free world mobilized.

I recall the trials and tribulations of George Washington as he patiently strove to unite and keep united 13 colonies and Vermont clustered together in one area, sharing the same language and traditions, each one under direct assault. Then, I am amazed and uplifted by the progress the United Nations has, thus far, made in an infinitely more complicated attempt at collective defense.

### **Unique Power of Retaliation**

Consider for a few minutes the shape and reality of the situation about us. Let us see what we have to work with to meet the dangers that beset us.

In weapons and armed forces we are generally deficient everywhere in the free world. We are confronted by hundreds of trained divisions, millions of reserves, vast arsenals of modern weapons, and fleets of planes.

In relative preparedness, we are far down the list of nations, save in atomic weapons, air power, and naval strength. But those last three items are not to be shrugged off as inconsequential. In all three, we are growing in strength by leaps and bounds.

This power of retaliation is our bulwark for peace and gives the aggressor pause. It is not for the moment what is in front of him but what can come over him that immobilizes his overwhelming strength on the ground. This is a shield behind which power can be built and the free world united in practical collective measures.

We have a plan for collective measures. It was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 52-5 a few weeks ago as part of the resolution entitled, "United Action for Peace."

Out of the frustrations of past attempts to organize the collective security system, out of the Korean experience, and out of a rising determina-

tion to broaden and strengthen the free world front against aggression, this plan emerged. Its realization and operation is subject to no veto. It depends only upon the will of the members to plan and act together.

By this program each nation will mobilize, equip, and train special contingents to be on call for united action. A Collective Measures Committee is established to advise each nation how to prepare these contingents for participation in collective defense, to work out problems of transport and supply, and to coordinate these forces for combined operations.

The lack of this agreement and advance planning was the most serious handicap in mobilizing a United Nations force in Korea. Units of different languages, training and types of weapons are difficult to coordinate at best. Now, we have the agreement on what the members shall do to be ready and the plan for doing it.

Behind this global plan just now undertaken are the matured programs of the Organization of American States and the Atlantic Pact.

The Organization of American States is a reliable brotherhood of 21 nations on this hemisphere, united in moral power, cooperating in building up physical strength, and a vital manifestation of United Nations substance and form.

General Eisenhower has begun putting the pieces of the Atlantic alliance together behind the shield of our unique power of retaliation. Only those who doubted that General Eisenhower could unite a broken, beaten team behind its own goals in 1942 and win, will doubt that he can mobilize the defenses of the Western world now. It can be done. And the fact that it is being done will daily add new deterrents.

This is the shape of the collective defense. It is miles ahead of what the defeatists thought was our hopeless position 10 years ago.

### **The Free World Economic Position**

In population, resources, and productive capacity, the free world has at least a 2-1 lead over its adversary. In some critical components of defense, such as oil and steel, it has an even greater lead.

Its vast and varied resources are brought together in the machine shops of Europe and America largely by sea—the most effective form of transportation. Within its industrialized continents we find a highly developed and efficient rail, road, and air transportation system, far beyond anything the opponent could hope to develop over decades. In this transport system, lies the strength of mobility.

The recuperative power of the free world after the most devastating of wars has surprised even the most optimistic. The predictions of postwar economic chaos and collapse—even of recession—

never materialized. Instead, the economies of the free world raced ahead of prewar levels in a few short years.

The productive capacity of the world's second greatest industrial workshop, which is Western Europe, is about 50 percent greater than when Hitler seized it. From its expanded productive power, Europe is capable of turning out yearly many times the value of our 10 billion dollar investment in its recovery.

Having laid the foundations for social stability and self-defense through the most remarkable feat of voluntary regional cooperation in all history, we shall now surprise ourselves again by building a Gibraltar in the path of the aggressor. If the time be short, we waste not a second of it as hypnotized spectators watching and waiting.

We did not help to build those foundations for freedom only to abandon them without a struggle to be used as a launching platform for an assault against us.

Other areas of the free world are just beginning to draw upon a new source of strength. Asia arouses herself in her new-found freedom. Facing the accumulated problems of centuries, a dozen new-born nations draw upon the technical assistance of the United Nations to develop their independent future.

As they have witnessed the self-proclaimed "liberator" loot the factories of Manchuria and haul away food from famine-stricken China, they have reluctantly recognized the threat of a new colonialism. Great patience and understanding are required of us as a billion people slowly work their way through the morass of Communist propaganda and promises toward realism. The United Nations has been a great classroom for them. There, they have been learning the true nature of the Soviet "bear" who so cunningly approaches them in sheep's clothing.

### **Spiritual Resources of the Free World**

This leads, naturally, to the third, and most important factor in the free world situation today, the spiritual resources.

In this regard, Americans dwell in the "privileged sanctuary" of the free world. The well-springs of our spiritual strength are beyond the range of the totalitarian propaganda squadrons. Only a few timid souls who have lost contact with the spirit of the freedom revolution which began on this Continent, regard the revival of despotism as a "wave of the future."

We know the power of other men's faith to uplift the spirit of confused and harassed citizens and soldiers. The arrival of Lafayette with his token forces and material aid from France did not so materially alter George Washington's military situation. He revived the spirit of resistance which, in turn, mobilized the power of resistance. The very phrase, "The Yanks Are Coming," con-

veyed new strength to the flagging forces of France in 1917.

Hear the Churchillian ring of these words from an appeal addressed to me by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, Ben Limb, a week ago:

Our Government is standing firm, and our people are united in their determination to fight to the last. . . We will fight like wildcats to defend our own. We are content to fight in cotton jackets and with straw sandals upon our feet. We shall trudge through the valleys and climb over the hills. We shall fight with our backs to the mountains and the surrounding seas. We shall fight in fair weather and foul.

### **Our Policy for Future Action**

And the road ahead? What shall be our policy?

1. To stand steadfast by the principles for which we have entered the lists of the United Nations in Korea. While continuing to welcome an honorable and peaceful settlement, we must never let the aggressor, be he large or small, convert temporary military successes into defeat for those principles.

That is the high strategy. For the day-to-day tactics, we must rely upon consultations of the United Nations and decisions of the commanders, secure, however, in the knowledge that no responsible authority proposes to march into the morass of the China mainland.

2. To arm ourselves and the free world as speedily as possible, giving every evidence of our united determination to build a genuine system of collective defense behind the shield of our present power of retaliation.

3. To expand our production and to cut out the waste and luxuries as the sound and wholly practical means of doing all that needs to be done to deter further aggression or, if need be, to repel and destroy the aggressor by collective force.

Having the most to lose, we have the most to save. We are not trying to save our individual skins and our personal conveniences today but to assure the future of a free society in a peaceful world tomorrow. For that, no effort or sacrifice is too much to ask.

4. To continue wise investments in the expansion of productivity in Western Europe and to expand technical assistance to underdeveloped areas.

Only by imagination and daring in applying the dynamics of democracy can the free world rise above the regimented forces of the Soviet empire. The preponderance of potential power must be rapidly translated into dependable and united strength, capable of deterring aggression from without and preventing disintegration from within.

We dare not court the slow bankruptcy which comes from the whittling away of the free world preponderance of power. For, by that route, the enemy would gain the preponderance in people, resources, and production. Once he had insolated

us, he could regiment this overwhelming power to harass and drive us into material and spiritual bankruptcy without setting foot on our soil.

We will not let that happen.

The road ahead will be uphill, strewn with disappointments, dangers, and uncertainties.

At this very moment, holding fast to the principles and purposes, the members of the United Nations confront a turbulence of ideas over methods to meet the new invasion launched by the Chinese Communist regime.

The high strategy is the foundation of our present unity. But tactics and timing are issues for consultation and consensus. It is of the essence that we all move together in the United Nations, and, take my word for it, we will.

We are striving now for a strong, united position, featuring four main points:

First: a finding that the Communist regime in China has flouted United Nations authority and has committed aggression in Korea;

Second: a reaffirmation of United Nations purposes in Korea, calling for the withdrawal of the invader and for all members to refrain from assisting the aggressor;

Third: a call to each member to support action decided upon by the United Nations, in proportion to its ability; and

Fourth: a move to activate immediately the Collective Measures Committee to consider the means to meet existing aggression and prevent further aggression.

This generation of Americans is called upon to take world leadership in building the first collective security system in history. If it acts with the full energy of which a free society is capable, with loyalty to its allies and faith in the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause, this generation will yet stay the hand of the aggressor and set foot on the road to permanent peace. But, if it falters and is afraid, tries to build Maginot Lines around its own comforts, leaving its allies to their separate fates, in my judgment, war would be inevitable. And, if it should come to that, we would pay dearly in lives and treasure for our lack of faith at this crucial hour.

## Global Strategy of Peace

by *Ambassador Philip C. Jessup*<sup>1</sup>

The strategy of peace has to be global just as much as our military strategy in World War II was global. During the war, we were trying to

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address which was made before representatives of nongovernmental organizations at Washington, D. C., on Jan. 15.

establish the conditions of a permanent peace. We and our Allies were involved in various types of common operations, military and other, in Europe, throughout the Pacific area, in the Middle East and Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and in the Atlantic. It is equally true today that, as we continue in our effort to establish peace, we cannot be indifferent to what goes on in any part of the world. The international Communist movement directed from the Kremlin is trying to undermine the free world in every sector. It encourages violence and aggression although it uses its satellites to do the fighting and dying for it. We naturally have both a practical and a moral interest in the independence, prosperity, and welfare of all countries and all peoples seeking freedom and peace.

It is the objective of our global strategy to prevent war if we can. If the Soviet Union insists on plunging the peoples of the world, including the peoples of the U.S.S.R., into war, the result of our global strategy will be that we and other free peoples will win. If the Soviet Union is convinced of the fact of our combined strength and united determination, it may be deterred from starting a war.

Nevertheless, we must realize that the international Communist movement likes to have a continuing state of tension in the world. Since they are able to create tensions by subversion and aggression, we have got to make up our minds that we must face a long period of tension. During that long period, we must remain strong. This will involve big sacrifices and continued effort. Those sacrifices and efforts will be far less than those required by war itself, and we must endure them.

Since the imperialist Communist movement is centrally controlled by the Kremlin and is worldwide in its activities, we, too, must maintain a solid front in the United Nations and act internationally. Unlike the Kremlin, we do not operate a slave system, and we must, therefore, understand the varying points of view among the free nations in order to maintain a system of international cooperation.

It is part of our global strategy to hold fast to our ideals and moral principles which give us a distinct superiority over the Kremlin. We are demonstrating all through the world that free societies offer a better way of life and more strength than can exist under the slave system. We can be strong and, at the same time, preserve the rights of the individual and the independence of the countries united in support of the principles of the United Nations. Those principles require the use of the procedures of peaceful settlement, and we are always ready to use them as we have repeatedly demonstrated.

## FIFTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

### Summary of Action, Part II: September 19–December 15, 1950

*by Elizabeth Ann Brown*

#### REPORTS OF SECOND COMMITTEE (ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL)

##### **Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries**

The General Assembly, by unanimous action November 20, adopted six resolutions on economic development. The first resolution, having to do with technical assistance activities under General Assembly Resolution 200 (III), notes with approval that the Secretary-General has included in the United Nations budget for 1951 the same amount as was appropriated by the Assembly in 1950, and recommends that requests for technical assistance for economic development which cannot be financed with funds provided on the regular budget, should be eligible for financing from the special account for technical assistance for economic development established in accordance with Assembly Resolution 304 (IV) and with the actions of the Technical Assistance Conference.

The second resolution deals with the financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries; recommends that the Economic and Social Council consider practical methods, conditions, and policies for achieving the adequate expansion and steadier flow of foreign capital, both private and public, and pay special attention to financing non-self-liquidating projects basic to economic development; calls upon members and specialized agencies concerned to submit to the Council proposals bearing upon the resolution; and requests the Council to submit recommendations to the sixth Assembly.

Referring to the important problem of land reform and the fact that agrarian conditions in

many underdeveloped countries constitute a barrier to their economic development, the third resolution recommends that the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization and other appropriate specialized agencies, prepare and submit to the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council an analysis of the degree to which unsatisfactory forms of agrarian structure and particularly systems of land tenure in underdeveloped countries impede economic development and depress standards of living; calls upon the Council to consider this analysis and prepare recommendations to the Assembly with a view to improvement of agricultural populations, paying special attention to certain measures, including such matters as land reform, taxation policies, promotion of family owned and operated farms, and cooperative farms; and recommends to the Governments of underdeveloped countries that they avail themselves of facilities available through the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance.

The fourth resolution concerns the development of arid land. This resolution recommends that the Secretary-General prepare, in collaboration with competent specialized agencies, a report on the practical measures adopted for study of problems of arid zones and on technical and financial means employed by the specialized agencies; invites him to submit his report to the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council; and calls upon the Council to examine the report and to consider such measures as devotion of sufficient technical and financial means to study the relevant scientific and practical problems, promotion and coordination of United Nations activities to that end, and the furnishing of appropriate technical assistance to the governments concerned.

The fifth resolution deals with the volume and distribution of national income in underdeveloped

EDITOR'S NOTE: Part I of this article appeared in the BULLETIN of Jan. 22, 1951, p. 138.

countries and recommends that these countries devote special attention to studies directed toward calculation of their national income and its distribution; requests the Secretary-General and specialized agencies concerned to give most favorable consideration to requests for technical assistance for the above purpose; requests the Economic and Social Council to study and report on this question with special reference to various income groups and respective proportions and the amounts used in underdeveloped countries to meet their foreign commitments arising from loans and investments and the payment of services; directs the Secretary-General to prepare and submit a report to the Council; and requests him to avoid any duplication in this work with the study recommended in Economic and Social Council Resolution 294 D (IX).

The final resolution, entitled "Economic Development and International Economic and Commercial Policy," reaffirms previous Assembly action and requests the group of experts, to be appointed by the Secretary-General pursuant to an Economic and Social Council resolution dealing with this matter, to pay due attention in their studies to the influence that prevailing commercial policies have on national plans for the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

#### **Full Employment and Economic Stability**

Four resolutions were adopted by the Assembly on December 12. The first, approved 43-5-1, notes the vigorous action taken by the Economic and Social Council in connection with full employment and invite governments to cooperate with the Secretary-General in carrying out the tasks entrusted to him by the Economic and Social Council.

The second resolution, which is concerned with the current world economic situation, was adopted unanimously and requests the Economic and Social Council, when examining the world economic situation during its twelfth session, to pay special attention to changes currently occurring in the international economic situation, with a view to recommending measures designed to make possible uninterrupted progress of programs of economic stability and development; invites the members of the Council to submit their views concerning the way in which the current situation has affected their economic progress and the prospects of continuing world economic expansion; and invites all other members similarly to submit their views in this field.

The third resolution, approved by 51-0-1, deals with guides for the organization and collection of economic data in underdeveloped countries and notes that the Economic and Social Council had recommended that governments should furnish the Secretary-General with a wide range of economic and statistical information. It recommends that

the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies, taking into account different institutional circumstances in the underdeveloped countries, prepare material which may serve to guide governments and which should set forth the types of data necessary to provide up-to-date information regarding level of economic activity, employment, unemployment and underemployment, procedures, and methods suitable for obtaining and presenting such data, and other relevant suggestions.

The last resolution, entitled "Mechanization and Unemployment in Underdeveloped Countries," was adopted unanimously. After noting past Assembly action, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to impress upon the group of experts to be appointed by him, the necessity of giving due consideration to ways and means of preventing any aggravation of problems of unemployment and underemployment in underdeveloped countries that may occur as a result of the mechanization of production in certain branches of industry and agriculture, and measures of social security designed to insure that there will be no interruption in the income of workers temporarily unemployed through mechanization or technological progress; and requests the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies concerned to bear in mind this resolution of the Assembly in their work on this matter.

#### **REPORTS OF THIRD COMMITTEE (SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL)**

##### **Advisory Social Welfare Services**

On December 1, 1950, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution on advisory social welfare services prepared by the Economic and Social Council. The resolution authorizes the Secretary-General to provide certain advisory welfare services in accordance with the needs of and agreement of the governments concerned and to report measures which he takes to the Social Commission, which is to formulate recommendations concerning the action required to carry on essential advisory social welfare activities.

##### **Long-Range Activities for Children**

After approval of two amendments, one proposed jointly by Australia, Chile, Denmark, Ecuador, and Yugoslavia, and the other sponsored by Bolivia, Canada, Ecuador, and the Netherlands, the Assembly December 1 unanimously adopted a resolution on the continuing needs of children. In the resolution, the Assembly approves the policy of the Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund to devote more resources to development of programs outside Europe; expresses gratitude for generous contributions to the Fund, and renews appeal for

further contributions; recommends to member states that they develop and improve national child welfare services; and asks the Economic and Social Council to give greater emphasis to support of national programs to aid children within the framework of existing United Nations activities for development of underdeveloped areas and to explore the means of procuring and financing supplies. The resolution provides that the Executive Board of the Fund shall be reconstituted, that the Board shall formulate policies, determine programs, and allocate resources for the purpose of meeting through the provision of supplies, training, and advice emergency and long-range needs of children and their continuing needs, particularly in underdeveloped countries, with a view to strengthening permanent child health and welfare programs of countries receiving assistance; and that the General Assembly will consider the Fund's future after 3 years with the object of continuing on a permanent basis.

#### **Draft International Covenant on Human Rights**

On December 4, the General Assembly adopted three resolutions concerning human rights, the principal one by a vote of 38-7-12. After commending the Commission on Human Rights and calling upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission to continue to give priority to the draft Covenant in order that the Assembly may have the revised draft for the sixth session, the resolution states that the list of rights in the first 18 articles of the Covenant does not contain certain elementary rights, that the wording of some of these articles should be improved, and that account should be taken of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, and calls upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission to take into consideration in its revision of the Covenant (a) the views expressed during discussions at the fifth session of the Assembly and the eleventh session of the Council, including those relating to articles 13 and 14 and, with a view to the addition of other rights, those relating to rights set forth by the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia in specific documents and (b) the view that it is desirable to define the rights and limitations with the greatest possible precision. The resolution also calls upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Human Rights Commission to study a federal state article and to prepare, for consideration at the Assembly's sixth session, recommendations having as their purpose the securing of the maximum extension of the Covenant to the constituent units of federal states, and the meeting of constitutional problems of such states. The Commission is also asked to study ways and means to ensure the right of peoples and nations to self-determination and to prepare recommendations for the sixth session. Another section of the resolution provides for inclusion in

the Covenant of economic, social, and cultural rights and an explicit recognition of equality of men and women in related rights; calls upon the Council to request the Commission to include a clear expression of economic, social, and cultural rights in a manner relating them to the civic and political freedoms proclaimed in the Covenant, and to take steps to obtain cooperation of other United Nations organs and specialized agencies in consideration on such rights; and requests the Economic and Social Council to consider at the twelfth session the methods by which the specialized agencies might cooperate with the Commission of these rights. The resolution also calls upon the Council to ask the Commission to consider provisions to be inserted in the Covenant or in separate protocols for the receipt and examination of petitions from individuals and organizations on alleged Covenant violations and to report to the Council at its thirteenth session concerning those matters. The Secretary-General is requested to invite member states to submit by February 15, 1951, their views on the revised draft Covenant.

The second resolution, adopted by 36-11-8, requests the Human Rights Commission to include in the Covenant a prescribed article providing that the Covenant shall be applicable equally to a signatory metropolitan state and to all the territories, be they non-self-governing, trust, or colonial, which are being administered or governed by such a state.

The final resolution invites all states and interested organizations to adopt December 10 as Human Rights Day and invites all states to report annually through the Secretary-General on the observance of this day. It was approved by 47-0-5.

#### **Freedom of Information**

Three resolutions on freedom of information were adopted by the Assembly on December 14. The first, approved by 49-5-0, adopts the declaration of the Economic and Social Council to the effect that deliberate interference with radio signals constitutes a violation of the accepted principles of freedom of information; condemns measures of this nature as a denial of the right of all persons to be fully informed; invites governments of member states to refrain from such interference; invites all governments to refrain from radio broadcasts that would mean unfair attacks or slanders against other peoples and to conform to ethical conduct in the interest of world peace by reporting facts truly and objectively; and invites member states to give every possible facility so that their peoples may know objectively the United Nations activities in promoting peace and, in particular, to facilitate reception and transmission of United Nations official broadcasts.

The second resolution was adopted by 41-5-2,

and recommends to all member states that, when they are compelled to declare a state of emergency, measures to limit freedom of information and of the press shall be taken only in exceptional circumstances and only to the extent strictly required.

The final resolution, adopted by 44-0-12, appoints a committee composed of representatives of Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia to prepare a draft convention on freedom of information and to report to the Economic and Social Council at the thirteenth session, submitting recommendations, especially on the advisability of convening a plenipotentiary conference to sign a convention. The Secretary-General is requested to submit the Committee's report to governments, which are invited to transmit suggestions and observations by June 15, 1951. The resolution concludes with a recommendation to the Economic and Social Council to consider whether a conference of plenipotentiaries should be convened as soon as possible and not later than February 1, 1952, with a view to framing and signature of a freedom of information convention.

#### Refugees and Stateless Persons

On December 14 the Assembly adopted three resolutions relating to refugees and stateless persons and, in a secret ballot, elected Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart (Netherlands) High Commissioner for Refugees.

The first resolution, approved by 36-5-11, adopts an annex which constitutes the statute of the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees and calls upon governments to cooperate with the High Commissioner, especially by becoming parties to and implementing international conventions providing for protection of refugees, entering into special agreements with the High Commissioner, admitting refugees to their territories, assisting in promotion of voluntary repatriation, promoting assimilation of refugees, providing refugees with travel and other documents, permitting refugees to transfer assets, and providing the High Commissioner with information on the number and condition of refugees and laws and regulations concerning them. The Secretary-General is requested to transmit the resolution to states nonmembers of the United Nations with a view to obtaining their cooperation. The statute annexed to the resolution sets forth the functions and organization of the High Commissioner's Office and defines the categories of refugees to which his competence shall extend.

Under the terms of the second resolution, approved by 41-5-10, after adoption of a Venezuelan amendment and one sponsored jointly by France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the Assembly decides to convene a plenipotentiary conference at Geneva to complete the drafting of

and to sign both the convention relating to the status of refugees and the protocol relating to the status of stateless persons. Governments participating in the conference, to which the Secretary-General is instructed to invite both members and nonmembers of the United Nations and in the work of which the High Commissioner is called upon to participate, are recommended to take into consideration the draft convention submitted by the Economic and Social Council and in particular the text of a definition of the term "refugee."

In the final resolution, the Assembly decides to address an urgent appeal to all states to assist the International Refugee Organization in efforts to resettle refugees remaining under its care, particularly those in need of permanent custodial care, and to postpone until the sixth session the examination of the problem of assistance raised by communications from the General Council of the International Refugee Organization. It was approved 40-5-7.

#### Complaint of Soviet Failure To Repatriate or Account for Prisoners of War Detained in Soviet Territory

The item on prisoners of war detained in Soviet territory was placed on the agenda jointly by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. On December 14, by a vote of 43-5-6, the General Assembly adopted a resolution entitled "Measures for the Peaceful Solution of the Problem of Prisoners of War."<sup>14</sup> The resolution expresses the Assembly's concern at the information presented tending to show that large numbers of prisoners taken in the course of World War II have neither been repatriated nor otherwise accounted for; and calls upon all governments still having control of such persons to act in accordance with recognized standards of international conduct and various international agreements requiring that, upon cessation of hostilities, all prisoners should with the least possible delay be given an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation, and to that end to publish and transmit to the Secretary-General before April 30, 1951, the names of prisoners still held, the reasons for their continued detention and where they are detained, and the names of prisoners who have died together with date and cause of death, and manner and place of burial. The Secretary-General is requested to establish an *Ad Hoc* Commission composed of three qualified and impartial persons chosen by the International Red Cross, or failing that, by himself, with a view to settling this question in a purely humanitarian spirit and on terms acceptable to all governments concerned; the Commission is to meet after April 30, 1951, to examine information furnished by governments in accordance with the resolution, and, depending upon that information, to take further steps, if necessary, to facilitate the repatriation of prisoners of war.

<sup>14</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1951, p. 73.

Governments are requested to make the greatest possible effort to search for prisoners of war whose absence has been reported and who might be in their territories. The Commission is to report as soon as practicable to the Secretary-General for transmission to the members of the United Nations.

## **REPORTS OF JOINT SECOND AND THIRD COMMITTEE**

### **Plans for Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea**

In the resolution, adopted October 7 on the problem of the independence of Korea, the Assembly requested the Economic and Social Council to develop plans for Korean relief and rehabilitation, and the Council accordingly met in special session immediately. The report, after committee consideration, was acted upon by the Assembly on December 1, 1950.<sup>15</sup>

The Assembly adopted two resolutions on this subject. The first of these, adopted by a vote of 51-0-5, establishes the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency under the direction of a United Nations Agent General; authorizes the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to undertake certain functions in relation to the relief program; directs the Agent General to coordinate his program with the Commission, to commence at such time as may be agreed upon by the Commission, the unified command and himself, to ascertain the requirements for supplies and services for relief and rehabilitation, to submit reports to the General Assembly through the Secretary-General, and to be guided in matters of administration by rules and regulations established for the operation of the United Nations Secretariat; and establishes an Advisory Committee of five states—Canada, India, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay—to advise the Agent General with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution, and other economic problems. The Secretary-General, after consultation with the Korean Commission, is authorized to appoint the Agent General and to establish a special account to which should be credited all contributions in cash, kind, or services to the program. The Agent General is instructed to make use of existing facilities, services, and personnel through national and international agencies and organizations, to consult with the Secretary-General to ensure coordination of efforts, and to make use of the advice and technical assistance of the United Nations and specialized agencies. The resolution also requests these various bodies to assist the Agent General and calls upon all governments, specialized and nongovernmental agencies, pending beginning of operations by the Agency, to continue to furnish through the Secre-

tary-General such assistance as may be requested by the Unified Command. Countries not members are also invited to participate in financing the Korean relief program. The resolution concludes with a 16-point statement of general policy on relief and rehabilitation in Korea.

The second resolution, which was approved by a vote of 51-0-5, deals with financial arrangements for the Korean relief program and provides for a Negotiating Committee composed of seven or more members for the purpose of consulting with member and nonmember states as to the amounts governments may be willing to contribute toward financing the relief program. As soon as the Negotiating Committee has finished its work, the Secretary-General is requested to arrange an appropriate meeting of member and nonmember states at which they may commit themselves to their national contributions and the contributions of nonmembers may be made known.

France, Egypt, India, Canada, Uruguay, the United States, and the United Kingdom were appointed to the Negotiating Committee. This same group is also considering financial arrangements for the relief program for Palestine refugees.

## **REPORTS OF JOINT COMMITTEE TWO AND THREE AND FIFTH COMMITTEE**

### **Coordination Between United Nations and Specialized Agencies**

On December 1, the Assembly acted upon five related resolutions growing out of the Joint Committee's consideration of a number of aspects of the general problems of coordination and relations between the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

*Resolution A*, adopted unanimously, deals with the administrative budgets of the specialized agencies. These agencies are urged to intensify their efforts to stabilize their regular budgets by elimination or deferment of less urgent projects, to provide information concerning the estimates for expenditure of technical assistance funds, and to consider at an early date adoption of common financial and staff regulations modeled as far as possible after those of the United Nations. Members' attention is drawn to the necessity for prompt payment of their contributions. The Secretary-General is requested, in consultation with the heads of the specialized agencies, to pay particular attention in 1951 to further development of satisfactory arrangements for the provision of common services, particularly in respect of regional and branch offices, with a view to greater efficiency and economy and to report thereon.

<sup>15</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 27, 1950, p. 859.

*Resolution B*, also adopted unanimously, authorizes the United Nations Investments Committee to provide advice to a specialized agency at its request.

*Resolution C*, adopted unanimously, deals with concentration of effort and resources; requests each specialized agency to review the 1952 program during 1951, using the criteria already established; requests the Council and the specialized agencies to indicate, when new projects are adopted, which current projects may be deferred, modified or eliminated; requests the Council to review during 1951 the 1952 programs of the United Nations and specialized agencies and to report to the sixth Assembly on the results of the review; requests the Secretary-General to include in budget estimates a summary schedule of the estimated costs of the projects provided for in the United Nations and the specialized agencies' budgets; and urges that the efforts being made to insure fullest coordination of programs and activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies be vigorously prosecuted.

*Resolution D*, which was approved by a vote of 49-0-5, expresses the hope that those members not participating at the present time in the specialized agencies may find their way to assume or resume, as soon as possible, full participation.

*Resolution E*, adopted by 48-5-2, provides for the transfer of the functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission to the United Nations; authorizes the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the transfer on a mutually satisfactory date prior to December 31, 1951; and pays tribute to the Commission's accomplishments in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

## **REPORTS OF FOURTH COMMITTEE (TRUSTEESHIP AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES)**

### **Report of the Trusteeship Council**

The General Assembly, on December 2, adopted a series of 11 resolutions with respect to the report of the Trusteeship Council.

*Resolution I* was adopted by 45-0-7 and expresses confidence that the Council will continue to contribute effectively to achieving the high objectives of the Trusteeship System.

*Resolution II*, approved by 53-1-3, deals with the general procedure of the Trusteeship Council and recommends that the Council undertake a review of its procedure, bearing in mind the observations made during Assembly discussion.

*Resolution III*, which was adopted 53-0-2, refers to the annual reports of the Trusteeship Council; and recommends that, in future reports to the Assembly, the Council present in separate sections all the relevant data examined concern-

ing the political, economic, social, and educational conditions in each trust territory; include in each section the observations, conclusions, and recommendations of the Council on the topic under review; give, in each case, an account of the manner in which the administering authority has carried out each recommendation of the Assembly or Council; state its conclusion; and include, wherever practicable, maps of the trust territories.

*Resolution IV*, approved by 41-0-14, deals with the organization and methods of functioning of visiting missions; recommends that the Council undertake another review of this subject, taking into account certain suggestions made during the Assembly's discussion, and the advisability of such matters as arrangements for the length of stay of visiting missions in each territory, the number of territories to be visited, inclusion in their terms of reference of specific problems.

*Resolution V*, on the examination of petitions, was approved by 47-0-8 and recommends that the Council consider the possibility of constituting the *Ad Hoc* Committee on petitions as a standing committee to meet, if necessary between Council sessions, of requesting the administering authorities to submit observations on petitions within 2 months of their receipt, of studying other measures to improve the procedure, and of requesting the administering authorities to submit each year information concerning action taken on the recommendations of the Council.

*Resolution VI*, adopted by 33-11-12, is concerned with information on the implementation of Trusteeship Council and General Assembly resolutions relating to trust territories, and requests the Secretary-General to prepare a list of such resolutions and to report to the sixth Assembly on the measures taken by the administering authorities to implement such resolutions and, if no action has been taken, to set forth the reasons given.

*Resolution VII* was adopted by 47-0-6; with respect to educational advancement in the trust territories, it recommends that the Council continue to devote particular attention to long-range programs.

*Resolution VIII*, which was adopted by 54-0-1, is entitled "Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories." The Trusteeship Council is requested to study prevailing policies, laws, and practices in the trust territories relating to land, land utilization, and alienation of land, taking into account the present and future needs of the indigenous inhabitants and the future economic requirements of the territories, as well as social and economic consequences of transfer of land to nonindigenous inhabitants; and to make recommendations to the administering authorities concerning these matters.

*Resolution IX* was adopted by 51-0-2 and is concerned with technical assistance for trust territories. The attention of the administering au-

thorities is drawn to the facilities available under the technical assistance programs; the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies, and the Secretary-General are referred to the need to extend to the trust territories such technical assistance as they may be able to render and to establish a sound basis for the progressive development of the inhabitants; and it is recommended that the administering authorities make full use of the sources of technical assistance and submit to the Council information on all applications made in implementation of this resolution and the manner in which technical assistance received has been integrated into long-range programs.

*Resolution X* was adopted by 55-0-2 and recommends that measures be taken immediately to bring about the complete abolition of corporal punishment in all trust territories where it still exists.

*Resolution XI*, approved by 48-0-6, is concerned with the Ewe unification movement and related questions in the trust territories of French and British Togoland, respectively. The resolution recognizes the great importance of this problem and impresses upon the Council and the administering authorities the importance of finding an adequate solution as soon as possible; recommends that the administering authority of French Togoland investigate promptly certain practices complained of in various petitions to ascertain whether the methods of election applied insure that the views of all sections of the population are faithfully reflected and report thereon to the next Assembly for such action as it may deem appropriate; and requests that the Council devote a special chapter or subchapter of the next annual report to setting forth all steps undertaken in connection with the Ewe question.

#### **Former Italian Colonies**

On December 2, the General Assembly approved the draft trusteeship agreement for the territory of Somaliland under Italian administration by 44-6. The trusteeship agreement had been previously reviewed by the Trusteeship Council. There is attached to the approved trusteeship agreement a declaration of constitutional principles which forms an integral part of the agreement.

#### **Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories**

On December 12, the General Assembly adopted five resolutions on information from non-self-governing territories. It may be noted that the work of the Fourth Committee on this subject was in turn based upon the report of the Assembly's Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 (e) of the Charter. Cuba and Pakistan were elected by the Fourth Committee as members of the Special Committee, succeeding Sweden and Venezuela.

*Resolution I*, adopted by 50-0-2, is concerned with technical assistance to non-self-governing territories and invites the administering members which need technical assistance for the economic, social, and educational advancement of their non-self-governing territories to submit their requests and recommends that they include yearly in the information submitted under Article 73 (e) as full a report as possible on all applications for technical assistance and the manner in which such assistance has been integrated into long-range development programs.

*Resolution II*, approved by a vote of 49-0-4, *inter alia*, takes note of the report of the Special Committee; approves the special report on education; notes with interest the special studies of UNESCO for education and training of teachers, expressing the hope that full account will be taken of such studies in the formulation of policies on this matter in the non-self-governing territories; approves the arrangements of the Special Committee for its work in 1951; and invites the specialized agencies concerned, with a view to the preparation of studies in respect of economic conditions and development to be considered by the Special Committee in 1951, to collaborate with the Secretary-General in the study of problems of the prices of tropical export crops and arrangements for their marketing, migrant labor in Africa, development of cooperative societies in peasant communities, and the economic value of preventive medicine.

*Resolution III* was approved by a vote of 37-10-9 and invites members responsible for the administration of non-self-governing territories to include in the information transmitted under article 73 (e) a summary of the extent to which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is implemented.

*Resolution IV*, adopted by 32-13-13, refers to the use of comparable statistical information relating to the subjects treated under article 73 (e) of the Charter and invites the Secretary-General, in making use of such information, to obtain the consent of the member concerned and to take into account all elements necessary for scientific and objective comparison.

*Resolution V* deals with the development of self-government in non-self-governing territories and was approved by 41-0-8. The resolution takes note with satisfaction of the communication of the Netherlands with reference to cessation of the transmission of information on Indonesia and requests the Special Committee to examine such information as may be transmitted to the Secretary-General in pursuance of Assembly Resolution 222 (III).

#### **Question of South West Africa**

The General Assembly, on December 13, first voted on the resolution recommended by the

Fourth Committee. This resolution, which was defeated, after reference to the advisory opinion of the Court, would have requested the Union of South Africa to submit to the United Nations before June 1, 1951, a report on the administration of South West Africa during the years 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1950 in accordance with the questionnaire adopted by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and to transmit to the Secretary-General, with any necessary comments all petitions relating to the territory, and would have established a Commission for South West Africa to be composed of 10 experts to assist the Assembly in consideration of the annual reports.

Following the defeat of the Committee resolution, the Assembly turned to a proposal which had been submitted jointly by Brazil, Denmark, Peru, Syria, Thailand, and the United States. After paragraph-by-paragraph voting on each of the provisions, the Assembly adopted the resolution by 45-6-5. The preamble of the resolution sets forth parts of the opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding the continuing international obligations of the Union of South Africa with respect to the administration of South West Africa. The resolution accepts the advisory opinion of the Court; urges the Union Government to take the necessary steps to give effect to it, including transmission of reports on the administration of the territory and of petitions from the population; establishes a committee of five consisting of representatives of Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States, and Uruguay, to confer with the Union concerning procedural measures necessary for implementing the Court's advisory opinion and to report to the next session; and authorizes this committee to examine the report on the territory covering the period since the last report, as well as petitions and any other matters.

The Assembly adopted a second resolution also on December 13; by a vote of 30-10-16, the General Assembly approved reiteration of resolutions adopted at the first, second, third, and fourth sessions to the effect that the territory of South West Africa should be placed under the International Trusteeship System.

## **REPORTS OF FIFTH COMMITTEE (ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY)**

### **Advances From the Working Capital Fund**

The Assembly, by a vote of 48-0-6, adopted, on November 16, a resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to advance from the Working Capital Fund a loan not exceeding \$800,000 to the FAO, to finance the removal of headquarters to Rome.

## **Permanent Financial Regulations**

On November 16, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution which approves amendments to the financial regulations recommended by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, declares that the amended regulations are the financial regulations of the organization, succeeding those adopted at the second regular session of the Assembly, and expresses the hope that members will support adoption by the specialized agencies of these financial regulations with only such alterations as are required to meet the constitutional provisions and organizational structure of the respective agencies.

## **Organization of a United Nations Postal Union**

Provision for a United Nations postal administration was approved unanimously November 16. The resolution takes note of an agreement between the United States and the United Nations for the establishment of a postal administration, requests the Secretary-General to proceed with such arrangements, authorizes him to appoint a committee empowered to give approval to designs for United Nations postage stamps, and requests him to report on the establishment and operations of the postal system not later than at the seventh Assembly.

## **United Nations Telecommunications System**

Implementing previous action approving in principle the establishment of a United Nations telecommunications system, this resolution, adopted by 49-0 on December 12, instructs the Secretary-General to proceed with proposals for a modified telecommunications system, provided that the capital expenditure involved does not constitute a net addition to the budget, authorizes him to accept such voluntary contributions or donations as appropriate, and requests him to report to the sixth General Assembly.

## **Assessments for Apportionment of Expenses**

The Assembly acted on the scale of assessments on December 14. It first rejected, by a vote of 21-5-8, a Soviet amendment deleting the revised scale of assessments for 1951, and replacing it by a statement that the present scale of assessments should apply in 1951. The resolution recommended by the Committee was adopted by a vote of 41-6-2, contains the scale of assessments for 1951 (the United States being assessed 38.92%); instructs the Committee on Contributions to review the scale of assessments in 1951 and report thereon at the sixth Assembly session; makes provision for contributions of Switzerland and Liechtenstein, who are nonmembers but parties to the Statute of

the International Court to its expenses, authorizes the Secretary-General to accept, at his discretion and after consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Contributions, a portion of the contributions of members for 1951 in currencies other than United States dollars; and provides for the assessment of the new United Nations member, Indonesia, and for its contribution to the Working Capital Fund.

#### **Status of Budgetary Authorizations for 1950**

The General Assembly, on December 14, by a vote of 48-5-0, approved a resolution reducing the 1950 United Nations budget by 8 million dollars through the cancellation of the appropriation for the establishment of a permanent international regime for Jerusalem and protection of the Holy Places, and increasing the residual amount of \$41,641,773 by \$2,879,000 to cover various enumerated supplementary appropriations, making the 1950 budget a total of \$44,520,773.

#### **Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1951**

On December 15, the General Assembly took action on its 1951 budget by a vote of 50-0-5, the Soviet Union explaining her abstention in view of the inclusion of credits for bodies and measures to which it objected and alleged inflation of the budget. The budget for 1951, broken down in the resolution into detailed appropriations, amounts to \$47,798,600. A second resolution covering unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1951 was unanimously approved and authorizes the Secretary-General to enter into commitments to meet unforeseen and extraordinary expenses under prescribed conditions.

The Assembly approved by a vote of 54-0-5, a final resolution maintaining the Working Capital Fund through 1951 at 20 million dollars, providing for the payment of advances by members to the Fund, and authorizing the Secretary-General, under prescribed conditions for certain purposes, to advance sums from the Working Capital Fund.

### **REPORTS OF SIXTH COMMITTEE (LEGAL)**

#### **Question of Majority**

The Assembly, by a vote of 57-0-1, adopted the report of the Sixth Committee providing for a new rule of procedure according to which decisions of the Assembly on amendments to and parts of proposals relating to important questions shall be taken by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.<sup>16</sup> The new rule became effective immediately.

<sup>16</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 20, 1950, p. 825.

#### **Permanent Invitation to Arab League**

The Assembly approved, by a vote of 49-1-5, a resolution providing for a permanent invitation to the Arab League to send a representative to attend sessions of the General Assembly as an observer.

#### **Reservations to Multilateral Conventions**

On November 16, the Assembly took action on reservations to multilateral conventions. It first adopted, by a vote of 36-6-9, a joint amendment proposed by Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, France, Greece, Iran, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay instructing the Secretary-General to follow his prior practice with respect to the receipt of reservations to conventions, without prejudice to the legal effect of objections to reservations to conventions as may be recommended by the General Assembly at the sixth session. The resolution requests the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on certain technical questions regarding reservations to the Genocide Convention and invites the International Law Commission in the course of its work on the codification of the law of treaties to study the question of reservations to multilateral conventions and to report thereon to the sixth Assembly session. The resolution was approved by a vote of 47-5-5.

#### **Report of the International Law Commission**

The General Assembly, on December 12, 1950, adopted six resolutions growing out of the Sixth Committee's consideration of the report of the International Law Commission.

*Resolution A*, approved by 45-0-6, requests the International Law Commission to review its statute with the object of making recommendations to the sixth session of the General Assembly concerning revisions of the statute which may appear desirable, in the light of experience, for the promotion of the Commission's work.

*Resolution B*, which was adopted by a vote of 43-2-10, amends article 13 of the statute of the International Law Commission to provide that members shall be paid travel expenses and shall also receive a special allowance, the amount of which shall be determined by the Assembly. An amendment proposed by Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, India, Iran, Lebanon, Mexico, Panama, Syria, Turkey, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and adopted by a vote of 41-4-12, fixes the special allowance at \$35 per day.

*Resolution C*, approved by 45-2-5, provides that subject to any modifications which the General Assembly may make in the International Law Commission's statute, and without prejudice to such modifications, the term of office of the Com-

mission's present members shall be extended by 2 years, making a total term of 5 years from their election in 1948.

*Resolution D*, adopted unanimously, notes part II of the report of the International Law Commission dealing with ways and means for making the evidence of customary international law more readily available and invites the Secretary-General, in preparing his future work program in this field, to consider and report to the General Assembly upon the recommendations contained in certain sections of the Commission's report.

*Resolution E* deals with the formulation of the Nürnberg principles and, after reference to the report of the Commission and its formulation of the Nürnberg principles, invites members to furnish their observations and requests the International Law Commission, in preparing the draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind, to take account of the observations made on this formulation by delegations during the present session and any observations which may be made by governments. It was adopted by a vote of 42-0-6.

*Resolution F*, approved by 42-7-5, noting the fact that the Commission had been previously invited to study the desirability of the establishment of an international judicial tribunal for the trial of persons charged with genocide or other crimes over which it might be given jurisdiction and the report of the Commission thereon, establishes a committee of 17 members (Australia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Israel, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Syria, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay) to meet at Geneva August 1, 1951, for the purpose of preparing preliminary draft conventions and proposals relating to the establishment and statute of an international criminal court; requests the Secretary-General to prepare preliminary draft conventions and proposals and to make necessary administrative arrangements

for the Committee. The Secretary-General is also instructed to communicate the Committee's report to members so that observations may be submitted not later than June 1, 1952, and to place the question on the agenda of the seventh session.

#### **Regulations of Headquarters Agreement**

On December 12, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which requests the Secretary-General to present to the Assembly any draft regulation within the provisions of the Headquarters Agreement which may be necessary for full execution of the United Nations' functions and decides that, if in the Secretary-General's opinion, it is necessary to give immediate effect to any regulation, he shall have authority to make such regulation and shall report any such action to the Assembly as soon as possible. This action has relation to the problem which may arise when the United Nations, under section 8 of the Headquarters Agreement, makes necessary regulations operative within the Headquarters district which, to the extent of their inconsistency with federal, state, or local laws of the United States, would have the effect of superseding them within the Headquarter's district. The resolution was approved unanimously.

#### **U.N. Distinguishing Ribbon for Korean Personnel**

A resolution on ribbons, adopted on December 12, by a vote of 38-5-2, requests the Secretary-General to make arrangements with the unified command for the design and award of a distinguishing ribbon or other insignia for personnel which has participated in Korea in defense of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

*‡ This article was prepared by Elizabeth Ann Brown, who is a Foreign Affairs officer, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, Department of State.*

## Presidential Mission to Japan

### JOHN FOSTER DULLES APPOINTED SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

[Released to the press January 11]

The President has designated John Foster Dulles as his special representative with the personal rank of Ambassador to conduct, on behalf of the United States, such further discussions and negotiations as may be necessary to bring a Japanese peace settlement to an eventual successful conclusion.

Last September, the President authorized the Department of State to initiate informal discussions with interested nations on problems connected with a Japanese peace treaty. Mr. Dulles was designated by the Secretary of State to take charge of these discussions. It was contemplated, at that time, that, upon conclusion of the initial series of discussions, it would be necessary for a representative of the United States Government to visit Japan and confer with General MacArthur and, through and in cooperation with him, with Japanese leaders on the means of making further progress toward a peace settlement.

Mr. Dulles will, therefore, shortly leave for Japan as head of a Presidential Mission to carry on such discussions.

### STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[Released to the press January 17]

John Foster Dulles, Special Representative of the President, expects to depart for Japan the first of next week by military transport plane. Mr. Dulles, as announced on January 11, will confer with General MacArthur and with Japanese leaders on the means of making further progress toward a peace settlement.

John M. Allison, a Foreign Service officer, has been assigned to the Office of the Political Adviser in Tokyo as special assistant with the personal rank of Minister and will serve as Mr. Dulles' deputy.

Accompanying Mr. Dulles on his trip, will be Assistant Secretary of the Army Earl D. Johnson, who has general responsibility for occupied areas; Maj. Gen. Carter B. Magruder, who has, for some time, dealt with occupation problems in both Japan and Germany; and Col. C. Stanton Babeock of the Department of the Army.

John D. Rockefeller III, who has had extensive experience in cultural, humanitarian, and social affairs, will serve in a consultant capacity to discuss with Japanese civic leaders opportunities for developing long-range cultural relations between the United States and Japan.

Robert A. Fearey of the Department of State and Miss Doris A. Doyle, secretary to Mr. Dulles, will also be in the party.

January 29, 1951

## Scholarship Program by ECA

[Released to the press by ECA January 18.]

The Economic Cooperation Administration is establishing a scholarship program to bring 40 students from Formosa and Free China to the United States to receive 1 year's training in agriculture, engineering, public health, natural science, or social science.

The project looks beyond the immediate needs of economic and technical aid with the objective of training a core of personnel who can help with the ultimate rebuilding of Free China. Successful applicants will be required to return to Formosa or Free China after their training and continue work in the field of their study.

### Contribution Made to Technical Cooperation Program of OAS

[Released to the press January 19]

The United States Government today presented a check for \$250,000 to the Organization of American States (OAS) as the initial United States contribution of a total pledge of up to 1 million dollars to the Technical Cooperation Program of OAS.

The check was presented to Dr. Alberto Lleras, OAS Secretary General, by Ambassador Albert F. Nufer, United States representative on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

Text of the communication from the Department to Dr. Lleras follows:

January 17, 1951

EXCELLENCY: Enclosed is a check for \$250,000 which represents the initial contribution of the Government of the United States to the Technical Cooperation Program of the Organization of American States. This amount is made available at this time because of the interest of the United States Government in making it possible for the Technical Cooperation Program of the Organization to get under way at the earliest possible time. With respect to such further payments as may be advanced by the United States Government, their availability will be governed by the extent and timing of pledged and actual contributions forthcoming from other members of the Organization in accordance with the conditions stated in the pledge of the Government of the United States.

Title IV of Public Law 535 of the Eighty-First Congress of the United States (approved June 5, 1950), which relates to United States participation in multilateral and bilateral technical cooperation programs, includes a provision which authorizes the President of the United States to make contributions to the Organization of American States for technical cooperation programs carried on by it and its related organizations. Chapter XI, Title I of Public Law 759 of the Eighty-First Congress (approved September 6, 1950), which contains an appropriation for expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out the provisions of Title IV of Public Law 535, includes the following language:

*Provided further,* That the making of any survey or the advancement of any technical cooperation program

or the preparation of plans for projects does not constitute any obligation whatsoever on the part of the Government of the United States to make any loan or grant for the execution or construction of any project or for the completion of any program devised under title IV of Public Law 535, approved June 5, 1950: *Provided further*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to give written notice to each recipient of funds or beneficiary under said title that such assistance shall not be construed as an obligation on the part of the United States to make funds available for the construction or execution of any project and to report such action to Congress.

In as much as the Organization of American States, as the recipient of contributions from the Government of the United States for the Program of Technical Cooperation of the Organization of American States, is one of the recipients of funds under Title IV of Public Law 535, I have the honor to inform you that the making of any survey or the advancement of any technical cooperation program or the preparation of plans for projects in connection with the Program of Technical Cooperation for which the United States makes contributions shall not be construed as an obligation on the part of the United States to make funds available for the construction or execution of any project.

Accept, [etc.].

For the Secretary of State :

JOHN D. HICKERSON  
*Assistant Secretary of State*

## **Vulnerability and Strategic Value of Near East Area**

*by George C. McGhee*  
*Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South  
Asian and African Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Now, we'll take a look at the Near East and South Asia. This vast area of more than 500 million people bounds Russia and Communist China on the south for 4,000 miles. This area has close ties with Europe and the West. What happens there is of vital concern to us and the rest of the free world. None of these countries are Communist. If they are attacked, they will defend their freedom.

The peoples of the Near East and South Asia are increasingly disturbed by the threat of Soviet aggression and by developments in Korea and China. They realize their vulnerability and their relative weakness. The strategic Near Eastern bridgehead between Europe and Asia and Africa has been coveted by every would-be conqueror from Alexander the Great to Hitler. Soviet ambitions clearly include taking over, sooner or later, the inhabitants of the vast territory in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean areas.

These lands contain great resources—half the

world's oil, and important quantities of manganese, rubber, and other essential raw materials. They constitute almost half of the manpower resources of the free world. The Near East is, moreover, the gateway to the fabulous riches of the African continent, the uranium of the Congo, the copper, chrome, and industrial diamonds.

I want to highlight the response to the Communist challenge of two countries in this area which have troops fighting in Korea. I refer to Turkey and Greece. Both have extensive frontiers with the iron curtain. Both realize that their security depends upon the strength and unity of the free world. Both contribute to the defensive strength of other countries in the Near East—for which they act as a shield.

Moreover, these two countries have voluntarily and enthusiastically supported the larger cause of collective security through the United Nations in Korea. Although Korea is further away from them than it is from us, they realized that, if aggression were not stopped in the Far East, the forces of aggression would soon turn to a new victim—perhaps to them. Their contribution to the United Nations forces in Korea has been outstanding.

For instance, the Turkish brigade of 4,500 men is the equivalent, population-wise, to 34,000 American troops. We have all followed with admiration the fighting prowess of the Turkish soldiers in Korea. A few weeks ago, they volunteered for a dangerous rear guard action of very great importance. Although surrounded, they accomplished their mission and heroically fought their way out.

As for the Greeks, they have courageously defended their homeland against Communist aggression. Since World War II, Greece has lost as many men fighting Communist guerrillas in Greece as we have lost in Korea although their national population is only 5 percent of ours. Greece sent to Korea her best troops—thoroughly trained in mountain and commando-type warfare.

It is true that, in some of the other countries of the Near East and South Asia, the governments have felt unable to make a contribution to the United Nations effort in Korea. This has resulted from various factors, but more because of a feeling of military weakness than from any lack of desire to support the United Nations. Some states have, unfortunately, not seen eye to eye with us on all details of handling the conflict in Korea, but they have, through their spontaneous cease-fire effort, sincerely sought to restore peace.

With the growing strength which is resulting from our own rearmament program, new confidence and hope will be given to our friends in the Near East and South Asia that they and the rest of the free world can be defended against Communist aggression. There is a growing recogni-

<sup>1</sup> Statement made over NBC television program, *Battle Report*, on Jan. 21 and released to the press on the same date.

tion on their part that their own true interest calls for a step-up in their own efforts to strengthen their individual and collective defenses.

We must vigorously seek to increase such strength wherever we can. The potential of the free world is tremendous. It is great enough to assure ultimate victory in any conflict. If it is to be fully realized, we must achieve increasing mutual understanding and teamwork on the part of all the free nations.

## **Point 4 Agreement Signed With Saudi Arabia**

*[Released to the press January 18]*

The United States and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia yesterday concluded a general agreement for technical cooperation under the Point 4 Program. Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett announced the signing of the agreement in Jidda by Saudi Arabian Finance Minister Shaikh Abdullah Sulayman and American Ambassador Raymond Hare.

Dr. Bennett welcomed the new general agreement as the first of its kind to be concluded with a Near Eastern country.

The general or "umbrella" agreements state the conditions of cooperation as prescribed by the Act for International Development, authorizing the Point 4 Program. They provide the framework into which agreements for specific Point 4 projects will fit.

The Saudi Arabian Government has already requested technical assistance in reclamation, irrigation, and underground water resources development. U.S. cooperation has also been requested in improving systems of Government accounting, finance and customs procedures.

In connection with the reclamation and irrigation project, which has been approved by the Technical Cooperation Administration, an aerial survey of the country's resources is being planned.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies most of the Arabian peninsula which lies between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The area of the Kingdom is about 3 times that of Texas, and its population is estimated at approximately 6 million.

King Ibn Saud has been taking progressive steps to develop his country and improve the standard of living of the people. He is currently devoting more than 15 percent of the country's revenues to the establishment of public works.

The Point 4 agreement just signed will extend that program and further encourage cooperation between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

## **French Prime Minister To Confer With the President**

*[Released to the press January 16]*

René Pleven, the Prime Minister of the Government of the French Republic, has informed the President of the United States of America of his desire to proceed to the United States in order to discuss with President Truman and other officials various important questions of mutual interest.

President Truman has, accordingly, extended an invitation to Mr. Pleven to meet with him, and Mr. Pleven will be in Washington on January 29 and January 30.

## **Agreement With Netherlands on Looted Securities**

*[Released to the press January 19]*

The Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, announced today the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Netherlands regarding claims by the Netherlands to looted securities.

Under the memorandum of understanding, a new program is to be adopted to frustrate the attempts of the Nazis and persons dealing with them to profit from the wartime looting of securities in the Netherlands. The memorandum marks a significant step in the implementation of important policy pronouncements by the Allies against looting during the war and in bringing to a conclusion in accordance with original objectives the wartime controls in this field. It is thought that successful action here may serve as a deterrent to predatory actions by any future aggressors.

During the war, the United States, the Netherlands, and other Allied Governments joined in the Inter-Allied Declaration Regarding Forced Transfers of Property in Enemy-Controlled Territory of January 5, 1943, and Resolution No. VI of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods, July 1-22, 1944. The Allies, thereby, served notice of warning to the enemy and persons dealing with the enemy that they reserved their right to declare invalid any loot transaction perpetrated in conquered territory, whether the loot transaction was in the form of force and duress or through more indirect means. Notwithstanding these warnings, the Nazi government engaged in considerable looting in the Netherlands of all kinds of property.

After the Netherlands Government came back into control of its territory, it submitted to this

Government a list of securities of American issue or denominated in dollars, claimed to be looted by the Germans from the Netherlands. Similar lists were submitted by other formerly occupied countries. This Government, then, amended its regulations governing security imports, General Ruling No. 5, so as to set forth, therein, a list of these securities, by serial number and other identifying data. General Ruling No. 5, as thus amended, required the deposit with the Federal Reserve Bank in New York of any securities listed which were brought into the United States and was intended to assist the Netherlands and other countries in a similar position by giving them an opportunity to assert their claims with respect to such securities when deposited.

However, the major portion of securities contained on the list were not deposited, and it became apparent that further action was required to bring the securities to light and enable the assertion of the claims of the Netherlands against such securities.

Under the present memorandum of understanding, a program is adopted which includes the issuance of an amended General Ruling No. 5 and a new General Ruling No. 5B which will require holders of securities identified in the rulings to deposit them. Holders of securities identified in Ruling No. 5B who fail to deposit face action by the Office of Alien Property, Department of Justice, at the end of 6 months to vest the rights in such securities. In this way, holders of the securities identified in General Ruling No. 5B will be under compulsion to deposit them so that the Netherlands Government may assert its claim to them. In the event that these securities are not deposited, the rights in the securities will be vested by the Office of Alien Property, which will, in due course, transfer such rights to the Netherlands or Netherlands nationals.

Holders of deposited securities will, after depositing them, be given an opportunity to establish the circumstances under which they were acquired, and, if the Office of Alien Property considers that they were purchased innocently, such purchases will be licensed, and the securities will be removed from present restrictions. The ultimate action which will be taken with respect to the securities identified in General Ruling No. 5 which are not deposited has not been determined, pending discussions with the countries in which the issuers are located.

Copies of the memorandum of understanding are also being made available. The memorandum includes as annexes the amended General Ruling No. 5 and the new General Ruling No. 5B which were issued today by the Office of Alien Property, Department of Justice. The Attorney General, in coordination with the Department of State, is issuing a press release setting forth in greater detail the provisions and background of these general rulings.

## **U.S. and Mexico To Discuss Farm Labor Agreement**

*[Released to the press January 17]*

The United States and Mexican Governments will meet at Mexico City beginning January 26, 1951, to renew discussions held periodically regarding operation of the Mexican-United States farm-labor agreement. The talks will take on increasing importance now not only because of the expanded need for farm workers in the United States during 1951 resulting primarily from the "emergency" conditions but also because Mexico will be satisfied first.

The agreement of August 1, 1949, has provided the mechanism by which Mexican farm-labor surplus to Mexico's needs can enter the United States legally to perform vital labor on United States farms. The workers enter the United States only in the certified absence of adequate domestic workers under conditions agreeable to the Mexican Government which is duly concerned for welfare of its own citizens.

The discussions will give both Governments an opportunity to clarify and settle various minor difficulties which have arisen under the terms of the 1949 agreement and will provide still another demonstration of the effective cooperation existing between the Governments of Mexico and the United States.

## **Transport Agreement With Ecuador Amended**

*[Released to the press January 17]*

The Department of State announced today an exchange of diplomatic notes between the Department and the Embassy of Ecuador amending the route annex to the bilateral air transport agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Republic of Ecuador signed on January 8, 1947, to provide for a route for an Ecuadoran air carrier.

Paragraph "B" of section 2 of the foregoing agreement has been amended to read as follows:

(B) Airlines of the Republic of Ecuador, designated in conformity with the present agreement, are accorded the rights of transit and of non-traffic stop in the territory of the United States of America, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international traffic in passengers, cargo and mail at Miami, Florida on the following route via intermediate points in both directions:

(1) Republic of Ecuador to Miami, Florida.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The original agreement provided for according such rights "at such time as the Government of Ecuador desires to commence operations."

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

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

### Adjourned During January 1951

United Nations:		
Seminar on Public Personnel Management . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Oct. 30-Jan. 30
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Asian Technical Conference on Cooperation . . . . .	Karachi . . . . .	Dec. 26-Jan. 2
Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labor: First Session . . . . .	La Paz . . . . .	Jan. 16-27
Fourth Meeting, International Association for Hydraulic Research . . . . .	Bombay . . . . .	Jan. 2-5
Who (World Health Organization):		
Standing Committee on Administration and Finance . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 8-21
Executive Board: Seventh Session. . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 22-31
Fourth International Congress on Large Dams . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10-15
First Session, International Commission on Irrigation and Canals . . . . .	New Delhi. . . . .	Jan. 10-15
Sectional Meeting of the World Power Conference . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10-15
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization): Executive Board: Twenty-fifth Session.	Paris . . . . .	Jan. 15-28
Joint FAO-Caribbean Commission Technical Meeting on Rural Cooperatives.	Port-of-Spain . . . . .	Jan. 22-27

### In Session as of January 31, 1951

United Nations:		
General Assembly: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Sept. 19-
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade):		
Third Set of Tariff Negotiations of Contracting Parties . . . . .	Torquay . . . . .	Sept. 28-
Tripartite Conversations on Security Export Controls . . . . .	London and Paris . . . . .	Oct. 17-
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Latin American Training Center for Agricultural Statistics . . . . .	San José . . . . .	Jan. 8-
Indian International Engineering Exhibition . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10-
Centenary Celebrations of the Geological Survey of India . . . . .	Caleutta . . . . .	Jan. 10-
United Nations:		
Economic and Social Council:		
Committee on Draft Convention on Freedom of Information . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Jan. 15-
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Regional Conference of Statisticians.	Rangoon . . . . .	Jan. 22-
Trusteeship Council: Eighth Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Jan. 29-
Inter-American Commission of Women, First Regional Seminar . . . . .	San Salvador . . . . .	Jan. 15-
Intergovernmental Study Group on Germany . . . . .	London . . . . .	Jan. 30-

### Scheduled February 1-April 30, 1951

FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council: Third Meeting . . . . .	Madras . . . . .	Feb. 1-
Meeting on Agricultural Extension: (Training Centre for Agricultural Extension Workers in Latin American Countries).	Turrialba . . . . .	Feb. 3-
Technical Meeting on Education in Home Economics and Nutrition . . . . .	Port-of-Spain . . . . .	Mar. 12-
Working Party on Rice Breeders: Second Meeting . . . . .	Bogor, Indonesia . . . . .	Apr. 9-
Working Party on Fertilizers: First Meeting . . . . .	Bogor, Indonesia . . . . .	Apr. 9-
International Cotton Advisory Committee: Tenth Plenary Meeting . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 1-
United Nations:		
Economic and Social Council:		
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:		
Submission on Iron and Steel: Third Meeting . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 12-
Committee on Industry and Trade. . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 14-
Seventh Session of Commission . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 22-

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

**Scheduled February 1–April 30, 1950—Continued**

United Nations—Continued

Economic and Social Council—Continued		
Twelfth Session of Council . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Feb. 20–
Transport and Communications Commission: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 12–
Fiscal Commission: Third Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 19–
Social Commission: Seventh Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Mar. 19–
Human Rights Commission: Seventh Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Apr. 16–
Population Commission: Sixth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Apr. 23–
Commission on the Status of Women: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Apr. 23–
Motion Picture Festival (Festival cinematografico) . . . . .	Punta del Este, Uruguay . . . . .	Feb. 15–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works: Third Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 12–
Governing Body: 114th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 26–
Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Mar. 27–
First Near and Middle East Regional Conference . . . . .	Tehran . . . . .	Apr. 9–
First South American Petroleum Congress . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Mar. 12–
IMO (International Meteorological Organization):		
Extraordinary Session of the Directors . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Mar. 15–
WMO (World Meteorological Organization): First Congress . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Mar. 15–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Air Navigation Commission Airworthiness Division: Fourth Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Mar. 20–
Air Navigation Commission Operations Division: Fourth Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Mar. 27–
Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Mar. 26–
Lyon International Trade Fair, Thirty-Third . . . . .	Lyon . . . . .	Mar. 31–
South Pacific Quarantine Conference . . . . .	Suva, Fiji Islands . . . . .	Mar. 28–
International Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Apr. 2–
Cannes Film Festival . . . . .	Cannes . . . . .	Apr. 2–
Milan Fair, XXIX International (Fiera di Milano) . . . . .	Milan . . . . .	Apr. 12–
Rubber Study Group: Eighth Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Apr. 16–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Administrative Council: Sixth Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Apr. 16–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Special Committee on International Sanitary Regulations . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Apr. 16–

**U.S. Delegations to International Conferences**

**Atlantic Fisheries**

The Department of State announced on January 16 that the appointment of three commissioners to represent the United States on the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission was made by the President on January 15, 1951. They are: Hilary J. Deason, chief of the Office of Foreign Activities, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior; Bernhard Knollenberg, author and lawyer of Chester, Connecticut; and Francis W. Sargent, director of the Division of Marine Fisheries, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts.

The Commission is being established by virtue of a convention between the United States and nine other nations which participate in the fisheries of the northwest Atlantic Ocean. Its purpose will be to provide the machinery for international cooperation in the scientific investigation and development of the fishery resources of the waters off the west coast of Greenland and the east coasts

of Canada and New England. The Commission will have no regulatory powers but will make recommendations to the respective Governments regarding measures which may be necessary for maintaining the stocks of fish which support the international fisheries in the convention area.

The convention came into effect on July 3, 1950, upon deposit of instruments of ratification by four of the contracting Governments. The ten countries which signed the convention are: Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States. Five nations have not yet deposited instruments of ratification, namely: France, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Spain.

By the final act of the conference, the United States was charged with the duty of convening the first meeting of the Commission as soon as possible after the convention came into effect and it is expected that such a meeting will be held at Washington within the next few months.

## Cotton Advisory Committee

The Department of State announced on January 18 that the tenth plenary meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee will convene at Lahore, Pakistan, February 1, 1951. The United States delegation is as follows:

### *Chairman*

Edwin D. White, assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture,  
Department of Agriculture

### *Advisers*

Stanley Andrews, director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

John H. Dean, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

James G. Evans, attaché, American Consulate General, Bombay

Rene Lutz, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

Arthur W. Palmer, head, Cotton Division, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

### *Adviser and Secretary*

Stanley Nehmer, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State

The International Cotton Advisory Committee was established in accordance with a resolution approved at the International Cotton Meeting held at Washington, September 6-9, 1939, by the governments of 10 of the major cotton-exporting countries of the world. At the fourth plenary meeting of the Committee, held at Washington in April 1945, provision was made for the expansion of its membership to include not only cotton-exporting countries but the governments of any countries substantially interested in the production, exportation, or importation of cotton.

The International Cotton Advisory Committee is an advisory and fact-finding organization, not a regulatory body. Its three major continuing objectives are: (1) to furnish information regarding the current economic position of cotton in the world; (2) to serve as a medium for the exchange of information on cotton conditions and on national policies affecting cotton, as well as of views and ideas designed to facilitate solution of problems affecting the world's cotton industry; and (3) to formulate recommendations and suggestions for international collaboration in studying and dealing with world cotton problems.

The forthcoming meeting will review the world cotton situation, placing particular emphasis on production and consumption of cotton, cotton competition with rayon and other man-made fibers, cotton stocks in different countries, and alternative uses of cotton. The ninth plenary meeting of the Committee was held at Washington, May 22-31, 1950.

Invitations to attend the meeting have been

extended to approximately 65 countries and a number of international organizations.

## Rural Cooperatives in Caribbean

The Department of State announced on January 19 that a technical meeting on rural cooperatives in the Caribbean, sponsored jointly by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the Caribbean Commission, will be held at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, January 22-27, 1951. The United States delegation is as follows:

### *Chairman*

Kelsey B. Gardner, principal agricultural economist, Business Administration Section, Cooperative Research and Service Division, Farm Credit Administration, Department of Agriculture

### *Delegates*

Wallace J. Campbell, director, Washington Office, Cooperative League of U. S. A., 726 Jackson Place, NW., Washington, D.C.

John H. Davis, executive secretary, National Council of Farm Cooperatives, 744 Jackson Place, NW., Washington, D.C.

Carlos M. Matos, Office of the Inspector of Cooperatives, Santurce, Puerto Rico

Luis A. Suarez, Puerto Rican Agriculture Extension Service, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Hector Zayas-Chardon, Puerto Rican Department of Agriculture, Santurce, Puerto Rico

The meeting, resulting from resolutions of the 1949 session of the FAO Conference and the tenth session of the Caribbean Commission, will afford experts on cooperatives from the Caribbean governments and from governments administering territories in the region an opportunity to exchange information and experience on cooperative problems and developments throughout the Caribbean region.

Among the items on the provisional agenda for consideration by the meeting are: a thorough discussion of obstacles, opportunities, and requirements for development of cooperatives in the Caribbean region; and possibilities or arrangements for collaboration and mutual assistance both within the area, including training facilities, finance, and research, and from outside the area, including provision of fellowships for study outside the area, advisory services, and assistance from the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Caribbean Commission in organizing programs for mutual aid.

Regional technical meetings of this type are regarded as an excellent means of developing practical policies and procedures adapted to the varying needs of different areas of the world. The first international meeting on rural cooperatives, sponsored by the FAO, was held at Lucknow, India, in October 1949; it was attended by representatives of FAO's member governments from Asia and the Far East.

## The United States in the United Nations

[January 19-25, 1951]

### General Assembly

Committee I—(Political and Security)—Debate continued in Committee I, January 19, on the reply received January 17 from the Peiping regime rejecting the United Nations statement of five principles on a cease-fire in Korea and subsequent negotiation on Far Eastern problems. Statements were made by seven members, and the proposals suggested ranged from endorsement of the United States position that the United Nations should adopt a resolution recognizing that the Chinese Communists had committed aggression in Korea to the continuation of efforts by the Cease-Fire Group. At the January 20 meeting, United States Ambassador Warren R. Austin opened the discussion by presenting a United States draft resolution which stressed seven points: it found the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has not only aided the aggressors but has "itself engaged in aggression in Korea"; called on the People's Republic of China to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw from Korea; affirmed the United Nations determination to continue its anti-aggression action; called on all states to aid this United Nations operation, and to refrain from assisting the aggressors; asked that a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee urgently consider additional measures to meet this aggression; and, affirming that the United Nations policy continued to be aimed at cessation of hostilities and achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea, asked the General Assembly President to designate two other persons to form with him a good offices group to attain this end. Ambassador Austin stated, "This resolution recites the fact of Chinese Communist aggression in Korea and recommends action to meet that aggression. It announces our united will to meet that aggression and declares once more that the United Nations remains devoted to the principle that its objectives in Korea should be attained by peaceful means if possible, and establishes machinery which would be in readiness to seize any opportunity which might present itself to this end."

This resolution received the wholehearted support of the majority of the member nations who spoke that afternoon—Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Greece, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, Panama, and Turkey. Three members—India, Indonesia, Iraq—proposed that further efforts be made toward working out a peaceful settlement with the People's Republic of China before considering the United States draft resolution.

On January 22 the Indian delegate, Sir Benegal N. Rau, opened the meeting by reading a new statement from the Chinese Communists, which the Indian Government had received in answer to its request for clarification of Peiping's reply of January 17.

In summary, the Chinese reply included the following: 1. If the principle of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea would be agreed upon and put into practice, then the government of the People's Republic of China would assume responsibility for advising the Chinese volunteers to return to China. 2. Regarding the conclusion of the war in Korea and the peaceful settlement of the conflict, two steps are considered necessary: (1) A cease-fire for a limited time period can be agreed upon at the first meeting of the seven-nation conference and put into effect, so that negotiations may proceed further; (2) All conditions for the conclusion of the war in Korea and for peace in East Asia must be discussed in connection with the political problems, as follows: (a) steps and measures for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; (b) settlement of all internal Korean questions by the Korean people themselves; (c) withdrawal of United States forces from Taiwan and Taiwan Straits in accordance with the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations; (d) other problems concerning the Far East. 3. The legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be insured.

In the light of this communication, Sir Benegal N. Rau stated that the 12 Asian-Arab nations had agreed they needed more time for further consultations and new instructions from their Governments and also, that no doubt other delegations would welcome some more time for this purpose; therefore, he proposed that the Committee adjourn for 48 hours.

Ambassador Austin opposed any delay in discussion on the United States resolution, stating that the Chinese Communist message afforded no reasons for this delay "while the blood of our sons is shed on the field of battle," and that the message was "a transparent effort to divide the free world and delay the exercise of the United Nations pacific functions. It is meant to postpone, delay, and procrastinate." However, after a lengthy debate, the Indian motion for a 48-hour adjournment was approved 27-23 (U.S.)-6.

The Committee reconvened the afternoon of January 24. Statements were made by Ecuador, Venezuela, Chinese Nationalists, Australia, and Paraguay in support of the United States draft resolution. United States Ambassador Warren R. Austin again reviewed the problems and stressed how vital it was for the free members of the United Nations to take immediate steps toward collective action.

He stressed the need for adoption of the United States draft resolution and pointed out that "The present stage of debate in this Committee reveals a situation which is confused and uncertain. We must not let our minds be taken away from essential facts and basic principles. The facts are not in dispute. The principles are the principles of the Charter. . . . It is a matter of common sense as well as of principle that no government can gain entry to the United Nations by force of bayonets and bullets. You can't shoot your way into the United Nations!"

A new draft resolution by 12 Asian-Arab states was circulated among the members but was not formally introduced. It recommended that Representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., France, Egypt, India, and Communist China meet as soon as possible to obtain necessary "elucidations and amplifications" of Chinese Communist reply to Committee's January 13 resolution and to make any incidental or consequential arrangements toward peaceful settlement of Korean and other Far Eastern problems; that the date and place of meeting to be fixed by the General Assembly President, with representatives determining same for subsequent meetings; and that the General Assembly be advised of results of the consultations as soon as possible.

Sir Benegal N. Rau (India), on January 25 formally introduced the revised draft resolution of the Asian-Arab states and urged that it be given consideration before the United States draft resolution. He also gave the text of the three questions contained in the message from the Prime Minister of Canada to the Prime Minister of India to forward to the Peiping regime for purposes of clarification of their reply of January 17.

The United Kingdom delegate, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, held that the United Nations should stand firm in Korea and do everything to repel aggression by force; no settlement contrary to the Charter could be countenanced but that all avenues for a peaceful settlement should be explored. The

United Kingdom fully agreed with the first five paragraphs of the United States resolution but had grave doubts about the wisdom of considering further measures before Peiping's intentions had been fully explored. Three of the five other members who spoke, Philippines, New Zealand, and Chile, supported the United States resolution; Egypt, a cosponsor of the Asian-Arab draft resolution, and U.S.S.R. were the other speakers. Discussion would be continued at the next meeting on January 26.

#### **Committee on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information**

The meetings held on January 19, 22, and 23 were devoted to drawing up the preamble to the draft convention on Freedom of Information approved at Geneva in 1948, which was finally adopted 10-2-3. On January 24, by vote of 12 (U.S.)-1 (U.S.S.R.)-1, a new 2-paragraph text for article 1 of the draft Convention was adopted. It sets forth the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information without governmental interference and declares no contracting state should regulate or control means of communication in any manner discriminating against any of its own nationals or nationals of any other contracting state (as are lawfully within its territory) on "political grounds or on the basis of their race, sex, language, or religion."

#### **Specialized Agencies**

The World Health Organization's Executive Board opened its seventh session at Geneva on January 22. The most important problems on the agenda include consideration of WHO's long-range program, preparations for the fourth World Health Assembly, discussions of reports from expert committees, and examination of the Administration and Finance Committee's report.

#### **Universal Postal Union**

At a conference of the Universal Postal Union (UPU), which opened at Cairo on January 22 to study airmail postal questions, a U.S.S.R. resolution was introduced and adopted 5-3 (U.S.)-3 to seat a Chinese Communist representative. This resolution was strongly objected to by the United States, which had introduced a prior resolution to postpone consideration of the Chinese representation issue until the General Assembly had taken action and pending such consideration, to seat the representative of the Chinese National Government. The United States resolution was defeated by vote of 5-3-3.

## **U.S. Urges Noncompromise of Principles of Freedom of Information**

*Statement by Carroll Binder, U.S. Representative on Special Committee  
on Draft Convention of Freedom of Information*<sup>1</sup>

During the 3 years of United Nations debates on freedom of information, my Government has had many opportunities to set forth its concept of this freedom and to suggest how it might be extended and safeguarded throughout the world. The record will show that the United States has been foremost among the governments urging the United Nations to promote and protect this freedom everywhere.

I shall confine myself now to matters which are directly relevant to the draft convention on freedom of information. I believe it is essential that our respective attitudes be made as clear as possible at the outset in order that we may know from the beginning where we are heading. This is especially important because the long debate which has already taken place in this document has, I believe, confused rather than clarified the real issue. I hasten to add that I am not referring to our present discussion.

To dispel this confusion, we must lay bare the basic need for freedom of information in the world today. The setting in which we meet is one in which freedom itself is under attack. It is not a new attack. Freedom has been under constant, unremitting attack by totalitarian regimes—Nazi, Fascist, and, now, Communist—during much of the twentieth century. Use is made of every weapon—political intrigue, propaganda, and even military force.

In this setting, each one of us must ask ourselves these basic questions: Will our actions here add strength to the force of freedom? Are we likely to advance and protect the principle of freedom of information? Or will our efforts evolve into a document which, in effect, will utilize the pres-

tige of the United Nations to legitimize certain restrictive governmental practices which do not now enjoy international respect? I suggest that the answer to these questions should be the only determining factor in our work.

### **What Is Freedom?**

Each of us must seek to answer them in the light of his own understanding of this freedom. I should, therefore, like to summarize the principles which my Government strongly believes should underlie any convention in this field. I shall attempt to do so with all the candor which the subject warrants and I shall begin by asking: What is this freedom we are discussing?

Freedom of information is the basic communications system of a democratic society, and without it that society and that way of life cannot thrive. In my country, and in many other countries, it is the means by which common, everyday citizens seek and receive information about their work and about new methods of work; about their living conditions, good or bad, and the reasons for them; about their local officials, their state government, and their national government. It is the process by which they reach their decisions and make them felt upon those who govern, so that their country is ruled according to the wishes of the people. Therefore, when information is inadequate, when it is incorrect, when it is false, the decisions of our society are warped and misshapen, and the common good suffers.

But freedom is not only essential to a balanced political life. It is the source of intellectual, cultural, and scientific strength and independence. The individual must be free to express his aesthetic feelings according to his own motivations and to explore every avenue of thought. Whether he is an architect or artist, an engineer or writer, a stonemason or a teacher, his country develops and flourishes in its own richness only insofar as

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Special Committee of the General Assembly on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information on Jan. 17 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

he is enabled to develop his own talents to the limit of his capacity and in his own way.

Freedom of information is the right of every person to have access to all available facts, ideas, and opinions regardless of source and not only to the information approved by his government or any party. It is his right to test the official pronouncements of his government against the opinions of his fellow citizens and those held by other peoples; his right to advocate his beliefs through organs of his choice. It is his right to state his frank opinion of his public officials and those of other governments as well. It is his right to communicate freely with his fellow citizens and with those of other nations.

We believe that the exercise of this freedom is the inalienable right of every person. We believe that this freedom belongs to that relatively small vital area of the democratic process which must remain, as far as possible, immune from governmental interference. This is the absolute test of democratic government. To the extent that the exercise of this freedom is not free, no other liberty is secure.

#### **Certain Limitations Considered**

Freedom of information, like all forms of freedom, is subject to abuse and must, therefore, be subject to certain restraints. But such limitations must never go so far as to impair the basic freedoms. A doctor never prescribes the abolition of food to cure a stomach ache, even though the food may be the direct cause of the discomfort. The doctor knows from long study and experience that there are certain specific remedies that will alleviate the local suffering without impairing the patient's basic health.

Following this simple analogy, we believe that such limitations as must be imposed on freedom of information must evolve out of long and democratic experience in the use of this freedom. They must be such as to safeguard the maximum of freedom for each person. They must not be experimental in character, like regulations to control traffic in our streets, nor must they be applied to every transient irritant. They must always be subject to public criticism and to review by impartial judicial authority. And finally, we believe that such limitations as are necessary must, whenever possible, operate after the fact, as a means of penalizing proven and serious abuses, and not as a prior gag on freedom of speech. That is our understanding of this freedom and its proper use.

Now, to some, this concept may appear to be impractical. It will appear so if this freedom is confused with less fundamental liberties. It will seem so to some governments which, for various reasons, do not consider their people capable of reaching sound conclusions in the light of all available facts, or to governments which feel that they cannot wait for the public to make up its mind.

And, of course, this concept is extreme and completely impractical for totalitarian systems since it is the strongest weapon against dictatorship. But this is the only concept which my Government believes capable of promoting freedom of information, and, therefore, the only concept we can support.

#### **Points of View on the Convention Explained**

Now, the debate which has taken place in the United Nations on this subject has shown that there are, broadly speaking, three other main points of view with respect to this convention. There is, first of all, the totalitarian view as exemplified by the Soviet Union, which does not believe in freedom of information. This view maintains that freedom of information is to be guaranteed only to the extent that it furthers the doctrines and objectives of communism as practiced in the U.S.S.R. This is essentially the meaning of the guaranty set forth in the Soviet constitution. In practice, the governments which support this view have created a vast information control apparatus for the indoctrination of their peoples in the dogmas and dictates of the ruling party and for insulating them against all contrary facts and opinions.

These governments are engaged in a terrifying experiment to condition the minds of hundreds of millions of persons in an attempt to make them respond automatically to the commands of their rulers. In their hands, information has been transformed from a means of enlightenment and understanding into a political weapon taking any form or shape required by the situation. It has become a knife to assassinate reputations, a drug to dull the senses, or a poison to instill suspicion and fear.

Of course, when they advance their view in the United Nations, they have been careful to present it in the most disarming disguise. They have maintained that, to promote friendly international relations, it is first necessary to define what information is and then to suppress the dissemination of anything which does not conform to the definition. The suppression is, of course, to be accomplished by censorship and the definition is to be interpreted only by the government. With a few exceptions, the United Nations has seen the danger in these proposals, and, I trust, we shall not fail to do so now.

Another view apparently assumes that the real danger to freedom of information today is that it is abused by certain foreign correspondents and newspapers. Those who share this view seem to look upon this convention as a means of putting certain restraints on the work of journalists. They are willing to include in the convention some general language about freedom of information, but their primary concern seems to be to include certain specific curbs on journalists.

This is, I believe, a short-sighted and dangerous

point of view. This convention was never, as I understand it, intended to deal primarily or even directly with the work of journalists. I have understood its intent to be the promotion and protection of everyone's right to freedom of information. To distort it into a punitive measure directed at journalists would certainly be a mockery of everything the United Nations has attempted to do in this field. We must realize that undesirable checks placed on journalists would apply equally to artists and teachers, to lawyers and politicians—and, in the last analysis, to people like ourselves drawn from every walk of life. Even if the grievances against some journalists and newspapers are assumed to be real, this is certainly too high a price to pay to settle a few scores!

And, finally, there is what I have heard described as the "middle view." This is the view which accepts the fundamental principles of genuine freedom of information, but it is preoccupied with ways and means of insuring that the freedom will be exercised responsibly and that abuses will be punished. It is dedicated to insuring responsibility by law, and, apparently, it is not especially concerned that those who will administer the law may also determine the real content and meaning of the freedom.

Now, the real danger posed by this view is its stress on the need and desirability of arriving at some sort of compromise among the other dominant points of view. Those who hold this view seek to harmonize the maximum of liberty with the highest degree of discipline, and, while they shun the totalitarian conception of freedom, they do not rule out the possibility of arriving at some sort of working agreement with at least some aspects of it.

This is, in our opinion, the greatest danger facing this Committee. Compromise is an essential part of the democratic process. The people of the United States have learned to regard it as the key to the successful functioning of their Government. My Government has, on many occasions, also demonstrated its willingness to apply it to its international relations. But we must make a careful distinction between compromises relating to the way in which fundamental principles are to be executed and compromises of the principles themselves.

We are convinced that the fundamental principles of freedom of information cannot be the subject of compromise. We must, therefore, ask those who urge compromises what they propose to achieve by them. It is obvious to all, by now, that the totalitarian states will not, and indeed they cannot, agree to any compromise as regards their basic doctrines. Clearly, then, the likely result of a compromise in this area would be to weaken and dilute the democratic concept of freedom by pulling it down toward a lower common denominator. To seek compromises merely for the sake of reach-

ing some sort of agreement, even among the non-totalitarian points of view, would hardly promote freedom. It is much more likely to restrict it.

#### **U. S. Opposition to Compromises**

There are those who sincerely feel that we must reach some agreement or the prestige of the United Nations will suffer. But it will suffer far more if we agree on measures which entail repressive limitations on free speech and the free press. I would summarize the position of the United States on this matter by saying that we are anxious to participate in any effort to reach agreement on measures to further the cause of freedom of information. But we are strongly opposed to any compromise which is likely to endanger that freedom, regardless of its motivation.

I have felt it necessary to review frankly the background of this convention in order to make absolutely clear the frame of mind in which my Government approaches the task before this Committee. I must state with equal frankness that we do not believe that the cause of freedom of information will be furthered by an attempt to complete this convention now. The debates which have already taken place on this matter suggest that the convention, which was intended to advance this freedom, is more likely to restrict it. This is not a hasty conclusion, nor am I attempting to prejudge our work. It is a conclusion based on 3 years of discussion and negotiation not only in formal committee meetings but in many informal talks and in exchanges of views with a majority of the foreign offices of the members of the United Nations. Unless many governments have now changed their minds and will no longer press some of the proposals advanced in the past, it is difficult to see how we can hope to arrive at any agreement, let alone a constructive agreement worthy of the United Nations.

My Government is convinced that it would be far preferable to acknowledge that we have reached a temporary impasse and to await the development of the draft International Covenant on Human Rights. The draft Covenant now contains provisions in article 14 which, in our opinion, embody the maximum constructive agreement now attainable on this difficult subject. Moreover, we cannot see that this proposed convention would add anything of concrete and positive value to the guaranty now set forth in the draft Covenant. But we do see clearly the prospect of adding undesirable limitations and restrictions.

That is why I would urge this Committee to recommend that this convention be held in abeyance until we have taken definite action on the Covenant on Human Rights. Only then, will we be in a position to determine to what extent it might be possible to advance still more the cause of this freedom. And, only then, would we really know what it might be desirable to add to the

guaranty contained in the Covenant. This is not only more logical; it is also more realistic and practical. To proceed now with the completion of a more specific convention would, in our opinion, only add to the difficulties in the way of a successful Covenant.

If the Committee should decide, nevertheless, to make still another attempt, we must stand on the principles I have outlined.

Mr. Chairman, we are a small group discussing a subject which has already been debated at great length. As we sit here, momentous decisions are being considered by the United Nations, and we are apt to feel that our work has no great significance. But our work is of the greatest significance and, what is more, it is related to the discussions which are under way elsewhere in this Organization.

The remarkable advances which have been made in the facilities for mass communications have created an instrument whose potentialities for good

or evil have never before been available. It is being utilized by a few governments as means of forceful persuasion and as a cloak for policies and actions which their peoples would never willingly accept if given a free and informed choice. Now, more than ever before, it is vitally important to see to it that all facts and opinion receive the widest dissemination in order that people everywhere may have a chance to seek the truth and to make up their own minds.

We have a free choice. We can either face up to this great challenge and avoid any action which might hamper still more the spread of facts and ideas, or we can seek escape into the realm of purely verbal agreements which may only serve to strengthen the hand of those whose actions are responsible for the grave threat to world peace. I trust this Committee will keep its eyes on the real issue and not permit itself to add to the confusion and indecision which endanger the free world at this moment.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

The Treaty With Canada Concerning Uses of the Waters of the Niagara River. S. Ex. Rept. 11, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany Executive N, 81st Cong., 2d sess.] 17 pp.

Claims Convention With Panama Signed January 26, 1950. S. Ex. R. 13, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany Executive I, 81st Cong., 2d sess.] 4 pp.

Amending the War Claims Act of 1948, As Amended, With Respect to Hearings, Examinations, or Investigations. H. R. 2705, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 7802] 6 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 To Exempt From Duty Sound Recordings For News Broadcasts. H. R. 2728, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8726] 2 pp.

Exempting From Duty Articles Imported From the Virgin Islands Which Contain Duty-Free Foreign Materials. H. R. 2737, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 6343] 2 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930, as Amended, With Respect to Sound-Recording Materials for Use in Connection With Moving-Picture Exhibits and News Reels. H. R. 2738, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 7447] 4 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 To Provide for Exemption From Duty of Certain Sound Recordings Imported by the Department of State. H. R. 2739, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8514] 2 pp.

American-Mexican Treaty Projects. H. R. 2741, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 6304] 6 pp.

Temporary Appropriations. H. R. 2748, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 512] 1 p.

Implementation of the Tuna Conventions. Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives [To accompany H. R. 8945]. A bill to give effect to the convention for the establishment of an international commission for the scientific investigation of tuna, signed at Mexico City January 25, 1949, by the United States and the United Mexican States, and the convention for the

establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, signed at Washington, May 31, 1949, by the United States and the Republic of Costa Rica, and for other purposes. H. R. 2757. 15 pp.

Settlement of Intercustodial Conflicts Involving Enemy Property (German Enemy Assets). Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives [To accompany H. J. Res. 516]. A joint resolution authorizing the President, or such officer or agency as he may designate, to conclude and give effect to agreements for the settlement of intercustodial conflicts involving enemy property. H. R. 2770. 27 pp.

Taxes on Coconut Oil From the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. H. R. 2753, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8992] 3 pp.

Settlement of Intercustodial Conflicts Involving Enemy Property (German Enemy Assets). Hearings before the Subcommittee on Settlement of Intercustodial Conflicts Involving Enemy Property of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session on H. J. Res. 475. Joint resolution authorizing the President or such officer or agency as he may designate to conclude and give effect to agreements for the settlement of intercustodial conflicts involving enemy property, July 12, 1950. 30 pp.

Thirty-first Report on Lend-Lease Operations. Message from the President transmitting the thirty-first report on Lend-Lease operations, for the period ending March 31, 1950, furnished in accordance with section 5, subsection (b) of the act of March 11, 1941 (55 Stat. 32; 22 U.S.C. sec. 414 (b)). H. Doc. 666, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1 p.

International Labor Organization. Message from the President transmitting a message on the International Labor Organization. H. Doc. 676, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 20 pp.

Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation To Provide Military Assistance to Foreign Nations. Communication from the President transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation, for the fiscal year 1951, of \$4,000,000,000 To Provide Military Assistance to Foreign Nations. H. Doc. 670, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 4 pp.

Background Information on Korea. Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs pursuant to H. Res. 206. A resolution authorizing the Committee on Foreign Affairs To Conduct Thorough Studies and investigations of all matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee. H. R. 2495, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 74 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session on the Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. The Department of State. 403 pp.

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin. No. 81-13. Hearings before the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session on H. J. Res. 271 approving the agreement between the United States and Canada relating to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin with the exception of certain provisions thereof; expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the negotiation of certain treaties; providing for making the St. Lawrence Seaway self-liquidating; and for other purposes, April 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, May 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 1950. (Department of State, p. 95) 567 pp.

The Midyear Economic Report of the President Transmitted to the Congress, July 1950, together with a report to the President, The Economic Situation at Midyear 1950 by the Council of Economic Advisers. H. Doc. 644, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 160 pp.

Facilitating Deportation of Aliens. S. Rept. 2239, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 10] 11 pp.

Continuing Until the Close of June 30, 1951, the Suspension of the Duties and Import Taxes on Metal Scrap. S. Rept. 2259, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 5327] 3 pp.

Taxes on Coconut Oil From the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. S. Rept. 2260, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 8992] 2 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930, as Amended, With Respect to Sound-Recording materials for Use in Connection With Moving-Picture Exhibits. S. Rept. 2267, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 7447] 3 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 To Exempt From Duty Sound Recordings for News Broadcasts and in Connection With Moving-Picture News Reels. S. Rept. 2268, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 8726] 2 pp.

#### **U. N. Collective Action—Continued from page 169**

By doing these things, the General Assembly would decide in principle that collective measures should be taken to meet the aggression in Korea. In our view, it would be well for the Assembly to call upon some such body as the Collective Measures Committee to consider what future collective measures should be taken. We believe that this body should undertake this study immediately and should report back to the General Assembly as soon as possible with its recommendations to the members.

My Government believes that the General Assembly should also reaffirm that the policy of the United Nations is to bring about a cease-fire in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement and the achievement of the United Nations objectives in Korea, by peaceful means. For this purpose we believe there should be in existence a United Nations group which will at all times be ready to use its good offices to this end, whenever the Peiping regime decides that it prefers peace to armed aggression against the United Nations.

I believe that for the common cause of collective security, the great majority of members here present will want to choose this course. We can do no less if the United Nations is to maintain its integrity and the principle of collective security is to survive.

## **THE FOREIGN SERVICE**

### **Chiefs of U.S. Missions To Meet in Europe and Near East**

*[Released to the press January 17]*

Continuing the practice of holding periodic informal conferences of United States diplomatic officials to exchange views and discuss questions of mutual interest, a series of meetings is to be held in Europe and the Near East in the near future.

The chiefs of mission of United States posts in Eastern Europe will meet at Paris between January 30 and February 2. Attending the meeting will be Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Alan G. Kirk; Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Ellis O. Briggs; Ambassador to Poland, Joseph Flack; Chargé d'Affaires at Bucharest, James W. Gantenbein; and Chargé d'Affaires at Budapest, Gerald A. Mokma. Assistant Secretary George W. Perkins will preside.

A second meeting will be held at Frankfurt between February 5 and 8. Present during these conversations, will be Ambassador to Great Britain, Walter S. Gifford; Ambassador to France, David K. E. Bruce; Ambassador to Belgium, Robert D. Murphy; Special Representative for the ECA, Milton Katz; United States High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy; United States High Commissioner for Austria, Walter J. Donnelly; and the deputy United States Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Charles M. Spofford. The Department will be represented by Assistant Secretary Perkins, who will preside, and by Henry A. Byroade, Director of the Office of German Affairs of the Department of State.

The chiefs of United States diplomatic missions in the Arab States, Israel, Greece, Turkey, and Iran will meet in another conference, to be held from February 14 through February 21 at Istanbul.

United States diplomatic representatives who will attend the conference include the American Ambassadors at Cairo, Jefferson Caffery; Athens, John E. Peurifoy; Ankara, George Wadsworth; Tehran, Henry F. Grady; Baghdad, Edward S. Crocker; Jedda, Raymond A. Hare; Ambassador designate to Israel, Monnett B. Davis; the United States representative on the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, Ambassador Ely E. Palmer; the United States representative on the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, Ambassador John B. Blandford; the American Ministers at Beirut, Lowell C. Pinkerton; Damascus, Cavendish W. Cannon; and the American Chargé d'Affaires at Amman, A. David Fritzlan. The Department will be represented by Assistant Secretary George C. McGhee, who will preside, and by the director of the Office of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs, William M. Roundtree; and the director of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs, G. Lewis Jones.

Admiral Robert B. Carney, Commander in Chief, Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean Area, is also expected to be present at the Istanbul conference.

### **James G. McDonald Resigns as Ambassador to Israel**

On December 18, 1950, President Truman accepted the resignation of James G. McDonald as American Ambassador to Israel. For the text of Mr. McDonald's letter of resignation and the President's reply, see White House press release of that date.

**THE DEPARTMENT**

**Executive Order 10206 Provides for Support of U.N. Activities on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes<sup>1</sup>**

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, including the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 (59 Stat. 619), as amended, hereinafter referred to as the Act, and the act of August 8, 1950 (Public Law 673, 81st Congress), and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Secretary of State, upon the request by the United Nations for cooperative action, and to the extent that he finds that it is consistent with the national interest to comply with such request, is authorized, in support of such activities of the United Nations as are specifically directed to the peaceful settlement of disputes and not involving the employment of armed forces contemplated by Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to request the Secretary of Defense to detail personnel of the armed forces to the United Nations, and to furnish facilities, services, or other assistance and to loan supplies and equipment to the United Nations in an agreed fair share of the United States under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense shall jointly determine and in accordance with and subject to the provisions of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of section 7 (a) of the Act, and the Secretary of Defense is authorized to comply with the request of the Secretary of State, giving due regard to the requirements of the national defense.

2. The Secretary of State, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of section 7 (b) of the Act, shall require reimbursement from the United Nations for the expense thereby incurred by the United States whenever personnel or assistance is made available to the United Nations, except that in exceptional circumstances, or when the Secretary of State finds it to be in the national interest, he may, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense, waive, in whole or in part, the requirement of such reimbursement.

3. The Secretary of Defense, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of section 7 (a) (1) of the Act, may authorize personnel of the armed forces detailed to the United Nations to accept directly from the United Nations (a) any or all of the allowances or perquisites to which they are entitled under the first proviso of section 7 (a) (1) of the Act, and (b) extraordinary expenses and perquisites incident to such detail.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 19, 1951.

**Appointment of Officers**

Richard H. Heindel as deputy director, Office of Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs, effective December 10, 1950.

Nancy B. Chappellear as chief, Departmental Staff of Commission on Information, effective January 15, 1951.

Eliuor P. Reams as chief, Departmental Staff of Commission on Educational Exchange, effective January 15, 1951.

Henry R. Labouisse, Jr., as director, Planning Staff, Bureau of European Affairs, effective January 5, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> 16 Fed. Reg. 529.

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*The Department of State*

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*For complete contents see back cover*

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## Peiping Communist Regime Attempts To Blackmail United Nations

*Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin  
U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations<sup>1</sup>*

MR. CHAIRMAN: The present stage of debate in this Committee reveals a situation which is confused and uncertain. We must not let our minds be taken away from essential facts and basic principles. The facts are not in dispute. The principles are the principles of the Charter. This Committee should stop a moment and consider calmly and objectively the essential elements of the situation which confronts us. What are these elements?

### The Fact of Aggression

First, an organized armed aggression was committed by the forces of North Korea against the Republic of Korea across the 38th parallel on June 25, 1950. The facts of this aggression are unchallengeable. They were established by the United Nations Commission in Korea. Let us at the very beginning be absolutely clear about these events. There would have been no fighting in Korea except for that aggression. Further, that aggression was committed with the encouragement, participation, and support of the authorities in both Peiping and Moscow who furnished manpower and supplies to enable the aggression to occur. Interrogation of prisoners of war taken by the United Nations forces reveals that long before June 25, Communist China provided to North Korean authorities large numbers of military personnel of Korean ancestry, estimated at 50,000 troops, drawn from the forces of Communist China.

Most of the military supplies came from the Soviet Union. At the very beginning of this aggression, the Security Council passed two resolutions on June 25 and June 27. I should like to urge that delegates reread these resolutions. They still apply to the present situation. Those resolu-

<sup>1</sup>Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Jan. 24 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

tions and the action taken by the United Nations thereafter illustrated a principle of the Charter in operation; the United Nations was in fact and indeed fulfilling its purpose to maintain international peace and security and to that end taking collective measures for the suppression of an act of aggression.

### Peiping Assistance

Another essential element is that the Peiping regime has put its own organized armed forces into Korea to assist the North Koreans. It has committed a special offense in waging war against the United Nations. It has affronted the United Nations by the pretense that these forces are volunteers. Does anyone in this room really believe that the intervention in Korea of the Chinese Communists troops is a spontaneous act by the Chinese people and not an official decision of the Peiping regime? Does anyone believe that this intervention does not in fact and in law constitute aggression as that word is used in the Charter?

### Steps for U.N. Action

These are the facts from which we must start. What is the United Nations called upon to do in this present situation? We must oppose and not reward the aggression. The first article of the Charter states that it is the purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace 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 and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law adjustment or settlement of situations. What does this mean? It means the withdrawal of Chinese Communist forces from Korea where they have no right to be. Fundamental to the present situation is the fact that United Nations forces are in Korea to repel aggression and to

restore peace. United Nations forces should leave Korea when these missions are accomplished. United Nations forces should not leave Korea under such conditions as would invite an early resumption of North Korean or Chinese Communist aggression.

A second step is to settle the Korean problem. On what basis? The United Nations gave long consideration to this last October before the General Assembly adopted its resolution of October 7, 1950. That resolution is as valid today as it was then because it is in accordance with the principles of the Charter. We might all pause and reread that resolution and refresh our recollection of what are the United Nations objectives in Korea and how they should be achieved. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly also sets forth conditions for the withdrawal of United Nations forces.

A third step to bring about a general easing of the tension in the Far East is to turn to the peaceful settlement of other Far Eastern questions. As far as the United States is concerned, we are ready at all times to take part in appropriate processes of peaceful settlement for these and other questions. The United States Government takes seriously its solemn obligations under article 33 of the Charter. If discussions are held, the United States will enter them in good faith. We will not commit ourselves in advance nor will we insist in advance, as the Chinese Communists do, that the discussions must lead to a predetermined result in our favor.

### **Chinese Communist Cease-Fire Reply Confuses Issues**

Where are we now in terms of carrying out the purposes of this great organization? What has been happening since the Chinese Communist intervention began and this Committee started dealing with the problem?

It has been 7 weeks since the General Assembly put this item on its agenda as an important and urgent matter. In the weeks which intervened, the Committee and its members have made unceasing efforts to bring about in Korea peace with justice, in accordance with principles of international law and the Charter. All these efforts were rebuffed by Peiping.

The final effort was made on January 13 with the transmission to Peiping of the five principles representing the minimum basis on which an honorable settlement could be achieved. On January 17, the Peiping regime flatly rejected the five principles. Its response, including its so-called counterproposal, was utterly unacceptable. This final effort at peaceful settlement having been rebuffed, the United States introduced its resolution setting forth the undisputed facts and providing for further steps which, we believe, the United Nations is called upon to take under the Charter.

This is where things stood when Sir Benegal

Rau reported a further communication from Peiping to the Indian Ambassador. The United States has great respect for India and for Sir Benegal's sincerity. We admire his efforts, but, as the Philippine delegate said, we cannot agree that this new communication changes very much.

In the first place, what is the status and character of this communication and to whom is it addressed? Does it purport to supersede the response from Chou En-lai dated January 17, or is it merely an amplification of the earlier response? If it is in answer to some questions put to the Peiping government, what were those questions? Has the Peiping government reconsidered its earlier reply, and does it wish now to make a further communication to the United Nations? If that is so, there are simple ways for making such official and responsible communications and the Chinese Communists know how to do it. The United States does not wish ever in any case to close the door to the possibility of negotiation and settlement by peaceful means in an honorable way. Nor do we wish to be lacking in decent respect for the opinion of others. But this latest communication from Peiping appears to have all the aspects of a dusty answer. It appears to be designed to confuse the United Nations, to divide its members, and to becloud the issues that are before us.

If we read the proposal as a new offer to the United Nations and give it the benefit of every doubt as to its purport and its purposes, one thing remains clear: it is not an acceptance of the United Nations' proposal of January 13. Nowhere does it recognize the United Nations or the resolutions of this Assembly.

The latest communication talks of a cease-fire for a limited time. Does that mean that the negotiations might be interrupted at any moment by a new attack from the Chinese Communists because the talks were not going in exactly the way they wish? Are they seriously asking the United Nations to enter discussions in such circumstances? The five principles contemplated the immediate arrangement of a cease-fire to continue in effect until superseded by further steps approved by the United Nations.

The Chinese Communist response does not accept the principle that all non-Korean troops shall be withdrawn by appropriate stages from Korea. Instead, it says only that the Central People's Government will "advise" Chinese volunteers to return to China if the principle that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea has been accepted and is being put into practice. In other words, the United Nations forces are to be treated as having less right in Korea than the forces of the aggressor, and only after the withdrawal of United Nations forces has begun will the Central People's Government "advise" its troops to go home.

Further, the cease-fire is not to be arranged in advance, but it is to be negotiated by a 7-nation

group while hostilities are still in progress. Later negotiations, after the limited cease-fire, are agreed to by the Central People's Government only in terms which prejudice the outcome according to that Government's desires. Is this negotiation or discussion in the accepted meaning of the word? Is this what this committee had in mind when it transmitted the basis for a cease-fire to Peiping?

Finally, the response demands, and I am now quoting the language read to us by Sir Benegal on Monday, "The definite affirmation of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be insured." This presumably means that the United Nations is given an ultimatum that it must agree to accept a government currently an aggressor as the representative of China. The decision as to which government should represent China in the United Nations is a decision to be made by the United Nations. We have every confidence that it will be made soberly and justly, taking into account all the relevant circumstances. Surely, one of these relevant circumstances is the behavior of the Peiping regime and the fact that its armies are now on foreign soil as an invader, presently in battle with the forces of the United Nations and shedding the blood of soldiers of many of the Governments sitting at this table. It is a matter of common sense as well as of principle that no government can gain entry to the United Nations by force of bayonets and bullets. You can't shoot your way into the United Nations!

#### **U.S. Stands for Orderly Procedures**

The question of Formosa, the Chinese representation, and of other Far Eastern problems have been or can be put on the agenda of the United Nations and dealt with by orderly United Nations processes. Various members of the United Nations may take differing views on the question of Chinese representation and perhaps also on the future of Formosa. But they cannot possibly disagree with my Government's view that these problems must be solved in the United Nations in accordance with the Charter and the procedures provided for therein and not by blackmail.

When we compare the five principles and the latest Peiping communication, what do we find? The five principles meant in effect that if the Chinese Communists ceased their attacks on United Nations forces, there could be an end to hostilities in Korea, and then there could be bona fide discussions with a view to achieving United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means and to settling other outstanding questions in the Far East. The Peiping communication does not in fact agree to a cessation of hostilities; it does not in fact agree to discussions in good faith.

It is clear to us, as I am sure it is to most other members of the United Nations, that the Peiping reply is another rejection. It is easy enough to

### **Aggression by Chinese Communists**

#### *Statement by the President*

*[Released to the press by the White House January 25]*

Ambassador Austin has fully and forcefully presented the views of this Government on our attitude toward aggression by the Chinese Communists. These views have the solid support of the Executive, the Congress, and the people of the United States.

Each member of the United Nations must make its own decision on this issue. For my part, I believe in calling an aggressor an aggressor. The question of what can and should be done about the aggression in Korea of course must be discussed with all other friendly nations.

Obviously, this is no time for rash or unwise action. This is a time for clear thinking and firmness.

Let me stress again that the American resolution contains—as all our proposals have contained—a method for bringing about a cease-fire and opening the way for peaceful settlement of outstanding issues.

say yes if you mean yes. Peiping has said no, but this time it has said it less forthrightly.

The present reply gives no inkling that there has been a change of heart and that its intentions are honorable. The United Nations should not be fooled.

Let us ask ourselves with honesty and candor whether the United Nations should put itself in the position of a suppliant to a transgressor and make further appeals to Peiping. Would a further appeal contribute to the authority of the United Nations and the system of collective security? Would it not rather inflate the appetites and ambitions of Peiping, confusing the world as to what the issues really are and complicating a situation which is in fact a very simple one.

If particular members wish to address further appeals to Peiping, they are at entire liberty to do so. My Government would raise no objections. If these members receive any replies which reflect the possibility of a reasonable settlement or the adoption by Peiping of an acceptable course of conduct, of course, my Government will be ready to consider them. But I would point out to my colleagues that this is not merely a problem of finding a formula acceptable to Peiping. The result must also be acceptable to the United Nations and in conformity with the Charter. The United Nations has called on its members for great sacrifices on behalf of collective security. It has gone to great lengths to leave the way open for a peaceful settlement of a situation brought about by flagrant aggression. In the conduct of mili-

*(Continued on page 220)*

## Resolute Action Needed in Korean Conflict

*Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin  
U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations*<sup>1</sup>

MR. CHAIRMAN, I wish to comment briefly on the revised 12-power resolution (A/C.1/642/Rev. 1) which was placed before the Committee the other day. My Government appreciates the motives which have inspired the 12 Arab and Asian states to submit this draft resolution. I believe that all representatives at this table are equally concerned over the situation in the Far East and consider the same hazard that the continuation of this situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of world peace and security.

### Majority United on Principles

Nearly all of us, I believe, are determined to bring this situation to an end and to relieve the dangers which now hang over the world, excepting only the Soviet bloc who cannot open their mouths in this Committee without giving vent to hatred of all the independent countries, all the free countries of the world, and, in particular, the gratuitous insults to the United States of America. Save only those few members of the United Nations, I observe that this debate for about 7 weeks has produced a remarkable benefit for the great cause of world peace, for the particular cause upon which we acted in Korea, that of arresting aggression, preventing the spreading of it, discouraging the beginning of it anew.

This debate, as my distinguished and learned friend from Lebanon says, has concerned the people of the whole world. The world is seized of the problems with which we have been wrestling in Committee I.

Providently, among them are two grave questions. First, is the United Nations capable of pronouncing a moral judgment that is according to the obvious facts; and second, is the United Nations capable of formulating measures and means for taking collective action based on these facts and these moral judgments? The world waits with bated breath to observe what takes place in Committee I to answer these questions.

Like my friend from Lebanon, I have entire faith in this Committee, and I believe that as a result of these debates which have now run a long

time, we have accomplished a more perfect union than we have ever had before, a real union—not a paper union—a union of our convictions, a union of our firm persuasion and of our constant resolve.

I believe that we have taken out of this turbulent atmosphere the differences of misunderstanding and the lack of appreciation of the interests of individual member countries, the lack perhaps of perception of the difference in regional interests and emotions, and have come to understand each other better than we ever did before. So that when we finish our deliberations here, except for a few of us, and a very small minority of us, probably not more than five, we will have become consolidated in our unity, the necessity of which is made more apparent every time a single member of that group of five opens his mouth in this Committee, for he exposes the deep underlying cause of why we must be united, and we must have a collective security.

This will have been a great step in the progress toward removal of the causes of war, the adoption of pacific measures of settlement of disputes among nations, and the lifting up of all people all over the world to a better standard of living through the increased power of the United Nations to pull together in spite of an inside sore from which we suffer.

We differ right now not in our objective, which is the restoration of peace. On that we are all agreed. But, only in the methods which we can agree upon that lead to that objective. Agreement is necessary in order to have unity and harmony, and there may be a dozen different methods here that are equally good in the estimation of the originator. But, we have the duty of a great parliamentary body of coming to agreement.

I said only a few days ago, let us ask ourselves with honesty and candor whether the United Nations should put itself in the position of a suppliant to a transgressor and make further appeals to him? Would further appeals contribute to the authority of the United Nations and the system of collective security?

My Government feels strongly that the United Nations should face the fact that its efforts to find a peaceful solution up to this time have been rejected. If that word "all" and its contexts is an

<sup>1</sup> Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Jan. 27, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

obstacle to our uniting, that is so simple and easy that we do not have to discuss it at all.

I must say, in passing, that this resolution going by the name of the United States of America, represents the will and the judgment of a great many nations, and therefore any change of this character, I feel, before it could be consented to by the United States would have to be submitted to those other great countries who have participated in originating this idea for peace.<sup>2</sup>

We really think that although the time we have spent has not been wasted, although we have gained what I believe will be the most perfect union that this organization has ever had, yet I think we have arrived at the time when we ought to make a decision, and to make unity that corresponds to the facts.

#### Appeal To Name Aggressor

Let us look over our position. The Chinese Communist armed forces crossed the Yalu river into Korea and attacked our forces in the last week of October. For 3 months now, the United Nations has been considering what course of action it should take. Throughout this period, it has striven to find a peaceful solution and in an effort to promote that aim has avoided facing up squarely to the issue presented to it. The United Nations has shown extraordinary forbearance. It has proved beyond any doubt its will for peace.

In our view, the present circumstances do not justify further efforts in this direction which would result in delay in meeting the issue. In the view of the American people and their Government, the United Nations has already delayed too long to name the aggressor. I think you are aware of that. We are conscientiously opposed to any further United Nations action which avoids the central issue. In our view, the time has come to take a long overdue decision to recognize formally that Chinese Communists are aggressors in Korea and to take suitable action.

For these reasons, the United States opposes the joint draft resolution before us and will vote against it if it is pressed to a vote.

We urge the Political Committee to consider most seriously the effect of their vote on the moral position and prestige of the United Nations, so eloquently alluded to by my distinguished friend from Lebanon.

My delegation has a number of objections to the 12-power draft resolution on basic grounds of United Nations policy and still further objections of a technical nature. While these are not unimportant, I do not wish to dwell on them because, even if the resolution were amended to overcome those objections, we would still oppose the proposal for the reasons which I have stated.

I would point out again that the group which would be set up under the last paragraph of the

United States resolution will be free, immediately upon the approval of the resolution by the General Assembly, to use their good offices to obtain the objectives which the Asian-Arab group wishes to attain by other machinery. If it appeared desirable, the Assembly, of course, could give suitable guidance to this Good Offices Committee. These questions would present themselves in a different light once the United Nations has faced and surmounted the central issue.

There are one or two additional observations which I should like to make with respect to the resolution which the United States has placed before the Committee, notwithstanding that you were so kind as to listen to me a long time the other day upon this subject.

#### Details of Proposal

The distinguished Foreign Minister of Canada, in his statement to the Committee yesterday morning, stated his view that it is not the intention of this resolution to give the Unified Command any additional authority which they do not possess and indicated that he would welcome a confirmation of this. My distinguished friend from Lebanon repeated this and implied, at least, that the United States owed a duty to make a definite statement as sponsor of this resolution regarding that.

I am happy to say that this is likewise the view of my Government. A number of representatives have expressed some uncertainty with regard to the import of the penultimate paragraph, in which the General Assembly requests a Committee composed of members of the Collective Measures Committee—it is really an *ad hoc* committee (as stated by the distinguished representative from Australia in his analysis, which I might say in passing I admired very much) I say that if this resolution were passed, the General Assembly would request such an *ad hoc* committee, composed of members of the Collective Measures Committee, as a matter of urgency to consider additional measures to be employed to meet the aggression in Korea and to report thereon to the General Assembly.

The meaning of this paragraph, in our opinion, is quite clear. The *ad hoc* committee, to be established under the resolution, would consider additional steps which could be employed to deal with the aggression in Korea and would communicate the results of its deliberations to the Assembly as rapidly as possible. The Committee would, of course, take account in its work and particularly in its report of any results which might be achieved by the Good Offices Committee in the direction of a cessation of hostilities and a peaceful solution of the Korean question. The report of the Committee would be fully discussed in the General Assembly. It will be for the General Assembly, not the Committee, to make recommendations to the member states regarding proposals made by the Committee or any other recommendations on this subject

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 29, 1951, p. 167.

which the General Assembly may see fit to adopt.

In other words, this paragraph of the resolution in no way departs from normal procedure of the General Assembly, nor does it introduce any new legal element into the situation. Its passage would not commit any member to any particular measure.

Among the suggestions which have been put forward for amendment to the United States resolution, the only one which appears to be matter of substance was the suggestion of the Israeli delegation that paragraph 8 of the resolution should be dropped or amended so that the Committee would take no action until a further effort toward a peaceful solution had been tried and failed.

Mr. Chairman, this paragraph need not be dropped in order to have that effect. That is its effect according to the normal understanding of the language. Paragraphs 8 and 9 are not incompatible. They are really interacting paragraphs. They support each other. If the Good Offices Committee reports satisfactory progress toward pacific settlement, then the *ad hoc* Collective Measures Committee would withhold its report.

In view of the sentiment expressed that the passage of the United States resolution might slam the door on peaceful settlement, I want to make this brief comment that this is not true. The primary objective of this resolution and every paragraph of the resolution is that fundamental object of the United Nations to promote peace. That is why we are in Korea. We entered Korea not to make war but to make peace. It was in the exercise of the peacemaking function of the United Nations that we got in there, and we would not be in the kind of a war we are now in were it not for this new aggression, and the whole problem would have been finished and settled were it not for this new aggression. We had practically completed our work successfully; the purpose for which we sent troops there had been practically accomplished when this new aggression commenced.

We are not slamming the door on peaceful settlement by this resolution. We are constantly expressly holding it open, praying God that what we can achieve is peaceful settlement. All the world must know that that is the purpose of the United Nations and of every member of the United Nations.

After a careful reading of the United States resolution, I think that this point is made clear. Its final paragraph not only reaffirms that it is United Nations policy to seek a peaceful settlement in Korea in accordance with the United Nations principles but also establishes the machinery for continued efforts to achieve such a settlement, if any suitable opportunity is presented.

The door will always remain open for the Chinese Communists to cease their attack on United Nations forces and permit the achievement by peaceful means of United Nations objectives in Korea.

Nor does the appointment of that *ad hoc* committee to consider additional measures to meet the aggression in any way militate against peaceful settlement.

Indeed, it is the fervent hope of my Government that the work of this committee will help convince the Peiping regime and others responsible for the situation that the Peiping regime should agree to an honorable peace.

In the meanwhile, the committee would continue to study and prepare the report for which it is created. The committee, however, would not operate in a vacuum. It would be a realistic committee performing realistic tasks. Obviously, it would follow carefully the action of the United Nations forces in Korea and the military situation. Obviously, too, it should and would take into account the efforts of the Good Offices Group established under the last paragraph and any clear indication that the Peiping regime has changed its heart and wishes to live by the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Furthermore, the General Assembly, when it considers the report of this Committee, would take into full account any progress that the good offices group had made in its efforts to bring about a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement.

I am frank to say that my delegation sees no reason why the United Nations should not put a committee to work immediately to consider measures which the Charter contemplates it might be desirable to take in a case against an aggressor.

If the Good Offices Committee continued to be unsuccessful in its efforts, time would not be lost as a result of such an effort. If the Good Offices Committee should be able to report hope for progress, or success, certainly no damage would have been done by the activities of the *ad hoc* committee.

The United States resolution before you is simple and direct. The issues presented to the United Nations are clear as so well demonstrated by that great speech of Dr. Malik of Lebanon. Is not the time for action now? I ask the Political Committee whether the time has not arrived to create this great unity before all the world and before the aggressor.

## Senate Passes Resolutions on Communist China

On January 23, the Senate passed the following resolutions, S. Res. 35 and S. Res. 36, respectively, that were introduced by Senator John L. McClellan:

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that the United Nations should immediately declare Communist China an aggressor in Korea.

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Communist Chinese Government should not be admitted to membership in the United Nations as the representative of China.

## Renewal of Trade Agreements Act Supported

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*<sup>1</sup>

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am appearing today in support of H. R. 1612, a bill to extend the Trade Agreements Act for a further period of 3 years. Statements in support of the bill are also being sent to the Committee by the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, Labor, Treasury, and the Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration.

### Present Serious Situation

I want, first, to place the trade agreements program in the context of our total foreign policy. The President, in his State of the Union and Budget messages, has described the challenge of our times and what we as a people and as a Government must do to meet it. He has explained that this challenge is not only the threat of military aggression. It is also the threat of subversion, of stirring up class strife, of exploiting discontent, of preventing economic improvement. He has pointed out that we must be prepared to meet this threat in both of its aspects.

To do this we must do everything possible to build up the strength of the free world and to give its people a real stake in its future.

There is great need in the world today for expansion of production, so that the peoples in the less developed areas may look forward to better living conditions and have a democratic alternative to the promises of the Kremlin. We will need to continue economic assistance for this purpose.

In other areas, where postwar recovery is nearly complete, some countries will need further economic assistance to mount the necessary effort for our common defense.

Another integral part of the process of building strength in the free world has been the effort to expand the flow of trade. Only by a greater exchange of goods between countries can the full

benefits of economic development and greater production be maintained.

The trade agreements program has been a major element in our participation in this process of expanding world trade.

### Economic Progress Since the War

In facing the crucial peril of today, we can be thankful that so much has been accomplished, since 1945, in rebuilding the economic strength of many areas of the world.

Our own country has higher levels of employment and production than ever before. With the aid of the European Recovery Program, the countries of Western Europe have made remarkable progress in the restoration of their production and in building up their economic strength. Production in Latin America and in other areas of the world has substantially increased. Considerable progress has been made toward a restoration in balance in the international balance of payments of many countries.

Through the economic development programs of various governments, the Point 4 Program and the technical assistance programs of the United Nations, a concerted effort has been begun to help improve economic conditions in the underdeveloped areas of the world. The more developed countries have started to share with the people in those areas some of the skills and some of the knowledge which will help them to improve their present unsatisfactory standards of living; which will give them a real stake in the future.

Important steps have been taken for the expansion of world trade. Tariffs have been reduced over a wider area of world trade than ever before. Agreement has been reached limiting the use of various forms of trade restrictions. A wide area of trade in Europe has been entirely freed from quotas. Some important restrictions in the Western Hemisphere have been lifted completely.

Each of these activities has contributed in its own way to building greater strength and greater

<sup>1</sup> Made before the House Ways and Means Committee on Jan. 22 and released to the press on the same date.

unity in the free world. Each has produced both immediate improvements and promise for the future. Each has been carried on by many countries working together. None could have achieved comparable results if the various countries had been working separately and alone.

### **Need To Maintain Gains**

It is essential that these gains should be preserved. Wherever possible, they should be carried forward. In mobilizing to defend ourselves, we must not neglect or lose sight of the positive things that we are fighting for.

It is obvious that, for some time to come, large areas of world trade will be under some kind of control. Some of these controls, for example, will be imposed for security reasons. Others will be imposed to assure an equitable distribution of scarce materials. Yet, there will still be a substantial volume of trade moving in regular commercial channels. But we do not want those controls to go beyond what is really necessary. We do not want any unnecessary obstacles to interfere with the flow of needed goods. It is essential to our security and well-being that the objective of expanding trade be kept constantly before us and that the instruments for such expansion be kept available and used wherever and whenever possible.

The Trade Agreements Act is such an instrument. The act has enabled the United States to participate for many years in the practical work of world-wide tariff reduction. It has done more than that. It has become a symbol of United States determination to lead in the cooperative effort to expand world trade.

Renewal of the act will reaffirm that determination. Failure to renew the act would be a symbol of withdrawal from that cooperative effort.

### **Operations Under the Act**

The Government agencies which have been administering the act over the past 16 years have rendered an account of their stewardship from time to time in the hearings which have been held before this Committee on the occasion of the successive renewals of the act. I would like, however, to summarize briefly the scope of what has been done under the authority of the act and to refresh the Committee's recollection again as to the manner in which the act has been administered.

The results of the operation of the Trade Agreements Program to date are set forth authoritatively and in detail in the reports of the Tariff Commission to the Congress. The most recent of these reports covers the period April 1949 to June 1950 and has, I believe, recently been made available to this Committee.

During the course of the years in which the Trade Agreements Act has been in effect, we have negotiated trade agreements with 45 countries,

with which, in 1949, we carried on about 75 percent of our foreign trade. These countries and ourselves together carry on 82 percent of the total trade of the world.

In these negotiations, the Administration has kept continuously in mind the needs of producers and workers in both American industry and American agriculture. The concessions we have granted have applied almost equally to agricultural products and nonagricultural products. On the other side of the ledger, slightly more concessions have been obtained for agricultural products in other countries than for nonagricultural products.

The earlier agreements negotiated under the act were agreements simply between ourselves and one other country. There are now 14 of these bilateral agreements.

Under the 1945 renewal, however, a new approach was used, which was designed to increase the benefits to be obtained under the program and to widen the area of world trade covered by reductions of tariffs and tariff preferences.

This approach was to invite a number of countries to negotiate with us simultaneously and, at the same time, to negotiate with each other. The effect was to extend the area of reductions of tariffs and preferences to the trade between the other countries themselves and, thus, greatly to increase the potential effect of the negotiations upon the level of world trade. Moreover, the United States becomes entitled to the benefits of the tariff concessions and preference reductions made by the other countries to each other as well as those negotiated directly with us.

The result of these multilateral negotiations is embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This technique has proved so successful that 32 countries are now parties to that Agreement and 7 more are now negotiating to accede to it at Torquay. The products included in the tariff schedules of the General Agreement account for somewhat over half the entire trade of the world.

A further reason why the multilateral approach was felt to be more effective in helping to expand trade was that it would mean a far wider application of the general provisions of trade agreements.

These general provisions, as the Committee will recall, obligate the parties to the Agreement to do such things as give each other most-favored-nation treatment, not to put disguised tariffs on imports in the form of discriminatory internal taxes, to minimize the restrictive effect of customs regulations, to limit the use of quotas, not to increase preferences, permit them to take action necessary for their national security, and so forth. With the large number of countries now parties to the General Agreement, these provisions constitute an important body of international commercial policy rules and have provided a basis for the settlement of a variety of trade disputes.

The periodic meetings of the parties to the General Agreement have provided a convenient opportunity for each country to put into actual practice the vital principle of consulting with other countries before taking action which might adversely affect their trade. The atmosphere around the table has been one of mutual understanding, cooperation, and respect. We hope to be able to find ways of strengthening the General Agreement and making its operation even more effective.

Thus, these trade agreement negotiations have brought about a substantial reduction of tariffs and of tariff preferences on a very wide area of the world's trade.

It is particularly notable that, during the period of this activity, the people of the United States have achieved the highest levels of prosperity and real personal income that this country has ever known. This great expansion of employment and consumption is one of the significant factors which enables our economy to make its maximum contribution to the expansion of world trade.

The standards of wages and working conditions of the wage and salary earners of the United States, as well as the standards maintained by our farmers, during this period, have been the highest in history. These standards will continue to improve over time. What has been truly remarkable about this improvement has been the generality with which standards have risen—the way in which workers and farmers in all segments of industry have benefited. This phenomenon should put to rest for once and for all the old fear that a lowering of tariff barriers would depress labor standards in the United States. Despite substantial differences in money wages paid to workers in our farms and factories and those paid abroad, the superior efficiency of our industry and agriculture has offset the apparent wage disadvantage. So much so, in fact, that it is United States competition that is feared in many areas of the world, rather than the competition of countries where wages are low and efficiency is equally low.

There are some special cases in which disparities in wages might create some degree of competitive problem, even for United States industry. This is particularly the case in industries where there has been relatively little mechanization and where labor cost is still a very large proportion of total cost. The record of action under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act demonstrates clearly that we have been fully aware of this situation and that we have carefully acted with respect to situations of this kind in a manner that would avoid serious injury to the industry and the workers involved.

The trade agreements job has been very carefully done.

In the first place, all of these negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral, have been conducted on a product-by-product basis. This has enabled us and the other countries to take into

account the needs and problems of particular industries on the basis of the facts of each case. No country has been obligated to give concessions on any particular product. No country has been expected to give concessions unless it got satisfactory concessions in return. And every agreement negotiated since 1943, including the General Agreement, has included a general escape clause. This clause permits the withdrawal or modification of a concession if, as a result of unforeseen circumstances, imports increase in such a manner as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers.

The procedures followed within the United States Government are carefully designed to permit maximum scope for negotiation and, at the same time, to guard against injury to domestic interests.

Responsibility for decisions under the act rests upon the President.

Because of the wide variety of interests which are necessarily involved in the tariff problem, the President has entrusted it to a Committee composed of representatives from a number of agencies, each of which is directly concerned with important aspects of the problem. These agencies are: the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, Labor, State, and Treasury, the Economic Cooperation Administration, and the Tariff Commission. This committee is known as the Trade Agreements Committee. It is chaired by a representative of the Department of State.

This Committee makes its recommendations directly to the President.

The members of the Trade Agreements Committee attend the conferences at which tariff negotiations are held, such as the conferences at Geneva and Torquay. The negotiating teams, which handle the actual details of the day-to-day negotiations, also include members from several agencies.

During my years of Government service, I have been in reasonably close contact with trade agreements work. I think it can fairly be said that the operation of the trade agreements organization, over the years, has been one of the most effective examples of interagency collaboration developed within the Government.

I have brought with me two statements which describe exactly how a trade agreement is made and the safeguards with which the administration of the act is surrounded. I would like to submit these for the record.

There is one point, however, that I would like to stress. The Congress has wisely required that public notice shall be given before the President concludes any trade agreement, so that anyone interested may be able to present his views and have them considered. Particular efforts have been made to get the largest possible amount of information from the public about products that may be involved in any negotiation. Every product that may possibly be considered for a tariff

concession is described in the notice of a prospective negotiation. Written briefs are solicited. Public hearings are held at which people interested can appear to supplement their briefs and answer questions. The information thus obtained is analyzed by the experts of the various Departments and forms an integral part of the basis for the recommendations of the Trade Agreements Committee to the President. Thus, every possible effort is made to insure that those recommendations are based on full and up-to-date knowledge of the facts.

It is indicative of the care with which the program has been administered by the interdepartmental trade agreements organization that, out of all the hundreds, even thousands, of individual United States tariff items which have been reduced or bound in these agreements during the life of the escape clause, there have been only 20 applications for its use. Six of these applications are still pending before the Tariff Commission. Of the fourteen that have been dealt with, only one has been found by the Tariff Commission to justify action. In that case, action was promptly taken and the concession in question was withdrawn.

The Trade Agreements Act has become a fundamental part of our foreign policy. Each renewal by the Congress has been a welcome indication to the rest of the world of the desire of the United States to play a leading part in the constructive work of expanding world trade. It is important now, as it has been in the past, that this policy be reaffirmed.

#### **No Large-Scale Negotiations in Prospect**

The next 3 years will necessarily be a period of consolidation and adjustment in the trade field rather than of major progress forward.

When the Conference now going on at Torquay is over, participating countries will want to have a period of time in which to test and observe the operation of the tariff rates there agreed upon. Moreover, it is obvious that the great uncertainties of the world situation are likely to persist for some time. It is, therefore, not expected that there will be another Torquay within the life of the extension provided for in H. R. 1612.

Adjustments in existing agreements will, however, undoubtedly be desirable from time to time. It is possible that it may be desirable to negotiate with one or two countries not represented at Torquay, either for their accession to the General Agreement or bilaterally. It is possible that some negotiations may develop in connection with efforts to promote greater integration in Europe which will involve some products in which we are interested and in which it would be to our advantage to participate on a limited scale.

Consequently, an extension of the President's authority is essential. The Administration does not, however, believe that any change is needed

in the limitation now included in the Trade Agreements Act on the permissible range of reduction in rates of duty. It, therefore, fully endorses H. R. 1612, introduced by the chairman.

In conclusion, I would like to return for a moment to the central idea which I expressed at the beginning. Our primary objective is to build strength and unity in the free world. Our whole program must create immediate military strength and the economic base on which military strength depends. It must create incentives to work to achieve and maintain that strength.

Continued participation by the United States in the cooperative effort to improve the conditions of world trade will be recognized both at home and abroad as one clear indication that, behind the shield of military power which we and our allies are creating, the techniques of growth and expansion are being maintained intact. Continuation of the trade agreements program is one way in which we can assure the peoples of the free world that economic expansion and rising living standards for all countries is still the goal of the United States.

#### **Point 4 Agreement With Nepal Signed**

*[Released to the press January 24]*

The Kingdom of Nepal yesterday concluded a general Point 4 agreement with the United States. Dr. Henry G. Bennett, Technical Corporation Administrator, announced the signing of the agreement in New Delhi, by Loy Henderson, United States Ambassador to India who is also accredited to Nepal, and the Nepalese Ambassador to India Gen. Shingha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana.

The agreement paves the way for the immediate undertaking of mineral survey project requested by the Government of Nepal. Robert S. Sanford, mining engineer on the staff of the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, will go to Nepal to make a preliminary survey of the mineral resources of the country and to advise the Government of the Kingdom on development plans.

Although its famous Gurkha forces served with distinction with the British and Indian Armies in both world wars, Nepal has had, until recently, relatively little contact with the outside world. After World War II, the Government of the Kingdom asked American cooperation in exploring the mineral resources of the country and advising on their development. The Point 4 Program provides the first opportunity to begin this work.

With an area about that of the State of North Carolina, Nepal supports a population of 6 million people in a predominately rural and village society. Its trade is primarily with India and, to a smaller extent, with Tibet.

## Expanding World Trade: United States Policy and Program<sup>1</sup>

### The Objective

The foreign-trade policy of the United States is aimed at expansion of world trade on a multi-lateral and mutually advantageous basis. In furthering this policy, the United States has long been cooperating with other countries in a program to eliminate discriminations in international trading and to reduce or eliminate excessive and unnecessary governmental trade barriers and restrictions, such as high tariffs, quotas, and foreign-exchange controls. This program is designed to help (1) increase production, exchange, and use of goods and services; (2) increase employment; and (3) raise living standards in all countries. It calls for a policy of consultation with other governments in order to reach peaceful settlements of trade difficulties, rather than a policy of unilateral action without regard to effects on other countries. Our trade policy is an integral part of our total foreign policy, which aims at establishing, throughout the world, conditions conducive to peace.

### The Economic Foreign Policy Program

In carrying out its policy, the United States, largely through cooperation with other nations, has undertaken many measures that are parallel in purpose, coordinated, and closely related:

1. Since 1934 this country has carried on a well-organized program for reciprocal reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade. We have concluded reciprocal trade agreements with a total of 48 foreign countries. Together, the United States and these countries account for more than four-fifths of the world's international commerce.

2. The United States is also negotiating a series of treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation. Since World War II, such treaties have been negotiated and signed with China, Italy, Uruguay, and Ireland. The treaties with China, Italy, and Ireland have been approved by the United States Senate and have gone into effect.

<sup>1</sup>This article is also printed as Department of State publication 4032.

That with Uruguay has been approved by the Senate and awaits approval by the Uruguayan General Assembly.

3. On April 3, 1948, the United States Congress passed the Foreign Assistance Act, authorizing a large-scale program to help certain European and Far Eastern countries to recover from the economic devastation of war.

4. Within the United Nations, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. All these specialized international agencies are designed to perform functions directly concerned with expansion of world trade.

5. The United States has started to put into action the President's Point 4 Program to help the peoples of underdeveloped nations help themselves. This program is designed to bring about a rise in production and purchasing power among these countries—both factors which will contribute to increased world trade.

### Economic Conditions After World War I

After World War I, especially during the depression of the early thirties, practically all governments applied rigid foreign-trade controls. Most of them were designed to restrict imports, but others tended to force domestic products into foreign markets regardless of supply and demand requirements or the effects on foreign countries. Some nations applied rigid controls because they feared another war. Some held mistaken ideas of nationalistic self-sufficiency and prosperity. A few were deliberately bent on economic and political aggression and domination.

Nations used such weapons of trade warfare as exchange restrictions, bilateral and discriminatory trade-balancing agreements, trade preferences, excessively high import duties, and export subsidies. The effect was to bring about the collapse of a wide segment of international commerce and to intensify and prolong the world-wide depression.

From the end of World War I to about 1928, the United States Government and private American investors made extensive foreign loans. Mean-

while, in 1921 and 1922, American tariffs were raised, finally reaching record levels in the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930. Since these high import duties made it difficult to sell foreign goods and services in the United States, many foreign borrowers were unable to earn American dollars in order to repay their debts, and would-be foreign customers were unable to buy American goods.

The value of United States imports dropped from \$4,399,000,000 in 1929 to \$1,323,000,000 in 1932. This drop deprived foreign countries of \$3,076,000,000 with which they might otherwise have bought United States goods. The reduction in United States imports was a basic factor in spreading the depression in other countries. In the same period, United States sales abroad declined by an even greater amount—\$3,630,000,000—from \$5,241,000,000 in 1929 to \$1,611,000,000 in 1932. American producers of automobiles, machinery, petroleum products, pork, wheat, cotton, tobacco, fruit, and many other export products were hard hit by the loss of their foreign markets. This meant that many American export industries were shut down, and their workers joined the bread lines, while crop surpluses accumulated and farmers suffered too. Lessened income along the line intensified the depression at home and abroad.

### **The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program**

In the United States it was recognized in the early 1930's that the first step toward restoring foreign trade and its benefits to our economy was to break down excessive governmental barriers to international commerce and to remove trade discriminations. It was also recognized that this could be most effectively done on a reciprocal basis, as "trade is a two-way street," and the American economy needs imports as well as exports for maximum prosperity.

In 1934, therefore, Congress passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, giving the President authority to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries. The duration of this authority as given to the President in the act of 1934 was limited to three years from June 12, 1934. In 1937, Congress extended the authority for another 3-year period; in 1940 for 3 years; in 1943 for 2 years; in 1945 for 3 years; in 1948 to June 30, 1949; and in 1949 to June 12, 1951.

Under the Trade Agreements Act, the President can reduce United States tariffs or other import restrictions on goods from abroad in return for reductions in their barriers against American goods. The act requires the President to obtain advice and assistance from certain United States Government agencies in formulating the provisions of the agreements and also requires that interested persons shall have opportunity, both before and after negotiation, to present information and views.

By Executive order, the President has established an interdepartmental organization which has the functions of advising him in the formulation of trade agreements and of receiving and analyzing views and information presented by interested persons in connection with trade-agreement matters. This organization includes a member of the United States Tariff Commission, representatives designated by the Secretaries of State, Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, Defense, Interior, and the Treasury, and a representative of the Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration.

### **What a Trade Agreement Is**

Trade agreements accomplish two things: (1) they provide for specified tariff and other concessions, by each party, on articles that are listed in the agreements themselves; and (2) through their "general provisions" they set forth the treatment, aside from tariff rates, which each nation will give to its trade with the other country or countries party to the agreement. These general provisions are primarily designed to prevent non-tariff restrictive measures from offsetting the advantages obtained through tariff concessions.

The general provisions include various commitments, such as prohibitions or limitations on the use of quantitative restrictions (quotas) and trade discriminations. Each party to a trade agreement undertakes to give to the trade and goods of the other party, or parties, treatment no less favorable than that which it gives to the trade and goods of any third country (the "most-favored-nation principle"). Each party agrees not to discriminate against imported goods in matters of internal taxation, import quotas, exchange restrictions, and other regulations of trade. Among the various other provisions included is the "escape clause," which is a part of all the agreements negotiated since 1943. Under this clause a party to the agreement may modify or withdraw a specific concession if it finds that, as a result of unforeseen circumstances, imports of the particular article concerned have increased to such an extent or under such circumstances as to cause or threaten serious injury to one of its own industries. If the escape clause is used, the other party or parties to the agreement may modify their own concessions to a corresponding extent. The agreements do not prevent any country from taking measures to meet requirements of national security, health protection, and other special situations.

### **Trade Expansion Between World Wars**

Before World War II and the events leading up to it had wholly dislocated world commerce, the trade-agreements program had contributed to a significant expansion of United States foreign trade, not only in general, but particularly with those nations with which agreements had been

concluded. While other recovery factors played important parts, the reduction of trade barriers between the United States and other nations, through the trade-agreements program, contributed greatly to these commercial gains.

### **After World War II**

After World War II practically every country in the world found it necessary to maintain or even intensify its drastic wartime controls over its economy—including its foreign trade. At the end of the war the economic situation of most countries was chaotic. Agriculture and industry in many areas of great importance to United States foreign trade were physically devastated, and many major industries had been wholly converted to war production. The capital structures of some countries had been destroyed, their foreign assets liquidated, and their manpower reduced. Many of their established foreign markets and foreign sources of supply had disappeared.

Throughout most of the world there was a drastic shortage of goods and of ability to produce goods—either for home consumption or for exchange in international trade. In particular, most foreign countries lacked goods which they could trade for things obtainable only from the United States. High prices both here and abroad and the extremely unstable and inconvertible currencies of many countries also added to the difficulties of carrying on foreign trade.

Nearly every nation rigidly controlled its foreign trade in order to make sure that its inadequate foreign purchasing power would be used for only the most essential imports. Nations resorted to import quotas, controls of foreign exchange, import and export licensing systems, and discriminatory bilateral clearing and barter arrangements. This maze of trade restrictions and limitations blocked normal channels of trade and ignored sound economic factors.

### **United States Foreign Trade Out of Balance**

One aspect of this situation had especially serious consequences for the United States economy and created a large deficit between the value of United States exports and the value of foreign goods and services received in return. In the postwar period the United States made heavy contributions, through both public and private agencies, in direct relief, loans, and grants to assist foreign countries in regaining their capacity to produce. American goods exported under the various relief and recovery programs were, to all practical purposes, being given away. Individual American producers of these goods were paid for them, but the American economy as a whole did not receive goods or services in return. This burden obviously cannot be borne indefinitely by American taxpayers and contributors.

By 1948 and 1949, foreign countries, through

their own efforts and with the assistance of the United States, had in large part regained their ability to produce goods. But without the opportunity to market the things they did not need for home consumption—that is, to exchange their surpluses for foreign products which they could not produce for themselves—the productive capacity alone was not sufficient to solve their problem.

In 1948 and 1949 there were deficits of more than 5 billion dollars a year between the value of United States goods sent abroad and the value of goods and services received by the United States in return. In effect, the United States was “going into the red” at the rate of 5 billion dollars a year.

There are two possible methods of eliminating this deficit without charging it to the United States taxpayer: (1) to reduce United States exports to the level of imports or (2) to increase imports to the level of exports. The first method would involve reducing United States production and employment in important export industries which depend on foreign markets to maintain maximum operation. Reducing operations in such industries would reduce the buying power of their workers in the domestic market, and thus contribute to a spiral recession in the American national economy. On the other hand, increasing United States imports of goods and services toward the level of United States exports would enable foreign countries to pay for the goods which they want to buy in the United States and which American producers would like to sell abroad, thus keeping American export industries operating at maximum levels without extra cost to American taxpayers.

Reducing unnecessary United States tariffs facilitates the increase of imports needed to achieve this objective. In short, it helps would-be foreign customers to earn the United States dollars which they must have in order to pay for more of the United States goods which they want to buy and which Americans want to sell. As they earn more dollars it becomes possible for foreign governments progressively to relax and eventually to abandon the network of restrictions, limitations, and discriminations which they have imposed on their imports from this country.

The reciprocal trade-agreements program is the mechanism which the United States uses in bargaining with foreign countries to assist in remedying the unbalance between our exports and our imports, and to move in the direction of the highest possible levels of sound and remunerative foreign trade in both directions.

### **The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade**

In 1945 the United States Government published its *Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment* and in 1946 its *Suggested Charter for a Proposed International Trade Organiza-*

tion. It also invited a number of foreign countries to negotiate for tariff reductions.

Taking up the United States proposal, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in February 1946 appointed a Preparatory Committee of 19 nations to prepare for a United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment for the purpose of establishing an International Trade Organization. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, although appointed on the Preparatory Committee, did not participate in the work of the Committee or in the accompanying tariff negotiations.

Not only did the Preparatory Committee, meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, prepare a draft of a charter for such an organization, but the member governments negotiated among themselves for reciprocal reduction of tariff and other barriers to trade. The United States participated in these negotiations under the authority of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 as amended and extended. This was the first time the United States had taken part in negotiations aimed at an agreement including so many countries, but the desperate postwar economic situation clearly demanded action more expeditious and far-reaching than could be obtained through bilateral tariff bargaining.

The result of the negotiations was the conclusion, on October 30, 1947, of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the most comprehensive action ever taken toward reciprocal reduction of barriers to world trade. The General Agreement was signed by 23 countries (China signed the agreement but withdrew from it on May 6, 1950). The Netherlands negotiated at Geneva on behalf of the Netherlands East Indies, which later, as the Republic of Indonesia, became a party to the agreement as an independent country.

The General Agreement covered more than 45,000 items, accounting for two-thirds of the import trade of the signatory countries—about one-half of all the import trade of the world. Under it, all concessions granted by each country apply to imports from all the other contracting parties. Concessions include complete elimination of certain specified duties and tariff preferences, reduction of other tariffs and preferences, bindings of specified duties against increases, and bindings of duty-free treatment.

The general provisions of the agreement are comparable to those in previous bilateral agreements negotiated by the United States, except that they are adapted to the special conditions of the postwar world, and they apply to an agreement among a number of countries instead of between two countries. They are designed to safeguard the advantages obtained through tariff concessions and to eliminate or reduce discrimination in trade among nations.

In the fall of 1948, the representatives of the contracting parties to the General Agreement invited other countries to take part in a new set of

negotiations looking toward participation of those other countries in the agreement and also toward tariff concessions among them and between them and the original contracting parties. No new concessions were to be exchanged among the 23 original signatories to the agreement.

At Annecy, France, in 1949, 10 new countries took part in the negotiations and by May 30, 1950, 9 of them had completed the necessary steps to become contracting parties to the General Agreement. On that date, the following 32 countries were contracting parties to the agreement:

Australia	Indonesia
Belgium	Italy
Brazil	Lebanon
Burma	Liberia
Canada	Luxembourg
Ceylon	Netherlands
Chile	New Zealand
Cuba	Nicaragua
Czechoslovakia	Norway
Denmark	Pakistan
Dominican Republic	Southern Rhodesia
Finland	Sweden
France	Syria
Greece	Union of South Africa
Haiti	United Kingdom
India	United States

Of the 28 countries with which the United States had concluded bilateral reciprocal trade agreements prior to 1947, 12 have since acceded to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and our bilateral agreements with them have either been terminated or superseded by the provisions of the General Agreement. The countries which have not become contracting parties to the General Agreement and with which the United States bilateral agreements are still in effect are:

Argentina	Iran
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Ecuador	Peru
El Salvador	Switzerland
Guatemala	Turkey
Honduras	Uruguay
Iceland	Venezuela

A bilateral agreement with Czechoslovakia was concluded in 1938, suspended in 1939, and terminated in 1945; Czechoslovakia became a party to the General Agreement after the Geneva negotiations. Another bilateral agreement with Colombia was concluded in 1935 and was terminated by joint consent as of December 1, 1949. A bilateral agreement with Mexico was signed December 23, 1942, and by joint consent was terminated on December 31, 1950.

The combined results of the Geneva and Annecy negotiations have brought into the General Agreement, as of September 1, 1950, a total of 32 of the world's trading countries which, among them, carry on some four-fifths of the international commerce of the world. More than three-fourths of the exports of the United States go to the countries which are contracting parties to the General Agreement.

In 1949, after the conclusion of the Annecy negotiations, the contracting parties decided on

a third set of negotiations, which opened September 28, 1950, at Torquay, England. During this third set there will be negotiations for further concessions among the present contracting parties, between the contracting parties and seven new countries, and among the new countries themselves. It is expected that three countries with which the United States now has bilateral agreements, namely Peru, Turkey, and Uruguay, will become contracting parties following the conclusion of the negotiations at Torquay.

### **The European Recovery Program**

Under the Foreign Assistance Act passed by Congress in 1948, the United States Government undertook large-scale programs for helping certain European countries to recover from the economic devastation of war. This again is in line with, and an integral part of, American foreign-trade policy. Only when foreign countries regain their capacity and freedom to produce goods and services, and to exchange them with other countries, can American investors hope for returns from their foreign loans and American exporters hope for remunerative foreign markets for their products.

Indication that the European countries are making great progress in increasing production is given in recent reports of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Though the program is only slightly more than half over, in the second quarter of 1950 industrial production of the participating countries was 122 percent of the 1938 level. In steel production there has been a rise of 52 percent, in cement 58 percent, in electric power 21 percent, and in hard coal 17 percent, since the ECA began operations.

This increased production has helped in expanding trade among the countries of Western Europe and between these countries and the rest of the world.

One of the requirements which European countries must satisfy in order to receive assistance under the recovery program is that they agree to help themselves and each other, to the limit of their ability. A major field in which they are expected to act is that of reduction of tariff and other barriers to trade among themselves and with other countries, for barriers which stifle the exchange of goods prevent maximum production and employment. Western Europe is taking concrete steps forward in this field under such programs as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the European Payments Union, and some proposed customs unions.

### **The Program for the Negotiation of Treaties of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation**

The basic purpose of treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation is to promote freer channels of international economic intercourse by establish-

ing explicit workable rules to govern the treatment accorded by one country to the persons, enterprises, capital, property, goods, and vessels of another country. The current emphasis in United States commercial treaties is upon obtaining assurances of fair treatment for American investors, which are deemed essential to the long-term objectives of Point Four, of the European Recovery Program, and of other measures for strengthening the economy of the free world. These treaties, however, also contain provisions relating to the exchange of goods which are very similar to the general provisions of the bilateral trade agreements.

Since the close of World War II, the Department of State has been seeking to expand and modernize this country's commercial treaty network. Intensive study has been given, in collaboration with other Government agencies, to the content of these treaties, and the basic proposals have been considerably improved in form and expanded in substance. Treaties have been signed with China (1946), Italy (1948), Uruguay (1949), and Ireland (1950). Treaty projects have been proposed to more than 30 other countries, and about two-thirds of these projects are in varying stages of active consideration or negotiation.

### **The Point 4 Program**

As the fourth point in his inaugural address on January 20, 1949, President Truman called for a "bold new program" of economic development through technical cooperation and capital investment to help the peoples of underdeveloped areas to help themselves. This Point 4 Program is designed to provide a part of the advice and training in modern science and technology which these peoples need to raise their standards of living and enrich their lives. It is thus a program to expand and strengthen the international community and the free world, and will thereby be mutually beneficial to all.

Under the act passed by Congress authorizing this program, the United States is contributing to the aims of Point 4 in three ways: (1) through bilateral agreements between the United States and underdeveloped countries; (2) by cooperating with and contributing to the United Nations Technical Assistance Program; and (3) through programs of American organizations and private enterprise.

The Point 4 Program recognizes the fact that in cooperating with the peoples of underdeveloped areas we are also helping ourselves. As these peoples develop the skills and know-how to utilize better their natural, human, and capital resources, they are able to increase greatly their production of goods. As they produce more goods, they are able to sell more on international markets, for many of their resources are in great demand. As they sell more, they gain greater purchasing power to buy the things they need and want from

all over the world. The United States and all other nations will benefit from this mutually profitable growth in international trade.

As a necessary corollary to the technical assistance program, underdeveloped areas must have more capital to develop their resources. Technical skills must be accompanied by the basic tools and equipment of production. Underdeveloped countries can themselves supply a large proportion of the necessary capital, but will need supplementary capital from other sources, including the Export-Import Bank, the International Bank, and private investors. To improve the climate for private investment from the United States and to speed the flow of capital, President Truman has asked the Congress for legislation to enable the Export-Import Bank to guarantee, against certain extraordinary non-business risks, United States private capital invested in underdeveloped areas. In addition, the series of treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation, mentioned earlier, will provide greater investment security.

#### **A Strengthened Trade-Agreements Program**

On December 6, 1950, with the approval of the President, the State Department announced that Congress would be asked to enact legislation renewing the Trade Agreements Act and authorizing more effective United States participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which now is only provisionally in effect. The desired legislation would do two principal things. First, it would authorize appropriations to permit the United States to finance its participation in the work of the General Agreement, including a small permanent secretariat, on a regular basis. Second, it would make possible the application of certain provisions of the agreement which cannot be applied until certain changes have been made in our laws. As to the second point, enactment of the Customs Simplification Bill introduced in the 81st Congress would accomplish almost all of these changes and, so far as the United States is concerned, would permit the agreement to be put into effect definitively and in its entirety.

The State Department announcement of December 6 also stated that the charter for the proposed International Trade Organization would not be resubmitted to Congress. The charter has been under discussion and negotiation since 1945. The Preparatory Committee appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in February 1946 prepared, during 1946 and 1947, a draft charter for the proposed organization. This draft included the trade code and also dealt with such matters as employment, economic advancement of underdeveloped countries, protection of foreign investments, and other subjects.

At Habana, Cuba, in 1948, representatives of 54 countries negotiated a final revision and agreed to submit this charter to their governments for approval.

It is readily understandable that approval of so detailed and comprehensive a document by so many nations with widely differing economic systems and problems was not easily forthcoming. In the United States the charter was submitted to Congress in April 1949. It was criticized by some groups for allowing too many restrictions on trade and by others for not providing for enough. Still other groups wanted no commitments in this field. Hearings on the charter were held in 1950 by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives but no further action was taken.

The declining interest in the International Trade Organization since 1948 is partly due to the fact that other organizations have gone forward with many of the programs which the International Trade Organization was expected to carry out. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is in provisional operation in the field of commercial policy. International aspects of employment are being dealt with by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Steps toward economic betterment of underdeveloped countries are being undertaken through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Economic and Social Council, and the United States Point 4 Program. Commitments for the protection of foreign investments are being sought through bilateral treaties. Many of the basic ideas of the charter with respect to international agreements regarding the marketing of specific commodities have been accepted in international trade practices. Such ideas relate to the need for equal representation of producing and consuming countries in commodity agreements and to the desirability of confining the agreements to commodities which are in burdensome surplus. The International Wheat Agreement, the first of its kind, has been negotiated and put into operation. International groups are studying the possibilities for agreements dealing with rubber, tin, and sugar.

For all these reasons it has been decided that, in the light of the present world situation, the charter will not be resubmitted to the 82d Congress

#### **An Integrated Economic Foreign Policy**

All of the lines of international economic activity in which the United States is engaged lead toward the same goal, but each is designed to deal with a different aspect of the world economic problem. Each of the programs that has been described is aimed at improvement of living standards in the United States and throughout the world. In embarking on these programs, the United States Government has recognized that this country cannot be an island of prosperity and security in an unstable and impoverished world. The United States economic foreign policy is a policy of cooperation with other nations for the benefit of all, a program in which the United States has more at stake than any other nation.

## Point 4 Agreement With Chile

[Released to the press January 16]

Chile and the United States today signed a Point 4 general agreement designed to accelerate Chile's economic development. Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett announced that the two countries would cooperate in setting up projects in the fields of education and food supply.

Representing their Governments at the signing of the general agreement, were Chilean Foreign Minister Horacio Walker and United States Ambassador Claude G. Bowers. Chilean Minister of Agriculture Fernando Moller and Education Minister Bernardo Leighton also signed special project agreements with Ambassador Bowers. Dr. Bennett announced that \$231,000 of Point 4 funds has been allocated to finance the work of United States technicians in the joint undertaking. Chile's contribution will, at least, equal that of the United States and will include the majority of the personnel working on the projects.

The Institute of Inter-American Affairs (IIAA), a United States Government corporation which conducts technical cooperation programs throughout Latin America, will carry out the new education and food supply projects as the agents of the Technical Cooperation Administration. The IIAA has been active in Chile since 1943 on extensive health and sanitation programs. Kenneth Iverson, Director, and Philip Glick, General Counsel of the IIAA, went to Santiago on January 2 to confer with Chilean officials.

The Institute works with other governments through "servicios"—cooperative organizations jointly financed and administered by the host Governments and the United States.

In requesting a food supply program, Chilean officials indicated their desire for a "servicio" patterned after one in Peru. The Peru "servicio," established in 1943, carries on agricultural extension activities and has built up a pool of farm machinery for the use of Peruvian farmers.

Dr. Wilfred Mauck, of Michigan, IIAA Director of Education; and J. C. Wright, of Washington, D.C., former Commissioner of Vocational Education of the United States Office of Education, are now in Santiago discussing the new education "servicio" with Chilean Government officials.

Chile's health and sanitation "servicio," directed by Dr. Theodore I. Gandy of Washington, D. C., has emphasized preventive medicine and sanitation activities. It supervised the construction of four health centers and has been operating three of these centers as models. Through the efforts of the "servicio," 10 Chilean communities now have modern sewer systems. The construction of the Santiago sewer system was one of the "servicio's" most extensive operations.

Tuberculosis, a major health problem in Chile, has been attacked through the establishment of

three demonstration sanatoriums, including the large Trudeau Hospital in Santiago. The "servicio" has also set up a school of public health with scholarships for training in public health, sanitary engineering, and nursing.

With the addition of Chile, nine countries have now concluded Point 4 general agreements with the United States: Ceylon on November 7, 1950; Brazil on December 21; Liberia, December 22; India, December 28; Paraguay and Nicaragua, December 29; Panama, December 30; and Costa Rica, January 11, 1951.

Chile recently signed an agreement with the United Nations which provides for technical assistance through the Food and Agriculture Organization.

In many respects, Chile resembles the state of California. The two areas are alike in climate, topography, and general shape. Chile extends 2,600 miles from north to south and has an average width of only 110 miles. Chile's rapidly increasing population is estimated at 5,765,000 persons, more than a million of whom live in and around the capital city of Santiago.

Chile is self-sufficient in many foodstuffs but imports all of her sugar, as well as some meat, oils, and fibers which are not produced domestically in sufficient volume to meet the demand. Agricultural production, as a whole, has changed little in the past 20 years.

## Point 4 Agreement With Peru

[Released to the press January 26]

The United States and Peru yesterday concluded a Point 4 General agreement, under which the two Governments will continue and expand their comprehensive program of technical cooperation.

Dr. Henry G. Bennett, Technical Cooperation Administrator, announced the signing of the agreement at Lima by United States Ambassador Harold H. Tittmann, Jr. and Manuel C. Gallagher, Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The agreement specifies the basic conditions of cooperation, as prescribed by the Act for International Development, authorizing the Point 4 Program.

United States-Peruvian cooperation in the fields of agriculture, health and sanitation and education has been carried on for the past 8 years, chiefly through the work of three "servicios" jointly organized, staffed, and financed by the Peruvian Government and the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, a corporation of the United States Government.

With the establishment, last September, of the Technical Cooperation Administration in the Department of State, this work came under the Point 4 Program. Six other technical assistance projects, begun under previous legislation, are also

being continued under Point 4. Twelve requests for new projects are now under consideration by the Technical Cooperation Administration.

Dr. Bennett said that \$1,091,250 had been tentatively earmarked from Point 4 funds for the Peruvian program in the current fiscal year. This includes the \$750,000 earmarked for the work of three "servicios" operated by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and the Peruvian Government.

The Health and Sanitation "servicio" employs nine United States technicians and a staff of 600 Peruvians. It operates 6 hospitals, 4 health centers, 4 dispensaries, 6 medical posts, and 20 sanitary posts. It also carries on programs of yellow-fever control, nutrition, and the training of personnel.

The cooperative health program was first put to work in 1943 in the Peruvian jungle east of the Andes, where it has brought the first medical help to thousands of people.

The agriculture "servicio" has been mainly concerned with improving the food supply of the Peruvian people. The program now engages the services of 17 United States specialists and 279 Peruvians.

The education "servicio" has cooperated with Peruvian experts in rural and vocational education work.

During the current fiscal year, the Institute is contributing \$350,000 in project funds to the operation of the three "servicios." It has tentatively allocated an additional \$400,000 for the services of United States technicians. The Peruvian Government's contribution for the same period totals \$900,000.

Six other technical assistance projects now under way in Peru are in the fields of civil aviation, mineral development, health, fisheries, and agriculture. Four United States experts of the Civil Aeronautics Administration of the Department of Commerce are helping to develop Peru's air routes, air traffic controls, and meteorological services.

The Interior Department's Geological Survey is cooperating in an examination of Peruvian lead-zinc ore deposits and other mineral resources, with the help of two United States experts.

A fishery development project, under the direction of the Department of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service is engaging the services of two United States experts.

Two doctors of the United States Public Health Service are investigating the effects of cocaine from the chewing of coca leaves. The results of this project should have an important bearing on the productivity of Peruvian mine workers.

Since 1942, the Department of Agriculture has been assisting the Peruvian Government in the operation of an agricultural station at Tingo Maria, in the eastern foothills of the Andes. This work, which has opened up a new area for settlement and development, was made possible by the

building of a highway from Lima into the valley of the Huallaga River, a tributary of the Amazon. Immigrants from the coastal area, in search of productive land, as well as a considerable number of displaced persons from Europe have made the Tingo Maria district productive in crops such as tea, coffee, bananas, and citrus fruits.

The area and population of Peru can be compared to those of four States of the Union, combined: California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona. Although Peru is one of the most richly endowed by nature of the Latin American countries, her resources are relatively underdeveloped.

About 65 percent of her 8 million people depend entirely on agriculture for their livelihood. Another 20 percent derive some support from the soil. Yet the country, which now exports large quantities of sugar and cotton, must import nearly 40 million dollars worth of food annually.

It has been estimated that the people, whose calorie consumption is one of the lowest in the world, could produce 90 percent of the food they need to be adequately nourished.

The towering Andes are rich in minerals, including some of the largest deposits of vanadium in the world.

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**Aggression by Chinese Communists**—Continued from page 205

tary operations, its forces have used the greatest restraint under extreme provocation in order to localize the conflict in Korea. But the United Nations must not be taken for granted.

I ask my colleagues to give some thought to the issue of collective security. Collective security is not merely a phrase. The views of the people of the United States on this matter were developed through a generation of vigorous debate and are linked with the sacrifices of the peoples of the world in World War II which had to be made because the world had not been able to establish a system of collective security to meet Nazi aggression. We do recognize that there are honest differences on the question before us on the points of view of the Governments represented around this table. Some are remote from the scene of conflict and hope somehow to avoid involvement. Some are concerned lest the strength of the United Nations be so committed in Korea as not to be available for their own defense. Others take differing views about the nature of developments in the Far East and what these mean to the rest of the world. But on one point we are all agreed. If any one of us is attacked, each of us would in that situation desperately ask the United Nations to provide the unified support of every other Government in the world to meet the attack. How can we bring that about for our own countries? Only by a determination to take united action to support each other faithfully and vigorously when an act of aggression occurs.

## Freedom's Stake in the Near East and South Asia

by *George C. McGhee*

*Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

It's very important for the people of the world to see one another as clearly as possible in this time of crisis. It seems to me that, sometimes, we speak too easily of geographical places, of political and economic issues, without remembering that people are involved in all of these problems.

When I speak of India or Greece or Ethiopia, I hope you will think of these countries in terms of people. India, for example, is a country of over 700,000 villages. And the people who live there have the same basic aspirations as you and I. My most vivid memory of Greece is the meeting I attended in a mountain village which had been liberated after occupation by the Communist guerrillas. I will remember the faces of the people who made up that meeting long after I have forgotten the political and economic issues which were under dispute at the time of my visit.

I would like to talk tonight about the aspirations of the people who live in the Near East and South Asia. Then, I propose to describe briefly some of the things we are trying to do to help them overcome their obstacles and achieve their goals.

### **U.S. Concern With Near Eastern and South Asian Peoples**

But first of all, why must we concern ourselves with the welfare of these people when we are already so heavily committed in the defense of Europe and in efforts to stabilize the situation in the Far East? Let me mention three principal reasons.

First, the 600 million people of this area represent about half of the manpower resources of the free world. Almost all of them are anti-Communist. They are as dedicated to the cause of

freedom and human dignity as you and I are. They constitute an integral part of the free world. Their potentialities are tremendous. We have inherited their civilization and culture.

Secondly, this vast area is of great strategic importance today. Every military conqueror from Alexander the Great to Hitler has sought to dominate the land bridge, known as the Near East, which connects the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. There is not the slightest doubt that the scheming dictators in the Kremlin plan to take over, subjugate, and exploit the human and physical resources of the Near East and South Asia. However, there is still time to build up their defenses against aggression while the Russians are committed elsewhere.

And finally, these ancient lands hold great resources, which will enable the people to raise their own standards of living, in time of peace, and contribute to the arsenals of democracy, in time of crisis. Foremost of these economic resources is oil.

Over half of the world's known supply of oil lies in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Iraq, and other Near Eastern countries. Twenty percent of the world's present production comes from the Near East. This great production has been developed by drilling only about 500 wells, as compared to over a million in the United States. Oil wells in the United States average only 12 barrels per day. Near Eastern oil wells average 5,000 barrels per day. The industries of Europe would grind to a fatal stop if their machines were deprived of oil from the Near East.

Our own industrial machines, which supplied the weapons of victory in the last war and are accelerating now to provide strength for the free world, depend on imports from the Near East and South Asia. We import chrome for high-speed cutting tools from Turkey. Pakistan, India, and Ceylon are among our sources of manganese used in making steel, graphite for radios and

<sup>1</sup>Excerpts from an address made before the South County Branch of the World Affairs Council of Rhode Island at Kingston, Rhode Island, on Jan. 25 and released to the press on the same date.

lubricants, and natural rubber for a wide variety of industrial uses. The Near East, moreover, is the only approach to Africa. Africa supplies 90 percent of the industrial diamonds used in high precision instruments, 75 percent of the sisal fiber used in rope, and 20 percent of the world's supply of copper. The Belgian Congo is an important source of many strategic materials.

So, we see that on political, social, and economic grounds, our own life and our own future are closely bound with that of the peoples and the lands of the Near East and Asia. It is vitally important that we work closely with these people and understand their aspirations. It seems to me that they have three principal objectives.

### **Objectives of Near East and South Asian Countries**

First, the people of the Near East and South Asia are passionately dedicated to retaining and strengthening the independence which they have won after hundreds of years under colonial status. They are deeply suspicious of outside influences, especially from the West. In some instances, they are more alarmed over what they mistakenly see as Western imperialism than over communism.

Second, they are determined to exercise their full share of responsibility in the collective effort to stabilize the world situation and claim the permanent basis on which governments and peoples can live and work together. They are proud of their leaders and anxious that they should assume positions of trust in the society of free nations.

Third, they seek to raise their standard of living and eliminate the wretched poverty, starvation, and disease which have hung over them for hundreds of years. They are determined to overcome the inefficient methods of production, antiquated systems of land tenure, inadequate credit facilities, and shortage of skilled manpower which are characteristic of underdeveloped countries.

These then are their aspirations—(1) to maintain their freedom; (2) to share in the collective efforts to maintain world peace; and (3) to improve their standard of living.

These are also the aspirations of the American people. If we seem closer to attaining them than our friends in the Near East and South Asia, it is partly because we have enjoyed a longer history of independence and comparative peace in which to pursue them.

### **U.S. Responsibilities to the Area**

Now, step by step, what can we do to help these people realize their aspirations.

#### **INDEPENDENCE**

First, we can help them to maintain and strengthen their independence by passing on to

them the lessons we have learned, through trial and error, in our own experiments with self-government. We are doing this now, largely through a greatly expanded international information program—including the Voice of America radio broadcasts. In Turkey, for example, a pamphlet on American history and government was distributed to every school. Teams of movie cameramen travel into the remotest villages of South Asia, showing films about American life and world issues to audiences in which the illiteracy rate sometimes runs as high as 85 percent. In urban centers, libraries provide the people with books which widen their horizons. Newspapers and magazines are offered factual material which emphasizes the fact that the task of preserving peace is the collective responsibility of the community of free nations.

### **COLLECTIVE PEACE EFFORTS**

Now, secondly, we can encourage the peoples of the Near East and South Asia to participate in the collective peace efforts by making every effort to understand and work out the honest differences of opinion which are bound to arise. It is true that some of the Governments of the Near East and South Asia have felt unable to make a contribution to the United Nations effort in Korea. This is due more to a feeling of their own security than from any lack of support of the principles of the United Nations. Some Governments have differed with us on details of the handling of the case of aggression in Korea. However, in their own way and in the light of their own particular situations and experiences, they have sincerely endeavored to restore peace. We must continue to give careful consideration to every sincere effort on their part to work out our differences and present a united front against aggression.

### **LIVING STANDARDS**

Thirdly, we can help the people of the Near East and South Asia to raise their living standards by providing them with modest amounts of loan capital, assistance grants, and technical assistance.

There is nothing very new in the technical assistance, or so-called Point 4 Program.

Today the world crisis adds a note of urgency to the Point 4 Program.

As the President said in his recent budget message—

... our total program of assistance to non-European areas of the free world must place proportionately more emphasis upon building security through helping the people and governments of these areas to solve pressing economic problems.

To varying degrees, in different parts of the non-European free world, the crucial problem in resistance to communism is the attitude and aspirations of the people. In some of these areas, millions of people live in desperate conditions of poverty, insecurity, ill health, and illiteracy. To them communism may appear as a possible escape from unendurable conditions of life.

These people must be given real faith in their future within the free world through concrete evidence that their age-old problems have been recognized and that effective steps are being taken to solve them.

Now, I would like to point out briefly some of the steps which the peoples of the Near East and South Asia, with assistance from the United States, are taking to raise their living standards and strengthen their security.

Private and government loans and technical assistance, plus the expansion of American enterprises, have helped the Republic of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, to increase the total value of her exports from approximately 3 to 16 million dollars in the last 10 years. Imports are 5 times as high as they were a decade ago. Liberia now grows all the rice she needs. She is going back into the coffee-growing business. Her capital, Monrovia, boasts a brand new 20-million-dollar free port which is crowded with ships of many nations, transshipping goods to all parts of the world where only a few years ago freighters had to stand offshore and be loaded from small lighters. This port construction project was hailed as a gigantic white elephant when it was first announced. It is already paying its way and has begun to retire its debt. Liberia, incidentally, is justifiably proud of her record of never having defaulted on a loan.

When I first went to Greece, in 1947, on an inspection trip as coordinator of the program for assistance to Greece and Turkey, the country's highways, canals, railroads, and ports were in deplorable condition after a long period of war and enemy occupation. The initiative of the people of Greece, coupled with timely assistance from the United States, have put the country's economic facilities back in operation. Business in Greece is humming ahead of the prewar level.

Turkey, among other improvements, is modernizing her road systems with machinery from the United States. She has increased her coal production over 40 percent and brought 3 million new acres of land under cultivation. United States loans and technical assistance have been offered Iran to launch an ambitious economic development program. Ethiopia is inoculating cattle against the deadly rinderpest disease at the rate of 10,000 cattle per month.

Five separate Point 4 projects are now in operation in India, and others are under consideration. Indian farmers in the United Provinces, in northern India, are learning to use improved seeds, crop rotation, and farm machinery from Point 4 assistance. Tangible results have already been achieved. The wheat yield of a 100 mile area around Mahewa has increased 63 percent and the potato crop has more than doubled. Two agricultural specialists from our Department of Agriculture are serving as consultants to the Indian Minister of Agriculture. Three experienced geologists will leave soon for India to study methods of develop-

ing the country's ground water resources. American engineers have already helped to lick the water shortage problem by bringing subsurface water to ground level through simple tube wells. An American engineering firm is working on irrigation and flood controls projects in Ceylon and Afghanistan. The governor of the First Central Bank of Ceylon is an American, teaching his colleagues sound principles of finance.

The Government of Pakistan has close to a hundred economic development programs under consideration, most of them involving some form of American cooperation. These include putting an additional 6 million acres of land under cultivation, generating 11,000 more kilowatts of electric power, building a first-class port at Chittagong on the Bay of Bengal, developing a textile industry, and stepping up the marketing of vegetable oils and hides. Pakistan's long-range plan is to achieve a balanced economy by correlating agricultural production with a measure of industrialization. Most of these projects directly benefit the people, especially those who live close to the soil. Over 90 percent of the people of Pakistan live in rural areas.

In many countries of the Near East and South Asia, the peasants who actually till the land pay an exorbitant rent to the owner. Others are share croppers who are allowed to keep only the smallest fraction of what they produce. They stand very little chance of ever gaining possession of the land. Credit for the purchase of land or farm equipment and seeds is either so scarce or so expensive that it is beyond the reach of most of the peasants. In some countries, the complicated and antiquated system of land titles leaves the farmer cultivating narrow strips of land, hardly wider than a single furrow.

Now, as an example of the initiative which one country, Iraq, has shown in meeting this problem, I would like to tell you something about the Dujaila resettlement project on a flat, dry, treeless plain between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Here, the Iraq Government has built a 30-mile canal to irrigate 163,000 acres of state-owned land. The irrigated land has been divided into 62-acre tracts and leased to 1,200 carefully chosen families. The head of each family signs a contract with the Government—usually by affixing his fingerprint to the table, since few of them can read or write—agreeing to cultivate the land for 10 years. He agrees to build a home, a stable for his animals, and storage bins for his crops. The Government, on its part, contracts to give free title of the land to the tenant after 10 years. When the project was first announced, over 50,000 families applied for membership. The Government required that each tenant must have lived in a nearby area. He must be married, between the ages of 18 and 50, and have at least one child. The project has been in operation less than 2 years, but there is already evidence that the tenants, inspired by the prospect of owning their own land, have outproduced their

neighbors who work under feudalistic conditions. Five other resettlement projects are now planned for other parts of Iraq.

In his recent budget message, President Truman emphasized that we must limit our technical assistance as well as loans and modest grants to—

... national governments which adopt in good faith the policies necessary to make the aid effective, and to make full use of their own resources.

Said the President,

We do not propose to assist countries where the governments are not sincerely trying to improve the economic conditions of their people.

At another point in his message, Mr. Truman pointed out that military strength depends on economic strength.

Economically, many of the countries in the Near East and South Asia remain weak in spite of the help which we have already given to them. Great problems remain to be solved. Governments are weakened by bitter feuds such as those between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir question and between Israel and the Arab states over the plight of three-quarters of a million Arab refugees.

In some instances, we can only maintain a position of benevolent neutrality in the face of these quarrels. In others, such as the dispute between Afghanistan and Iran over irrigation rights to the Helmand River which flows between the two countries, the good offices of the United States have been used to establish an impartial international commission to study the problem and recommend a just solution.

The decision of the Arabian American Oil Company to share its oil profits with the Saudi Arabian Government on a 50-50 basis is another inspiring example of what can be accomplished through patience and understanding.

We have the shining example of Greece and Turkey to inspire other countries to stand firm against the threat of communism. Both of these countries have a border along the iron curtain. Both contribute to the defensive strength of other countries in the Near East. Both have voluntarily sent troops to uphold the principles of the United Nations in Korea.

The potential strength of the free world is very great, and, as we grow stronger, new confidence and hope will surge through the entire area of the Near East and South Asia. The people of the United States have asserted their determination to oppose aggression through the medium of the United Nations, regardless of whether the aggressor is weak or strong. They are determined that the rule of force shall not prevail. I feel certain that the peoples of the Near East and South Asia share these convictions. Together, we can withstand the dangers of Soviet imperialism and work toward a common goal of security and progress.

## Facts Surrounding the Trial of Gordon S. Seagrave in Burma

[Released to the press January 23]

A number of misapprehensions seem to have arisen in the country over the facts surrounding the trial of Dr. Gordon S. Seagrave on charges of abetting treason against the Government of the Union of Burma. In order to avoid further misunderstanding the Department wishes to make the following statement:

The Burmese Special Tribunal of three senior judges which tried Dr. Gordon S. Seagrave, an American citizen, on three charges under the High Treason Act (a law devolved from the period of British rule in Burma), on January 17, 1951, found him guilty under two of the charges and acquitted him on the other. He was found guilty of assisting Naw Seng, an insurgent leader, to carry out the arrest of the Sawbwa of North Hsenwi, Special Commissioner for the Shan State, by concealing pertinent information from the Government. For this, he was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment. He was also found guilty of turning over to Naw Seng certain medical and surgical supplies. He was sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment on this count. Both sentences would be served concurrently. He was acquitted on the charge of receiving Naw Seng in his hospital compound and offering him tea.

Dr. Seagrave's attorney, U Kyaw Myint, a former judge of the Supreme Court, is filing an appeal to the High Court, and it is understood that the appeal will probably be heard within 1 month. In the meantime, the American Embassy in Rangoon, which has rendered all possible assistance to Dr. Seagrave during the trial, is procuring and forwarding to the Department of State a complete transcript of the testimony in the case.

The Embassy in Rangoon has been able to help Dr. Seagrave in many ways, including assistance in obtaining the services of an outstanding attorney for his defense, and by arranging to have Dr. Seagrave transferred from jail to a private residence during the trial. A representative of the Embassy visited Dr. Seagrave's hospital at Namkham, near the Chinese border, in order to confer with his sister and to obtain first-hand information about conditions at the hospital. The Embassy also had a representative present throughout the court proceedings and kept the State Department fully informed of all important developments.

Since the case is still before the Burmese courts, it would be inappropriate for the Department of State to make any comment on the verdict handed down by the Special Tribunal.

## Point 4 Program After Korea

by Samuel P. Hayes, Jr.

Director, Program Planning and Advisory Staff, Technical Cooperation Administration<sup>1</sup>

I should like to make three points in the course of my discussion, and I shall outline them now and again at the end of my talk.

First: The United States Government is now aiding economic development in underdeveloped areas at a rate of nearly 400 million dollars a year.

Second: Korea, and its implications for the security of the free world, necessitates a major expansion and major changes in our program of aid to economic development abroad.

Third: These changes must not, however, so dominate the Point 4 Program that they stifle long-run aspirations for a better life. Hope for the future is the most potent weapon of democracy.

In early 1949, when President Truman proposed the Point 4 Program as one of the main instruments for carrying out United States foreign policy, a surge of enthusiasm answered him, both in this country and throughout the world. As so frequently happens with great ideas, his proposal crystallized sentiments and aspirations that were already widespread and that were already reflected in many activities at home and abroad. It gave focus and impetus to those activities, and it gave practical form to sentiments that up to that time were frequently nebulous. His proposal raised hope of the fulfillment of the aspirations of peoples everywhere for a better life, a life in which economic forces would conspire together for peace. It was a psychological shot-in-the-arm, quite as important for its impact on morale as for its implications for economic progress.

The President, in the fourth point of his inaugural address, proposed that the United States embark on a "bold new program" of aid in the economic development of underdeveloped countries. He did not undertake to recite the many United States activities already under way that were, and are, contributing to that end. He pro-

posed certain new activities: first, a greatly expanded program of technical assistance, through which the efforts of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries themselves might be made more productive, and, thus, better able to support improved living conditions. This program he proposed should be carried out through the United Nations so far as practicable. Secondly, he proposed that the United States take measures to foster the flow of private capital into productive investment for economic development. For these new programs to be of greatest effectiveness in promoting economic development abroad, moreover, they would have to be joined to the activities already being carried on and the whole raised to a much higher level.

For a number of years, this Government had been carrying on activities that greatly aided the economic development of underdeveloped countries. Such activities included loans by the Export-Import Bank as well as United States participation in loans by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

They included grants and loans for supplies and equipment provided under the several United States and United Nations relief and recovery programs. They included technical assistance under the Economic Cooperation Administration programs for dependent overseas territories of ERP countries and under the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, the Fulbright Act (Public Law 584, 79th Cong.), the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402, 80th Cong.), and preceding legislation. They also included the negotiation of trade treaties, double taxation treaties, and treaties of friendship, commerce, and economic development, which serve to expand the flow of international trade and investment, upon which healthy economic development must be based. These Governmental activities supplemented private investment and commercial and philanthropic activities by United States individuals and organi-

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the Jewish Labor Committee at Baltimore, Md., on Jan. 23 and released to the press on the same date.

zations, the magnitude of which in many countries far exceeded the activities supported by this Government.

The Point 4 proposal grew out of our experience with these many activities and out of a growing realization of the need for economic development in underdeveloped areas. It recognized the mounting aspirations of the peoples in those areas for a better life and the mutuality of our and their interest in such development. Both the industrialized countries and the relatively underdeveloped countries stood to gain from the economic development of the latter. This gain would be important both politically and economically.

### **Current Expenditures**

During the current fiscal year, United States Government grant funds available for technical and economic assistance to underdeveloped areas total around 200 million dollars. This includes contributions of 40 million dollars to the technical assistance and development programs of the United Nations and the Organization of American States. During calendar 1950, loan disbursements made by the Export-Import Bank for development of such areas totaled 126 million dollars. In addition, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development made disbursements for development in such areas last year totaling nearly 60 million dollars. (The largest part of this Bank's funds come from subscription by private U.S. investors to the bonds of the Bank, of course.) Commitments by the two Banks of new funds for development purposes ran substantially higher, totaling nearly 700 million dollars altogether in 1950, but disbursement figures more accurately represent the actual flow of assistance.

Counting only Government sources of development assistance, then, the United States is currently aiding economic development in underdeveloped areas to the tune of nearly 400 million dollars a year. Of this, the 34.5 million dollars appropriated specifically under the new Point 4 legislation (the Act for International Development) is a very significant part but, obviously, not the largest part.

In talking of Point 4 today, therefore, let us have this figure of 400 million dollars a year in mind. So much for my first point.

### **Significance of Events in Korea**

Second: what do the events in Korea mean for all this? These various foreign assistance activities of the United States were undertaken partly to repair the devastation of war and partly to build up the foundation for a healthier economic and political world structure. This latter phase emphasized the development of economic resources for increased production together with the improvement of living and working conditions. It

was conceived essentially as a long-term program designed to maximize the use of the economic resources of other nations for their own growth and development, facilitated and aided by financial support from this country in magnitudes appropriate to the process of gradual growth.

The outbreak of war in Korea changed the whole atmosphere in which these economic development activities had been carried forward. The new demonstration of aggressive Soviet intentions and Soviet willingness to chance a world war of unprecedented dimensions and destructiveness forced us to reconsider the whole basis of our foreign economic policy. We had to think again of our experience in World War II when we learned the tremendous importance of building up production both in this country and among the other free countries of the world. Greater production in the so-called "underdeveloped" countries was especially urgent during that war: on the one hand, to provide food and raw materials needed by the United States and by the other relatively industrialized countries, whose consumption of primary products expanded very greatly, and many of whose normal sources of supply were denied to them; on the other hand, to supply the essential civilian requirements of the people of the underdeveloped countries, whose consumption needs would otherwise have had to be met from United States production, delivered in allied ships.

Today, we face a similar need. Expanded production in the underdeveloped countries, for their own consumption and for ourselves, is of the greatest urgency. This expansion cannot wait for the natural process of long-run economic growth, such as was believed possible 2 years or even a year ago. Ways must be found and resources committed to expand production in the underdeveloped areas greatly and quickly.

We must do more than step up the pace of the Point 4 Program originally envisioned, however. To a considerable extent, we must change its emphasis. It is quite true that increased food production was to play a large role in the original Point 4 Program. Now, it is to play an even larger role, for food is one of the most critical strategic materials in time of possible war, and we must prepare for any eventuality. But increased food is a peacetime objective also. So we are also preparing for the eventuality of peace. In this case, preparation for defense coincides with long-run needs for peace.

In other cases, however, there must be a reduction in long-term programs to permit concentration of our resources on short-term production increases. This is true in the United States as well, where education, housing, and consumer goods production must be curtailed in the face of mobilization and defense production needs.

Expanded production of food and needed materials is in the interest of the underdeveloped countries as it is in the interest of the United

States. It will strengthen the ability of those nations to defend themselves and to maintain their independence in the world today. It will contribute to our own requirements for civilian and military production and consumption and relieve the drain on United States production and shipping. As those countries become more economically productive, their own consumption can increase, and their own sense of the identity of their interests with the interests of the rest of the free world will grow. A successful program of promotion of production in the underdeveloped areas will strengthen the free world, both economically and politically.

How can we step up our assistance to production abroad? How can we quicken the process by which these foreign nations overcome the natural barriers of traditional attitudes and habits of work, outmoded and restrictive economic and social institutions, the shortage of local capital, the absence of a healthy and trained labor force, and inadequate public services such as power and transportation? This is a major question facing us today. We do not have the whole answer. We have part of it, however.

When the original Point 4 Program was prepared for submission to the Congress in 1949, it was conceived as a long-run, low-cost program, featuring technical assistance financed by the United States Government, and the encouragement of capital investment to be financed by private investors. It, subsequently, became evident that, in Southeast Asia, at least, there would not be enough time for such a program (and not much interest by private capital in investing in development projects in Southeast Asia). A different kind of a program was, therefore, developed. Based on the recommendations of the Griffin Mission, which spent March and April of last year in Southeast Asia, this new program combined technical assistance with the providing of enough equipment and supplies to get major development activities under way at once. These activities would, then, serve for demonstration and training; they would also themselves directly contribute substantial new production to the areas where they were located. Local governments were expected to assign experts and to contribute substantial funds themselves to cover local labor and materials costs. Projects requiring participation by United States personnel as technicians or managers would be put on an operating basis, with nationals of the countries concerned thoroughly trained in the technical and managerial skills needed to operate them. They would, then, be turned over to local governments or agencies; and United States personnel could move on to start additional projects.

This is a pattern that offers great promise for all areas where results must be obtained quickly. It is much more expensive than the original Point 4 Program. In the light of the new timetable with which we have to work, however, it appears

to be the only kind of program that makes sense for many countries.

On the assumption that this kind of program should be undertaken in a number of countries, in addition to Southeast Asia, the Gordon Gray *Report to the President on Foreign Economic Policies* recommended a United States grant program of about 500 million dollars a year in technical and economic aid to underdeveloped areas. This would mean more than doubling the grant program at present being carried on. It was to utilize strengthened international programs wherever feasible. In addition, the Gray report anticipated perhaps another 500 million dollars in loans by the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, making a total aid program for underdeveloped areas of around 1 billion dollars a year, contrasted with the present rate of nearly 400 million dollars a year (grants and loan disbursements combined).

The State Department is now working with other Government departments and agencies in a study of the detailed needs of the underdeveloped areas for technical and economic aid and the possibilities of using such aid to expand production quickly. Whether or not the program proposed to the Congress a couple of months hence will resemble in magnitude the Gray recommendations is still at issue. It is pretty certain, however, to contain proposals to extend the Southeast Asia kinds of technical and economic programs to other areas where rapidly expanding production is urgently needed.

#### **Psychological Value of Point 4**

So much for my second point: We must expand and change our present aid programs. Third and lastly, what happens to Point 4, that lofty and dramatic vision of gradual but constant improvement in living and working conditions, as a base for the flowering of democracy in a peaceful world?

This is a vision that we must not lose. It is a vision that grips the imagination of people everywhere. It is a magnet that is so potent that, when in November 1949 the United Nations General Assembly voted on its resolution to undertake a greatly expanded program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas, the vote was unanimous—rather a rare occurrence in that august body (or in any other).

If this program should come to be conceived as a program entirely designed to expand the production of goods needed for defense, it would lose what has so far been its greatest value—its psychological value. We must conserve that value. We need psychological strength, or morale, as much as we need economic strength. One is useless without the other. We must, therefore, retain enough of the original concept of Point 4 so that we can demonstrate the long-run stake that all

peoples will have in it. This will add to, and reinforce, the short-run stake that is so obvious that it tends to obscure the long run.

Immediate production increases are certainly needed. And they may quite properly be concentrated in food and raw material production of types likely to be needed if we get into a shooting war. Beyond these, however, there must also be programs that, while indirectly serving the defense effort, will also unambiguously serve the long-run interests of an eventually peaceful world. They must be of kinds and carried out through agencies, including a major reliance on international agencies, that inspire widespread faith and support. Only in this way will we be able, and only in this way will we deserve, to hold the hearts and imaginations of the people of the underdeveloped areas.

We must not forget that only by their will and by their efforts, in cooperation with us and in our and their common interest, can the people of the underdeveloped areas of the world increase their production both for defense and for long-term development.

Let me summarize, then, once more:

First: The United States Government is now aiding economic development in underdeveloped areas at a rate of nearly 400 million dollars a year.

Second: Korea, and its implications for the security of the free world, necessitates a major expansion and major changes in our program of aid to economic development abroad.

Third: These changes must not, however, so dominate the Point 4 Program that they stifle long-run aspirations for a better life. Hope for the future is the most potent weapon of democracy.

## Departure of Japanese Peace Mission

*Statement by John Foster Dulles  
Consultant to the Secretary*

*[Released to the press January 17]*

We are going to Japan to find the way to put our future relations on a long-term friendly basis. We shall, in our effort, rely greatly on the advice and cooperation of General MacArthur, who has already laid a good foundation for our present effort. We are working in close contact with our Allies, and we have talked over our plans with the committees of Congress.

For over 5 years, the Japanese have loyally complied with the surrender terms. We believe that they are now entitled to a peace which will make them the masters of their own destiny and give them the opportunity to take part in all the varied peaceful aspects of national and international life.

Restored freedom will come to the Japanese people at a critical time. Even before World War II has been formally ended, new armed aggression

has broken loose in the world. It is showing its viciousness close to Japan. The present state of the world places a heavy responsibility upon all free people. We have confidence, however, that the Japanese people, now that their militaristic ambitions have been buried, will become worthy members of the free world, sharing honorably its opportunities, its responsibilities, and the common purpose to surmount the dangers.

## Reply to U.S.S.R. on Measures for Eliminating International Tensions

*[Released to the press January 24]*

*Following is the text of the United States reply to the Soviet note of December 30, 1950, regarding a possible meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the U.S.S.R. The United States reply was delivered by the American Embassy at Moscow to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 23. Identical notes were delivered by the British and French Embassies at Moscow on January 23.*

The Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of December 30, 1950 of the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs and, under instructions from his Government, to reply as follows:

The purpose of the United States Government is to seek to allay existing international tensions by discussing all problems likely to threaten world peace with a view to resolving the fundamental differences between nations. It therefore confines itself in this reply to a further examination of the question of the basis on which such negotiations might take place and refrains from refuting in detail the allegations on a number of points, especially in regard to Germany, which are made in the Soviet Government's note. As the United States Government has repeatedly pointed out, particularly in its note of December 22, 1950, these allegations are completely without foundation.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the substance of the Soviet Government's note, the United States Government observes that the Soviet Government does not object to a preliminary conference of representatives of the four governments but, in view of other statements in the note, the United States Government feels it necessary to ask for clarification in order to avoid any misunderstanding and to make it possible that such a preliminary conference should serve a useful purpose.

The United States Government in its note of December 22 stated that the Soviet proposal for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers confined to considering the demilitarization of Germany in the context of the so-called Praha Declaration was not acceptable for the reasons therein given. The note proposed specifically that a meeting of the

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 1, 1951, p. 11.

Foreign Ministers should include in its discussions not only questions related to Austria and Germany but also the principal problems whose solution would permit a real and lasting improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Great Britain, and France and the elimination of the causes of present international tensions throughout the world.

In its reply, the Soviet Government limited itself to an indication that it is willing to discuss questions concerning Germany. In this connection, the note of the Soviet Government refers again to the so-called Praha Declaration which the United States Government as well as the Governments of France and the United Kingdom have made clear they could in no circumstances accept as a limitation on or as a basis for discussions.

The note of the Soviet Government thus does not reveal whether that government agrees that a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the four countries would deal with the other questions indicated in the note of the United States Government. The United States Government wishes to emphasize, as was stated in its note of December 22nd, that the tension which exists in the world today does not arise from the German problem. A discussion limited to the questions proposed by the Soviet Government would therefore be inadequate and unreal.

Consequently, the United States Government would be glad to know whether the Soviet Government does agree that those further questions and problems referred to above will be among those which the Foreign Ministers may discuss.

In its note of December 22, the United States Government further proposed that representatives of the four governments be designated to meet and examine the problems just referred to with a view to finding a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the four countries and recommending to their governments a suitable agenda.

In the view of the United States Government, these representatives would need to give some consideration to the questions and problems involved in order to determine their formulation for inclusion in the agenda as well as the order in which they would appear so that the mutually acceptable basis referred to could be established. It would not be the function of the representatives to attempt to arrive at solutions of the problems, this function being reserved for the Ministers themselves.

While the note of the Soviet Government states that it does not object to a preliminary conference of representatives of the four governments, it is not clear, in view of other statements in the note, whether the Soviet Government agrees that the function of such a preliminary conference should be as stated above. Consequently, the United States Government would be glad to know

whether the view of the Soviet Government in this matter is the same as its own.

As for the meeting place of the preliminary conference, the United States Government is prepared to agree on Paris.

The Government of the United States renews its proposal made on December 22 and hopes that the Soviet Government is prepared to discuss the elimination of the principal causes of present international tensions and that it will accordingly agree on the points mentioned above. If the Soviet Government does agree, the United States Government for its part is ready to set, in agreement with the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union, the date of the exploratory meeting of representatives.

## **Soviet Government Requested To Cease Showing Unauthorized American Motion Picture Films**

*[Released to the press January 22]*

*The following note was transmitted by the American Embassy at Moscow to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 17, 1951.*

The Embassy of the United States brings to the attention of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs the unauthorized showing in Moscow of the American motion picture films, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* and *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, which are understood to bear the legend asserting that the pictures were a "trophy of war" and further that *Mr. Smith* was obtained in Berlin. Upon instruction of the United States Government, the Embassy wishes to point out the following facts regarding these films:

1. The film *Mr. Smith* is owned by the American firm Columbia Pictures Corporation and was released for exhibition in a number of European countries between 1939 and 1949, not, however, including Germany or the Soviet Union.

2. The film *Mr. Deeds* is also owned by Columbia Pictures Corporation and prints were sent to all European countries except Germany and the Soviet Union between 1936 and 1938.

3. The Soviet Government is further informed that in the contracts pursuant to which these films were released for showing in certain European countries, excluding Germany and the Soviet Union, the American owners specified that all rights for distribution and exhibition were confined solely to the particular country and title to all negative and positive prints remained in the American owners and were returnable at the expiration of the license period.

In view of the above information the Embassy of the United States requests that no further

showing of these films be permitted and further requests the Soviet Government to return to the American Embassy all prints of both films in order that they may be returned to the rightful owner.

## **Publishers To Survey Information and Educational Exchange Needs**

*[Released to the press January 24]*

A committee of two book publishers and a librarian met today with Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, to discuss the better use of books in carrying out the United States Information and Educational Exchange Program.

The committee, selected in consultation with the book publishing industry and the library profession, will conduct an objective survey of the Department's press, radio, moving picture, and exchange of persons programs to insure that books are properly coordinated with other media.

Members of the committee are Robert L. Crowell, president of the Thomas Y. Crowell Company; Chester Kerr, secretary of the Yale University Press and Harland Carpenter, director of the Wilmington (Del.) Free Library. The committee's headquarters will be with the Department of State's Division of Libraries and Institutes which is responsible for United States information centers abroad. The centers also assist in such projects as sale of American books, translations, exhibits, presentations to foreign institutions of American books, the teaching of the English language, and the performance of American drama and music.

The committee was formed in accordance with the provisions of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 which requires that, to a maximum extent practicable, the services and facilities of private agencies be used in carrying out the United States International Information and Educational Exchange Program.

## **Construction of "Libby Dam" on U.S.-Canadian Boundary**

*[Released to the press January 19]*

The Government of the United States filed an application on January 12, 1951, with the International Joint Commission for approval by the Commission of plans for the construction and maintenance of the proposed Libby Dam and reservoir on the Kootenai River near Libby, Montana. Under the Flood Control Act of 1950,

(Public Law 516, 81st Congress) approved May 17, 1950, proceedings with a view to the construction of this dam and reservoir were authorized. As approval by the International Joint Commission of the project is required under article IV of the Boundary Waters Treaty of January 11, 1909, because it would "raise the natural level of waters on the other side of the boundary," Secretary Acheson made the application to the Commission on behalf of the United States.

The text of the letter of January 12, 1951, from the Secretary of State to the Commission reads as follows:

1. The Government of the United States hereby submits to the International Joint Commission, under the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of January 11, 1909, between the United States and Great Britain, this application requesting that the Commission give consideration to such effects, as the construction and operation of a dam and reservoir herein referred to as "Libby Dam" on the Kootenai (Spelled Kootenai in the United States, Kootenay in Canada) River near Libby, Montana, may have on levels or stages of the said Kootenai River at and above the international boundary between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada, and the consequences thereof; and that the Commission enter an appropriate order in the premises, expressly approving the construction and operation of the said Libby Dam and reservoir.

2. Under the Flood Control Act of 1950 (Public Law 516, 81st Congress), approved 17 May 1950, a project designated as "Libby Dam, Kootenai River, Montana" was "adopted and authorized to be prosecuted under the direction of the Secretary of the Army and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers." Attached hereto and marked Annex A is an application dated December 1, 1950, addressed to the Secretary of State by Major General Lewis A. Pick, Chief of Engineers, setting forth the details of the Libby Dam Project. The Secretary of the Army has approved this application and has forwarded it to the Department of State for presentation to your Commission.

3. Particular attention is invited to the following important aspects of this Libby Dam Project:

a. The Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate on September 24, 1943 adopted a resolution which reads in part as follows:

"Resolved by the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate, That the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, created under Section 3 of the River and Harbor Act, approved June 13, 1902, be, and is hereby requested to review the reports on Columbia River and Tributaries submitted under the provisions of House Document Numbered 308, Sixty-ninth Congress, first session, as authorized by the River and Harbor Act of January 21, 1927, with a view to determining whether any modification of existing projects or recommended comprehensive plans of improvement should be made at this time."

b. Pursuant to this authorization the United States proposed that the cooperation of the Government of Canada in comprehensive studies of the Columbia River Basin be obtained through a reference to the International Joint Commission under Article IX of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. The reference to this Commission by the two governments under date of March 9, 1944 resulted and exhaustive studies of the Columbia River Basin were made by the International Columbia River Engineering Board.

c. On November 1, 1950, the International Columbia River Engineering Board submitted to your Commission a report entitled: "Interim Report on Kootenay River." Particular attention is invited to the detailed informa-

tion contained in this report respecting this project. The report contained the following recommendation:

"In view of the foregoing and of the reference directive, the Board recommends that the normal forebay elevation of 2,459 feet above mean sea level be approved for the Libby project and that the Bull River project be an element of the comprehensive plan of development."

d. The reservoir would be approximately 100 miles long and from one-half to one and one-half miles wide. It would extend 42 miles into Canada to the tailwater of the Bull River Dam site, which is about 5 miles upstream from Wardner, British Columbia. With a full Libby reservoir the depth of water at the international boundary would be 150 feet. The reservoir will occupy approximately 51,500 acres, of which 17,700 acres are in Canada. In the Canadian portion, the reservoir would flood a few small communities and farms, and some secondary roads. In addition, it would necessitate the raising of the Canadian Pacific Railway Crows Nest line and No. 3 highway for short distances. The reservoir would have a gross storage capacity of 6,730,000 acre-feet, of which approximately 1,000,000 acre-feet would be in Canada. The usable storage capacity at 35 percent drawdown (123 feet) would be 4,620,000 acre-feet of which 980,000 acre-feet would be in Canada.

e. The dam would be a straight concrete gravity structure rising about 425 feet above bed rock. It would be about 2,440 feet long at the top and 1,200 feet long at the base. The head provided for hydroelectric development at the site would be 366 feet at normal full pool elevation. An overflow spillway in line with the existing river channel, equipped with gates, would have a capacity of 200,000 cubic feet per second. For flood control operation of the dam a sufficient number of sluices would be provided to permit, when combined with the flow through three of the powerhouse units, a total release of 60,000 cubic feet per second when the power pool is fully drawn down.

f. The powerhouse would be located at the downstream toe of the dam near the left abutment. The initial installation would consist of six generating units rated at 103,000 kilowatts each, or a total of 618,000 kilowatts. The ultimate installation would consist of ten such units, or a total installation of 1,030,000 kilowatts.

g. The estimated cost of construction is \$242,000,000 of which approximately \$5,500,000 is the estimated cost of providing the portion of the reservoir in Canada, and approximately \$236,500,000 is the cost of the dam and the portion of the reservoir in the United States.

h. The project would provide much needed flood control and power benefits in both Canada and the United States.

4. Accordingly, the Government of the United States asks that the International Joint Commission approve the Libby Dam Project and the proposed method of operation of the reservoir to elevation 2,459 feet above mean sea level.

5. This communication will, it is believed, be found by the Commission to contain all essential averments regarding the facts upon which this application is based and the nature of the order of approval desired, and to be in conformity with the provisions of Paragraph (a) of Rule 6 and with Rule 7 of the Commission's Rules of Procedure.

6. In submitting this application to the Commission, the hope is expressed, on behalf of the United States, that in view of the importance of the matters involved and the exigent need for immediate action, the Commission will expedite its consideration thereof and its action thereon in order that the project works and the plan of operation thereof may receive the approval of the Commission with the least possible delay.

7. Attached to Annex A of this application and made a part thereof are the maps and drawings showing the situation and extent of the project works.

The require additional copies of the application are being forwarded to you under separate cover.

## U.S. Delegation to Brazilian Inaugural Ceremonies

[Released to the press January 24]

The White House has approved the following delegation to represent the United States at ceremonies marking the inauguration of Getulio Vargas as President of the United States of Brazil, on January 31:

Herschel V. Johnson, U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, Special Ambassador and Head of delegation  
Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Special Ambassador; Chairman of the U.S. International Development Board

Other members of the delegation will be:

Robert B. Chipfield, Member; U.S. Representative from the State of Illinois  
Thomas S. Gordon, Member; U.S. Representative from the State of Illinois  
John F. Simmons, Washington, D.C., Member; Chief of Protocol, Department of State  
Samuel Guy Inman, Bronxville, N.Y., Member; author, lecturer and specialist on Latin American Affairs  
Mrs. Mabelle Kennedy, Pawhuska, Okla., Member; prominent Oklahoma businesswoman  
James K. McCahey, Chicago, Member; prominent Chicago businessman  
Rev. Joseph Francis Thorning, Washington, D.C., Member; educator, author, lecturer, associate editor of *World Affairs*

Representing the Department of Defense at the inauguration will be Lt. Gen. William H. H. Morris, Jr., USA, Commander in Chief, Caribbean Command; Rear Admiral James L. Holloway, Jr., USN, who will be aboard the heavy cruiser U.S.S. *Albany*, and Maj. Gen. Gordon Saville, USAF, Deputy Chief of Air Staff for Development.

Members of the delegation from the United States Embassy in Brazil include:

Sheldon T. Mills, Counselor of Embassy  
Brig. Gen. Renben C. Hood, Jr., Senior Military Attaché and Air Attaché  
Col. Burton C. Andrus, Army Attaché  
Capt. Willard A. Saunders, Naval Attaché and Naval Attaché for Air

On January 26, the Department of State announced that United States Senators Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa and Russell B. Long of Louisiana have been able to arrange their affairs in order to attend the inauguration ceremonies.

President-elect Vargas was elected on October 3, 1950, by popular vote. He was President of Brazil during World War II when Brazil's close cooperation with the Allies played such an important role in the defeat of the Axis powers.

The 13,600-ton U.S.S. *Albany*, flying the flag of Rear Admiral Holloway, will arrive in Rio de Janeiro on January 29 and remain until February 3.

## Soviet Preamble of Freedom of Information Convention Analyzed

*Statement by Carroll Binder*

*U.S. Representative on Committee on Freedom of Information<sup>1</sup>*

I should like to comment on the remarks of the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union concerning the preamble of this convention. Those of us who had been following this subject for the past 3 years see in this text the same old Soviet arguments, and, indeed, we could have anticipated almost all of them. I do not think it is necessary to present any detailed analyses of the real significance of the text he has proposed, but it may be of some usefulness to examine its relationship to the actions of the Soviet Union during the past 3 years.

### **Soviet Ideas on Press Freedom**

Now, the Soviet preamble begins on the premise—the false premise—that freedom of the press can only be secured if the press is free from pressure and dictation exercised by private publishing monopolies, trusts, and syndicates. This is not the place nor the time to engage in an argument over the merits of the private enterprise press system. In another forum, I would be delighted to engage in such a discussion with the delegate of the Soviet Union. But I do want to point out that the proposition he now puts before us ignores the greatest monopoly of all, the monopolistic, all-powerful Soviet information system. It ignores the elementary fact that there can be no semblance of a free press if a government, through a ruling party or otherwise, completely controls all press and information activities. In the Soviet Union, these activities are conducted under the pressure

and dictation exercised by the Soviet Government. It is therefore obvious that there is no freedom of the press in the Soviet Union. This fact is worth repeating now only if there are those who still find it possible to maintain that freedom of the press means complete and rigorous censorship by the state, that freedom of speech means freedom only to praise an absolute dictatorship, that freedom to receive information means freedom to be indoctrinated, without choice, in the dogmas of a single ruling party and to have access to no other sources of information.

But there is another aspect of this Soviet line that is somewhat more subtle. It is the thesis that there are principal tasks in the dissemination of information. Now, this concept that the press must carry out certain “tasks” has had a certain allure for the unwary. From the premise that organs of information are a powerful means of influencing public opinion, they have been tempted to conclude that these organs should carry out certain tasks, that is, that they have a certain set of prescribed functions in the interest of society.

At this point, one might logically inquire: who is to assign these tasks? Who is to be the taskmaster to see that the tasks are carried out? In practice, this can only be done, and, in fact, is only being done, by governments which have assumed the power to control the press. In essence, then, the tasks which are assigned to the press are those which further the policies and objectives of those governments. Of course, there are some who would contend that the press can assign itself such tasks. But, in practice, this would require, at least, control by a political party; and, again, we would not have a free press as we know it.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Committee on Freedom of Information on Jan. 19 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

Mr. Chairman, the press does have one great responsibility. It is the responsibility to seek the truth and to report its findings as comprehensively and objectively as possible. The press succeeds in promoting desirable social, economic, and political ends only to the extent that it succeeds in providing the general public with available facts and opinions and, thus, enables them to reach their own decisions. But it is not the function of the press to become an advocate or dispenser of party lines or governmental policies. It is not the function of the press to indoctrinate the reading public.

#### **Examination of Soviet Preamble**

Now, I would like to turn to the tasks which are set forth in the Soviet preamble. The dissemination of truthful and objective information is, of course, a favorite objective of the Soviet Union. In the context of this preamble and of the political line which the representative of the Soviet Union has laid down, this really means the dissemination of such information as the Government considers truthful and objective. This can be the truth or half-truths or complete falsehoods. If it is in the interest of the policy and grand strategy of a Government to assert that the Republic of Korea attacked the North Korean regime, then, the press of that Government disseminates this as a fact, even in the face of conclusive evidence, accepted by the rest of the world, that precisely the opposite is true.

Another favorite task of the Soviet Union, of course, is the development of friendly relations among states based upon respect for the principles of the independence and sovereign equality of nations and the achievement of the lofty purposes of the United Nations. And, once again, the Government assigning these tasks decides what nations are worthy of being treated as independent and sovereign equals and what the lofty purposes of the United Nations should be. I hardly think it necessary to cite any examples of the way in which the Soviet Union has carried out this great task. There is hardly a nation represented around this table that has not been the object of the Soviet Union's tender solicitude as expressed in this task of the Soviet press.

Another great task of the press as set forth in this Soviet preamble is to promote the application of measures against propaganda and the inciters of a new war and the countering of any propaganda of aggression capable of creating a threat to the peace or a breach of the peace. Now, the Soviet Union has labored long and hard to promote this notion. When this issue is presented in the United Nations, the effect always has been to pose the question: are you against war? It presumes the answer, yes; whereupon the reply is: "then you must support action curtailing propaganda which threatens to disturb the peace." The question is precisely the same as that posed by the

familiar joke, used frequently in America and perhaps in other countries: "Have you stopped beating your wife yet?"

I am sure we need waste no time puzzling over the answer to the Soviet question. The root of the issue lies in the fact that this Soviet task poses the problem of who is going to decide what constitutes propaganda for war and aggression. Once again the government is the taskmaster, and, to enforce its decisions, it would resort to censorship and suppression of news whenever it was in its interest to do so. Once again, the Soviet formula for liberty becomes a prison for free minds.

#### **Soviet Objectives Exposed**

But I think the time has come to take a good hard look at this proposition from another angle. Obviously, we can assume that all peoples are against war and against propaganda for aggression. But what has been the real objective of the government which has labored so hard to promote this proposition? I suggest that an interesting answer to this would be provided if one were to plot on a chart the dates when these propositions were being urged in the United Nations and elsewhere, together with the dates when certain violent events were taking place, or about to take place—events in which these same governments were, shall we say, not exactly disinterested.

Note, for example, the timing of the first raising of this issue in the United Nations in the General Assembly of 1947 in relation to the violent assault on the independence of Greece. Note the timing of the repeat performances on antiwar-mongering resolutions in the United Nations in relation to the Berlin blockade and several other points of international tension during the past 2 years. Note the timing of the false and treacherous Stockholm Appeal in relation to recent events in Korea. Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to push this exercise too far, but I do suggest that these coincidences are rather interesting.

The point is, Mr. Chairman, how long shall we go on being the dupes in this treacherous game? Once more, we are asked, are you against war and the spreading of war propaganda? This may still be a legitimate question, but are we the ones who are called upon to answer it or is an answer forthcoming from the questioner? Mr. Chairman, this game has many aspects and ramifications. The Stockholm Appeal, now somewhat more presentably disguised, has become the "common front" device of the 1950's. It is a stealthy new device for entrapping the unwary, the confused, and the alarmed people who have a real horror of war and securing their innocent collaboration. It is the new tactic of infiltration and intrigue. In Eastern Europe, a succession of laws have recently been promulgated for punishing the propagation of war or incitement to war. The puppet regime of East Germany has already demonstrated

how this law is to be used as a device to blackmail the weak and the unwary in West Germany into collaboration with the Party line.

Mr. Chairman, these tactics may continue to be successful, they may snare those who dare not voice their suspicion and fears, they may snare those who are not in possession of the facts. But, I repeat, is it still incumbent on us to play along with this game? We cannot plead ignorance of the facts. We need not give any further testimony of our desire for peace and genuine cooperation for the ends which the United Nations was established to serve. It is not we, but they who must now give some concrete evidence of these same intentions.

That is why I do not consider it necessary to give any further consideration to propositions of this nature. The United Nations has already gone on record. It is now time for those who have promoted these propositions to go on record.

## **U.S. To Attend Ceylon Meeting of Consultative Committee**

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*

[Released to the press January 24]

The Government of the United States has been invited by the Government of Ceylon to participate in a meeting of the Consultative Committee on economic and social development in South and Southeast Asia which will begin at Colombo, Ceylon, on February 12, 1951.

We have accepted this invitation because of the opportunity it affords for further cooperation with the countries of South and Southeast Asia in their efforts toward economic and social development. Although the United States did not participate in the formulation of the Colombo Plan, it has followed the work of the Consultative Committee closely and sympathetically.

The report released by the participating Commonwealth countries on November 28 appears to offer a basis for genuine economic progress in a large part of Asia. We welcome the initiative which has been taken by these countries in working out a program of cooperative development in this important area of the world. The Government of the United States intends to coordinate, to the extent possible, such programs as it has undertaken or may undertake in that part of the world with those under United Nations or Commonwealth auspices.

The United States will be represented at the Colombo meeting by Donald Kennedy, deputy di-

rector of the Office of South Asian Affairs, and by Myron Black, economic officer of the American Embassy at Colombo, as alternate.

## **U.S. Delegations to International Conferences**

### **Indo-Pacific Fisheries**

The Department of State announced on January 26 that H. J. Deason, chief, Office of Foreign Activities, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, has been designated the United States delegate to the third meeting of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council, scheduled to open at Madras, India, on February 1, 1951. Mr. Deason will be assisted by Townsend Cromwell, oceanographer, Research and Development section, Pacific Oceanic Fishery Investigations, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, Honolulu, Hawaii.

The principal functions of the Council are (1) to formulate the oceanographical, biological, and other technical aspects of the problems of development and proper utilization of the living aquatic resources of the Indo-Pacific area, (2) to encourage and coordinate research and the application of improved methods in everyday practices, and (3) to assemble, publish, or otherwise disseminate oceanographical, biological, and other technical information relating to living aquatic resources.

Arrangements have been made for the Council to survey all aspects of the work which has been performed in carrying out these functions since its last meeting at Cronulla, Australia, April 17-28, 1950, and to review and discuss a number of special technical papers which have been prepared for the guidance of the Council in outlining its program for the coming year.

In connection with the forthcoming meeting, the Council will also hold a symposium on "The Transplantation of Fish within the Indo-Pacific Region and the Introduction of Fish to the Region from Outside."

The agreement for the establishment of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council, which was formulated at a fisheries meeting held at Baguio, Philippines, February 25-28, 1948, under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, entered into force on November 9, 1948. The following 15 countries are parties to the agreement at the present time: Australia, Burma, Ceylon, China, France, India, Korea, Indonesia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States, and Vietnam.

## The United States in the United Nations

[January 26 February 1]

### General Assembly

#### *Committee I—(Political and Security).—*

After four more days of debate on the United States draft resolution naming Communist China as an aggressor in Korea and on the twice revised 12-state, Asian-Arab draft resolution calling for a seven-nation conference aimed at finding a solution to the Korean and other Far Eastern problems, the Committee closed further debate and voted on the resolutions at a late evening session on January 30. It had become evident that the great majority of the members were in favor of the United States resolution, with some modifications, such as the proposed Lebanese amendments. However, the Soviet bloc, suggesting new amendments to the 12-power resolution, and proposing adjournment to await instructions, tried to prevent closing of debate but were defeated by a vote of 36-17-5.

The revised 12-state, Asian-Arab resolution, which the Indian delegate, Sir Benegal Rau, submitted on January 29, called for the seven powers to arrange a cease-fire agreement at the first meeting.

Before the vote was taken on this 12-state, Asian-Arab resolution, Sir Benegal N. Rau expressed the hope that the members would ponder carefully what would happen if this resolution were defeated. There would be no cease-fire, the problems of the Far East would remain unsolved, the atmosphere for successful negotiations would be vitiated and tension in the Far East perpetuated. He had also stated, on January 29, when first presenting the second revised draft resolution, that India, on the basis of the best information at its disposal and according to the best judgment it could form, was not convinced that the participation of Chinese forces in Korea was due to any "aggressive intention." He stated he felt "bound to mention that my Government has been informed on the highest authority that once there is a condemnatory resolution, there is no hope of a peaceful settlement."

The United States delegate, Ambassador Warren R. Austin, expressed appreciation of the motives inspiring the sponsors of the 12-power resolution. He noted that "nearly all of us are

anxious to end this situation in the Far East and bring peace to the world," excepting only the Soviet bloc, whose representatives "cannot open their mouths in this Committee without giving vent to hatred of all independent countries and gratuitous insults to the United States." He again pointed out that the three-man group would be free, after General Assembly approval, to use its good offices to obtain the objectives which the Asian-Arab group wished to obtain by other machinery. Regarding the Collective Measures Committee, it would consider additional steps which could be employed to deal with the aggression in Korea and would communicate its results to the General Assembly. The Committee would, of course, take account in its work and report of any results which might be achieved by the Good Offices Committee. It would be for the General Assembly to make recommendations to member states regarding the Committee proposals. If the Good Offices Committee reported satisfactory progress toward a pacific settlement, the *ad hoc* Collective Measures Committee would withhold its report. The door, he added, will always remain open for the Chinese Communists to cease their attack on United Nations forces and permit the achievement by peaceful means of the United Nations objectives in Korea.

Prior to voting on the United States resolution, the proposal was made and adopted to vote on the Lebanese amendment to the latter part of paragraph 8, which Ambassador Austin stated was acceptable to the United States and had been made a part of the resolution, as well as substitution in paragraph 2 of "has not accepted" in place of "has rejected all." This amendment, which was adopted by a vote of 42-7-9, states ". . . it being understood that the Committee [Collective Measures Committee] is authorized to defer its report if the Good Offices Committee, referred to in the following paragraph reports satisfactory progress in its efforts."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For text of the U. S. draft, see BULLETIN of Jan. 29, 1951, p. 167.

The vote on the United States resolution was both by sections and on the whole text. The first seven paragraphs were approved by vote of 44-7-7; paragraph 8, containing Lebanese amendment, was adopted 42-7-10; the first half of the ninth paragraph, affirming United Nations policy to be the achievement of cessation of hostilities and of United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means was carried by vote of 46-5-7; and the last paragraph, requesting the General Assembly president to designate two persons to serve with him to use their good offices to this end, was adopted by vote of 43-5-11. The resolution was then voted upon as a whole and adopted by vote of 44-7 (Soviet bloc, India, Burma)-8 (Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sweden, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia).

The General Assembly met in plenary session February 1 and adopted, without debate, the Committee I resolution by a vote of 44-7-9. Following the vote, President Nasrollah Entezam stated that the United Nations had not closed the door to peaceful settlement and that he would take immediate steps to set up the Good Offices Committee.

### **Trusteeship Council**

The eighth regular session of the Trusteeship Council held its first meeting on January 30. At the outset the U.S.S.R. representative, A. A. Soldatov, introduced a resolution to seat the Chinese Communist representative in place of the National Chinese member. The president of the Council, Henriquez Urena (Dominican Republic), suggested that, since this matter was on the agenda, namely, the General Assembly resolution of December 14, "Recognition by the United Nations of the representation of a Member State" that the Council should await consideration of this item prior to a decision on representation. Agreeing with the President's suggestion, United States representative, Francis B. Sayre, recalled also the General Assembly's resolution of September 19 establishing a Special Committee consisting of seven members nominated by the President and confirmed by the General Assembly to consider the question of Chinese representation and to report back, proposed that pending that group's report, the National Chinese delegate should be seated. He also stated that the United States' view was that representatives of the Chinese Communist regime should not be seated in any United Nations body while that regime was engaged in

hostilities against the United Nations and that this consideration would undoubtedly be taken into account by the General Assembly when considering the question of Chinese representation under the December 14 resolution. He moved for postponing consideration of the question until the General Assembly had taken action on it.

Declaring that under rule 14 the Council was competent to approve accreditation of representatives to it, the U.S.S.R. delegate asked for a vote on his resolution. The President, however, declared that the United States proposal had priority since it was a procedural motion to suspend debate on the question. By a vote of 1 (U.S.S.R.)-11-0, the Council rejected priority for the U.S.S.R. proposal and then approved the United States resolution by vote of 10-2 (U.S.S.R., U.K.)-0. The United Kingdom delegate, Sir Alan Burns, had voted against the United States proposal as a matter of procedure, since it regarded the Trusteeship Council as a principal organ with its own representational competence.

The Council then proceeded to adopt the provisional agenda of 25 items.

At the January 31 meeting, the Committee agreed to have the provisional questionnaire transmitted to Italy as trustee for Somaliland and set up a committee of six (United States, Australia, Belgium, Iraq, Thailand, and Argentina) to consider the Secretariat's working paper containing rule revisions to provide for Italian cooperation in the Trusteeship Council as a nonmember of the United Nations. At the February 1 meeting, the composition of the visiting mission to East Africa was set up with the appointment of the United States, New Zealand, Thailand, and Dominican Republic. A four-member committee—Iraq, France, United Kingdom, Argentina—was set up to study General Assembly resolution on organization and methods of visiting missions.

### **Security Council**

A meeting was held on January 31 at the request of the United Kingdom delegate, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, addressed to the President of the Security Council, to remove the item of "Complaint of Aggression upon the Republic of Korea" from the Council agenda so that there might be no technical doubts about the validity of General Assembly action on the United States resolution naming Communist China an aggressor in Korea. This proposal was unanimously approved.

## Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights Established

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

*[Released to the press by the White House January 23]*

I have today established a Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. The Commission will be composed of nine members. Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz will serve as chairman.

The Commission will consider in all its aspects the question of how this Nation can best deal with the problem of protecting its internal security and at the same time maintaining the freedoms of its citizens. It will consider the harm that comes from the wrong kind of action as well as the good that comes from the right kind of action.

The Commission will make a thorough examination of the laws, practices, and procedures concerning the protection of our Nation against treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities, and of the operation of and any need for changes in such laws, practices, and procedures. The Commission will also consider the methods used by public or private groups for the purpose of protecting us against such activities. It will consider these matters from the standpoint of protecting both the internal security of our country and the rights of individuals, and will seek the wisest balance that can be struck between security and freedom. The Commission will report its conclusions and recommendations for legislative, administrative, or other action it deems appropriate.

I consider the task of this Commission to be of extraordinary importance. The world is in the midst of a struggle between freedom and tyranny. The United States is one of the leaders of the free world—not just because we are powerful in material things, but because we have preserved and expanded the freedom of our people. We have built our society in the faith and in the practice of freedom—freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of association and political belief.

We in this country have always been ready to protect our freedom—to protect it against external or internal enemies and to protect it against unwarranted restrictions by government. From time to time in our history, we have faced the need to protect our freedom from these different kinds of encroachment. Each of these occasions has

presented our Nation with new and often conflicting considerations. To reconcile these considerations, and to find the proper national policy, is always difficult, and is especially so at times, like the present, when our freedom is severely threatened abroad and at home.

Today, we are particularly concerned by the threat to our Government and our national life arising from the activities of the forces of Communist imperialism. In addition to the vigorous action we are taking abroad to meet this threat, we must be sure that our laws and procedures at home are adequate to protect our system of Government against unconstitutional attacks and to preserve our national security against treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive acts designed to weaken or overthrow our Government. At the same time, we are concerned lest the measures taken to protect us from these dangers infringe the liberties guaranteed by our Constitution and stifle the atmosphere of freedom in which we have so long expressed our thoughts and carried on our daily affairs.

These are problems of momentous importance for our country and its future, and for the future of our leadership in the world. They should be approached in a serious and fair-minded way by all our citizens. We must not let our differences about how to solve these problems degenerate into partisan controversies. We must continue to protect our security within the framework of our historic liberties, without thought of partisan advantage or political gain.

To keep these great problems from falling into the arena of partisanship, I am appointing this Commission of distinguished citizens on a non-partisan basis. I believe the people of this country will receive from them an authoritative judgment on these problems, based on the facts and formulated in the national interest, with no question of political advantage.

The Commission will undoubtedly wish to focus its primary attention on Federal laws and procedures. But I do not believe the Commission should limit itself to reviewing Government actions. Instead, I hope it will consider afresh, in all its present-day ramifications, the recurrent question of how a free people protect their society from

subversive attack without at the same time destroying their own liberties.

This question is, of course, far broader than the activities of the Federal Government. It concerns state and local governments as well, private groups of all kinds, and citizens in their daily work and in their homes. I hope that the report of this Commission will provide guide-lines of sufficiently wide application to be helpful in protecting both internal security and individual rights in every part of our national life.

The field of study for this Commission is very complex and far-reaching. Much study will be necessary before a report can be drafted. I am giving instructions that the Commission shall have complete freedom to conduct its study as it sees fit. I am asking the Commission to make such interim reports as it may deem desirable, and I hope the Commission will find it possible to complete its work in a year.

One of the important matters for the Commission to consider is the operation of the Government employee loyalty and security programs. I wish to make it clear, however, that this Commission is not being established as an appeals tribunal for individual cases. The Commission will be expected to report on the effectiveness and fairness of the Government's loyalty and security programs. In doing this, the Commission may wish to inspect individual case files—and it will be authorized to do so to whatever extent it may determine to be necessary.

In connection with loyalty and security procedures, and also in considering the operation of such statutes as the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Commission will necessarily be reviewing information of very high security classifications. I am directing the Commission therefore, to take appropriate measures to safeguard the security of any classified or confidential information it may wish to examine.

I intend to do everything I can to enable this Commission to make a thorough and careful study.

We in the United States have a special responsibility for leadership in these critical times, when free men the world over are strongly resisting the challenge of the Communist drive for world domination. We must guard our freedom well—guard it from armed assault, guard it from subversive infiltration, guard it from internal suppression and the deadly imposition of conformity. For the kind of freedom we have enjoyed in this country has been the shining goal for millions in other lands—and the results of freedom in this country have been the shattering reply to the false claims of Communist imperialism.

If we are to continue growing in strength here at home—if we are to continue leading the world toward peace with freedom and justice—we must both protect the security of our nation and safeguard the freedom of our people.

I know the Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights will undertake its work in full recognition of the immense importance and world-wide significance of its task.

#### EXECUTIVE ORDER 10207<sup>1</sup>

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President a commission to be known as the President's Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights, which shall be composed of a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, and seven other members, all of whom shall be designated by the President.

2. (a) The Commission shall make a thorough study of the problem of providing for the internal security of the United States and at the same time protecting the rights and freedoms of individuals. The Commission shall consider how this problem should be met by Government action and by private action. Among other things, the Commission shall examine the laws, practices, and procedures concerning protection against treason, sabotage, espionage, and other matters affecting the internal security of the Nation; and the Commission shall consider the operation of and any need for changes in such laws, practices, and procedures. The subjects considered by the Commission shall include the Government employee loyalty program and the Government employee security program. The Commission shall also consider the need for protecting individuals from unwarranted attacks and from unwarranted infringement of their rights and liberties in the name of security.

(b) The Commission shall make a report to the President of its findings and conclusions (to be preceded by such interim reports as it may find desirable), and shall make such recommendations for legislative, administrative, or other action as it deems appropriate.

3. In carrying out its functions under this order, the Commission shall prescribe its own rules of procedure. The Commission may hold such public hearings and hear such witnesses as it may determine, and it may, in connection with matters relating to Federal employees, examine any and all records and files relating to individual cases in possession of any executive department or agency. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Commission in its work and to furnish the Commission such information and assistance, not inconsistent with law, as it may require in the performance of its functions. The Commission shall take appropriate measures to protect the security or confidential character of any security-classified information or information of a confidential nature submitted to it or examined by it.

4. The expenditures of the Commission shall be paid out of an allotment made by the President from the appropriation "Executive Office of the President—Emergencies (National Defense)". Such payments shall be made without regard to the provisions of (a) section 3681 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (31 U. S. C. 672), (b) section 9 of the act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1027 (31 U. S. C. 673), and (c) such other laws as the President may hereafter specify.

5. Thirty days after the presentation of its final report to the President, the Commission shall cease to exist unless the President shall otherwise direct.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 23, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> 16 Fed. Reg. 709.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

An Agreement Relating to International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Character. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a certified copy of an agreement for facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational, scientific and cultural character, and also a certified copy of a related protocol of signature, which were open for signature at Lake Success from July 15, 1949, until December 31, 1949. S. Ex. V, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 17 pp.

Mobilization Planning and the National Security (1950-1960): Problems and Issues. Senate Resolution No. 319. S. Doc. 204, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 245 pp.

Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund. Letter from the chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission transmitting pursuant to law, the twenty-ninth annual report of the Board of Actuaries of the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund, fiscal year ended June 30, 1949. S. Doc. 235, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 12 pp.

Suspension of Deportation of Certain Aliens. H. Rept. 2837, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 97] 2 pp.

Amending Title 1 of the United States Code. H. Rept. 2909, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 3728] 7 pp.

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940. H. Rept. 2914, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 238] 7 pp.

Amending Title 46, United States Code, Section 251. H. Rept. 2934, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 9134] 2 pp.

Protection of the United States Against Un-American and Subversive Activities. H. Rept. 2950, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 9490] 13 pp.

Amending Section 9 (a) of the Trading With the Enemy Act. H. Rept. 2985, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 1837] 7 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1951. H. Rept. 2987, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 9526] 56 pp.

International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries. Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on S. 2801—a bill to give effect to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries signed at Washington under date of February 8, 1949, and for other purposes. H. Rept. 2996, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 25 pp.

Payment of Compensation to the Portuguese Government. H. Rept. 3007, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 9484] 3 pp.

Amending the Philippine Property Act of 1946. H. Rept. 3008, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 8546] 3 pp.

Authorizing the President To Appoint Col. Henry A. Byroade as Director of the Bureau of German Affairs, Department of State, Without Affecting His Military Status and Perquisites. H. Rept. 3017, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 3807] 2 pp.

American-Mexican Treaty Act of 1950. H. Rept. 3018, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 3934] 7 pp.

Establishing a Commission on Cooperative International Relations. H. Rept. 3044, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 9039] 4 pp.

Amending Section 5 of the Act of February 26, 1944, Entitled "An Act To Give Effect to the Provisional Fur Seal Agreement of 1942 Between the United States of America and Canada; To Protect the Fur Seals of the Pribilof Islands; and for Other Purposes." H. Rept. 3052, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 3123] 3 pp.

Certain Basque Aliens. H. Rept. 3066, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 1192] 22 pp.

Amending Section 32 (A) (2) of the Trading With the Enemy Act. H. Rept. 3095, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 1292] 7 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1951. H. Rept. 3096, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 9526] 11 pp.

Suspension of Deportation of Certain Aliens. H. Rept. 3103, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Cong. Res. 102] 2 pp.

Activity of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 81st Congress. Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Pursuant to Section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 691, 79th Congress. H. Rept. 3130, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 27 pp.

Authorizing a Reprint of House Report No. 2495—Background Information on Korea. H. Rept. 3134, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Res. 731] 1 p.

Authorizing Contributions to Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc. H. Rept. 3136, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 2496] 4 pp.

Maintenance and Operation of the Panama Canal. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, second session on H. Rept. 8677—an act to authorize and provide for the maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal by the present corporate adjunct of the Panama Canal, as renamed; to reconstitute the agency charged with the civil government of the Canal Zone, and for other purposes, September 1, 1950. 41 pp.

An Act Making Supplemental Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1951, and For Other Purposes. H. Rept. 9526, 81st Cong., 2d sess. (Department of State, p. 4, 5.) 25 pp.

Petroleum Study. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session on H. Res. 107 . . . , H. Rept. 6047 . . . , H. J. Res. 423 . . . and related subjects, February 16, 17, March 6, 7, 31, April 4, 5, May 19 and 23, 1950. (Department of State, pp. 226, 235.) 441 pp.

Immigration Quota for Italy. Hearings before Subcommittee No. 1, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session on H. Rept. 455, H. Rept. 964, H. Rept. 1428, H. Rept. 1550, H. Rept. 1928, H. Rept. 2191, H. Rept. 8046, and H. Rept. 8496—bills providing for the admission to the United States of an additional number of aliens of Italian nationality, June 16, 1950, Serial No. 21. 29 pp.

Import Tax on Copper. Proceedings in executive session before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, second session on H. J. Res. 502—a joint resolution to suspend certain import taxes on copper, July 27, 1950. 69 pp.

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session on H. Rept. 6725 and S. 2801—bills to give effect to the international convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, August 3, 10, 1950. (Department of State, pp. 7, 41.) 53 pp.

Study of the Health of World War II Prisoners of War. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Veteran's Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session on H. Rept. 8848—a bill to provide for a study of the mental and physical sequelae of malnutrition and starvation suffered by prisoners of war and civilian internees during World War II, September 15, 1950. 56 pp.

Report of National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Message from the President of the United States—transmitting a report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems covering its operations from October 1, 1949, to March 31, 1950. H. Doc. 658, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 63 pp.

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## President Truman and Prime Minister Pleven Confer on Collective Security

*Communiqué Issued by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of France, January 30, 1951<sup>1</sup>*

Since Prime Minister Pleven arrived in Washington on January 29 three meetings between the President and the Prime Minister have been held. Those who participated as advisers were:

### UNITED STATES

Dean Acheson, Secretary of State  
John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury  
Gen. George C. Marshall, Secretary of Defense  
Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization  
William Foster, Administrator, Economic Cooperation Administration  
Gen. Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
W. Averell Harriman, Special Assistant to the President  
Philip C. Jessup, Ambassador at Large  
David K. E. Bruce, U.S. Ambassador to France  
Willard Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs  
Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs  
Thomas D. Cabot, Director Designate of International Security Affairs, Department of State  
Donald R. Heath, U.S. Minister to the Associated States of Indo-China  
Charles E. Bohlen, U.S. Minister to France  
James C. H. Bonbright, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs  
Henry A. Byroade, Director, Bureau of German Affairs, Department of State

### FRANCE

Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador to the United States  
General of the Armies Alphonse Pierre Juin, French Resident General in Morocco  
Ambassador Alexandre Parodi, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Ambassador Herve Alphand, French Deputy to the North Atlantic Council  
Guillaume Guindey, Director of the Ministry of Finance  
Raoul de Vitry, French Representative to the Central Committee on Raw Materials  
Tezenas de Montcel, Inspector General representing the Ministry of the Associated States  
Jean Daridan, Minister Counselor, French Embassy  
Pierre Paul Schweitzer, Financial Counselor, French Embassy  
Gontran de Juniac, Counselor, French Embassy  
Colonel Allard, Chief of Staff to General de Lattre de Tassigny  
M. de Marranches, Aide to General Juin

At the conclusion of their conferences, the President and the Prime Minister issued the following joint statement:

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged views on the broad subject of international affairs and they touched upon all the questions that are of common interest to France and the United States. Once again they found that there exists a fundamental identity of views between the two countries.

The President and the Prime Minister reaffirmed their belief that the principle of collective security, embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, is the chief bulwark of world peace and of the independence and survival of free societies in the world. They agreed that, in conformity with this principle, aggression must not be rewarded or the menace of aggression appeased. It is in this spirit that the President and the Prime Minister examined the means to assure coordinated action and turned to the more detailed questions as set forth below.

### I. Far Eastern Problems

The President and the Prime Minister found themselves in complete agreement as to the necessity of resisting aggression and assisting the free nations of the Far East in their efforts to maintain their security and assure their independence.

The situation in Korea was discussed and they concurred that every effort must be exerted to bring about an honorable solution there. Until that end can be accomplished, resistance by United Nations forces to aggression must continue. Both France and the United States will support action directed toward deterring aggression and toward preventing the spread of hostilities beyond Korea.

With regard to Indochina, the Prime Minister described the heavy responsibilities borne by France in that area and the great cost, both in lives and money, she has paid in resisting the Communist onslaught in order to maintain the security and independence of the Associated States, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The Prime Minister declared that France was determined to do its utmost to continue this effort. The President informed the Prime Minister that United States aid

<sup>1</sup> Released to the press by the White House January 30.

for the French Union forces and for the National Armies of the Associated States will continue, and that the increased quantities of material to be delivered under the program authorized for the current fiscal year will be expedited.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that continuous contact should be maintained between the interested nations on these problems.

## II. Problems of Europe

The President and the Prime Minister both recognized the vital importance of Europe to the defense of the entire free world. The Prime Minister described the French efforts to achieve European unity. He stressed in this regard the French desire to see disappear the divisions and rivalries that oppose a harmonious development of the European economy and the establishment of a strongly organized Europe. The Prime Minister stated that the policy of the French Government was to favor the creation of a broad European market open to competition by all through the abolition of cartels and discriminatory practices.

The President and the Prime Minister were in fundamental agreement that the cause of peace in Europe and the world would be furthered by a progressively closer integration in every aspect of a democratic Germany into a vigorous Western European community.

The Prime Minister brought the President up-to-date on the recent developments relating to the Schuman Plan treaty. He expressed appreciation for the interest and the comprehension which this plan found in the United States. The President hoped that the treaty would be concluded in satisfactory form at the earliest possible moment. The Prime Minister also mentioned that new steps are anticipated in the same direction, particularly in the field of agriculture.

The Prime Minister also referred to the conference to be convened in Paris on February 6th, to consider the formation of a European Army based on European political institutions and within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The President welcomed the conference and expressed his hope for its success. He informed the Prime Minister that the United States would be glad to accept the invitation to send an observer, and that Ambassador David Bruce would be designated.

## III. Atlantic Defense Plans

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged views with regard to the progress made by both countries in their defense programs. The President described to the Prime Minister the great efforts now being made by the United States. Mr. Pleven outlined the steps taken by France in this field and added that the French Government would neglect no opportunity to intensify its re-

armament and particularly to accelerate as much as possible the execution of existing programs.

The President and the Prime Minister reaffirmed their conviction that German participation in the common defense effort as envisaged last month at Brussels would strengthen the security of Europe without altering in any way the purely defensive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

## IV. Economic Problems

The President and the Prime Minister also reviewed certain questions concerning United States assistance to France in the economic field. They clarified procedures so that United States assistance will make its most effective contribution to the French defense effort.

They agreed that the solution of the raw materials problems ought to be the aim, not only of national action, but also of international action undertaken with the utmost speed and vigor. The objectives of such action are to give the necessary priority to defense requirements and to meet essential civilian needs through the stimulation of production, the equitable distribution of available supplies, the avoidance of waste in nonessential uses and of unnecessary accumulation of stocks. The two Governments, together with that of the United Kingdom, are presently proposing the formation of international commodity groups which will take up immediate problems of material shortages of common concern to the countries of the free world.

They recognized the importance of dealing with the problem of inflation and rising prices, which adversely affect the common defense effort. They agreed that not only should vigorous national action be taken but that wherever international measures may effectively contribute to this objective they would give their full support.

The President and the Prime Minister wish to state that the supreme objective of the foreign policies of the United States and France is the establishment and maintenance of durable peace based on law and justice.

The measures which they have discussed and undertaken in common with other free nations for the development of adequate defense under the North Atlantic Treaty and for the development of European unity are directed solely to that end.

Moreover, the two Governments have never neglected in the past and will never neglect in the future any genuine opportunity to settle international problems by negotiation.

The discussions between the President and the Prime Minister have shown again that no menace or maneuver will succeed in shaking the fundamental unity which exists between the United States and France.

## UNITY OF PURPOSE URGED FOR SECURITY OF NORTH ATLANTIC AREA

*Report of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, to Members of the Congress*<sup>1</sup>

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN, I am very deeply aware of the distinction implicit in the invitation to appear before the elected representatives of the people. I am also keenly aware of the responsibility that rests upon me in accepting such an invitation, a responsibility that is not, of course, easy to discharge.

The very great problems involved in the defense of the free world are so vast and so complex that no man could hope in a lifetime of study and reflection to solve them all. He can certainly not be sure of the accuracy of his conclusions. In my own case, to a lifetime of professional study I have recently been able to add the observations of a very hurried trip to 13 capitals, but that is most obviously a meager foundation upon which to base the conclusions that I have formed and am about to present to you.

So, aware as I am of this responsibility, I do assure you that I approach you in very deep humility and ask from you only this much on faith, that you do believe in the sincerity of my convictions. I have no end to serve, as I know you have no end to serve, except the good of the United States; and that is the reason I am talking here. And that is the reason I am back in uniform, and it is the reason I have the courage to appear before this body to express my convictions.

I am also aware of the very big responsibilities devolving upon you gentlemen. You will be forced, from time to time, and soon, to make decisions that are going to be far-reaching. In my

<sup>1</sup>Made before an informal meeting of the Congress on Feb. 1 and reprinted from the *Congressional Record* of Feb. 2, p. 909.

opinion, they may determine the course of our civilization, whether or not free government is going to continue to exist upon the earth safely and with all of the rights and privileges that devolve upon the individual citizen under that protection.

### A Platform of Understanding

As I start this talk, I think it would be well to establish a platform of understanding. Let us make certain assumptions. Now, the first, I have already made, that the Members of Congress here assembled and I have one object in common view, the good of the United States.

The next assumption I would like to make is that we are concerned not only with the protection of our territories, of our rights, of our privileges, but we are also concerned with the defense of a way of life. Our own way of life has certain factors that must persist if that way of life itself is to persist, for example, the freedom of the individual, his political freedom, his freedom of worship, and that he will have an economy based upon free enterprise. In other words, our system must remain solvent, as we attempt a solution of this great problem of security. Else we have lost the battle from within that we are trying to win from without.

I do not believe, for example, that the United States can pick up the world on its economic, financial, and military shoulders and carry it. We must have cooperation if we are to work with other nations. The results of the effort to be the mutual, the common good, the common security of the free nations of the free world.

Military defense is made up of many things. The things that defend the nation or that act for it on the field of battle are many and varied, and as complex as the nation itself. The fighting forces are but the cutting edge of a very great machine, the inspiration and the power for which are found in the hearts of the citizens. All of the various mechanisms that are necessary are represented in our industrial capacity, our economic processes, and so on, so that, when we talk about defending the free world, we are not merely talking about defense in the terms of divisions and battleships and planes. We are talking about what is in our hearts, what we understand with our heads, and what we are going to do as a body. And let me here say, gentlemen, that unless this assumption is correct I am out of place.

We are not attempting to build a force that has any aggressive, any belligerent intent; we are concerned only with one thing. In a world in which the power of military might is still too much respected, we are going to build for ourselves a secure wall of peace, of security.

This very moment I think is a good time to bring up this one thought: What we are trying to do cannot honestly be considered by any other nation as a threat to its existence, as a threat to any peaceful purpose it may have. If any such charge is made in the propaganda of the world, it is for a nefarious purpose, and any kind of attempt or announcement to move against us because of the simple modest actions we are trying to take is merely an excuse. I must say to you that that purpose would have been executed anyway if we did not do it, if that is the only reason they have for moving against us.

The NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] organization foresees and plans for the common defense of the free world with specific reference to those nations on the border of the North Atlantic. Since we are approaching this problem from the welfare of the United States, I think it well to pause just for a moment to review certain factors with you. These factors are: What is the importance of Western Europe to us? There are, of course, ties of sentiment; they are the people from whom we drew originally our genius, our blood stream; they are our relatives, and there are other bonds beyond those of sentiment that appeal to us in this job of protecting ourselves. We must look at all the common factors.

Behind our faith in them, since that is the basic assumption of the NATO organization, first of all in Western Europe there exists the greatest pool of skilled labor in the world. In Western Europe, exists a great industrial fabric that is second in its capacity only to that of our Nation. There are more than 200 million people who are related to us. If we take that whole complex with its potential for military exploitation and transfer it from our side to another side, the military balance of power has shifted so drastically that our safety would be gravely imperiled, grossly imperiled. The significance of the Western European group of nations to us is even greater than that. They have with many areas of the world close blood, political, and economic ties. It is scarcely possible to imagine the fall of Western Europe to communism without the simultaneous fall of certain of these great areas, particularly those, and first those, areas which have a political dependency upon the European powers, the very areas from which we draw the materials which are absolutely essential to our existence, our way of life. No matter how strong we prove in keeping open routes of communication, we must always keep open, clearly we must keep open the areas, keep them open to us when we need their trade in order to exist. Take such items only as manganese, copper, uranium. Could we possibly ever exist without access to them?

I believe that such things as this are tied up in our concern with the Western European complex in our determination—our decision that, as I understand it, has already been made—that we must defend them. But I refer again to the statement I have made, we cannot do this thing alone. All we would be doing would be to disperse our strength throughout the world unless we were sure first that we were being given full cooperation; and, second, that this strength of ours properly placed in other countries will there inspire the growth of still greater power and multiply every single effort that we make by comparable effort on the part of our friends.

As I said a moment ago, military strength is made up of various things of which the fighting forces are merely the cutting edge. One of the greatest factors in this whole thing is morale, and, ladies and gentlemen, almost the rest of my talk will be made up directly or indirectly in discussions of this question of morale, because morale

involves understanding, it involves heart, it involves courage, fortitude, basic purpose.

### **Intent and Accomplishments of European Nations**

Where my trip comes in is this: What have I been able to find out about the basic intent, the basic purpose, the basic morale of Europe? It is a complex question; and, again, certainly I do not consider that there is anything sacrosanct about the conclusions I have reached. Again I can only say they are honest.

We have heard for many years, five at least, much about the destruction of the European nations, about their material destruction, but above all about their loss of spirit, their loss of will, their unreadiness to do something for themselves. Of course, I think that Americans, in general, have not really tried to blame Europeans for this failure as we have seen it. They have tried merely to explain it. After all, Europe was occupied for 4 years; its industries were destroyed and its people lived in fear of the informer next door. They were crushed; their systems of government were overturned, and they lived according to the dictates of an invader.

The effects of the Marshall Plan have been marked and have been important to the partial rehabilitation of Europe, but it would be false and idle to say that there does not exist in many strata of society pessimism bordering upon defeatism.

But there is, likewise, evidence, ladies and gentlemen, of a rejuvenation, a growth of determination, a spirit to resist, a spirit again to try to live the lives of free men, to hold their heads up in the world, to do their part and to take the risk. I am going to quote to you a few examples; because I do not ask you to accept such a statement as that at face value, I would rather give you a few examples of the things that influenced my own judgment.

On my arrival in France, I talked with the Government there and found this: That to their conscription law they have now added a proviso that permits almost no exemption for any cause whatsoever. They have made it one of the strictest, most inclusive conscription laws that would be possible to devise. As of this moment, their tour of service is 18 months, but they pointed out to me the very many factors that have limited it from being greater and indicated that one

of the most important of these was lack of instructors, capable instructors. They cannot get instructors because they are losing many of them each month in Indochina. But, as that is relieved and they get more equipment, they will go further and extend the tour to 2 years.

They are determined to stand against communism, both internally and externally, with courage in their hearts. Most of it has been inspired, at least it has been strengthened by the consummation of the NATO Treaty. There is no question about that.

I moved into Belgium and found similar determination. In Holland, I received statements of the increased military preparations that they are going to make.

Denmark, exposed as it is way out between the Baltic and North Seas, likewise, is going to do everything that represents their maximum effort.

In Norway, there is no question about the determination of their will to resist. Their attitude is that resistance to the point of destruction is preferable.

In Rome, it was quite clear that there is a stiffening resolve to meet this issue face on. While they are limited in the amount of their military force by treaty, they have determined to make that force efficient and to put it unreservedly at the command of the NATO powers.

I am not even going to mention my several conversations in Germany and for a very specific reason. I personally think that there has to be a political platform achieved and an understanding reached that will contemplate an eventual and earned equality on the part of that nation before we should start to talk about including units of Germans in any kind of an army. I, certainly, for one commander, want no unwilling contingent, no soldiers serving in the pattern of the Hessians who served in our Revolutionary War, serving in any army I command. Therefore, until the political leaders, the diplomats, and the statesmen find the proper answer, it is not for a soldier to delve in too deeply.

In little Luxembourg, I had an unusual experience. I think you would like to hear about it as illustrating the readiness of the nations, today, to try to cooperate. They are very small; there are only 300,000 people there, but they set their jaws and said: "We will have universal military service with no exemptions." They said: "We are very badly handicapped; we have equip-

ment for one battalion only. What we particularly need is more artillery equipment."

When I stopped in Ottawa, I told the Canadians about this trouble and the Canadians said: "Why, we have some artillery; we can ship it tomorrow." When I got to West Point a few hours later, I was greeted with the information that the Canadian Government had approved of the transfer and just left the red tape to me and my staff to look after.

What I am trying to say is that, out of these conferences, I sensed the feeling that there will be a rejuvenation of spirit if we can put ourselves into this thing, not only with the sense that we must do it because there is no acceptable alternative, because standing alone and isolated in a world with the rest completely dominated by communism, our system would have to wither away, our economy could not thrive.

Just stop to consider, ladies and gentlemen, that there are in the free world today—and not counting all of the outlying segments in such places as Australia, New Zealand, South America, and other parts of the free world—in Europe and the North American Continent, alone, there are 350 million people who represent the highest culture man has been able to achieve upon this earth. They are responsible for every advance of science, the arts, and culture; they possess great reservoirs of leadership that have not been touched; they possess, on the average, a higher understanding than any other people in the world; they have the greatest productive capacity. Thanks to our great wisdom in keeping the proper strength upon the sea and in the air, we have access to the raw materials that we need. Why, then, are we frightened of totalitarian government? For only one reason, because they have a unity of purpose. True, it is a unity achieved by ignorance, by force, by the NKVD.

What we have got to do, the only thing we have to do, is to meet that unity with a higher type of unity, the unity of free men that will not be divided. Someone in achieving that unity has to take the leadership, and I mean some one nation, not some one individual. We cannot either individually or at the national level afford to look over our shoulders with a suspicious thought that our friend is not doing as much as we are. We must, by example, inspire and insist and get everybody to do his maximum. The fullness of his performance will be limited by his capacity only. All of

us must make this problem that of the highest priority.

I do not say, ladies and gentlemen, that that has been achieved. I merely say that, if the presentation I have made of the military situation, the possibilities of development in the whole economic world based upon the loss or the retention of Western Europe within our own wall of security, if those presentations are only reasonably accurate, then, it is clear that we must do this. What nation is more capable, more ready for providing this leadership than the United States? We have been spared much of the discouragement, the defeatism, the destruction that has been visited upon Europe. We are younger, we are fresher, and a further important point is that we are farther removed from the immediate threat. We do not dwell in the gray zone. This strength, as I see it, must grow up in the rear and be pushed out. I do not mean pushed out in the sense that as soon as we produce units they must be deployed all over the world. I mean financial, moral, military, and material strength.

Our friends must know it. Inspired by it and living with it they must produce equal amounts of their own, far more than equal in particular areas. Our view in the central position must be directed to many sectors. We cannot concentrate all our forces in any one sector, even one as important as Western Europe. We must largely sit here with great, mobile, powerful reserves ready to support our policies, our rights, our interests wherever they may be in danger in the world.

The point I make is that Western Europe is so important to our future, our future is so definitely tied up with them, that we cannot afford to do less than our best in making sure that it does not go down the drain.

I repeat that, given the premise that we must produce, there is, then, one element left, time. We must accept, we must always accept this disadvantage militarily, internationally, that goes with peaceful intent and defensive purpose only. Any aggressor picks a day on which he intends to strike, and he builds everything to that point. We have to devise a scheme that we can support, if necessary over the next 20 years, 30 years, whatever may be the time necessary, as long as the threat, the announced threat of aggression remains in the world. That means we must be ready at any time. One of the important times is today and from hereon. As long as we are determined

to secure the peace, we have to use, employ, or resort to force and military power. In so doing, let us not forget that there is not a moment to waste.

### **Need for Equipment**

This brings me to a very important point: One of the great deficiencies in Europe is equipment, military equipment. Not only was all of this taken away from them in the war, but their facilities, destroyed, damaged as they were, have, since that time, been all occupied in trying to restore some semblance of a decent standard of living to their millions. They have little in the way of munitions productivity although it is growing, and some of it, indeed, is very good.

I believe that the transfer of certain of our units should be in direct ratio to what Europe is doing so that we know that we are all going forward together and no one is suspicious of the other.

The great need of the moment, as I say, is equipment. The great, the crying need today, as I see it, is equipment, the impedimenta of armies, of navies, of air forces. It must be furnished quickly and properly adjusted to this purpose of ours, the purpose of peace and security, to our ability to carry it forward without insolvency for year after year. I believe that, within those limits, we must now go into the production of equipment exactly as if we were preparing for the emergency of war.

We must remember that in World War II we used a system we called lend-lease, and I heard often in my headquarters people criticize this scheme of lend-lease. I never could feel that way about it, and I will tell you why, ladies and gentlemen. It took a rifle and a man to go out and advance the cause of the Allies against the enemies we had. If the United States could provide merely the rifle and get someone else to carry it in order to do the work that was necessary, I was perfectly content.

I believe in this thinking, particularly today. If we can put munitions in the hands of people that we know will serve on the side that is essential to our future security, to the kind of life our grandchildren are going to live, the only thing we need to know is that they are going forward with us. They are not lagging in their hearts or in their efforts.

I would say that in this particular subject of

equipment the United States faces again the great proposition of transferring so much of its great productive capacity into the terrible business of producing munitions of war. You gentlemen are going to find it one of your most difficult, but at the same time one of your most important and immediate, tasks.

I believe as of now that with that equipment we will find a great rejuvenation in western morale. What we are trying to do, ladies and gentlemen, is to start a sort of reciprocal action across the Atlantic. We do one thing which inspires our friends to do something, and that gives us greater confidence in their thoroughness, their readiness for sacrifice. We do something more and we establish an upward-going spiral which meets this problem of strength and morale. The only thing that can defeat us is to establish a descending spiral born of suspicion, unreadiness on the part of each of us to do his job, the job that he knows in his own heart he must do.

I should like to bring to your attention a few things that I think are important to remember. Enemy propaganda has among other things, as it is reflected in the European press, tried to make it appear that the whole job is hopeless. He has shouted it from the housetops. If they say it is hopeless, they must have a purpose. Let us not believe too freely enemy propaganda, or the propaganda of somebody who wants to defeat our peaceful, our sane, our utterly just purposes. Let us not forget the strength of America, its great people, its history, its broad acres, its productive capacity, its great capacity for leadership. And, then, let us keep in our minds the kind of organization we shall have when we bind that up heart and soul and in material ways with our friends across the sea.

### **Question of Morale**

I come back again for a moment to the question of morale. Nobody can defend another nation. The true defense of a nation must be found in its own soul, and you cannot import a soul. We must make sure that the heart and soul of Europe is right. That is one of the obligations, gentlemen, that is imposed on me and my staff. I cannot conceive that the United States ever consented to accept the responsibility for acting in Western Europe except with those two reservations, that their representatives would do their utmost to see

that they were all advancing together and that the United States was not being made merely an Atlas to carry the world upon its shoulders. I can see that each one of you in your great responsibilities as the lawmakers of this Nation has an element and a part of that responsibility individually. But we must not watch that so closely that we fail to get out in front to provide the leadership that will make this thing a complete success.

So this faith in America is one that lies at the bottom of this whole thing. Faith that the leadership she can provide will inspire the same kind of feeling, the same kind of effort in our friends abroad. And, there, I am sure we must exercise a bit of patience. It takes some time for our purposes—no matter how plainly we think they may be written upon the wall—it takes some time for others to understand those purposes and to gain faith in them. Remember, we have our own doubts and divisions, and we have our own debates. Think how that is multiplied in Europe, where there are 10 of these nations in this organization, and they have all of the nationalistic factors to increase the intensity of the debate. We must have patience. Some of their problems are very, very serious. France, in the war against communism in Indochina, is losing monthly more than half of the men she can produce as instructors, the instructors they need to produce the army in France which they are so desperately trying to do. They have promised, in spite of that, to have by the end of the year 1953, roughly, 25 battle-ready divisions. That is the kind of effort they are making.

Britain has similar things to face. Others, too, have problems. So while we may get a bit impatient when we think they do not see instantly what we are trying to do and what they should do in order to have the effort mutual and equal, we must have patience, ladies and gentlemen. Leadership must have patience or it cannot succeed.

#### **Living Standards**

And now there is one other point. I tried desperately to bring to you gentlemen specific types of comparisons that would convince you today of Europe's intent and of Europe's accomplishments, but when I tried to take such items as the proportion of gross national product that is turned into military purposes, when I tried to take the terms

of enlistment, or the terms of service under conscription, when I tried to take the number of men that are actually in uniform or the kind of force they were trying to produce, the amount of their national budget that is put into military purposes, I found it impossible to make such comparisons. I started to talk about it in one nation, and a man said to me, "General, we are amazed at the amount of your national product that you can devote to this great purpose. We understand that you are going to put about 20 percent of your gross national product into military or semimilitary purposes. Come with me, come out to the villages and come to the farms and see what a 5-percent reduction in our standard of living means." I looked at that squarely in the face.

I would like to bring you specific criteria, and I find myself disappointed in being unable to do so. I do come back to this, however, the defense of freedom is exactly like the appreciation for freedom, it is in the heart. It is a job that each of us here can do.

And though I cannot bring you back specific criteria by which you may judge for yourselves in the materialistic way, I do hope earnestly that each of you will take the opportunity to go to Europe and see whether you appreciate and sense this coming rejuvenation, this great determination that I think I sense. I assure you that when I get a headquarters established every one of you will be welcome there. Some of you were in my headquarters some years ago. It will be a nice return visit if you come back.

The cost of peace is going to be a sacrifice, a very great sacrifice individually and nationally. But the total war is tragedy; it is probably the suicide of civilization.

#### **Moment of Decision**

I came back, ladies and gentlemen, with the purpose of rendering just a report. It is not my proper role to be exhorting the Members. I am trying now to make my words those of education; I am trying to make them those of deep conviction that the world, our world, has arrived at a moment of decision. I have come to the conclusion that we can go on following the basic principles of our system safely and surely, subject to the tasks that I have here so briefly tried to outline. We can do it without constituting of ourselves or of our forces a threat to any other

nation. Any attempt so to describe it would be for propaganda purposes only.

I close, ladies and gentlemen, on one note only which I have not to this moment mentioned, because it does not lie completely within my province, but it is important. That is our own efforts to let the world understand what we are about, what we are, and sometimes our own efforts to have our own people understand what we are trying to do. In any event, I believe that the United States needs a very, very much stronger information service. In our case, I would not call it propaganda, because the truth is all we need. We do not have to falsify the record nor our intentions.

I think most of you know it has been my in-

variable practice when I appear before a body such as this to ask for a question period. As has been explained to you by your Presiding Officer, it was decided that it was impossible today. But I am, I believe, going to be in joint meetings with four committees of the Congress. I assure you that, so far as it lies within my power to do so, I will answer as honestly and sincerely as I know how every single question which you may choose to ask me.

This has been a very great honor, ladies and gentlemen. I cannot tell you how much it means to me that you have assembled to hear the conclusions that I have drawn and the beliefs that I hold with respect to this very, very great task.

Thank you very much.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

Audit Report on Inter-American Affairs Corporations. Letter from the Comptroller General of the United States—transmitting a report on the audit of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs for the 2 years ended June 30, 1949, together with Brencin-Radio, Inc., and Institute of Inter-American Transportation for the periods from July 1, 1947, to the dates of final liquidation, May 10 and August 20, 1949, pursuant to the requirements of the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U. S. R. 841). H. Doc. 631, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 51 pp.

Eighth Report to Congress of the Economic Cooperation Administration. For the quarter ended March 31, 1950. H. Doc. 645, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 137 pp.

Report of National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Message from the President of the United States—transmitting a report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems covering its operations from October 1, 1949, to March 31, 1950. H. Doc. 658, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 63 pp.

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940, As Amended. Message from the President of the United States returning without approval the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 238) to amend the Nationality Act of 1940, as amended. H. Doc. 702, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 5 pp.

Internal Security Act of 1950. Message from the President of the United States returning without approval the bill (H. R. 9490) to protect the United States against certain un-American and subversive activities by requiring registration of Communist organizations, and for other purposes. H. Doc. 708, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 44 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session on the Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951—Department of Defense Mutual Defense Assistance Program. 552 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. Additional hearings before subcommittees of the Committee

on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, second session, on the Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951—Interior Department, State Department, Treasury Department. 70 pp.

Authorizing the President To Appoint Col. Henry A. Byroade as Director of the Bureau of German Affairs, Department of State, Without Affecting His Military Status and Perquisites. S. Rept. 2269, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 3807] 2 pp.

Certain Basque Aliens. S. Rept. 2352, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 1192] 23 pp.

Condemning Communist, Fascist, or Nazi Film Exhibition in the United States. S. Rept. 2365, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Res. 321] 3 pp.

Exempting From Duty Articles Imported From the Virgin Islands Which Contain Duty-Free Foreign Materials. S. Rept. 2368, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 6343] 2 pp.

Protecting the Internal Security of the United States (Minority Views). S. Rept. 2369, Part 2, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 4037] 21 pp.

Protecting the Internal Security of the United States (McCarran Report). S. Rept. 2369, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 4037] 16 pp.

Utilization of Farm Crops: Price Spreads—Coffee. Report of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, United States Senate—pursuant to S. Res. 36 and S. Res. 198 resolutions authorizing an investigation relative to expanded uses of farm crops. S. Rept. 2377, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 44 pp.

Certain Cases in Which the Attorney General Had Suspended Deportation. S. Rept. 2442, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 102] 2 pp.

Limitations Upon Authorizations for United States Participation in Five International Organizations. S. Rept. 2450, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 334] 16 pp.

Revision of the United Nations Charter. Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations on resolutions relative to revision of the United Nations Charter, Atlantic Union, World Federation, and similar proposals. S. Rept. 2501, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 64 pp.

Authorizing the Appointment of a Committee To Attend the General Meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association To Be Held in Australia or New Zealand. S. Rept. 2502, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 105] 1 p.

## Peace May Be Won

by John Foster Dulles  
Consultant to the Secretary<sup>1</sup>

Let me say, first of all, that we have faith that we are really building for peace and not for war. Many feel that it is unrealistic to talk about peace when battle rages in nearby Korea. It is indeed ominous that the peaceful Republic of Korea should have been suddenly attacked by heavily armed forces, and that hundreds of thousands of North Korean and Chinese Communists are being driven to slaughter in order to gain a strategic position which has been coveted by Russia since the days of the czars.

Irresponsible militarism has not yet been driven from the world. That clearly exposed fact carries a grave warning to us all. But it is not a warning which calls for panic or for a fatalistic assumption that general war is bound to come.

The United States, I can assure you, is proceeding on the assumption that general war is avoidable. But, also, we assume that peace will not be gained merely by wishing for it. History has taught that, time after time, but the lesson seems never to be learned. The reality is that to win peace requires vigorous, sustained, and well-directed efforts which compare, in magnitude and sacrificial quality, with the efforts required to win a war.

The United States is now making such an effort, and, because of that, I can bring you a message of hope, not of despair.

No one can, of course, foresee surely what others may do. But it is possible to see how to gain a probability of security. It can come if the nations follow internationally the tested principles which, in a domestic community, give individuals a probability of security.

### The Elemental Rules for Security

Most of us have homes within which we live and where we keep our personal belongings and valuables. The first responsibility for making them secure falls on the head of the household. He must have only trustworthy people in the home. Otherwise, the household goods will probably be stolen. There is little safety, and little sympathy, for those who run their households so carelessly that criminals have the freedom of the home.

The prudent householder also keeps his valuables behind closed doors and often under lock and key. He does not leave them lying about where they can be picked up by sneak thieves. Locked doors and cabinets are no insuperable obstacle to hold robber gangs, but they deter the lesser criminals.

That leaves to be dealt with the extreme criminal elements who are capable of breaking in and entering with violence. As against them, collective measures are the only dependable deterrent. It is not practical to keep armed guards in every house—that would be too expensive. But communities, normally, create a central law enforcement group, which can move quickly and surely into action if there is violent robbery and probably catch and punish those who violate the law. That generally frightens off even those who have the temperament for violent robbery. The result is that, in a well-ordered community, robbers rarely indulge their evil ambitions. The likelihood of failure is a deterrent to aggression.

### International Negligence

Most of the postwar international robberies that have occurred have been because nations failed to take internal precautions, such as are the personal responsibility of the householder himself. Nations have given opportunities within their own homeland to those who were the secret agents of international gangsters, and they did not put their valuables behind the national equivalent of lock and key. The result has been that, without any open armed attack, without a shot being fired, all or large parts of many nations have been robbed of their freedom and brought under the bondage of imperialist communism.

In some cases, the governments and people woke up to the danger when the agents of the foreign gang had stolen much, but not all, of the power. Then, there ensued an open fight, a civil war, to see who would control.

Bolshevik communism has, however, showed a desire to avoid the possible consequences of a breaking and entering with open violence. Even in Korea, the attackers pretended that they were engaged only in civil war and that the Chinese Communist armies came in as "volunteers." Japan, as it looks forward to restored sovereignty, can draw some useful lessons from these elemental security principles and from the consequences of ignoring them.

### National Responsibility To Prevent Indirect Aggression

The Japanese Government and people will, themselves, have the primary responsibility to take care of the risks that fall short of invasion in force, the dangers that are often referred to as those of "indirect" aggression.

Japan will have the duty to keep its homeland reasonably free of criminal agents. That requires, most of all, a healthy and vigorous Japanese society. A national household of 80 million people is too numerous to be protected merely by trying to catch all the Communist agents. There is need for vigilance but not for a police state

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the American-Japan Society at Tokyo on Feb. 2 and released to the press on the same date.

which, itself, creates the resentments which make alien penetration easier. It is impossible to prevent communism from penetrating into and breeding in societies where there is repression, misery, and injustice on a large scale.

The United States has been helping Japan to build a good society, and, while peace will change the form of our relations and place primary responsibility upon Japan itself, it will not end the friendly disposition of the United States.

The Japanese Government and people will also, then, have the primary responsibility to maintain in their homeland a protection corresponding to that of a householder who keeps his valuables under lock and key so that they cannot be stolen except by a breaking in with violence. Any people who avoid that precaution are guilty of contributory negligence and receive and deserve little sympathy. Five years ago, I said to my own countrymen:

If we neglect our military establishment that may lead to a dangerous misjudgment of us by the Soviet leaders. They take it for granted that those who have precious things will, if they are able, maintain a force-in-being to protect them. They assume that a man who does not put a lock on the door of his house has nothing in it that he greatly values.

Just as the prudent householder has a duty to create protections which deter all who do not have the boldness to rob with violence, so every nation which wants to preserve its liberties has its own duty to maintain a sufficient screen so that its boundaries cannot be passed by hostile armies unless they are willing to take the consequence of open violence and killing.

In the case of Japan, the problem in that respect is simplified by the fact that Japan is an island country, separated by water from the aggressive land mass of communism.

### **Collective Defense Against Direct Aggression**

When we turn from the dangers of "indirect" aggression to those of direct aggression—that is, armed attack in force from without—a different type of protection must be found, because, while individual nations can singly cope with "indirect" aggression, few nations can cope with full scale armed attack by a powerful aggressor. As against that, the individual nation, like the individual householder, needs a collective security arrangement.

The United Nations was formed for that purpose and its first stated purpose is "to take effective collective measures for the prevention . . . of threats to the peace." The Security Council was given the duty to create an international force to deter aggression. However, this has been prevented by the Soviet Union, through use of its veto power.

At the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly, the members took note of this dangerous paralysis and, with only the five Soviet

bloc votes in opposition, recommended that each member nation should create forces which would serve as United Nations units.

We can, therefore, expect gradually the bringing into being of an adequate international force, subject to direction by the United Nations. Until then, the deterrent to international robbery by large-scale violence resides in the commitment of national power to regional and collective security arrangements such as are authorized by the United Nations Charter.

### **Japan Is Invited**

Today, the principal deterrent power is possessed by the United States. We do not, however, intend to reserve that power only to protect ourselves. We are prepared to combine our power with that of others in mutual committals, in accord with the United Nations Charter, so that the deterrent power which protects us will also protect others. Japan, if it is disposed to protect itself against indirect aggression, can, if it wishes, share collective protection against direct aggression.

That, however, is not a choice which the United States is going to impose upon Japan. It is an invitation. The choice must be Japan's own choice. The United States is not interested in slavish conduct. That is the stock-in-trade of the Communist world. We are concerned only with the brave and the free.

Under such a security program as we have outlined, based on cooperation with Japan and our other friends, the United States would sympathetically consider the retention of United States armed forces, in and about Japan, as a testimony to the unity between our countries.

Such an arrangement would create, for Japan, a situation very different from that of the Republic of Korea prior to June 1950. The United States had withdrawn its armed forces from Korea, and it had no responsibility there other than as a member of the United Nations. The United Nations had never made it clear that an attack by North Koreans on the Republic of Korea would lead to an invoking of the immense power that was available to strike at the roots of aggression. The aggressors were tempted by the probability that the reaction to their attack would be localized so as to give the aggressor every advantage and so as to subject the defenders to every disadvantage. Thus, the deterrent of powerful counterattack was wholly lacking.

If, however, there were, in Japan, the conditions I suggest, no aggressor could rely upon enjoying what General MacArthur has well called a "privileged sanctuary." Then, an aggressor would be subjected to a striking power, the immensity of which defies imagination.

The United States produces many times as much steel, oil, aluminum, and electric power as does

any other nation. We are now turning much of that into actual military power, because we are not sure that those with aggressive intent respect any other form of power. Other free people are doing the same.

All of that creates a powerful deterrent to a possible aggressor. That is not mere speculation. We already know that nations with proved aggressive intent and great military power have not used the method of open military conquest. That is not because of moral restraints, which they openly disdain, or because of the power of local resistance but because of fear of retaliatory power used in the interest of collective security.

You will have noted that the security program we outline does not require that the Japanese nation should become militaristic and create such land, sea, and naval forces as tempted Japan down the road to destruction. Against that, the new Japan has rightly set its face. The program would realize the United Nations ideal which is that the "inherent rights of individual or collective self-defense" shall be so implemented that "armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest." In that way, there can be security and peace.

#### **Economic Welfare Attainable**

What is peace?

Peace is not just the drab business of seeking security. Peace is a positive and creative state which can and should enrich the life of every individual, of every nation, and of the whole society of nations. Only that kind of peace is self-perpetuating.

In Japan, there is natural concern as to how to lift up the standards of material existence. That is a hard problem. It needs to be studied. Our own study convinces us that the industry, the aptitude, and the ingenuity of the Japanese people can assure the possibility of a rising economic standard through trade and commerce with the rest of the world. There is no reason for discouragement merely because Japan is, itself, relatively barren and densely populated.

I come from an island, Manhattan, where over 2 million people are crowded into 22 square miles. That island has no natural resources, except a harbor. Yet, it is one of the most prosperous areas of the entire world.

There is no folly greater than that of measuring people's economic potential in terms of square miles per capita. The most sparsely settled areas are usually the poorest.

Of course, new arts and new markets cannot be developed overnight. There are bound to be periods of difficulty. Also, defense programs are going to create temporary stringencies of most raw materials. There will be need for patience and persistence and for some sacrifice and perhaps for some outside help. But Japan can have a good economic future if she cultivates the good will of

potential customers and if she devotes to industrial effort even a small fraction of the energy which she devoted to building a war machine.

#### **Realization of Spiritual Aspirations**

Life, of course, is far more than mere physical living, and men are more than bodies. They have minds and spirits, and the joy of life depends largely upon nonmaterial things. Here, there is no limit to the capacity for creative development. The Japanese people have already demonstrated, over the centuries, the capacity to appreciate and to create beauty and culture. The distinctive position which the Japanese have already won in that respect holds out great promise for the future. The richness of the free world depends largely on the stimulus of diversity. The entry of Japan into the free world can greatly increase that richness for the benefit of us all. Some have much to give. All have much they can usefully receive. The Japanese people have distinctive qualities, the fruits of which we of the West would like to share.

The great difference between the free world and the Communist captive world is that the captive world stamps out all diversity and forces each individual into a strait-jacket of conformity which is ignoble and, in the long run, destructive of human welfare and progress. The free world stands for the right of men to be different and for each to develop peacefully in accordance with his own genius. That is what the other members of the free world will expect of a free Japan. It is in that way that the Japanese nation can realize its worthy ambitions.

#### **The Cultivation of Worthy Ambition**

The Japanese have always been ambitious people. That is a good thing. Nations, like individuals, have the right to be ambitious. Indeed, that is a duty, for people without ambition are a liability to society. Ambition becomes dangerous only when it employs fraud and violence. The Japanese people, for a time, fell under leadership which tried, by force, to promote Japanese ambitions at the expense of the legitimate ambitions of others. The fact that that was a wrong method, which failed, does not mean that ambition itself is wrong.

The new Japan has a great opportunity to exert an influence in Asia by what the founders of the United States called: "conduct and example." Our founders had faith that the United States could exert a great liberating influence throughout the world. That was their ambition, and it was realized although, during that period of history, the United States was a weak nation in the sense that it was economically poor and it had virtually no military establishment. Nevertheless, our nation won for itself a position of leader-

ship and influence in the world, and despotism receded under the force of our example.

There is a certain parallelism between the present opportunity of Japan in Asia and the nineteenth century opportunity of the United States in the West. Then, most of Europe and South America was under the heel of despotisms, and Russia, under Czar Alexander, had founded the so-called Holy Alliance to extend imperialism throughout the world. The Holy Alliance, after initial successes, collapsed, because it could not compete with political liberty. The high tide of despotism steadily receded, and the peoples of the European Continent and South America won freedom.

### **Japan's Opportunity To Achieve Greatness**

That history can be repeated. Despotism, such as now overruns much of Asia, can never stand the nearby contrast of freedom so practiced by another Asiatic power as to produce the manifold richness of which free men alone are capable. The Bolshevik leaders know the powers of example, and that is why they have invented the iron curtain in the hope of cutting off the magnetic influence which freedom always exerts upon the subjects of despotism. Iron curtains can delay, but they cannot prevent, the inevitable. The world will not persist half slave so long as it is half free. The collapse of Communist despotism is a certainty, provided the free peoples exalt freedom by demonstrating what freedom means.

It is that fact which presents the Japanese people with their new and historic opportunity in Asia. It calls for the finest qualities of which men are capable. No one who knows the Japanese—as friend or foe—doubts that they can develop these qualities. There have been ample demonstrations of Japanese valor and willingness to sacrifice. Unhappily, these qualities have, too often, been used in efforts which misconstrued the nature of true greatness. Greatness is not measured by ability to impose on others what they do not want. Rather, it resides in the ability to find new ways whereby all men can better realize their aspirations. Those who do that attain a moral leadership and authority, which all will welcome.

### **Trust and Opportunity**

These are the principles which inspire our mission. To realize them is not an easy task. It is not just a matter of finding words to write into a treaty. That would be simple. But good results are rarely achieved in such an easy way. The total dictionary of noble words has already been exhausted by treaties which, today, are merely

crumpled bits of paper, littering the cruel path which humanity has had to tread.

We do not believe any longer that treaty words are self-executing, whether they be words of promise or words of repression. A peace settlement cannot usefully attempt to dictate the future. It can, at best, create conditions which will make likely the good future that is sought.

To find those conditions is the purpose of the exploratory talks upon which we are now engaged here at Tokyo, following similar talks with the allied nations which are principally concerned. It is still too soon to prophesy the final outcome. There will probably be disappointments and what, to some, may seem injustices. It is never possible to put into effect lofty principles for the future without some compromise with the existing realities created by the past. We can, however, already say that we seek a peace which will afford Japan opportunity to protect by her own efforts the full sovereignty which peace will have restored; opportunity to share in collective security against direct aggression; opportunity to raise her standard of living by the inventiveness and industry of her people; and opportunity to achieve moral stature and respected leadership through the force of good example.

These are the opportunities which we shall seek to create through a peace which will reflect a feeling by the victors that Japan is now a nation to be trusted. There are still, in some respects, understandable reservations. But confidence has grown during the period since surrender, as the Japanese people, responding to the just policies of the Supreme Commander, have loyally fulfilled the surrender terms. It is upon that solid foundation of justice and loyalty that we plan to build our peace—a peace of trust and opportunity.

### **Communiqués Regarding Korea to the Security Council**

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander in Chief of United Nations Command, has transmitted communiqués regarding Korea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the following United Nations document numbers: S/1963, January 2; S/1965, January 3; S/1966, January 4; S/1967, January 5; S/1970, January 8; S/1973, January 9; S/1974, January 9; S/1975, January 10; S/1977, January 12; S/1979, January 13; S/1984, January 23; S/1985, January 23; S/1986, January 24; S/1988, January 25; S/1989, January 26.

## Soviet Lenin Day Speech Increases Doubts of Kremlin's Peace Campaign

[Released to the press January 31]

### LETTER FROM SENATOR McMAHON TO SECRETARY ACHESON

January 26, 1951

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: My attention has been drawn to the vitriolic and distorted attack upon the United States made in the speech on January 21 by P. N. Pospelov to a very important audience of Soviet leaders, including Premier Stalin, on the anniversary of Lenin's death.

This attack appears to me to go into a new high gear in its attempt to convince the Russian people that the United States is plotting their destruction.

I should appreciate receiving your reaction to this speech, including your estimate of its possible effect on the Soviet people and what we should do about it.

Respectfully yours,

BRIEN McMAHON  
*United States Senator*

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### REPLY FROM SECRETARY ACHESON TO SENATOR McMAHON

January 31, 1951

MY DEAR SENATOR McMAHON: I have received your letter of January 26, 1951, asking certain questions regarding the speech delivered on January 21, 1951, the anniversary of the death of Lenin, by Mr. P. N. Pospelov before Premier Stalin and other high officials.

I shall reply to your questions in the order they are written. First, analysis here of Mr. Pospelov's remarks is that they do initiate a new and especially scurrilous propaganda line. This is a virulent effort by the Politburo's thought control mechanism to convince the Russian peoples that the United States has long been their historic arch enemy. The scope of the "hate the United States" campaign is thus being widened to distort not only the present truth concerning this nation, but also

the truth in the objective records of history proving the long friendship of the United States for the Russian people.

This Kremlin propaganda is easily refuted by Soviet records available in the USSR. For instance, the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* of 1932, in its biography of President Woodrow Wilson, does not contain one word to support the Pospelov charges that at the Versailles Peace Conference he planned the destruction of the Soviet Republic and the complete dismemberment of Russia. The fact is the very opposite. At Versailles the Germans were required to abrogate the infamous Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and to respect the independence of all territory belonging to the Russian Empire.

Mr. Pospelov also does not mention a pertinent document, reproduced in Moscow in 1934 and distributed to the Soviet people in a booklet entitled *Soviet-American Relations, 1919-1933*. This is the note of August 10, 1920 (appearing as September 2, 1920 in the Soviet publication) to the Italian Ambassador from Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, in which he expressed the United States Government's opposition to any dismemberment of Russia, but condemned the Soviet rulers since they ruled by, I quote "savagely oppression," and did not represent the Russian people.

The observer is left with a suspicion that the Kremlin is unwittingly projecting a mirror image of its own real attitude toward other nations.

The question remains unanswered why the Kremlin has taken this course.

One inevitable conclusion reached after reading this outpouring of dishonesty is that it aggravates the doubt so prevalent today regarding the value of the Kremlin's words about peace.

It has long been obvious that there is no logical connection between the Kremlin's words about peace and their deeds of hate. Recently, it has been obvious that Communist words about peace stand at sharp variance, for instance, to the Communist use of military force in the Far East, to

the Communist attempt to sabotage the economic recovery and unity of Europe, to the enslavement by force and treachery of the smaller nations of Eastern Europe.

With respect to the effect of Mr. Pospelov's speech in the U.S.S.R., and of its continued repetition to the Soviet population by the Soviet thought control mechanism, it is necessary first to recognize the existence of the silent but bitter mental battle going on in the U.S.S.R. The brave and hardy peoples of Russia, in their long and quiet resistance to first Czarist and then Communist repression, have only infrequently and briefly tasted freedom. The clock has now turned full cycle back to oppression and exploitation, but there continues this deep mental struggle to maintain decency, and morality, and to know the truth and right despite all the distortions and pressures of Communist thought control. Mr. Pospelov himself proves the existence of this bitter mental battle; he seeks to weaken his silent adversary by the loudness of his shouts.

There is no question but that the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves sense the untruth of Mr. Pospelov's statements. Those who have never been permitted to see conditions in the free world suspect—and those who have seen the free world know—how the Russian peoples have been exploited. Even when the United States and other democracies were disarming and reverting to the ways of peace after the recent war, the peoples of the Soviet Union were forced to continue to construct tanks and cannons instead of decent homes and comforts for all. The older generation remembers the sentiments, now erased from public Soviet records, of respect and friendship for the United States expressed by the Soviet Government while Lenin was still alive, when the Americans saved millions from famine in the Volga basin. The young have seen all around them, and used, the multitude of products of American labor and skill sent to the U.S.S.R. under Lend-Lease in the common war effort against the Nazis.

All the population of the Soviet Union can perceive the enormous conflict between the Kremlin's words about peace and the words which Mr. Pospelov obediently uttered.

However, we must not underestimate the power of the Kremlin's thought control mechanism to fabricate false information and to sow doubt and confusion as to the truth of our friendship. We must assist the millions of decent men and women in the Soviet Union to hold to our friendship despite the insidious and brutal mental pressures upon them.

What we must do is clear. We must speak very plainly, for the ears of the harassed Russian peoples, about things that we have long taken for granted. We must enunciate our friendship, our respect, our sympathy. We must make clear our firm hope that their great nation will in the

course of time become able to contribute mightily to the cause of peace and to work for progress through brotherhood, not through hate and bloodshed.

The radio Voice of America is now and has long been bringing to the Russian peoples the truth of the present and of the past. We must now give emphatic national voice of a major portion of this truth, the fact of American friendship. We must make very sure that the real sentiments of this nation toward the Russian peoples are known to them, despite the iron curtain of the Kremlin censorship.

The Department has reproduced Mr. Pospelov's speech in the form in which it was broadcast throughout the Soviet Union by Radio Moscow. I enclose a copy.

Radio Moscow has been giving heavy and continuing attention to this speech in its broadcasts to both its home and foreign audiences.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

JACK E. McFALL  
*Assistant Secretary*

Enclosure:  
Copy of Pospelov Speech.

#### **TEXT OF SPEECH BY P. N. POSPELOV**

Comrades, 27 years have elapsed since the death of the greatest genius of humanity, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The great Party of Lenin and Stalin owes its world-historic victories won during the past quarter of a century primarily to its faithfulness to the teaching of Lenin and to his testament.

Lenin's immortal ideas are lighting the path of the Soviet people to Communism. Lenin's immortal teaching is lighting, for all working humanity, the path of the struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. It opens up the laws and perspectives of the development of human society, and it inspires great faith in the inevitable and final victory of the proletarian revolution over the wild beast—imperialism.

The Fourth Edition of Lenin's works, started in accordance with a decision of the Central Party Committee in 1940, has been completed by the 27th anniversary of Lenin's death. In Lenin's great works, the study of which is a vital necessity for the builders of Communism, we find the guiding lines which enable us to understand more fully the present political situation and to appreciate the tasks which face us.

In the Fourth Edition of Lenin's works, the most complete as compared with the preceding editions, many new materials and documents have been published, among them those containing the estimation of American imperialism by Vladimir Ilyich. These materials and documents show extensively the role of American imperialism as an active organizer and inspirer of the military intervention against young Soviet Russia during the first years of her existence.

#### **Lenin on American Imperialism**

In the light of the present international situation, when American imperialism acts as the leading force in the camp of the instigators of war, pursues a savage armaments race, has unleashed a bloody aggression against the peaceful Korean people, and prepares new military at-

tacks against the country of Socialism, the USSR, the countries of People's Democracy in Europe and the Chinese People's Republic—in this situation, Lenin's characterization of American imperialism is particularly instructive and deeply topical.

Lenin pointed out that American imperialism is constantly interfering in the affairs of other peoples by way of direct military intervention or by enslaving and strangling them by the noose of hunger. Lenin frequently stresses the aggressive, predatory role of American imperialism. Lenin's estimation of American imperialism reveals the roots of the criminal policy violating international cooperation and unleashing a . . . the object of gaining world domination, which the governing circles of the United States began to pursue immediately after the end of the Second World War.

The American imperialists interference in Russian affairs, their striving to suppress the Russian Revolution so as fully to enslave Russia and to loot unrestrainedly her natural resources, started even before October 1917. After the February Revolution, American imperialists supported in every way the counterrevolutionary coalition of Kerensky and Milyukov by supplying it with billions (of dollars) with which to stifle the Russian Revolution and to enslave Russia, which the American imperialists had already begun to consider as their colony.

### American Intrigue Recalled

It is appropriate here to recall that the U.S. Ambassador in Russia, Francis, in November of 1917, asked the U.S. Secretary of State: "What is your opinion about treating Russia in the same way as China?"

The question referred, of course, to old semicolonial China, enmeshed with unequal, oppressive pacts which had been inflicted upon it by imperialist states. Now, after the historic victories of the great Chinese people, even the blockheaded American diplomatists would hardly dare to talk about China in such a manner. Now, as the saying goes, their hands are too short!

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, guided and inspired by the Lenin-Stalin Party, has saved the independence and freedom of our Motherland; it has saved it from the insolent encroachments of the American imperialists.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the victory of the October Revolution was greeted with rabid hatred in the camp of the American multimillionaires, who, from the very beginning of the October Revolution, became the sworn enemies of Soviet Russia. In the very first decree of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the decree on peace, the Soviet regime openly proposed a just peace, a peace with the full observance of the equality of rights of all nations; it proposed this peace to all belligerent countries, indicating to the people the way to end the imperialist war shambles.

The American, British, and French imperialists, interested in the continuation of the bloody slaughter, rejected the proposal of the young Soviet Republic. "It was precisely the Anglo-French, and American bourgeoisie," wrote Lenin, "who did not accept our proposal. It was they precisely who refused even to talk with us about a universal peace; it was they precisely who acted treasonably toward the interests of all peoples. It was they precisely who prolonged the imperialist war." Lenin wrote this in his famous letter to American workers in August 1918.

### American Hatred Aroused

The decree on peace, the mighty call of the regime of revolutionary workers and peasants for a just peace, aroused the particular hatred of the American imperialists to whom the end of the war was unprofitable, since they were making wild profits out of war orders. The ruling circles of the United States, as far back as 1917,

were the initiators of the food blockade of Russia; and at the time it was reported with cynical frankness in the American press that the U.S. Government had prohibited the dispatch of food to Russia while the Bolsheviks remained in power and continued to pursue their program of concluding peace.

Even as early as the beginning of 1918 American imperialists were planning to dismember Russia and with that aim were preparing direct military intervention against our Motherland. Hoping for easy booty, some ignorant and impudent American Senators were already cheering themselves up with assertions that Russia had become nothing more than a geographical . . . and that, therefore, one could plunder her with impunity.

A certain stupid American Senator, Poindexter, supporting . . . German imperialism, quoted with sympathy their ravings about Russia being nothing more than a geographical (nation), saying that she would never become anything else; that her cohesive force, organization, and revival were gone forever; the Nation did not exist any more—*Congressional Record*, Volume 56, 1918, page 11 thousand 179.

Speaking of the interference of the United States in the affairs of the peoples of Central and Southeastern European afterwards, Poindexter said with unprecedented impudence: "Much more important is the question of what one should do with Russia, with her population of 170 million, and her unlimited food, fuel, and metal resources."

### Senator Demands Intervention

Another equally "far-seeing" American Senator, Sherman, at the meeting of the Senate on June 20, 1918, demanded that the American Government should speed up and increase military intervention against Soviet Russia. He particularly drew the attention of the Government to the fact that Siberia was a very choice bit.

"Now," Sherman used to say, "this is a wheat field and a pasture for cattle and it has the same value as its mineral riches." However, the U.S. beasts of prey looked greedily not only at Siberia but also the Caucasus and its natural riches attracted their greedy eyes.

Wilson, the President of the United States, whom Lenin, in his letter to the U.S. workers, called the head of the U. S. multimillionaires and a minion of the sharks of capitalism, was one of the main inspirers of the armed intervention of the international imperialism against the young Soviet Republic and of the intervention which was committed under the guise of the hypocritical and lying phrases about the alleged noninterference in Russian affairs.

The U.S. imperialists strove in 1918 to 1920 to destroy the Soviet State. Soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the U.S. diplomatists began to organize counterrevolutionary plots against the Soviet Power. U.S. soldiers were sent to the territory of Soviet Russia with the aim of a direct intervention. The U.S. imperialists and the troops which were sent by them, under the deceptive flag of overseas democracy, supported the worst (enemies) of the Russian people, the archcounter-revolutionaries and monarchists, Kilchak, Miller Denikin, and the rest of the White Guards.

### Apologists of Imperialism

Moscow, TASS, in Russian at Dictation Speed to the Provincial Press, Jan. 21, 1951.

(The above transmission of Pospelov's speech was interrupted with the dictation of the following addition)  
(Text)

Some apologists of American imperialism are trying to falsify the historical facts concerning the American intervention in Siberia, but this is a hopeless task. The shameful part played by the American troops in Siberia is sufficiently clearly demonstrated in the memoirs of the

Commander of the American Expeditionary Corps in Siberia, Maj. Gen. William Graves.

Graves writes that nothing can refute the fact that the United States was an active partner in the intervention planned against the Russian people and in the interference in the internal affairs of the Russian people. "The United States," writes Graves, "was, I think, the last of the powers to lose faith in Kolchak," who, on Graves' admission, carried out a regime of most brutal terror.

"I doubt," writes Graves, concluding his memoirs, "that any unprejudiced person could assert that the United States did not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. By this interference and with its Armed Forces, the United States helped to support a monarchistically-inclined and unpopular Government which was not approved of by the overwhelming majority of the population. In addition, the United States incurred the hatred of 90 percent of the Siberian population." William Graves "Kolchak, America, and Japan," Moscow, 1932, pages 11, 38 and 47." (End addition—Ed.)

### Foul Role in Siberia

A shameful and foul role was played by the troops of the U. S. interventionists in the north, where together with the White Guards, they bestially killed and tortured many tens of thousands of Russian people under the pretext of a struggle against Bolshevism and robbed and carried away an enormous amount of most valuable raw materials. It suffices to say, . . . order to . . . behavior of the U. S. "democrats," that the whole territory of the Northern Region, which was occupied by the U. S.-British invaders was covered with a dense network of prisons and concentration camps.

Many tens of thousands of Russian people were thrown behind iron bars by the American-British interventionists and their lackeys—the White Guardists. The hands of American imperialists are covered with the Russian people's blood. The Soviet people will never forget the bloody crimes and hangman-like feats of American interventionists on our soil. During the years of foreign intervention and civil war the Soviet people . . . and heroically repelled the criminal and plundering invasion of the American, British, and other interventionists and their mercenaries—the White Guardists.

### Foreign Intervention

Moscow, TASS, in Russian at Dictation Speed to the Provincial Press, January 21, 1951.

(The transmission of Pospelov's speech was interrupted with the dictation of the following addition.)

(During the whole period of foreign intervention and civil war there was not a single candidate from among the "counter revolutionary" rulers of Russia to whom the American imperialists did not give help. Kolchak, Denikin, Miller, and Yudenich, the Black Baron of Wrangel, and other great enemies of the workers of Soviet Russia, all of them were "kept" by the United States, receiving arms, war equipment, and uniforms from it in plenty.)

In his answer to the questions of an American journalist in July 1919, Lenin assessed the criminal invasion of American interventionists of our country, as well as the heroic resistance put up by the Russian people. "With regard to the United States and Japan," Lenin wrote, "we are pursuing above all the political aim of repulsing their insolent criminal and plundering invasion of Russia which serves for the enrichment of their capitalists.

"To both these states we have often and solemnly proposed peace, but they did not even answer us and continued the war, aiding Denikin and Kolchak, plundering Murmansk and Archangel, and destroying and devastating Eastern Siberia in particular where Russian peasants were offering a heroic resistance against the gangster capitalists of Japan and the United States.

"Our future political, and economic aims," Lenin said, "in relation to all the peoples, including the United States and Japan, are one and the same brotherly union with the workers and the toilers of all the countries without exception." For the characterization of the robbing plans and the intentions of American imperialism, it is necessary to point out that a so-called peacemaker and democrat, President Wilson, arrived at the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919 with a program of destruction of the Soviet Republic and complete dismemberment of Russia. It was, moreover, envisaged that a mandate was to be given for U. S. administration of the areas of the Caucasus to be separated from Russia.

### Wilson the Imperialist

Lenin showed in several of his speeches that the idealized democratic republic of Wilson proved in reality to be a form of the most mad imperialism, the most shameful oppression, and the strangling of the weak and small peoples. Lenin branded American imperialism as the executioner and strangler of Russian freedom, as the gendarme of Western Europe.

"It became apparent," Lenin said, "that the British and the Americans act as executioners and gendarmes of Russian freedom, as this role was carried out under the Russian executioner, Nicholas I, no better than the kings who played the part of executioners when they strangled the Hungarian revolution. Now this role has been taken over by Wilson's agents.

"They are strangling the revolution in Austria; they are playing the role of gendarme; and they are presenting an ultimatum to Switzerland—"We will not give you bread unless you enter into the struggle against the Bolshevik Government." They tell Holland—"You must not allow Soviet Ambassadors into your country, or else there will be a blockade." Their weapon is simple—a rope of hunger, and it is with this that they are strangling the people."

Lenin showed that the American imperialism, which was hiding behind a mask of "democracy," is no better than the bestial German imperialism and it moves toward the same shameful end as German imperialism.

"We see," said Lenin in November 1918 at the Sixth All-Russian Extraordinary Congress of Councils, "how Great Britain and America, countries which had more responsibility than others of the remaining democratic republics, ran wild in the same mad way as Germany at another time, and it is for this reason that they will just as soon, if not sooner, reach the same end that German imperialism so successfully attained. To begin with, it swelled to enormous proportions over three quarters of Europe, grew fat, and then exploded, leaving a revolting stench. And now British and American imperialism is heading irresistibly toward this end."

### U.S.-U.K. Death Warrant

Lenin pointed out that German imperialism in 1918 signed its own death warrant when it tried to stifle the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia and the Ukraine. The well-disciplined German Army disintegrated. The British and American imperialists will sign their own death warrant still more effectively when they undertake a venture which will bring them political disaster, when they doom their own troops to play the part of stiflers and gendarmes of all Europe.

What a stern warning are these words of Lenin to the unbridled political madmen of the American ruling circles, who, in their thirst for world domination, are thrusting the American people into the abyss of a new third World War at a giddy speed.

Today, when U.S. imperialism, having understood nothing and learned nothing from the lessons of history, is literally following in the footsteps of Hitlerite imperialists, the prophetic words of Lenin sound with par-

ticularly shattering force. Lenin taught that Anglo-U.S. imperialism was the same . . . as German imperialism. Exposing the plans and actions of Anglo-U.S. imperialists, in particular as regards the oppression and subjugation of the peoples of Russia and Western Europe, Lenin said, "They are about to oppress a people who have embarked on freedom from capitalism, to throttle the revolution. And we say with absolute certainty that now this exposed monster will also tumble into the abyss as did the monster of German imperialism."

Failure of all attempts by armed foreign intervention against Soviet Russia meant the supreme victory of the workers over international imperialism. This great victory of the young Soviet Republic over a host of innumerable enemies proved the historical laws of the Great October Socialist Revolution which opened a new era in the history of mankind.

Speaking of the tremendous significance of the routing of the armed intervention of international imperialism, Lenin prophesied in October 1920 that this fact constituted a major lesson which showed countries engaged in an aggressive policy that our cause stood firm; that whatever the attempts to invade Russia and military undertakings against Russia—and there will probably be not just one attempt—we are already steeled by our experience and on the basis of our experience know that all these attempts will be shattered; and that after every attempt of our enemies we will emerge stronger than we were before.

History has confirmed Lenin's great foresight. When, in 1941, Hitler's imperialism, fostered and reared by the American monopolies, treacherously attacked the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism under the wise leadership of the great leader and commander, Comrade Stalin, routed Hitlerite Germany and emerged from the unprecedentedly stern struggle stronger than she was before 1941. (Prolonged applause.)

### Taft Recognizes Russia's Might

Today even our worst enemies are forced to recognize this incontrovertible historical fact. Even such an experienced reactionary as the American Senator Taft was recently forced to admit that the plans which are being hatched by the American aggressors for a war with Russia on the European Continent by land forces are doomed to failure and that an invasion of such a kind would prove to be impossible as Napoleon and Hitler discovered.

After the routing of the foreign military intervention, Lenin taught us that the first commandment of our policy is to be on guard, to remember that we are surrounded by men, classes, and governments that openly express the greatest hatred for us. "It must be remembered that we are always a hair's breadth away from any invasion. We will do everything within our power to prevent such a calamity," said Lenin.

Analyzing the international situation after the First World War, Lenin pointed out that as a result of that war the American imperialists gained colossal profits, that they looted fabulous wealth, and that they became more impudent than ever. More impudently than ever they began to interfere in the affairs of other people.

"The American multimillionaires," wrote Lenin in his letter to the American workers, "are possibly the richest of all and live in the least dangerous geographical situation. They profited more than anyone else. They made everyone, even the richest countries, pay them tribute. They looted hundreds of billions of dollars."

### Traces of Dirt on Dollars

Moscow, TASS, in Russian at Dictation Speed to the Provincial Press, January 21, 1951.

(The transmission of Pospelov's speech was interrupted with the dictation of the following:)

(On each dollar there are traces of dirt, of dirty, secret agreements between Britain and her "Allies," between Germany and her vassals, of agreements about the sharing out of the plunder, of agreements about "aiding" one another in suppressing the workers and persecuting Socialist internationalists. On each dollar there is a clot of dirt, and so forth.)

On each dollar there is a clot of dirt from the profitable military deliveries which enriched the rich in every country and impoverished the poor. On each dollar there is the trace of blood from the sea of blood shed by 10 million killed and 20 million maimed. Lenin pointed out that as far back as in 1918 Anglo-American imperialism strove to gain world domination.

"Anglo-American imperialism has grown more insolent than ever and looks upon itself as an overlord whom nobody may resist," said Lenin. On a number of examples Lenin proved that nowhere does capital reign so insolently, cynically, and ruthlessly as in the United States, in spite of all the false words about democracy and the equality of all citizens. Lenin frequently exposed the monstrous, bestial customs cultivated by the American imperialist ringleaders even then, in the years 1917 to 20 and the cruelty with which they persecuted the revolutionary workers and simple partisans of peace.

### Wilson Permitted Mob Rule

"Wilson is the President of the most democratic Republic (TASS version mentioned above inserts 'in the world' after 'Republic'—Ed.) and what does he say? In that country a mob of chauvinists shoots people in the streets for (uttering) one word calling for peace. A priest, who had never been a revolutionary, was dragged out into the street and beaten until he bled only because he preached peace," said Lenin in his speech at the Prenya District Workers' Conference in 1918.

The peace partisan, the priest (Pigelow) whom Lenin mentions, was whipped by 20 people in masks and black cloaks. "They beat him," as an eyewitness, The New York Times correspondent, described, "deliberately and rhythmically. (Pigelow) was writhing in agony, and in the end fell. They went on heating him. They beat him while he was prone. Altogether he was struck some 2,000 times. His blood mingled with the tar with which the unfortunate man had been smeared, and when he was being dragged home along the pavements, nobody knew whether it was a corpse or a living man."

(Pigelow), the unfortunate victim of lynch law, went to Washington to the President himself to complain, but the result was quite unexpected. Within a fortnight (Pigelow) himself was brought to trial on a charge of lack of patriotism and open sympathy with pacifists (and) peace partisans. Within a week after the shameful incident of (Pigelow) 17 members of the Union of Industrial Workers of the World were similarly beaten up in a beastly way and three of them died the next day. Such are the customs of American imperialism. Such is the American way of life.

### Naked American Imperialism

Describing the bestial and revolting aspect and the insolence of American imperialism, Lenin said: "Before us stands an absolutely naked imperialist who does not consider it even necessary to clothe himself in anything, for he thinks himself superb even as he is!" Lenin pointed out that American imperialism's robber policy was already then in the twenties provoking a growing hatred of the peoples toward American imperialism. "America is strong. Everyone is in debt to her. Everything depends on her. She is hated more and more. She robs everyone. All bourgeois literature bears witness to the growth of hatred toward America," said Lenin at a meeting of board of the Moscow organization of the Russian Communist Party in December 1920.

In his utterances on matters of foreign policy Lenin always emphasized Soviet Russia's unswerving striving toward peace. Of exceptionally important significance is Vladimir Ilyich's answer in February of 1920 to questions of a correspondent of the American paper *New York Evening Journal* which is being published for the first time in the fourth edition of Lenin's works. Replying to the correspondent's questions as to what was the basis of peace with America, Lenin said: "Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We will not touch them. We are even ready to pay them with gold for machinery, implements, and so forth, useful for transport and production, and not only with gold, but even with raw materials."

To the question on obstacles to such a peace, Vladimir Ilyich replied: "None from our side. Imperialism is on the part of America just as on the part of all other capitalists." The predatory, robber nature of American imperialism, its strivings toward world domination, and the enslavement of Asia and Europe—about which Lenin spoke on many occasions—all these traits of American imperialism have manifested themselves particularly forcibly after the Second World War.

### Unprecedented Korean Crimes

The American-British imperialists, in their strivings toward world domination, are deploying a bloody, colonial war against the peoples of the East. American troops are committing unprecedented crimes on the soil of the peace-loving and freedom-loving Korean people, who, with outstanding steadfastness and courage are struggling against the American aggressors and, together with Chinese Volunteers, are inflicting upon these aggressors devastating blows.

When they began their criminal armed intervention in Korea, the American imperialists were expecting that by mass bombing and monstrous brutality, they could intimidate and force the heroic Korean people down on their knees. But things have turned out quite differently. The troops of the American interventionists, in spite of their colossal superiority in equipment, in spite of the mobilization of enormous naval and air fleets have suffered an unprecedented military defeat in Korea. Many of those who, until quite recently, still considered American imperialism and its Army to be mighty and even invincible, are now having second thoughts.

### U.S. Prestige Falls

The military prestige of the United States in the eyes of many people in Europe and Asia has now been greatly weakened. On the other hand, the cannibalistic policy, borrowed from Hitler, of turning the flourishing towns and villages of Korea into a desert zone as pursued by the American plunderers, has aroused burning hatred toward American imperialism among the people of Europe and especially the peoples of Asia.

In the same way as the American intervention in Russia suffered defeat in its time, so it will suffer defeat in Korea. There is no doubt that all crazy plans of the American imperialists for world domination will end in complete failure. The forces of war and imperialist reaction are opposed by the mighty and ever growing forces of peace, democracy, and Socialism, at the head of which is the great Soviet Union—the unshakable bulwark of peace and friendship of the peoples.

Lenin teaches that in accordance with the laws of history confirmed by the living historic experience, our great cause, the cause of liberating working people from capitalist slavery, is invincible. The immortal works of V. I. Lenin inspire us with a profound faith in the invincibility of the Communist cause. No matter what beastly action the imperialist bourgeoisie may perpetrate, to what cruel persecutions it may subject the leading and politically conscious fighters of the working class, the Communists, and even ordinary Peace Partisans, the future belongs to the

advanced ideas of our century, the ideas which no world policemen—a role to which, as is known, the United States aspires at present—shall succeed in putting behind prison bars. (Applause.)

The great Lenin-Stalin ideology of equal rights and friendship among peoples and of a struggle for a stable peace throughout the world is gaining and will continue to gain new and great victories. (Loud applause.)

### Bourgeoisie Condemned to Death

In his famous work "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," Lenin wrote: "Let the bourgeoisie rage and rave, let it outdo itself in stupid things, punish the Bolsheviks in advance, and try to kill off hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of yesterday's or tomorrow's Bolsheviks in India, Hungary, Germany, and so forth. While acting so, the bourgeoisie acts like all the classes condemned to death by history. The Communists must know that in any case the future belongs to them. Therefore, we can and must combine the greatest passion in our great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the wild ravings of the bourgeoisie."

Comrades, we are commemorating the 27th anniversary of the death of Lenin at a time when the first half of the century has just ended. The past half century has brought the greatest triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Under the banner of these ideas the Soviet people, led by the genius of Comrade Stalin, the continuator of the cause of Lenin, has built Socialism and is successfully building the Communist society. Under the banner of the ideas of Leninism, there was taking place the development of the world worker movement and the national movement of liberation and the struggle for peace, democracy, and Socialism.

Long live the wise Party of Lenin-Stalin which is leading us toward Communism! Long live peace in the whole world! Long live Leninism—the all-victorious banner of the liberation of mankind! (Prolonged applause.) (End of Pospelov's speech.—Ed.)

### Travel Restrictions on Hungarian Legation Personnel in Washington

[Released to the press January 29]

The Department of State has delivered today a note to the Hungarian Minister in Washington informing him of restrictions which have been placed in immediate effect by the Department on travel by Hungarian Legation personnel in the United States.

This action of the Department has been taken as a reciprocal measure in view of a notification addressed to the American Legation in Budapest on January 19 by the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs announcing the imposition of travel restrictions on American Legation personnel in Hungary. The Hungarian order, which took effect on January 22, prohibits American Legation personnel from staying or traveling without permission from the Hungarian Foreign Office beyond an area bounded by a perimeter fixed at 30 kilometers from the approximate center of Budapest. Within this zone, entry to Csepel Island is also denied to American Legation personnel except by permit.

*The text of the Department's note dated January 29 to the Hungarian Legation in this matter follows:*

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Honorable the Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic and has the honor to inform him as follows:

Effective immediately, members of the Hungarian diplomatic mission in the United States and Hungarian employees of that mission, as well as the dependents of these persons, are prohibited from staying or traveling beyond a specified area except by express permission. The perimeter of the designated area is fixed at a distance of eighteen miles from the White House, Washington, D. C.

Permission to stay or travel outside the specified area shall be requested in advance through the Chief of Protocol, Department of State, according to a prescribed form, of which a facsimile is enclosed and copies may be obtained from the Department upon request. Travel beyond the designated area should not be undertaken prior to the receipt by applicants of signed authorization from the Department of State.

The Secretary of State further informs the Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic that the Department of State will take into account in its application of the foregoing restrictions, with particular reference to the issuance of travel permits, the consideration accorded to members of the American Legation in Budapest who may wish to travel beyond the limits of the restrictive zone established by the Hungarian Government on January 22, 1951.

Enclosure:

Facsimile of "Request for Authorization to Travel." [Not printed.]

## **Indochinese Resistance to Communist Domination**

*Statement by Donald R. Heath  
Minister to the Associated States of  
Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia*<sup>1</sup>

French and Indochinese troops, helped by American arms aid, are holding the pass against the spread of communism to Southeast Asia. American arms aid is not, as the Communist propaganda pretends, being used to bolster up a French colonial regime in Indochina. The French colonial regime ended with the signature of the so-called Pan accords on December 16. On January

1, all Indochinese Government services were turned over to the Indochinese states. A relatively large number of French Government technical experts are being held temporarily, at the request of the Indochinese, in certain posts until Indochinese can be trained to take their places. In the case of many positions that will be a matter of only a few months. Meanwhile, French instructors and American arms are being devoted to building up a Vietnamese national army. It will take a good many months, however, to make Vietnamese troops equal in numbers and training to the rebel troops, who are trained and equipped by the Chinese Communists. The Vietnamese have asked for the continued assistance of the French forces until the Vietnamese army is ready to assume responsibility for the security of Indochina.

I have been asked many times in the past week about the nature of the Communist threat to Indochina and its significance to the free world. The menace is as old as the creed of Bolshevism and the Communist operation in Indochina with minor variations is the same experienced by other areas under Communist attack throughout the world. The Communists seek to gain control by disguising themselves as nationalists. They attempt to prevent the development of an independent nationalist government. They go to all imaginable extremes to prevent reconstruction of the country, new development, and the alleviation of human suffering in areas not under their domination. Their tactics are those of murder, kidnap, arson, threats, and intimidation. The Communists know that the development of healthy, independent states and the development of the human and natural resources of Indochina would make their subversion and domination impossible.

The hope which I saw for the future of Indochina lies in those brave people, of whom there are many, who dare to work for security, freedom, and human betterment despite the threats of retaliation from the Communist-directed murderers and arsonists who stalk in every area. But despite attempts at intimidation, leaders from the village level to the highest positions in government are coming forward to take those risks and work to give meaning to their newly won independence.

The Chinese Communists have thrust into Korea and Tibet. There is sabre rattling on Indochina's borders. The free nations of the world are banding together. The people of Southeast Asia do not want the domination of Communist imperialism; they do not want to become the rice bowl to fuel the march of a Communist-directed Chinese war machine throughout the rest of Asia. By collective action, the free world can be maintained and new hope given to captive nations now in the Communist orbit.

<sup>1</sup> Made over the NBC television network on Feb. 4 and released to the press on the same date.

## Why We Stay in Korea

*Remarks by Dean Rusk  
Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Today I wish to say a word to those who ask why we stay in Korea. It is a serious question—because men's lives are at stake—and it deserves a serious answer.

We are in Korea because we are trying to prevent a world war and the frightful destruction of life which such a war would produce.

The thousands who have died in Korea have sacrificed their lives in a struggle to prevent the millions of deaths which world war would surely bring.

The issue in Korea is aggression. We can face it, or we can run away from it. If we face it, we have a chance to organize the determination of the world against aggression, to show the aggressor that his crime will not be accepted and that his crime will not pay. If we succeed, the aggressor may hold his hand. If we run away from it, the aggressor will learn that there is great profit in crime, that he will not be resisted, and that his victims are weak and can be destroyed at will.

These are not theories but hard facts. We Americans have already had one unforgettable lesson about what happens when unbridled ambition goes unchecked. We have seen the world go down the trail from Manchuria to Ethiopia to Munich to Poland and, finally, to Pearl Harbor. We must not tread this path again.

Let us not be discouraged too soon. At the end of World War II, the human race almost succeeded in doing what men have dreamed about for centuries, i.e., in organizing a world to keep the peace. Only one government stands in the way. That government is a dictatorship which has behind it considerable power. But the peace-loving world itself is strong, and we cannot afford to give up our goal just when we have come so close.

We are in Korea because we cannot afford to leave Red China and its neighbors under the impression that the forces of Peiping are irresistible and that Red China's neighbors must now come to terms with communism at the cost of their freedom.

The vaunted power of Red China is being unmasked in Korea. Chinese soldiers do not relish the punishment they are getting from our guns and planes and ships. They are learning that their masters have tricked them into a war of foreign aggression. They are learning that their masters have put them into battle without provision for minimum care in case of wounds or sickness or frostbite. In other words, Red China is learning a great deal about the cost of aggression.

<sup>1</sup> Made over NBC television Jan. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

We are in Korea because we cannot abandon 20 million gallant Koreans to communism. We and they have fought side by side against aggression for several months, sometimes in defeat and sometimes in victory. We cannot now abandon our comrades to the fate which would be theirs if the Communists took over.

Further, we cannot leave our friends in the Philippines and in Japan under the impression that we do not take our commitments seriously and that we might lack courage in the face of adversity.

Our gallant force in Korea is fully able to take care of itself. We should not act like a defeated nation when in fact we have not been defeated.

The willingness and ability of the entire free world to increase its strength and to join its forces to insure their mutual defense depends to a considerable extent upon the attitude of the United States. Our strength is increasing rapidly as is that of our friends.

If we can show that we have both the will and the ability to defend ourselves, the main attack may be averted. Our attitude in this situation may easily determine the course of history for years to come. That course may lead to peace, or it may lead to disaster. This great Nation can not let history say of us that we chose the road to disaster because we were unwilling to fight for peace.

## Use of Chinese Nationalist Troops in Korea

*[Released to the press February 1]*

*The following is the text of a letter from Assistant Secretary Jack K. McFall to Representative Horace Seely-Brown dated January 16, 1951.*

MY DEAR MR. SEELY-BROWN: Reference is made to your telegram to the President dated January 1, 1951. The White House has referred your question regarding the use of Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea to the Department for reply.

The question of the participation of Chinese Nationalist forces in the Korean hostilities or in a mainland offensive is both military (involving general strategy) and political (involving importantly the attitude of other members of the U.N.). In responding to such questions the Department must of course bear in mind the danger of making public information of great potential value to the Communists, regarding steps which will or will not be taken to meet the course of aggression upon which they are embarked. I am sure you will understand, therefore, why it is inadvisable at this stage to publicize the Government's views on these complex subjects. However, there are certain factors which I believe may be interesting and useful to you as background in

considering what role the Chinese Nationalist forces might play in the present conflict in the Far East:

First, it should be kept in mind that although training has been proceeding in a creditable manner Chinese Nationalist military capabilities remain necessarily limited, particularly when contrasted with the huge reserve of effective manpower available to the Chinese Communists. It seems safe to estimate that Nationalist ground forces are outnumbered by Chinese Communist troops by at least 8 to 1. Although large Chinese Communist forces have been shifted to Korea for the present campaign of aggression, formidable forces are still ranged along the coast of China and at various interior points with easy access to the coast. These facts are relevant in considering whether a Nationalist landing on the mainland would substantially relieve the pressure on United Nations forces by diverting Communist troops from Korea.

Second, it may be assumed that any substantial increase in equipment required to prepare Nationalist forces for action in Korea or on the mainland must come from the United States. Our own ability to furnish large quantities of the principal items of military equipment is limited by available supply and by urgent demands from many quarters. For example, if we could equip additional Nationalist divisions at this point, would it not be preferable to use this equipment to arm more Koreans to participate in the fighting for their own homes and country?

Third, the principal mission of the forces on Formosa must be the defense of the Island itself. The importance of this defensive mission will increase in the weeks to come as weather conditions become more favorable for possible Communist amphibious operations in the Formosa Strait. Would it be desirable to weaken the defense of Formosa by drawing upon those Nationalist units which can be considered effective? Units which are not effective would be of little use to the United Nations in its campaign in Korea or in an invasion of the Communist mainland. It must also be remembered that the supply of Chinese Nationalist forces on Formosa is not freely renewable as is the case on the mainland, and that troops lost in operations elsewhere would tend to diminish the total supply of forces available to the National Government on the Island.

Fourth, we must not lose sight of the fact that operations in Korea are United Nations operations and that the views of the many other countries participating in the operation are factors to be taken into account.

The Department appreciates your interest in this complex and important problem. I hope the foregoing discussion of certain of its aspects will prove helpful to you.

## Point 4 Administrator To Visit Other American Republics

[Released to the press January 30]

Dr. Henry Garland Bennett, administrator of the Point 4 Program of technical cooperation, will visit 11 Latin American countries. Stops will be made in Panama, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Venezuela, and Haiti.

The Technical Cooperation administrator is making the trip to meet United States chiefs of mission and members of their staffs engaged in negotiating and conducting technical cooperation projects, to familiarize himself with operation of a number of such projects, and to confer informally with officials and leading citizens of the countries visited.

The Point 4 Program, which began operations in September 1950, now has approximately 92 technical cooperation projects in 29 countries. Most of these are in the other American Republics where the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and other United States agencies have been conducting cooperative work, principally in agriculture, health and sanitation, and education, for about 10 years.

Dr. Bennett said:

I look forward with keen interest to the opportunity to see for myself the results of the pioneer work done in applying the Point 4 principle in Latin America. I have heard some wonderful reports of the achievements of North American and Latin American technicians working together to build a better neighborhood in the Western Hemisphere.

On the basis of these accomplishments, we are expanding this cooperative effort in the Americas and applying the lessons learned here to the same kinds of joint undertakings in other parts of the free world where people are eager to increase their productivity and improve their living conditions.

I am sure that I can learn much on my trip to a number of our sister American Republics. I am sorry there isn't time to visit all of them.

Dr. Bennett's stop at Santiago will coincide with the opening on February 20 of the twelfth session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which provides policy guidance for the technical assistance program of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Dr. Bennett will be accompanied on his trip by Mrs. Bennett and two members of his staff—A. Cyril Crilley, a special assistant, and Benjamin H. Hardy, public affairs officer.

The itinerary, with date of arrival and departure, follows: Panama, Feb. 3-3; San José, Feb. 3-5; Panamá, Feb. 5-7; Quito, Feb. 7-8; Lima, Feb. 8-12; La Paz, Feb. 12-17; Lima, Feb. 17-18; Santiago, Feb. 18-20; Buenos Aires, Feb. 20-22; Asunción, Feb. 22-25; São Paulo, Feb. 25-26; Rio de Janeiro, Feb. 26-Mar. 1; Fortaleza, Mar. 1-3; Belén, Mar. 3-5; Caracas, Mar. 5-6; Port-au-Prince, Mar. 6-8; Miami-Washington, Mar. 8.

### **U.S. Opposes Chinese Communist Representation in Trusteeship Council**

*Statement by Ambassador Francis B. Sayre,  
U.S. Representative in the Trusteeship Council*<sup>1</sup>

We are again confronted with a Soviet proposal to seat a representative of the Chinese Communist regime in this Council. Since we last dealt with this question at the third special session, the General Assembly has taken several actions which have a bearing on this particular problem. On September 19th, the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a special committee of seven members to consider the question of Chinese representation and to report with recommendations to the fifth session of the General Assembly after the Assembly completed consideration of an agenda item regarding recognition by the United Nations of the representation of a member state. This resolution also provided that, pending a decision by the General Assembly on the report of the special committee, representatives of the Chinese National Government should be seated with the same rights as other representatives.

In considering its agenda item on recognition by the United Nations of the representation of a member state, the Assembly, on December 14, 1950, adopted a resolution which provided that, whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a member state in the United Nations, the question should be considered by the General Assembly, or by the Interim Committee if the Assembly is not in session, in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case. The resolution also recommended that the attitude adopted by the General Assembly or the Interim Committee on the question of representation should be taken into account in other organs of the United Nations and in the specialized agencies.

The controversy as to which of the two claimants should represent the Government of China in the United Nations is still before the fifth session

of the General Assembly. Pending a decision by the Assembly, it would seem unwise to my Government for other United Nations organs, or bodies of the specialized agencies, to take any decision on the question of Chinese representation.

As regards the substance of the question before us, I should like to take this opportunity to again state that, in the view of the United States, representatives of the Chinese Communist regime should not be seated in any United Nations or specialized agency body while that regime is engaged in hostilities in Korea against the United Nations. This factor will undoubtedly be taken into account by the General Assembly when it considers, in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the question of Chinese representation.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if the Council is to deal with the resolution proposed by the representative of the Soviet Union, here and now, I would move: that, in view of the General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1950, the Council postpone consideration of the Soviet proposal until the General Assembly has taken action on the question of Chinese representation.

### **George Hodges Owen Appointed to Inter-American Juridical Committee**

The Department of State announced on February 1 that on January 31, 1951, the President appointed George Hodges Owen of New York to serve as member of the Inter-American Juridical Committee at Rio de Janeiro. He will succeed Dr. Alwyn V. Freeman who recently resigned.

The Inter-American Juridical Committee grew out of the Inter-American Neutrality Committee which was established in 1939 by the first consultative meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics at Panama. It was given its present name by the third consultative meeting of Foreign Ministers held at Rio de Janeiro in 1942.

The Ninth International Conference of American States, held at Bogotá in 1948, provided that the Inter-American Juridical Committee should be the permanent committee of the Inter-American Council of Jurists.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Trusteeship Council on Jan. 30 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

The Inter-American Juridical Committee was given several important assignments by the first meeting of the Council of Jurists which met at Rio de Janeiro in May and June of last year. These assignments include study of such subjects as the system of territorial waters and related questions, uniform rules on the sale of personal property, and international cooperation in judicial actions. The Committee also has under study the subject of reservations to multilateral treaties.

Mr. Owen has been serving as an officer in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, and has been a specialist on foreign affairs in the Department since 1947.

## **Comment on Agenda for Fourth Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of American States**

*[Released to the press January 31]*

*The communication regarding the proposed revision in Item III (b) of the draft agenda for the fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs was, in accordance with instructions from the Department of State, delivered today by John C. Dreier, United States Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, to Dr. Alberto Lleras, Secretary General of the Organization of American States. The Meeting of Consultation is to convene in Washington March 26, 1951.*

*The draft agenda for the Meeting of Consultation was drawn up by the Council of the Organization of American States and sent to the Governments for consideration on January 17. Final consideration and approval of the agenda by the Council is scheduled for February 7.*

*The communication to Dr. Lleras dated January 31 follows.*

MY DEAR DR. LLERAS: Under instructions from my Government, I wish to submit the following comment concerning the proposed agenda for the Fourth Consultative Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which was transmitted by the Council of the Organization of American States to the Governments on January 17, 1951.

With respect to Point III (b), my Government has taken particular note of the discussions which led up to the adoption of the language of the draft agenda submitted by the Council to the Governments for consideration. It appears that there has been some doubt concerning the scope of this agenda item.

It is the desire of the United States Government to remove all doubt concerning the scope of this item. My Government particularly wishes to make clear that it believes that Item III (b) on

the agenda should permit the discussion, among others, of problems regarding the continuation of basic economic activity and the expansion of basic productive facilities within the limits imposed by the present emergency situation.

My Government recognizes the interest of the other American Republics in plans for increased economic activity. It is manifestly impossible and inappropriate for the Meeting of Foreign Ministers to consider all aspects of the economic future of the American Republics. However, the Government of the United States considers it appropriate and desirable for the Meeting to discuss frankly both the possibilities and limitations of the present emergency with respect not only to existing economic activities, but to plans for increased production for both civilian and defense purposes.

Accordingly, my Government suggests that Item III (b) on the agenda of the Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs be revised to read as follows:

“Production and distribution of products and services in short supply to meet, within limits imposed by the emergency, the requirements of the American Republics for the continuation of basic economic activity and expansion of basic productive facilities.”

With every good wish, believe me,  
Sincerely yours,

JOHN C. DREIER

## **Paul A. Unger To Attend Tariff Negotiations**

The Department of State announced on January 25 that Paul A. Unger, Office of the Secretary, Department of the Interior, will attend the third set of tariff negotiations by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade now in session at Torquay, England, representing the Department of the Interior on the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements. William E. S. Flory, the representative of the Department of the Interior on the committee, will be unable to attend, and Mr. Unger will serve as his alternate. Executive Order No. 10170, issued by the President on October 12, 1950, added the Department of the Interior to the eight Government agencies which already had members on the Committee.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 23, 1950, p. 659.

## The United States in the United Nations

[February 2-8]

### General Assembly

*Committee I (Political and Security).*—The Committee reconvened on February 2 and took up the three remaining items on its agenda: two U.S.S.R. draft resolutions entitled “United States Aggression against China (Formosa)” and “United States violations of Chinese air space and bombings of Chinese territory” and the United States item on the “Question of Formosa.” The chairman stated that the two U.S.S.R. items would be discussed jointly. United States Ambassador Warren R. Austin refuted factually the five Soviet charges of so-called United States “aggression” against China, which were first put before the Committee the latter part of November by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky. United States delegate John Foster Dulles, on that occasion, had denied these charges and had explained briefly the action taken by the United States in connection with Formosa as a result of the Communist attack on Korea. Mr. Dulles also had proposed, on December 15, that Committee I postpone further discussion on Formosa until a later date under better and less complex circumstances than existed at that time due to the mass intervention by the Chinese Communists. This motion was adopted by vote of 53-0-5.

Mr. Austin pointed out that the Soviet representative in the Security Council, September 12, had vetoed a United States resolution calling for an on-the-spot investigation of the complaint of bombing of Chinese territory and that the Security Council had rejected the Soviet charges of aggression against the United States, November 30 by a vote of 1-9-0. He emphasized that the statements made by the President of the United States on June 27 and by the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, on June 29, respectively, “make it entirely clear that the United States has no aggressive designs or ambitions—whether political, military or otherwise—with respect to Formosa.” In summing up, he said, “I have sought to bring out the facts. We think the Soviet charges will be seen for what they are—a mere fabrication for Soviet purposes. Because of their baselessness, we think the Committee will want to dismiss the charges

promptly and decisively.” The Soviet delegate, S. K. Tsarapkin, directed his remarks during this meeting toward contradicting delegate John Foster Dulles’ statement of November 27.

The chairman, on February 6, stated a cable had been sent to Peiping, at the request of the Soviet delegate, that Committee I had resumed debate on “Complaint by U.S.S.R. regarding aggression against China by the United States,” to which reply had been received saying it was impossible for the People’s Republic of China to participate because the Committee had “illegally adopted” the United States resolution branding China as an aggressor. It was requested that Wu Hsiu-Chuan’s speech, which he had left with the Secretariat, should be read and circulated as a document. The Soviet delegate submitted a draft resolution condemning “these illegal acts by the Government of the United States” and recommending that the Security Council take immediate action to prevent these acts, which infringed on China’s sovereignty.

The Chinese Nationalist delegate, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, declared the Chinese Communist charges were entirely groundless and were part of the world-wide Communist campaign against the United States because it was the leading factor in the world’s struggle for freedom.

On February 7, the Soviet bloc continued its harangue against the United States and insisted upon the adoption of the U.S.S.R. resolutions. The chairman declared the discussion closed; the Soviet resolution on the alleged invasion and blockade of Taiwan (Formosa) was rejected 5-(Soviet bloc)-49-3 (Burma, Yugoslavia, Indonesia) and the new resolution condemning “illegal acts” by the United States was rejected by vote of 5-50-2 (Afghanistan, Yugoslavia). The United Kingdom Delegate, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, proposed that discussion of the last agenda item, “Question of Formosa” be deferred in view of the current unsettled situation in the Far East. United States Ambassador Austin stated that, although the matter should remain on the agenda, there was apparently little constructive purpose in discussing it now and therefore agreed to the deferment of debate. The motion was approved 38-5 (Soviet block)-8.

## **Committee on the Draft Convention on Freedom of information**

The Committee completed its 3½ weeks' session on February 7 with the adoption of a 69-page report on a draft convention on freedom of information. This report contains draft proposals covering the preamble and 19 articles for such a convention as well as two resolutions calling for further study of additional proposals for the convention.

In its final resolution, the Committee suggested that member governments, in submitting comments on the draft Convention, also transmit views on the advisability of convening a special conference to complete the convention. These comments will be considered by the Economic and Social Council at its thirteenth session (July), when the Council will decide whether to convene the special conference.

The United States representative, Carroll Binder, in voting on the final report, made it clear that this did not mean that the United States was voting in favor of the proposed convention text. He stated that, had the Committee agreed to his request to put the draft convention as a whole to a vote, he would have been obliged to vote against it. He made it clear that, the United States viewed parts of the text as dangerously vague and certain of the permissive limitations on freedom of information, as not acceptable.

## **Trusteeship Council**

The Council, on February 2, heard report by G. R. Powles, High Commissioner of Western Samoa. Consideration was given to a French draft resolution, "Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories," which would establish a committee comprising China, Dominican Republic, France, Thailand, United Kingdom, and the United States to study prevailing policies, laws, and practices regarding land utilization and land alienation and to submit a progress report before the end of the next session. This resolution was adopted, as amended, by vote of 11-0-1 (U.S.S.R.).

The Committee on Organization and Methods of Visiting Missions met February 6 and examined the eight points of the General Assembly resolution of December 2, 1950. It agreed that visiting missions should remain long enough in each territory to be able adequately to fulfill their task; that it would be undesirable to reduce the membership of visiting missions from four members; that a single mission would suffice for West Africa and East Africa, respectively, but that two missions would be desirable for the Pacific area; that each mission should spend 3 months "on the spot" and that the frequency of missions should

continue to be every 3 years; that there should be the greatest flexibility in the itinerary of missions; that the terms of reference of missions should continue to include the examination of specific problems and preliminary examination of petitions; and that the members of each mission should be selected as much as possible from among representatives of the Trusteeship Council.

## **Economic and Social Council**

The Technical Assistance Committee met on February 5 and unanimously reelected Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar (India) as chairman. The Soviet representative, S. I. Rassadin, held that the representative of the Republic of China instead of the Chinese National Government should be seated. The United States representative, Isador Lubin, opposed this proposal and stated that the Committee was obliged to abide by the General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1950, on the representation question. The chairman ruled that the Committee did not have jurisdiction to consider credentials and was upheld by vote of 11-2 (U.S.S.R., Poland). The second report of the Technical Assistance Board was presented by the chairman, David Owen. He characterized this account of the first four months of the Board's operational experience as evidence of work well begun but cautioned against deducing long-term trends on the basis of figures reported currently.

The United States representative, Isador Lubin, said it was very early to comment critically on what had been done to date or on future plans but voiced the belief that there were certain problems which it would be very helpful for governments to discuss. Good results had been achieved on coordination between the multilateral United Nations and bilateral United States technical assistance programs. The Technical Assistance Board had effectively coordinated agency activities from the point of view of avoiding duplication and developing cooperative working relationships. However, it was the belief of the United States that the Board should do more than this; it should be the instrument to assure that the activities of each agency supplement the activities of the others in meeting the economic development needs of recipient countries.

The Committee adopted a United States resolution (12-0) establishing a three-member (United States, France, India) subcommittee to recommend the specific types of information which should be included in future Board reports. The Committee completed its session on February 7 and authorized the chairman to prepare a report for the Economic and Social Council meeting at Santiago.

## International Security and Foreign Relations <sup>1</sup>

The combined strength of the free world, in people, in industrial capacity, and in natural resources, greatly exceeds that of the Soviet Union and its satellites. This great strength must be mobilized and organized. Most of all, it must be united in purpose. The Soviet rulers are doing their best to split apart the free nations. If the free world let that happen, we would be handing the Soviet Union a victory without a struggle.

The Soviet rulers since the last war have been devoting a very large percentage of their resources to building military forces greatly in excess of any justifiable defense requirements. If these forces should be unleashed and succeed in conquering Western Europe, the Soviet rulers would more than double the industrial power now in their hands. If the Communist forces should seize other major areas of the world, the Soviet rulers would control vastly increased reservoirs of manpower and raw materials. In either case they would win new strategic bases for further aggression. The key to United States security is to join in building the free world's defenses.

In the joint effort, the citizens of other free countries, like our own citizens, will be making personal sacrifices. Each free nation must make the largest contribution it can to the mutual defense. This Nation has greater industrial strength than the rest of the free world combined, and must therefore provide assistance on a large scale to other nations working with us in the joint defense drive. This assistance will permit the other free nations to accelerate the efforts they are already making with their own resources and their own energies.

I estimate that expenditures of 7.5 billion dollars will be required for all of our international programs in the fiscal year 1952. This total will be 2.7 billion dollars more than the expenditure for international programs in each of the fiscal years 1951 and 1950. In 1952, the great preponderance of total expenditures for military and economic aid will go directly for the rapid build-up of mutual defense forces. More than one-half

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from the *Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year, ending June 30, 1952*, which is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. at \$4.75 a copy (paper cover).

### INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	Expenditures			Recommended new obligational authority for 1952 <sup>1</sup>
	1950 actual	1951 estimated	1952 estimated	
Military and economic assistance (present programs, and proposed legislation).....	\$4,572	\$4,466	\$7,112	<sup>2</sup> \$10,664
Conduct of foreign affairs:				
Overseas information and education.....	34	57	166	115
Participation in international organizations.....	55	53	35	32
Other State Department activities.....	142	150	148	145
Total.....	4,803	4,726	7,461	<sup>2</sup> 10,956

<sup>1</sup> This column excludes 47 million dollars of recommended appropriations to liquidate prior year contract authority.

<sup>2</sup> Includes 1 billion dollars in new lending authority for the Export-Import Bank.

of total expenditures will be for procurement of military equipment to be shipped from this country to our allies. I shall request appropriations of 9.7 billion dollars for these mutual security programs, in addition to an increase of 1 billion dollars now requested in the lending ceiling of the Export-Import Bank. Actual expenditures by the Bank, in the fiscal year 1952 will, of course, be only a fraction of the increase in lending authority.

The complete request for appropriations will be presented to the Congress as soon as remaining details of the program are worked out.

In general, our assistance programs will continue to take two forms—provision of military equipment and provision of economic assistance. But the balance between these two forms of aid will shift very sharply, and will differ according to the strategic, political, and economic situation in each free world area requiring assistance.

*Military and economic assistance to Europe.*—The heart of our foreign policy in Europe is the North Atlantic Treaty, which was ratified by the Senate on July 21, 1949. Like all international undertakings which endure, this treaty is founded upon mutual interest. Americans know that the survival of this Nation would be gravely imperiled if the free peoples and industrial power of Western Europe were to fall under Commu-

nist subjugation. Correspondingly, the majority of Europeans are fully aware of the interdependence of their security and ours. Over the coming months, the nations of Western Europe will be calling up increasing numbers of their young men for military service. They will be diverting their resources to production of military weapons. They will be imposing additional controls on their civilian economies, particularly on civilian consumption. They will be joining with us, through the joint staff organizations which already exist, in standardizing equipment and training and in strategic and tactical planning. They are placing major elements of their forces under the unified command of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is now a going concern. It is backed by an impressive reservoir of skilled people and industrial power. It includes not only the military potential of this country and Canada, but also the combined strength of the nine European members of the North Atlantic Treaty—Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, and Portugal. These nine nations alone number altogether 175 million people, or almost as many as the Soviet Union. Iceland is also a full participant. Greece and Turkey, which within the past few years have proved their steadfastness under the threat of aggression, are closely associated with the mutual effort.

The power of all these nations, pursuing a common course under the United Nations, is being directed to the creation of highly trained and well-equipped forces-in-being, and a much larger mobilization base. The combined European and American forces will serve as a powerful deterrent to Communist aggression in Europe. There is genuine hope, moreover, that arrangements can soon be completed for German participation in the common defense.

In order to reach the required level of combined strength in the shortest possible time, it will be necessary for the United States to give our European partners considerable assistance. The bulk of this assistance will be in the form of military equipment and supplies. We and our allies are determined that the mutual defense forces shall be equipped with modern and effective weapons. Although the European countries are undertaking to convert a substantial portion of their industries to arms production, they cannot by themselves produce rapidly enough all the complex and expensive weapons needed to arm their forces. Our tremendously productive economy must turn out many of the weapons needed to arm the European forces.

To achieve the rapid increase in European defenses that is necessary, our program of economic aid to Europe must, with a few exceptions—notably the aid program in Austria—be directed to support of the European military build-up, rather than to promoting further general economic ex-

pansion. The progress made to date under the recovery program is standing us and the entire free world in good stead in the present situation. In most European countries industry is now producing at well above prewar peaks, and this enlarged industrial strength can in substantial part be converted to military production. Moreover, the improved lot of the ordinary citizen, made possible in part by the European Recovery Program, has resulted in a higher degree of political cohesion and a firmer resolve to defend democracy and free institutions against aggression.

Western Europe's requirements for economic aid to support her program for building defensive forces arise directly from the disparity between her requirements for essential imports from the dollar area and her ability to earn dollars. In order to move ahead rapidly with defense plans, European countries will require materials and equipment of certain types which they can obtain only from the United States. These supplies include items essential directly in their armament factories, materials for essential consumer goods, foodstuffs, and materials for their most vital export industries. But because these countries will be diverting to rearmament a large proportion of the resources which would otherwise be engaged in producing for export, they cannot for the time being obtain, without help from us, all the dollars needed to pay for these essential dollar imports.

Much remains to be done in the mutual effort to achieve rapid strengthening of European defenses. In general, the commitments made by the European countries to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have not been large enough up to this time. But these countries share the deep new sense of urgency which recent events have given us, and these difficulties will be rapidly overcome. It must be clearly understood that the military and economic aid which I am recommending to assist European nations to rearm will be conditioned upon their carrying out their full responsibilities for building the defensive strength of the North Atlantic Treaty community. The entire free world is in grave peril. This peril can only be surmounted by arduous joint efforts, in which each nation carries out to the full its allotted responsibilities.

*Assistance to other areas of the free world.*—The heightened Communist pressures in Asia, the Near East, and other non-European areas require that we accelerate our existing programs of military assistance, which now provide military equipment to certain countries which can use it effectively and are faced by internal and external Communist pressures. However, in comparison with our assistance to Europe, which will be predominantly in the form of military equipment, our total program of assistance to the non-European areas of the free world must place proportionately more emphasis upon building security through helping the people and governments of these areas to solve pressing economic problems.

To varying degrees, in different parts of the non-European free world, the crucial problem in resistance to communism is the attitudes and aspirations of the people. In some of these areas, millions of people live in desperate conditions of poverty, insecurity, ill health, and illiteracy. To them communism may appear as a possible escape from unendurable conditions of life. These people must be given real faith in their future within the free world through concrete evidence that their age-old problems have been recognized and that effective steps are being taken to solve them.

In many of these countries the Governments are increasingly aware of the real problem presented by the low living standards of their people and are taking such steps as they can to deal with this problem. But many of these Governments do not yet have adequate numbers of trained administrators and technical and professional personnel, and lack the capital funds necessary to carry out critical developmental projects. The United States cannot close the gap between reality and aspirations with generalized economic aid, especially in the present period of extreme pressure on our economy. What we can do is to work with these people and their governments to help them solve their problems. By making available to them knowledge and skills to supplement their own, together with modest amounts of loan capital and assistance grants, we can help these governments to bring tangible benefits to their people, and achieve an increase in the unity and resource strength of the free world.

In certain other non-European areas many of the countries have more experienced governments and a better start toward economic development. In these instances, economic and technical assistance can make an important contribution by breaking economic bottlenecks. Often the necessary projects in these areas are suitable for financing through loans.

We do not propose to assist countries where the Governments are not sincerely trying to improve the economic conditions of their people. Our economic and technical assistance will be granted only where it is asked for by national governments which adopt in good faith the policies necessary to make the aid effective, and to make full use of their own resources.

Our total program of economic assistance to non-European areas of the free world will make a major contribution to increasing productivity in agricultural, industrial, and extractive industries. Part of the increased output must go directly to improving living standards and public services. Another part, including raw materials and particularly strategic materials needed for the mutual defense of the free world, can be traded with the more industrialized nations for capital goods needed for further economic development.

In Asia, we are now supplying military equipment to certain nations faced by Communist threats against their independence. We are also

providing economic assistance to help meet urgent problems in various parts of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Indochina, Burma, Thailand, and Formosa, and a developmental program in the Philippines is being inaugurated. Both military and economic aid may have to be extended to additional Asian countries, and certain present programs will have to be accelerated. In addition, we are continuing our economic assistance to Japan, which is progressing steadily toward self-support.

In the crucial Near East, we are providing military assistance, loan capital, and technical assistance. We are continuing our support of the United Nations efforts to reintegrate the refugees from Palestine. Our assistance to the Near East nations is essential to build up their strength against Communist pressures.

In Africa, developmental and technical assistance programs are being carried out in the overseas territories of the Western European countries, in large part through the use of European Recovery Program counterpart funds. These programs, by improving living standards, will help to curb the growth of Communist pressures and will bring about expanded output of vitally needed strategic materials.

In the Western Hemisphere we are joined with our Latin-American neighbors in a mutual effort to strengthen our combined defenses and to build increased economic strength. The balanced economic development of Latin America has been, and continues to be, an essential objective of American foreign policy. This policy is being supported by the public lending agencies which are providing capital for essential projects for which private financing is not available. The activities of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in the field of technical cooperation are a demonstration of the practical value of the Point Four concept. It is essential that our lending and technical assistance activities be continued, with a special concentration of effort on projects to develop further the economic base of the Latin-American countries and to facilitate and expand the production of strategic materials vital to the free world in this emergency period.

In many of these areas, extremely important contributions to the total effort are being made by American private capital and nonprofit institutions.

The technical assistance program, administered in part by United Nations agencies, is gaining momentum in many areas, and through small expenditures is making an important contribution to productivity.

A steady outflow of loan capital for critical projects is being maintained by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Export-Import Bank. The increased need for undertakings to expand output of defense materials adds to the importance of the functions of the Export-Import Bank at this time. The Bank now has only about 500 million dollars of

uncommitted lending authority. I recommend that the lending authority of the Bank be increased at this time by 1 billion dollars.

Our total program of assistance to non-European areas of the world is making a major contribution to the ability of these areas to withstand internal and external Communist pressures. The recommendations to be sent to the Congress will in part represent a continuation of these going programs, modified to take account of physical limitations of supply in this country, the increased dollar earnings of some of the areas, and the general sharpening of Communist pressures.

*Conduct of foreign affairs.*—Effective conduct of our foreign relations takes on increasing importance in the critical world situation. The role of the diplomatic forces of the Government is of highest importance in organizing and making effective the mutual defense program. The need for a continuous flow of political and economic intelligence and the heightened tempo of activity in all aspects of international relations places a heavy burden upon the existing facilities of the Government.

This Government in cooperation with others is now organizing international machinery for dealing with world shortages of materials. In order to insure that scarce materials are used in the manner which will best serve the common defense, application of controls over international movements of certain commodities will be required. A substantial portion of world trade will continue, however, through normal markets. In order to carry forward our long-run policy of developing among the free nations workable trade patterns and a greater volume of world trade, I urge the Congress to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

Through the international information and education program, we are carrying to the rest of the world the truth about our own objectives, and exposing the evil objectives of the Communist conspiracy. During the fiscal year 1951, I requested, and Congress approved, a considerable expansion in this activity, including construction of additional overseas radio broadcast facilities in the United States and abroad. I intend to request from the Congress an additional appropriation of 100 million dollars for this purpose during the current fiscal year. The expanded program will result in expenditures of 57 million dollars in fiscal year 1951 and 166 million dollars in fiscal year 1952.

In order that our political, economic, and military efforts may have their maximum effect, our purposes and objectives must be made clear to all. We must promote understanding and unity among the free peoples of the world and instill hope in the hearts and minds of those who have already fallen victim to aggression. Truth is on the side of the free nations of the world. We must make full use of this advantage.

## Federal History Program Inaugurated

[Released to the press by the White House January 31]

The President has requested the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to establish a Federal History Program for the agencies engaged in emergency activities. A similar program, operating during World War II, resulted in a number of studies which have been extremely useful in the current mobilization effort, especially in the fields of military procurement, economic stabilization, and expansion of the armed forces. Agency histories prepared by the War Production Board, the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, for example, are currently in great demand.

January 29, 1951

MY DEAR MR. LAWTON: During this period of national emergency, the Federal Government has found that the historical records maintained during the previous periods of emergency have been of great value. The histories of a number of the temporary agencies of World War II have been especially helpful in current mobilization planning.

I believe that we should analyze the development of our present activities while the problems are fresh in the minds of the participants. Such analyses will help us to solve the problems we shall face in the future.

For these reasons, I should like you to establish a Federal history program for all the agencies engaged in emergency activities. The active direction of the program should be undertaken by the Bureau of the Budget, although the preparation of the studies themselves should be carried out by the individual agencies.

In order to be of greatest value, these studies should not give a detailed review of accomplishments, but should concentrate upon the objective analysis of the problems confronted, how they were met, and the reasons underlying policy and administrative decisions. Failures as well as successes should, of course, be included. Historians should have full access to source materials and they should draw upon both written and unwritten sources of information. Agency heads should see that the historians have ready contact with key officials and are enabled to follow decisions on policy and administration as they are made.

I am confident that this program will be useful in improving operations. The studies that result can help orient new officials and give all officials a broader understanding of agency problems and policies. These studies will also assist in the preparation of reports to the Congress. Agency historians, however, should not be diverted into current operations.

It is important to start this program quickly, in order to profit from the lessons we are already learning. I hope that you will report to me from time to time on the progress of the agencies in carrying forward the historical program.

## U.S. Organization for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs

by James E. Webb  
Under Secretary of State<sup>1</sup>

To the layman, like myself, science is a wonderful and, at the same time, a fearful thing. We see the results of science in every phase of our richly diversified national life. In your own field of aeronautics, it is a remarkable experience to take off in a modern aircraft in foul weather and feel absolutely sure there is no cause for concern. It is wonderful for an old-time pilot like me to sit in the cockpit and come in for a landing under full automatic control. You see the rudders move to change course, but no foot is there. You see the throttle move to keep airspeed constant, but no hand is there. And you think back to that first time, before scientific instrumentation, when an undercast cut off your visual contact with mother earth and fear gripped your heart. You remember your first fledgling efforts to fly through a cloud and the inevitable spin down out of it. You remember your first low visibility rule—go down where you can see the ground. And you remember also the thrill and relief of the new rule that came with the gyroscope—go up where there is nothing to hit.

### Relation of Aeronautical Scientist to Political Scientist

You, in this Institute, know the potentialities of present-day aeronautical weapons. You know they can penetrate to the most protected place to destroy man's most precious possessions. You know the dimensions of the fearful prospect of living in a world where such weapons are out of control. But, what you can hardly appreciate is the difficulty faced by the political scientist, the expert in international affairs, and the political leader in the efforts they and we all must make to bring these weapons under effective international

restraint. Without such restraint, there can be no real confidence. Without confidence, the institutions basic to our civilization cannot long exist.

Every scientist here, I know, would rather devote his time and effort to the work of peace than to the work of war. But, we live in a time when our need for power to restrain acts intended to destroy us means that the free world must rearm. It must rearm with the most modern weapons, and it must stand together in the face of great danger. We and our friends must build military power that can become, in effect, a shield behind which we can carry forward the work of peace—the work of creating a cooperative international economic, political, and social system adequate to the needs of these times. In such a system, the United States of America will seek no satellites. Our efforts will continue to be for a system based on international cooperation. Our deep desire is not for power over other nations. It is for power together with other nations and peoples.

Now, it has been my experience that scientists speak a more universal language and have more nearly universal habits of work and thought than other groups. Therefore, it may be hard for you here tonight to visualize all the difficulties that flow from the adoption of the simple concept I have mentioned—that the free world must rearm and stand together. Not only different languages but also different forms of political organization and political thought are sizable obstacles. A major hurdle was passed 9 months ago. The North Atlantic Treaty nations, meeting in London, recognized that effective military power must rest on a more secure foundation than a plan to coordinate independent forces controlled by a number of nations. They adopted the concept of a balanced collective force to defend against aggression. Later, meeting in Brussels, they adopted the concept of an integrated European army. To make this concept a reality is the task now being spearheaded by General Eisenhower. It will be a part of your work, for a long time, to help him.

<sup>1</sup>Excerpts from an address made before the Institute of the Aeronautical Sciences at New York, N.Y. on Jan. 29 and released to the press on the same date. For full text, see Department of State press release 72.

You must invent new and better aeronautical weapons, and mass-produce the ones already invented. When this is done, perhaps aviation and you can return to the work closest to your hearts—drawing the ends of the earth closer together in the work of peace.

In solving the problems of collective security, the international political scientist cannot employ the precise techniques that you use in the physical sciences. He cannot set up, in parallel, five different projects to test five possible solutions. If he selects for his first effort the most promising one of the five, and it proves a failure, he cannot then select a second and start it from the same base. In his field, every experiment starts from a new base. If the United States fails to ratify and support the League of Nations, the *status quo ante* cannot be restored a few years later. If our present efforts to create an integrated European army are not successful, an entirely different set of basic conditions will face us sometime in the future as we strive to build other institutions of collective security. But, with all the difficulties, in spite of inability to precisely control and measure our experiments, real progress is being made. The science of political organization, the science of management of large affairs, is getting in its constructive work.

#### Foreign Affairs Organization

This is particularly true in the organization and administration of foreign affairs in the Department of State. As our Government is organized in the field of foreign affairs, this Department is roughly comparable to what you in the aviation industry might conceive as a combination of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, Wright Field, the Bureau of Aeronautics, the Douglas, Lockheed, North American and Boeing Companies, with United, Curtiss-Wright, and an airline thrown in for good measure. In other words, it is the heart of our effort for international cooperation and peace. It is the center of a process far more intricate than what we once called our "shirtsleeves diplomacy"—the process of saying where we stood so that the world could take it or leave it.

Two years ago, the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, popularly known as the Hoover Commission, reported as follows, and I should like to quote somewhat at length:

The time is particularly appropriate to appraise the machinery of the Government for the conduct of foreign affairs. The United States emerged from the recent World War with a radically new role in world affairs. As a result, today's organization requirements are drastically different from those of the prewar era. The executive branch today finds itself forced to develop positive foreign policies and programs, involving not merely the State Department but many other departments and agencies as well, and to deal cooperatively with other nations on a multilateral as well as a bilateral basis.

The Congress, in addition, finds that the exercise of its traditional powers in the domestic as well as in the international field has made it a participant in the conduct of foreign affairs on an unprecedented scale.

The problems of Government organization for the conduct of foreign affairs are, therefore, not confined to the State Department alone but involve the organization of the Presidency, the State Department and the Foreign Service, the departments and agencies other than the State Department, the interdepartmental relationships, and the relationships between the executive and legislative branches. . . . Accompanying the involvement of all these elements and contributing to the complexities of the situation is the increased size of the Government as a whole and of the State Department in particular.

Again, this Commission stated:

The conduct of foreign affairs today involves almost the entire executive branch—the President, the President's executive offices, the State Department, numerous other departments and agencies, and intricate interdepartmental machinery. In addition, it involves constant cooperation between the executive branch and the Congress. As a consequence the problems of organization are equally government-wide in scope.

Most of you will remember that Secretary of State Acheson served as Vice Chairman of the Hoover Commission. He actively participated in the Commission's work on foreign affairs.

As head of the State Department, almost his first act was to inaugurate the reforms which were within his power and to request legislation for the balance. This legislation, Public Law 73 of the 81st Congress, was enacted and became effective in May 1949—just 20 months ago.

Since that time, the Department has been completely reorganized. Policy formulation and control have been centralized. Operations have been decentralized. The coordination of the 45 agencies of the Government dealing with foreign affairs has been improved. And, even if some of you may be inclined to doubt this, relations with the Congress are really much better.

A new science program has been added to encourage the interchange of scientific information and assist scientists in establishing and maintaining contacts abroad. Where our foreign Embassies and missions have heretofore had commercial attachés, military attachés, civil air attachés, financial attachés, and agricultural attachés, a number of them now have a new addition—a science attaché. He will report on significant trends and developments and will assist in the collection, evaluation, and exchange of scientific information.

In broad outline, the United States organization for the conduct of foreign affairs is quite simple. The world is divided into four parts, and four Assistant Secretaries are assigned to cover them. Since the United Nations and its specialized organizations now play such a large part in our operations, we have a fifth Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs. Our relations with Germany differ markedly from other foreign affairs problems, so we keep them separate in a Bureau of German Affairs. In our international infor-

mation program, we will within a few months be conducting the largest radio broadcasting operation in the world. Each year in our educational exchange program we arrange with other nations for the exchange of over 5,000 people. These two programs are both large and interrelated, so we combine them under a general manager. The Point 4 Program is operated through a separate office, as is the International Security Program, including military assistance to other nations. Therefore, you can see, in broad outline, that we have in the State Department what you might call 9 operating vice presidents. Under them, we have some 300 Embassies and missions throughout the world. To them come, almost every day, for negotiation or discussion, many of the Ambassadors and Ministers of the 73 foreign nations which maintain missions in the city of Washington at our seat of Government. Is there a problem important to an American citizen anywhere in the world? If so, it is very likely to be communicated through one of our 300 missions to one of our 9 operating vice presidents whose duty it is to see that the proper agency of the Government knows about it and takes appropriate action. Does a King or a Prime Minister desire to send an urgent message to the President? His Ambassador calls on the proper operating vice president, or the Secretary of State himself, who accepts and delivers the message and arranges for a prompt answer.

#### **Volume of Business Handled**

Are you thinking, at this point, that the volume of business handled by the State Department must be tremendous? The answer is that the volume is tremendous. In and out of the Department will go tonight roughly a thousand cables important enough to be put in our secret codes. This thousand cables will represent many more words that have to be encoded and decoded tonight than will be handled in plain English tonight out of Washington by the Associated Press. In addition to this volume of cable traffic, the Department will handle this month over a quarter of a million other reports and documents. As I said earlier, our broadcast operations are larger than NBC or CBS. The military assistance program, handled by one of our nine vice presidents, has appropriated to it for this year the sum of 5 billion 200 million dollars. Sometimes, to emphasize the importance of these nine vice-presidents, I have said that the job of each one is more important than was that of the Secretary of State 10 years ago. Perhaps that is an exaggeration, but certainly each one is a very important officer of our Government.

Now, to those of you who have studied the complexities of large operations, it is clear that I have made only passing reference to what is perhaps the most difficult organizational problem of all—that of translating the special-interest con-

cerns of the nine operating vice presidents into general foreign policy. We have had to find a way, also, of avoiding the kind of situation in which a progressive series of decisions made to meet an urgent special-interest concern would lead us on into an undesirable general policy position. This we accomplish through the use of Department-wide functional and policy advisory staffs. For example, take the field of economic foreign policy. While each of the nine vice presidents must take account of the economic aspects of the policies and programs being carried out in his area, it is the job of another and different kind of officer—the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs—to see that the sum total of economic activities of all nine vice presidents adds up to a sound and workable foreign economic policy. It is also his job to do the staff work necessary to lay plans to maximize the effectiveness of our economic power in the accomplishment of our international objectives. Incidentally, this officer also handles aviation affairs. Under his supervision are administered the 110 bilateral and 8 multilateral aviation agreements now in force. Also the 15 international aviation conferences, in which the United States participated in 1950, were a part of his responsibility—more than one aviation conference a month.

Although I have used the field of economic affairs as an illustration, the same general description applies in the other four functional fields of Public Affairs, Congressional Relations, Intelligence, and Administration. All are further integrated and tied together through a high-level policy planning staff. Thus, we have arranged for centralization of policy formulation and control without losing the substantial benefits of a decentralization of operations.

#### **The Meaning of Foreign Relations**

Where does all this lead in our search for international cooperation as a foundation for world peace?

First of all, we must recognize that the conduct of foreign relations includes many activities in addition to diplomatic negotiation. We have vital interests in all parts of the world. We are engaged in a number of very large, difficult, and expensive programs calculated to achieve foreign policy objectives. These programs must be effectively organized and administered.

Second, the conduct of foreign relations is not only with individual nations but increasingly with groups of nations. Decisions on matters of foreign policy which ostensibly relate to one foreign nation cannot be made without considering their possible impact on other nations. Arrangements for such multilateral negotiation and cross-checking are essential.

Third, we increasingly find that there is no clear line of demarcation between foreign affairs and domestic affairs. Participation in decisions and

actions affecting the foreign field is required of many individual citizens as well as many executive departments and agencies heretofore concerned almost exclusively with domestic matters. The Department of State must be prepared to provide coordination for these new and unaccustomed activities.

Fourth, under our Constitutional system, with its division of powers, the President has a large measure of responsibility in the conduct of foreign affairs. But the responsibilities of Congress are also broad.

The Senate has jurisdiction over confirmation of appointments and over the ratification of treaties. The Congress has responsibility in policy formulation, the appropriation of funds, the regulation of foreign commerce, the fixing of import duties, and the declaration of war. In foreign policy development and implementation, we must have close coordination of the Executive and Legislative branches.

These four fundamentals are important to every citizen, and particularly to leaders of thought in the new fields like aeronautical science. In proportion as we recognize them and use energy, skill, perseverance, science, and faith, to solve the problems which they raise, we will speed up progress toward international cooperation and world peace.

As I conclude, may I return to the thought with which I began—science is a wonderful and at the same time a fearful thing. As we, in the United States, join with other nations to put first things first and move urgently forward to build military power, let us never forget that there are international problems in this world which will remain when the threat of aggression is gone. The wonderful side of science will show itself full and complete when it can move on to help solve these postaggression problems. The end we must always seek is life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all men everywhere.

## **Departmental Organization for Coordination of Country and Commodity Requirements<sup>1</sup>**

### *1. Establishment of Departmental Organization*

a. To carry out the Department's responsibilities resulting from the Defense Production Act of 1950 for the review and coordination of country and commodity requirements for foreign economic programs to be submitted to United States Government allocating agencies, the functions and organizational arrangements indicated below are established in the Department, effective this date.

b. The Department of State will not establish or determine individual commodity or country requirements, but will review such requirements data developed by other agencies to advise them on foreign policy considerations and will expedite priorities for programs deemed vital to the accomplishment of United States foreign policy objectives.

<sup>1</sup> Effective January 29, 1951.

### *2. Relationship to Existing Components*

The officials and units added to existing organizations shall function as integral components of the Department, pursuant to their terms of reference and those of other components of the Department as prescribed below and in the Manual of Regulations and Procedures, Volume II, Organization.

### *3. Responsibilities of Economic Affairs Area*

The Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs shall:

a. Screen, assemble and correlate commodity information from the regional bureaus, the Bureau of United Nations Affairs and the Office of Director, International Security Affairs to compare export commodity requirements with available supplies for export.

b. Maintain liaison for guidance purposes with claimant agencies on over-all export requirements and represent the Department on advisory committees of the allocating agency (or agencies) to advise on foreign policy considerations.

### *4. Responsibilities of the Regional Bureaus*

a. Each regional bureau shall:

(1) Obtain recommended requirements by commodity and by country and review such for foreign policy considerations and in the light of other information available to it.

(2) Adjust and assemble commodity requirements for the geographic area for presentation to the intra-departmental Export Requirements Committee, and provide a member of that committee.

(3) Adjust requirements by commodity and by country as necessary because of over-all adjustments made by the Export Requirements Committee and the allocating agency (or agencies).

(4) Maintain liaison as necessary with the appropriate offices of claimant agencies to assure consideration of departmental views in the formulation and implementation of export requirements by such agencies.

b. There may be established in each regional bureau a Requirements Officer to supervise or coordinate the performance of the above functions and to provide bureau representation for requirements committee work.

### *5. Responsibilities of Bureau of United Nations Affairs*

The Bureau of United Nations Affairs shall be responsible for the functions prescribed in paragraph 4, above, insofar as they are applicable to programs with which it is concerned. The Bureau of United Nations Affairs shall be represented on the Export Requirements Committee to advise on the relationship of particular programs to the operations of United Nations agencies and the appropriate utilization of the facilities of these agencies.

### *6. Responsibilities of the Director, International Security Affairs*

The Director, International Security Affairs shall:

a. Maintain liaison with the Economic Cooperation Administration on items other than military end use items, and with the Department of Defense on military end use items, concerning requirements for materials under mutual defense and international security programs.

b. Appoint a representative to the Export Requirements Committee, provide information to this committee on materials requirements for military production in countries with military production programs and make such representations as it considers appropriate with respect to other requirements which appear to it essential for support of defense efforts abroad.

### *7. Establishment of Export Requirements Committee (ERC)*

a. An intra-departmental Export Requirements Committee is established with representation from each re-

gional bureau, the Office of Director, International Security Affairs, the Intelligence and Economic areas, the Bureau of United Nations Affairs, and other offices as required. The Chairman of this Committee shall be appointed by the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

b. This Committee shall:

(1) Examine information on materials requirements and advise the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs on amounts of commodities for each geographic area and total export requirements.

(2) Review all foreign requirements except those established by the Director, International Security Affairs for (a) military end use items, and (b) for materials directly required for military production if the appropriate allocating agency grants without further review production priorities or export quotas for requirements so established.

(3) Advise (a) the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs on departmental positions to be taken by the Department's representatives on committees advisory to the Office of Defense Mobilization, the Defense Production Administration or other mobilization control, programming, or allocating agencies, (b) the economic area in its representations to the allocating agency (or agencies) and to the claimant agencies on total export quotas, and (c) the Requirements Officers of regional bureaus in their representations to claimant agencies on country export quotas.

e. The Director, International Security Affairs shall provide the committee with such information concerning requirements mentioned in 7b(2)(b) above as needed to facilitate its work.

d. If agreement is not reached by this committee, the matter shall be immediately referred to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs for decision. If decision can not be reached at the Assistant Secretary level, the matter shall be referred to the Under Secretary in accordance with the prescribed action process.

e. Secretariat services shall be provided by the Committee Secretariat.

## **Executive Order 10208 Provides Administration of Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance<sup>1</sup>**

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, including the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950, approved December 29, 1950 (Public Law 897, 81st Cong.), and the act of August 8, 1950 (Public Law 673, 81st Cong.), and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to perform the functions and exercise the powers and authority vested in the President by the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950.

2. Of the funds heretofore appropriated to carry out the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (62 Stat. 137), as amended, \$37,800,000 are withdrawn from the Economic Cooperation Administration and are transferred to the Department of Agriculture to be administered under the said Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950 as directed by the Secretary of State.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 25, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> 16 Fed. Reg. 709.

## **THE CONGRESS**

### **Public Law 897 Provides Emergency Assistance to Yugoslavia**

An act to promote the foreign policy and provide for the defense and general welfare of the United States by furnishing emergency relief assistance to Yugoslavia.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950".*

SEC. 2. The President is hereby authorized to expend not in excess of \$50,000,000 of the funds heretofore appropriated for expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended (Public Law 759, Eighty-first Congress), for the purpose of providing emergency relief assistance to Yugoslavia under the authority of this Act.

SEC. 3. No assistance under authority of this Act shall be made available nor shall any funds appropriated hereunder be expended until an agreement is entered into between Yugoslavia and the United States containing the following undertakings, and any others the President may determine to be desirable, on the part of Yugoslavia:

(a) To make available to the Government of the United States local currency in amounts required by it to meet its local currency administrative and operating expenses in Yugoslavia in connection with assistance supplied under this Act.

(b) To give full and continuous publicity through the press, radio, and all other available media in Yugoslavia to the assistance furnished by the United States; and to allow to the United States, in cooperation with Yugoslavia, the use of such media as may be required to accomplish this purpose.

(c) To permit persons designated by the Government of the United States to observe and supervise without restriction the distribution by Yugoslavia of commodities and other assistance made available under the authority of this Act, and to the extent necessary for this purpose to permit full freedom of movement of such persons within Yugoslavia and full access to communication and information facilities.

(d) To make equitable distribution to the people in Yugoslavia of the commodities made available under this Act, as well as similar commodities produced locally or imported from outside sources, without discrimination as to race or political or religious belief.

(e) Whenever relief supplies furnished under this Act are sold for local currency by the Government of Yugoslavia, to use an equivalent amount of such currency to provide relief to needy persons and to children, and for charitable, medical, and such other purposes as may be mutually agreed upon.

(f) To take all appropriate economic measures to reduce its relief needs, to encourage increased production and distribution of food stuffs within Yugoslavia and to lessen the danger of similar future emergencies.

SEC. 4. All of the funds made available under authority of this Act shall be utilized to the fullest practicable extent in the purchase of the commodities from the surplus commodities in the possession of the Commodity Credit Corporation at prices authorized by section 112 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, as amended.

SEC. 5. Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as endorsing measures undertaken by the present Government of Yugoslavia which suppress or destroy religious, political, and economic liberty, and the Yugoslav Government

shall be so notified when aid is furnished under this Act.

Sec. 6. At the termination of each three-month period after aid has been extended under this Act the Secretary of State shall make a full and detailed report to the Congress. Said three-month reports shall not be limited to, but shall include (1) information as to whether or not Yugoslavia is abiding by the agreement as provided for under section 3 of this Act; (2) information as to any developments in the attitude of Yugoslavia with respect to basic human rights.

Sec. 7. All or any portion of the funds made available under authority of this Act may be transferred by the President to any department or agency of the executive branch of the Government to be expended for the purpose of this Act. Funds so transferred may be expended under the authority of any provisions of law, not inconsistent with this Act, applicable to the departments or agencies concerned, except that funds so transferred shall not be commingled with other funds of such departments or agencies and shall be accounted for separately.

Sec. 8. Local currency made available to the United States by Yugoslavia under the provisions of the agreement required by section 3 may be used for local currency administrative and operating expenses in Yugoslavia in connection with assistance provided by this Act without charge against appropriated funds.

Sec. 9. At least 50 per centum of the gross tonnage of any equipment, materials, or commodities made available under the provisions of this Act and transported on ocean vessels (computed separately for dry bulk carriers and dry cargo liners) shall be transported on United States flag commercial vessels at market rates for United States flag commercial vessels, if available.

Sec. 10. All or any part of the assistance provided hereunder shall be promptly terminated by the President—

(a) whenever he determines that (1) Yugoslavia is not complying fully with the undertakings in the agreement entered into under section 3 of this Act, or is diverting from the purpose of this Act assistance provided hereunder; or (2) because of changed conditions, continuance of assistance is unnecessary or undesirable, or no longer consistent with the national interest or the foreign policy of the United States;

(b) whenever the Congress, by concurrent resolution, finds termination is desirable.

Termination of assistance to Yugoslavia under this section shall include the termination of deliveries of all supplies scheduled under this Act and not yet delivered.

Approved December 29, 1950.

## Congressional Interest in Information Activities

[Released to the press February 3]

The State Department welcomes the great interest of Senator Benton and of other Members of Congress who have recently spoken on the subject of the Department's activities in the information field. The Department not only welcomes but also is eager for an opportunity to lay before appropriate representatives of Congress the full story of the great progress that has been made in the world-wide Campaign of Truth.

We feel that the appropriation made a few months ago by the Congress has enabled our information services to move forward with a vig-

orous and effective campaign. We are ready to demonstrate the steps we have taken to work with the nations of the free world in meeting our common challenge today. After such representatives of the Congress have been acquainted with the full facts, they will be in a good position to form conclusions as to what additional measures, if any, should be taken and whether the present organizational arrangements are proper.

We feel sure that any such broad and objective study of the present program will convince them that very great progress has been made in the last few months. We would also welcome any proposals which might be developed as to how the job could be done more effectively.

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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 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

The United Nations Secretariat has established an *Official Records* series for the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission; which includes summaries of proceedings, resolutions, and reports of the various commissions and committees. Publications in the *Official Records* series will not be listed in this department as heretofore, but information on securing subscriptions to the series may be obtained from the International Documents Service.

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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

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## Faith in the Principles for Which Men Fight

*Address by the President*<sup>1</sup>

This chapel commemorates something more than an act of bravery or courage. It commemorates a great act of faith in God.

The four chaplains in whose memory this shrine was built were not required to give their lives as they did. They gave their lives without being asked. When their ship was sinking, they handed out all the life preservers that were available and then took off their own and gave them away in order that four other men might be saved.

Those four chaplains actually carried out the moral code which we are all supposed to live by. They obeyed the divine commandment that men should love one another. They really lived up to the moral standard that declares:

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

They were not afraid of death because they knew that the word of God is stronger than death. Their belief, their faith, in His word enabled them to conquer death.

This is an old faith in our country. It is shared by all our churches and all our denominations. These four men represented the Protestant, the Catholic, and the Jewish beliefs. Each of these beliefs teaches that obedience to God and love for one's fellow man are the greatest and strongest things in the world.

We must never forget that this country was founded by men who came to these shores to worship God as they pleased. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants—all came here for this great purpose.

They did not come here to do as they pleased—but to worship God as they pleased, and that is an important distinction.

The unity of our country comes from this fact. The unity of our country is a unity under God. It is a unity in freedom, for the service of God is the perfect freedom.

If we remember our faith in God, if we live by it as our forefathers did, we need have no fear for the future.

Today, many people have become fearful. If we reaffirm our common faith we can overcome these fears.

This does not mean that we can always be sure what the future will bring. We cannot always know what the outcome of events will be. As President Lincoln once said:

The Almighty has His own purposes.

But we need not be afraid of the outcome if we go on trying to do the right thing as God gives us to see the right.

### Rule of Law in World Today

That is what we are trying to do in the world today. We are trying to establish world peace, so that all men can live together in brotherhood and in freedom. And to do that, we are working with other nations to create the rule of law in the world.

What does this rule of law mean? Let me give you an example. In the early days of our Western frontier, law and order were not yet established. Disputes were settled in favor of the man who was quickest on the draw. Outlaws terrorized whole communities.

Men who wanted to see law and order prevail had to combine against the outlaws. They had to arm themselves. At times, they had to fight. After they had put down lawless violence, the courts took over and justice was established. And, then, it was possible for all citizens to get on with the important work of building up their own communities, paving the streets and building new schools, and giving all people a chance at the right kind of life.

This is just what we are trying to do today in the international field. If we can put a stop to international aggression, order can be established and the people of the world can go ahead

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the dedication of the Chapel of the Four Chaplains at Philadelphia, Pa., on Feb. 3 and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

full speed with the constructive tasks of peace.

We are not trying to do this job by ourselves. We could not do it by ourselves if we tried. We are acting as one member of a whole community of nations dedicated to the concept of the rule of law in the world. As in all other communities, the members of this community of nations have many different ideas and interests and do not all speak with one voice. Some are cautious and some are impatient.

We cannot always have our own way in this community. But we have a tremendous responsibility to lead and not to hang back.

Fate has made this country a leader in the world. We shirked our responsibility in the 1920's. We cannot shirk it now. We must assume that responsibility now, and it will take everything we have—all the brains and all the resources that we can mobilize.

Leadership carries with it heavy responsibilities. Good leaders do not threaten to quit if things go wrong. They expect cooperation, of course, and they expect everyone to do his share, but they do not stop to measure sacrifices with a teaspoon while the fight is on.

We cannot lead the forces of freedom from behind.

### **Restraining Aggression**

The job we face is a hard one. Perhaps, it will be harder in the few years immediately ahead than it will be in the years thereafter. If we can get over the present crisis successfully—if we can restrain aggression before it bursts out into another world war, then things will be easier in the future. And I think we can do this. We can't be sure, of course, but there is good reason to hope for success.

In recent months, the United Nations has been faced by a serious challenge. But it is meeting that challenge courageously, and it is still man's best hope of establishing the rule of law in the world.

General Eisenhower has brought home the report that the people of Europe, in spite of their difficulties and their many problems, want to preserve their freedom. He has told us of the effort they are making. They are working very hard, and, if we all work together, we can be successful.

When things look hard, there are always a lot of people who want to quit. We had people like that in the Revolutionary War, and we have them in every war and every crisis of our history. Thomas Paine called them the summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. If we had listened to them, we would never have been a free and independent nation. We would never have had a strong and prosperous country. We would not be strong enough now to stand up against Communist aggression and tyranny.

The sacrifices that are being made today by the

men and women of this country are not being made in vain. Our men are in Korea because we are trying to prevent a world-wide war. The men who have died in Korea have died to save us from the terrible slaughter and destruction which another world war would surely bring.

Their sacrifices are being made in the spirit of the four chaplains, to whose memory this chapel is dedicated. They are being made in defense of the great religious faiths which make this chapel a place of worship. These sacrifices are being made for the greatest things in this life, and for the things beyond this life.

I have faith that the great principles for which our men are fighting will prevail.

## **THE CONGRESS**

### **Legislation**

Requesting the President To Take Action on Looking to the Return to Greece of Children Abducted by Communist Guerrilla Forces in That Country. S. Rept. 2509, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Res. 212] 3 pp.

Protocol With the Union of South Africa Relating to Taxes on Income. Message from the President of the United States transmitting the protocol between the United States and the Union of South Africa, signed, at Pretoria on July 14, 1950, supplementing the Convention for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and for Establishing Rules of Reciprocal Administrative Assistance with respect to taxes on income which was signed at Pretoria on December 13, 1946. S. Ex. U., 81st Cong., 2d sess. 7 pp.

Transfer of American Vessels to Foreign Registry. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, second session on S. 3823—a bill to amend section 9 of the Shipping Act, 1916, relating to transfer of vessels documented under the laws of the United States to foreign citizens, and for other purposes, July 18, 1950. 66 pp.

Universal Military Training. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, second session on S. 4062—a bill to provide for the common defense by establishing a universal training program, and for other purposes, August 22 and 23, 1950. 100 pp.

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Report on Audit of Commodity Credit Corporation and Its Affiliate, War Hemp Industries, Inc. Letter from the Comptroller General of the United States—transmitting volume 1 of the Report of the Audit of Commodity Credit Corporation and Its Affiliate, War Hemp Industries, Inc., for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1946 and 1947, pursuant to section 5 of the Act of February 24, 1945 (59 Stat. 6), and the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U. S. C. 841), respectively. H. Doc. 615, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 136 pp.

## Assurance of World Security Through American Leadership

*Remarks by General Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Supreme Allied Commander, Europe*<sup>1</sup>

As a soldier, I have been given an Allied assignment that directly concerns the security of the free world, with special reference to the countries bordering upon the North Atlantic Ocean. I have approached the task, aiming at the good of the United States of America, conscious that a strong, solvent America is the indispensable foundation for a free world. While I have reached certain conclusions, the subject of the free world's security is so vast and complex that no man could hope to master its elements to the last critical item or, in a quarter hour, to answer all questions in his fellow-citizens' minds. Consequently, though I speak to you out of deep conviction, I do so in all humility, trusting to your sympathetic consideration.

Our hope remains the achievement of peace based on understanding and forbearance, the only sure foundation for peace.

We must never lose faith that such a peace can be ultimately established. We seek such a peace and no one can honestly interpret our current modest preparations otherwise.

But we should examine the current situation fearlessly and clearly, neither shutting our eyes to obvious dangers nor permitting fear to warp our judgment. America's record and America's strength certainly should prevent hysterical apprehension of the future.

Today, we are faced by an aggressive imperialism that has more than once announced its implacable hostility to free government. Therefore, we strive to erect a wall of security for the free world behind which free institutions can live. That wall must be maintained until Communist imperialism dies of its own inherent evils.

### Necessity for Effective Cooperation

One of the great questions before us is the will and capacity of Europe to cooperate effectively in this aim. Unless there exists in Europe a will to

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast from Washington on Feb. 2 and released to the press by the Department of Defense on the same date.

defend itself, no amount of outside help can possibly make it secure. A nation's defense must spring from its own soul; and the soul cannot be imported.

For years, we have heard that Western Europe is plagued, confused, and divided far more seriously than we are; we have heard that in their homes, in factories, on the street, millions of honest workmen are daily subjected to Communist bullying, that their days and nights are haunted by the specter of invading hordes whom they cannot hope to equal in numbers or physical strength.

Furthermore, the discouragement, destruction, and confusion visited upon the peoples of Europe by two World Wars sapped their productive capacity and, in some instances, reduced them to levels of near starvation. More than this—their spirit was smothered in war-weariness.

That is a story often told. If it were the whole story, then all I could honestly do would be to recommend that we abandon the NATO Treaty and—by ourselves—attempt, however futilely, to build a separate fortress against threatening aggression. Two striking facts make such a recommendation, for me, impossible.

### Participation in European Defense

The first fact is that the utter hopelessness of the alternative requires our participation in European defense. We can all understand that America must be strong in air and sea power. These elements are vitally essential to the defense of the free world and it is through them that we protect the approaches to our homeland and the routes of commerce necessary to our existence.

But this alone is not enough. Our ships will not long sail the seas, nor our planes fly the world airways, if we stand aside in fancied security while an aggressive imperialism sweeps over areas of the earth with which our own future is inseparably linked.

Western Europe is the cradle of our civilization;

from her originally we drew our strength, genius, and culture. But our concern in Europe is far more than sentimental. Our own security is directly involved. Europe is a highly developed industrial complex with the largest and most varied pool of skilled labor on earth. This huge potential would be a rich prize for a totalitarian invasion. Its direct importance to us is the stark fact that its possession by Communist forces would give them opportunity to develop a preponderance of power. Even this disaster would not tell the whole story.

If Western Europe should be overrun by communism, many economically dependent areas in Africa and the Middle East would be affected by the debacle. Southeastern Asia would probably soon be lost. Thus, we would be cut off from the raw materials of all these regions—materials that we need for existence. World destiny would then be dictated by imperialistic powers whose avowed purpose is the destruction of freedom.

### **Power of the North Atlantic Treaty**

The second fact bearing upon our participation in European defense is that the people of Europe are not spiritually bankrupt, despite the validity of many pessimistic reports. Great sections of its population have for years labored on and fought the creeping paralysis of communism. Now, the North Atlantic Treaty has brought new fuel to the flames of hope in Europe. It has noticeably lifted morale, the fundamental element in this whole situation—the force which powers all human progress.

In every capital, there is growing a desire to cooperate in this mutual security effort. All the Governments that I have recently visited agreed that their defense programs must be stepped up despite economic and other difficulties—in spite of preoccupations that constitute abnormal drains upon particular nations. For example, France now wages a relentless and costly war against communism in Indo-China. Britain, still existing on an austerity level, shoulders heavy burdens in Malaya. However much those nations may differ from us in their diplomatic thinking with respect to Asiatic states, there is no question concerning their solidarity in opposing Communist aggression.

They, and others on the continent, are taking measures to effect substantial increases in their defense establishments. Within the past few days, Britain has stepped up drastically its rate of preparation. The new military service program in France bars all exemptions of every kind whatsoever. The Norwegians impressed me with their unshakable determination that never again will they be victims of occupation. To them, a fighting resistance, even to their own destruction, is preferable. And in Italy, there are unmistakable signs of a stiffening courage and determination.

The same is true of Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, Luxembourg, and Iceland.

In every country, I saw heartening evidence of a regeneration in Europe's spirit. Its morale, its will to fight, will grow with every accretion to physical strength. The arrival in Europe of new American land and air units, though modest in protective influence by themselves, will certainly produce added confidence and accelerate the production of military force throughout the member nations.

The European nations must, of course, produce and maintain the great bulk of the land forces necessary to their defense.

### **The Storehouse of Resistance**

For this purpose, the most immediate need of Europe is munitions and equipment. Everyone of the continental nations I visited can rapidly and markedly increase its resistance power if it can be promptly furnished additional supplies of this kind. To fill this need, our loyal neighbor, Canada, with Britain and others, is shouldering part of the load.

In military potential, the free nations have everything they need—natural resources, industrial genius, productive capacity, and great reservoirs of leadership ability. Given the ingredient of morale—the determination to combine for mutual protection—the military strength necessary will be produced at a speedy pace. With every increase in strength, there will be an upward thrust in morale, resulting in an ever-mounting spiral of confidence and security.

With respect to time, no man can know at what hour, if ever, our defensive organization may be put to the ultimate test. Because our purpose is entirely defensive, we must be ready at the earliest possible moment. Only an aggressor could name the day and hour of attack. Our current mobilization, properly adjusted to our peaceful security needs, should be as rapid as any required by the emergency of war.

To you, the people of America, I repeat—as I have to the Congress and to the President—that I believe,

First, the preservation of free America requires our participation in the defense of Western Europe.

Second, success is attainable. Given unity in spirit and action, the job can be done.

Third, while the transfer to Europe of American military units is essential, our major and special contribution should be in the field of munitions and equipment.

By no means, do I believe that we Americans can support the world militarily or economically. In our own interest, we must insist upon a working partnership with every nation making the common security its task of first priority. Every one of the member nations must realize that the

success of this combined effort to preserve the peace rests as directly upon America's productive, economic, and political strength as it does on any amount of military force we can develop. Only cooperative effort by all of us can preserve for the free world a position of security, relative peace, and economic stability.

Attainment of this result is largely a matter of morale and the human spirit. The free world now must prove itself worthy of its own past.

If Frenchmen can rise to the heights their fathers achieved at Verdun in 1916; if Italians can recapture the fervor of Vittorio Veneto; if the British can relive the days of 1940 when they stood alone against Hitler; if our other Allies can react to today's threat in the mode of their own revered patriots; if we, here in America, can match the courage and self-sacrifice of the ragged, freezing members of Washington's Army at Valley Forge; indeed, if each of us now proves himself worthy of his countrymen fighting and dying in Korea, then success is sure—a glorious success that will bring us security, confidence, tranquillity.

Each of us must do his part. We cannot delay, nationally or individually, while we suspiciously scrutinize the sacrifices made by our neighbor, and, through a weasling logic, seek some way to avoid our own duties.

#### **Accomplishment by American Leadership**

If we Americans seize the lead, we will preserve and be worthy of our own past. Our children will dwell in peace. They will dwell in freedom. They will read the history of this decade with tingling pride and, from their kinship with this generation, they will inherit more than can be expressed in millions, in acres, or in world acclaim.

It is not my place, as a soldier, to dwell upon the politics, the diplomacy, the particular treaty arrangements that must accompany and go forward with such an effort. But I do conceive it my duty to report from time to time, both to this Government and to all others in the coalition, as to progress achieved. Thus, our own and all other peoples may constantly review their decisions and plans—and, if necessary, revise them.

This evening, I come back to you only as one with some experience in war and peace, of some acquaintanceship with our friends of Western Europe, to bring you what is in my heart and mind. I shall go about my own task in this undertaking with the unshakable confidence that America will respond fully when the basic issues are understood. We know that 150 million united Americans constitute the greatest temporal force that has ever existed on God's earth. If we join in a common understanding of our country's role today and wholeheartedly devote ourselves to its discharge, the year 1951 may be recorded in our history in letters as bright as is written the year 1776.

## **French Proposals for Creation of European Army Welcomed**

[Released to the press February 5]

*The following is the text of a letter addressed by the Secretary of State to Foreign Minister Robert Schuman of France concerning the French proposals for the creation of a European Army.*

*January 27, 1951*

MY DEAR MR. MINISTER: We warmly welcome your Government's initiative in calling a conference of the interested European powers to consider possible ways and means to implement the French proposals concerning the creation of a European army and its participation in the integrated military force for the defense of Europe which was established at the recent North Atlantic Council meetings at Brussels.

As I have said to you on more than one occasion in the past, the United States has given every evidence in statements, actions, and treaties of the depth and permanence of its interest in Europe, its support for closer European association, its willingness to cooperate with Europe. That this will continue and increase, is, I am convinced, the will of the American people.

If your Government, in close consultation with the German and other European governments who wish to participate, can evolve the main outlines of a plan for bringing the free nations of Europe more closely together in the spirit so well represented by the Schuman Plan, we can reasonably hope for long term solutions of many of our problems, be they political, military or economic.

I do not need to remind you of the attitude which the Government of the United States has displayed on innumerable occasions, and in many forms, toward European integration. My Government strongly favors it. If the European countries can work it out in a practical manner, a sound basis would be laid upon which military and economic strength can be built. A rallying point will be created around which a free and civilized Europe can muster its energies for a successful defense of its beliefs and the traditions of its history.

We know you also agree with us that it is of primary importance to press forward vigorously with the strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are convinced that the broad framework of the Atlantic community, embracing a strong Europe, is an essential part of the free world structure and the attainment of global security under the United Nations.

The Government of the United States is happy to accept your invitation to send an observer to the conference which you have called for February 6 and will do its best to assist in bringing its deliberations to a successful conclusion.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON  
*Secretary of State*

# TOWARD A UNIVERSAL COPYRIGHT CONVENTION

*by Roger C. Dixon and Sigmund Goldblatt*

In connection with its aims of promoting the free flow of cultural and educational ideas and materials throughout the world, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has set itself the task of improving international relations in the field of copyright. This endeavor, begun shortly after the war, has been greatly promoted by a recent conference of international copyright experts held at Washington under the auspices of UNESCO in the fall of this past year. In the course of its studies, UNESCO has become convinced that what is needed to accomplish the desired improvement in international copyright relations is a new convention to which most or all of the nations of the world can adhere. As a result of various steps previously taken to this end, described later in this article, UNESCO had, early last year, directed an inquiry to all Governments concerning their interest in such a convention and in the major substantive provisions it should contain. The Washington meeting was called to analyze the replies received and to consider and recommend further steps toward the development of such a convention.

## **Background of International Copyright Relations**

### **BERNE CONVENTION**

The most important international copyright convention was signed at Berne, Switzerland, in 1886. It has been revised a number of times in the intervening years, the latest revision having been negotiated at a conference at Brussels in 1948. This latest revision has not as yet become effective. Based upon the European system of

copyright law, it guarantees a relatively automatic protection for works originating within its member states. This concept is borne out in particular by the protection throughout the convention countries of works first published in any one of these countries. The group of 41 countries adhering to this convention is known as the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, commonly called the Berne Union. With the exception of Canada and Brazil, none of the countries of the Western Hemisphere is a member.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to basic differences between the United States and European copyright laws and concepts, the United States has never adhered to the Berne convention. For much the same reason, most Latin American countries have refrained from adherence. Of particular significance in this connection is the presence in the laws of Western Hemisphere countries of a number of formalities upon which copyright is conditioned, such as requirements for notice, registration, deposits of copies, and payment of fees. Where such requirements are imposed in Berne Union countries, they do not generally affect the validity of the copyright and are, primarily, applicable only to works published domestically. Although repeated attempts have been made to bring about United

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<sup>1</sup>Members of Berne Union: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Morocco, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia.

States adherence to the Berne convention, they have always failed.<sup>2</sup>

Although the United States has, therefore, never been an official member of the major multilateral arrangement in this field, its citizens have been able to take advantage of Berne Union protection through its provisions concerning first publication by publishing a work in a Berne Union country such as Canada or the United Kingdom simultaneously with the first publication of the work in the United States. Although the Berne convention contains a retaliatory provision designed, in part, to close this "side door" and although this provision has been strengthened by the Brussels revision referred to above, it has not as yet been utilized.

#### INTER-AMERICAN COPYRIGHT SYSTEM

Although there have been a number of copyright conventions in the Western Hemisphere, the one with most adherents is the Buenos Aires convention of August 11, 1910. It is the only one which has been ratified by most of the Latin American countries as well as the United States.<sup>3</sup> This convention is restricted to the Western Hemisphere, and is based on the economic and cultural needs of that area. In 1946, a revision of the Buenos Aires convention was negotiated at Washington for the purpose of remedying its defects and omissions and to improve inter-American copyright practices by replacing all preceding conventions with one that would describe the copyright relations of the American Republics in terms suited to modern practices and current methods of diffusion as well as to fundamental principles of protection. For various reasons, however, this revision has not been ratified by the United States or by any but a few of the Latin American countries.

#### BILATERAL COPYRIGHT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND OTHER COUNTRIES

The United States maintains copyright relations with other countries chiefly by means of bilateral arrangements, in accordance with provisions contained in its copyright law. These provisions state that copyright protection extends

<sup>2</sup> On Apr. 19, 1935, the Senate actually gave its consent to adherence but rescinded its action on the next legislative day.

<sup>3</sup> Adherents to Buenos Aires convention: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay.

to the work of a national of a foreign state when such state grants either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law to citizens of the United States the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens. The existence of these reciprocal conditions is determined by the President by the issuance of a proclamation. The foreign nation, at the same time, usually gives official assurances that United States nationals are being given such equal or "national treatment."

The first proclamation was issued on July 1, 1891, extending copyright protection to citizens of Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Switzerland. A number of others were issued prior to 1900. The most recent one which went into effect in May 1950, for Israel was required because of the changed political status of that country.

A special case is created by section 1 (e) of our copyright law, under which protection for mechanical reproductions of musical compositions (principally phonograph records) is granted to foreign nationals if the President finds that similar protection is given to United States nationals in the other country. As can be noted, this is a limitation upon the general national treatment formula outlined above. In the case of *Todamerica Musica Ltda v. RCA* (171 Fed. (2d) 369, Dec. 6, 1948), the court ruled that protection of such mechanical reproductions was not granted by the United States, by virtue of the Buenos Aires Convention, to nationals of participating countries. Accordingly, it has become necessary to engage in negotiations for the issuance of a series of separate 1 (e) proclamations covering these countries.

This bilateral system of copyright relations has proved complicated and cumbersome in practice. Although it would be inappropriate in this context to examine these complications in detail, it is worth noting that the United States has issued 46 separate proclamations covering 34 countries and is party to additional bilateral treaties in this field.

#### UNESCO Entry Into Copyright Field

In 1945, shortly after its organization, UNESCO noted as one of its most essential tasks the clarification of the question of protecting literary, artistic, and scientific property. This undertaking came within its scope of activities in view of the educational and cultural mission entrusted to the Organization by its member states. In carrying out the task of disseminating matters of intellectual achievement, UNESCO realized that it

would run into many obstacles, chief among them being a lack of adequate copyright protection among different countries.

In 1947, in order to lay the groundwork for future action, UNESCO called a meeting of a committee of experts in the field of international copyright. Based on the report of these experts, the second session of the General Conference of UNESCO, which met at Mexico City in November, 1947, passed the following resolution:

UNESCO shall consider, as a matter of urgency, and with due regard to existing agreements, the problem of improving copyright on a world-wide basis.

In its desire to move forward in this field and wishing further advice from copyright experts from various countries UNESCO called another meeting of the committee of experts in July 1949. It was concluded at this meeting that the best approach to the problem was to consider the preparation and adoption of a new diplomatic instrument of universal application. The experts considered but rejected suggestions that UNESCO undertake steps to secure more nearly universal adhesion to the Berne convention or that a bridge be built between the Berne convention and other multilateral (i. e., inter-American) conventions. The experts felt that a new convention should be designed to obtain the accession of the maximum number of Governments without replacing existing treaties and conventions and, thus, provide copyright proprietors throughout the world with a certain degree of protection in all countries.

#### WASHINGTON MEETING

As stated previously, the Washington meeting held October 23 through November 4, 1950, was called by UNESCO to analyze the replies to the "Inquiry to Governments" and to consider future steps for development of a universal convention. The Committee was composed of 15 outstanding men in the copyright field, a majority in the legal profession, from 13 countries. These men attended as individual experts on copyright and not as delegates from their Governments. Also participating were representatives of the Berne and Pan American Unions and members of the staff of the UNESCO Copyright Division, and the United States Copyright Office.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there were in attendance at the sessions of the Committee, Government observers from 12 countries and representatives of the United Nations and of many interested private organizations.

The governmental replies had demonstrated a degree of agreement on the objectives to be attained and on certain of the principles which should be contained in a convention—in particular, that it should be based on the principle of national treatment. However, the experts were faced, when they convened, with a number of difficult unresolved problems. It is indicative of the great degree of cooperation and intensive constructive effort displayed by the experts that a large measure of agreement was reached among them by the end of 2 weeks of deliberations. They concluded that the draft of a convention which would be open to the adhesion of all countries and based on principles which they agreed on could,

... After the accomplishment of all proper procedural steps, profitably lead to the calling of a diplomatic Conference convened for its establishment, and that the adoption of such a Convention by a sufficient number of States would constitute progress in relation to the present state of copyright protection in the world in regulating the international relationships hitherto outside of multilateral conventions, or bilateral treaties . . . .

The chief among the problems with which the experts had to deal were (1) the relationship of a new convention to existing multilateral copyright agreements, particularly the Berne convention; (2) the treatment of formalities; and (3) the type and amount of protection to be granted the copyright proprietor for translation rights.

Concerning the relationship between the proposed and existing conventions, during a good part of the time in which the UNESCO project has been in progress, there has been a fear on the part

#### <sup>4</sup> *List of Participants:*

*The Experts:* Amil Artus, Director General, Ministry of Justice, Turkey; J. L. Blake, Patent Commissioner, United Kingdom; G. H. C. Bodenhausen, Professor, Utrecht University, Netherlands; Plinio Bolla, Former Federal Judge, Switzerland, First Vice-Chairman; Marcel Boutet, President, International Literary and Artistic Association, France, Second Vice-Chairman; Natalio Chediak, President, Corporation of National Authors, Cuba; Valerio de Sanctis, Lawyer, Italy; Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, United States, Chairman; German Fernandez del Castillo, Vice President, Mexican Academy of Law, Mexico; Torben Lund, Professor, University of Aarhus, Denmark; W. P. J. O'Meara, K. C., Assistant Under Secretary of State, Canada, Rapporteur; Pierre Recht, Director General, Ministry of Public Education, Belgium; John Schulman, Lawyer, United States; Dr. Nares C. Sen-Gupta, Senior Advocate Supreme Court of India; Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., Judge, United States District Court.

*UNESCO Copyright Division:* François E. Hepp, Head; Arpad Bogsch, Jr.; William S. Roach.

#### *Representatives of International Organizations:*

*Bureau of the Berne Union:* Charles Magnin, Vice-Director; Maurice Virlogeux, Counselor.

*Pan American Union:* Manuel S. Canyes, Chief, Division of Legal Affairs.

of various members of Berne that a new universal convention would tend to injure the Berne Union. It could do this, in their view, by encouraging withdrawals from the existing convention and by effecting a lowering in the standards of copyright protection. The Berne standards, they feel, are the highest in the world, and any detraction from the influence and geographical scope of the Berne Union would have this latter effect. The experts agreed that these fears could be met without significant injury to the new convention by provisions applicable to countries at present adhering to the Berne Union. They, therefore, recommended that, in relations between Berne Union countries, the Berne convention should (except as to certain works) alone be applicable and that countries withdrawing from the Berne Union after the beginning of 1950 should be able to invoke the benefits of the universal convention only in their relations with countries not members of Berne. Such an undertaking would, according to the experts' recommendations, take the form either of a provision in the new convention or of a protocol signed by all Berne members which adhere to the new convention.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, in order to give protection to other existing copyright systems, particularly the inter-American conventions, the experts felt "there should be specific assurance in the Universal Copyright Convention that it cannot be interpreted as abridging the rights to legal protection derived from any existing conventions or from any bilateral treaty presently in force."

As indicated earlier, the existence of formalities in the United States Copyright Law, as well as in the laws of other countries, applicable to foreign copyright proprietors has been a source of difficulty in the improvement of international copyright relations. The chief requirements of the United States law, which are at issue in this context, are those relating to notice, registration, and deposit. Much of the misunderstanding and friction which has existed concerning these requirements arises from basically different fundamental theories on copyright. The United States statutory system is derived from the Constitutional provision for promoting "the progress of

science and the useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." The basis of the European system, on the other hand, is the concept that the author receives upon creation an inalienable right to his work. Accordingly, his protection in the form of copyright is considered to be largely automatic.

The United States law provides that any person may secure copyright for his work by publication with notice of copyright affixed to each copy. The requirements for the form and location of the notice contained in the statute are strict, and their violation results in loss of copyright. Under accepted interpretation of the statute, registration of a published work and deposit of copies with the Copyright Office are not conditions precedent to copyright, being required as a condition of suit for infringement. However, the Copyright Office is empowered to demand such registration and deposit at any time after copyright has been secured by publication with notice, and penalties for failure to comply include loss of copyright. Although some European countries also enforce such requirements, particularly as to deposit, they are applicable primarily to works published domestically and their violation does not generally mean loss of copyright.

The United States experts proposed that this problem of formalities be solved by a provision in the convention that any formal requirements for copyright of an adhering state should be regarded as having been fully satisfied "if the proprietor of the work shall signify his intention not to dedicate the work to the public by affixing from the time of the first publication of the work to all copies of the work the symbol "©" accompanied by the name of the author, or other proprietor, and the year of first publication. The notice shall be placed in a manner and location designed to give reasonable notice of reservation of copyright." In other words, the United States would, so far as foreigners are concerned, waive requirements for deposit and registration (except as a condition of suit) and would simplify its notice requirements.<sup>6</sup> There are other countries which

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<sup>5</sup> The complete text of the recommendations of the committee of experts was published as an appendix to the *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* of November 6, 1950. Interested persons may also obtain the text from the UNESCO Relations Staff of the Department of State.

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<sup>6</sup> Discussion of the so-called manufacturing clause of the United States Copyright Law and its relation to this proposal was deferred in view of the position previously taken by the United States Government that it would seek repeal of the clause because of its inconsistency with international commitments in the commercial policy field.

would likewise have to amend their requirements to bring them in line with this provision. The experts adopted the United States proposal as one of their recommendations. This agreement for alleviating the problem of formalities has been recognized as one of the most significant forward steps to date in the project for a universal convention.

The third of the major problems was that of protection of translation rights. A number of countries which are potential members of the new convention take the position that, in order for the culture and science of the world to be available to their peoples in their national languages, limitations must be placed on the right of the author or copyright proprietor to prevent or control translations. They argue that if this is not done, works will often never be translated because of the costs and other difficulties involved in supplying a comparatively limited market. This approach to the problem prevails in many of the Latin American, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern countries. Accordingly, their copyright laws permit, under varying conditions, translation into the national languages without the authority of the copyright proprietor at the end of a certain number of years (in some instances less than 10) from the start of the copyright term.

The various authors' groups, on the other hand, are understandably opposed to any limitation upon term of protection for this purpose. They state that financial return is but one consideration and that their equal concern is with preserving the moral and intellectual integrity of their works, possible only if the author has control over the translation. They feel that the problem could be largely solved by steps to expedite translation arrangements.

It became apparent from the Governments' answers to the UNESCO "Inquiry to Governments" and from the Washington discussions themselves that a compromise solution would have to be found if formulation of a universal convention was to go forward. Accordingly, the experts recommended that the convention contain a provision as follows:

Each Contracting State may by its domestic legislation provide that if at the expiration of — years after the date of its first publication a work has not been translated by the author or with his consent into any one of the national languages of that State, the State may authorize an applicant to make and publish a translation into the national language or languages. . . .

However, such applicant would have to prove that he has made every reasonable effort to obtain authorization to make a translation and a certain number of months must have elapsed from the time the copyright proprietor was first approached. In addition, the state authorizing the translation would have to make provision to assure a competent and correct translation and guarantee just remuneration to the proprietor. No decision was reached on the length of the initial period of protection.

The Committee dealt also with a number of related problems, one of the most important of which was the question of term of protection for copyright. The experts recommended that basically the term should be governed by the law of the country in which protection is claimed, in accordance with the principle of national treatment. However, they also felt that a minimum term should be guaranteed, based alternatively upon one of the two prevailing systems. Thus, the minimum should be either a period comprising the life of the author and 25 years after his death or a period of 25 years after first publication of the work, regardless of the length of life of the author. Certain experts expressed the view, however, that this concept should be modified by permitting a country to limit the protection of a work to the term prevailing in the country of origin of the work.

The question of what should constitute "the country of origin" of a work also received considerable attention on the part of the experts. There are at present two prevailing concepts determining this important factor. In the United States and some other countries, the country of origin is determined by the nationality of the author. The Berne doctrine, on the other hand, is that the work assumes the nationality of the country in which it is first published. Clearly, a reconciliation of these two concepts would be necessary in order to provide a basis for a system of universal copyright protection. As a compromise solution, the experts recommended that, under the universal convention, "works originating in a contracting State" should include works of its nationals (and of stateless authors who are permanent residents therein) and all works first published in that state.

The experts recommended that UNESCO send a new questionnaire to Governments to obtain their

views on the various principles developed at the meeting. They stated that certain additional subjects, not fully discussed at the meeting, should also be included in the questionnaire, such as a determination of the categories of works to be protected by the convention, the definition which should be applied to the term "publication," and provisions which should be applicable to unpublished works.

As to future steps toward development of the convention, it was decided at the fifth session of the General Conference of UNESCO in Florence last year that another meeting of the committee of experts would be held in conjunction with the forthcoming sixth session at Paris in June. It will be the responsibility of the experts to review the answers to the new UNESCO questionnaire. The Washington meeting recommended that a draft convention be prepared on the basis of these replies and of the experts' proposals, and further, that a special diplomatic conference be convened to complete and adopt the convention. If such a conference is called, it is expected to convene sometime in 1952.

In the United States, the work toward an international convention has had able assistance from the copyright panel of the National Commission

for UNESCO. There are represented on this panel all major organizations and interests in the field of copyright, such as the movie and radio industries, the book publishers, the music writers and publishers, and the Authors' League, as well as the Government departments concerned with the problem. The panel has given valuable advice and guidance to the United States experts and Government agencies, as well as serving as a medium for keeping private interests informed of the progress of the project.

The UNESCO Secretariat, both in preparing for and organizing the various meetings and in providing a continuing information service on international copyright, is also making an invaluable contribution to the effort.

The success of the Washington meeting, together with the growing support for the project, both in the United States and in other countries, has created an atmosphere of reasonable optimism that a truly universal copyright convention can be successfully concluded.

• *Roger C. Dixon and Sigmund Goldblatt are, respectively, acting chief, International Business Practices Policy Staff, Office of International Trade Policy, and international economist, International Business Practices Policy Staff.*

## **Brussels Agreement on Conflicting Claims to German Enemy Assets Enters Into Force**

### **SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS**

*[Released to the press February 6]*

Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, and Howard J. McGrath, Attorney General, announce the entry into force February 1, 1951, of the Brussels agreement of December 5, 1947, relating to the resolution of conflicting claims to German enemy assets among the United States, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. The agreement is the first comprehensive multi-lateral agreement on the problem of conflicting claims by Governments to German-owned assets outside Germany. The agreement is open for signature by the Governments of the 13 other countries which are members of the Inter-Allied Rep-

eration Agency (IARA) any time up to August 1, 1951. A procedure also exists for permitting Governments which are not members of the IARA to participate in the agreement any time within the next 9 months.

The agreement provides for the settlement of certain cases where the alien property custodians of two countries both claim the same German external asset or where there is a dispute between an alien property custodian of one country claiming that certain property is a German external asset and a national of a nonenemy country claiming an interest in the property. The agreement is designed to avoid the vexatious and long-continued litigations and negotiations which ensued after the First World War on the same subject. It will enable the Office of Alien Property, De-

partment of Justice, to secure, without undue delay, clear title to assets subject to claims by other countries or their nationals at the same time as it effectuates the regular policy of the Department of State of protecting the interests of United States nationals in property outside of Germany which has been seized or sequestered as German enemy property.

The agreement was the result of about 18 months of discussion and negotiation with other countries, members of the IARA, in 1946 and 1947. The agreement was signed at Brussels by the United States, subject to approval, on December 5, 1947, and then or subsequently by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Owing to the failure of the United States to secure the necessary Congressional authorization, the agreement did not come into effect, and it was necessary to extend the date of entry into force by successive protocols. Congressional authorization was finally secured at the last Congress by Public Law No. 857 of September 28, 1950. This legislation authorizes the President or such officer or agency as he may designate to conclude and give effect to agreements with other countries for the settlement of conflicting claims involving enemy property.

The types of property covered by the agreement are securities, negotiable instruments, currency, warehouse receipts, foreign currency bank deposits, decedent's estates, trusts, and the property in one signatory country of corporations organized under the laws of another signatory country or of Germany. Of most importance are the provisions on securities, bank deposits, and the property of corporations. The rule is laid down that a security belonging to a German, though physically located in one signatory country, shall go to the alien property custodian of the signatory country where the entity is organized which issued the security. Bank deposits maintained in one country by a bank located in another signatory country for the benefit of a German customer will, with certain exceptions, be divided equally between the custodians of the countries concerned. In the case of property in one signatory country belonging to a corporation organized under the laws of another signatory country or of Germany, the general rule is laid down, subject to exceptions for administrative practicality, that the signatory country where the property is located is entitled to that portion of the property corresponding to the German interest in the corporation, while that portion corresponding to the nonenemy interest will be free from seizure. The agreement will not apply to the interest of the United States in General Aniline and Film Corporation, Binghampton, New York.

The agreement was the subject of press release 944 of December 4, 1947<sup>1</sup> and of a comment in

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 14, 1947, p. 1192.

the Department of State BULLETIN of January 4, 1948, page 3.

#### **AMERICAN CLAIMANTS REQUESTED TO SUBMIT INFORMATION ON PROPERTY IN ALLIED COUNTRIES**

*[Released to the press February 6]*

In conjunction with the announcement concerning the Brussels agreement, the State Department requests American claimants, who have interests in property in Allied or neutral countries which has been seized or blocked as enemy property, to submit information thereon as early as possible to the Department. Such information should be transmitted to Adrian S. Fisher, The Legal Adviser, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

The Department desires the information as a basis for ascertaining the claims which fall under the Brussels agreement of December 5, 1947, involving, at present, property in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands which has been seized or blocked by those countries as German property. The Department also desires the information in the event other countries adhere to this agreement or in the event the Department takes up cases of this type for the purpose of bilateral negotiation with the country of the location of the property.

This information is requested with relation to every kind of property which has been seized or blocked in Allied or neutral countries as German, Japanese, Italian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Rumanian and whether the American interest is direct or indirect. In this connection, one important type of case is that of property located in an Allied or neutral country owned by corporations organized under German law, in which corporations Americans are shareholders or bondholders.

Any letter to the Department on this subject should refer to the press release 93 of February 6. The letter may be informal in nature but should contain information as to the kind of property, the Allied or neutral country in which it is located, the interest of the American claimant in the property, the estimated value of such interest, the residence and nationality status of claimant, and any facts which would be helpful in tracing the American interest into the property in question. The Department will review these letters, and, if the case appears to fall under an effective agreement with another country, the Department will transmit official forms for the claimant to fill out. In other cases, as stated above, the Department may utilize the information for bilateral negotiations with other Governments.

If any claimant has already given information on his claim to the Department of State, he is requested to transmit a letter referring to such prior correspondence.

## The Strategy of Freedom in Asia

by Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs<sup>1</sup>

What are we Americans up to in Asia? What are our purposes as we work out our relations with the great peoples of that vast area? The President, in a radio address to the nation on September 1, 1950, declared that the things we Americans want for the people of Asia are the same things we want for the people of the rest of the world and, indeed, for ourselves. As far as we are concerned, and we realize it is not basically our decision, we want freedom for the peoples of Asia, but we also want to help them secure for themselves better health, more food, more adequate homes and clothing, and the chance to live their own lives in peace.

That sounds like a program toward which men work in an age of peace and reason. But it is also a program toward which we must work even in the midst of struggle and conflict. Peace is inevitably tied to the other great purposes written into the Charter of the United Nations. We are in a struggle for peace, because there are those who commit aggression and who are unwilling to settle their differences by peaceful means. We are in a struggle for freedom, because there are those who are trying to establish tyranny. We are in a struggle for national independence, because there are those who are trying to impose upon the peoples of the world a new type of colonialism far more ruthless than any the world has yet seen. This struggle forces us to consider the elements of strategy required to build the world envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

Our distinguished Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, in outlining "The Strategy of Freedom" in a radio address on November 29 of last year, pointed out that those who control the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement have made clear their fundamental design.<sup>2</sup> Asia is faced today with the imperialistic designs of a power which, under the czars and under its present Soviet masters, has maintained a persist-

ent policy of extending its control over that vast continent.

### Significance of 1950

The year 1950 was a very significant year in our postwar development and, it may very well be, in the history of the world. I do not suggest that Soviet Russia has changed its purposes or its character, but during 1950 it entered a new phase in its aggressive program, a phase marked by at least two important factors. First, it has clearly shown that it is prepared to wage war by satellites so far as that becomes desirable to further its objective—not only wars by small satellites such as the North Koreans but full-fledged war by Communist China, a major satellite. Second, the Soviet Union has shown that it is itself prepared to risk a general war and that it is pushing its program to the brink of general war.

On the other side, 1950 was of great significance because the United Nations, acting by overwhelming majority, organized an armed resistance to an act of aggression—an aggression which has not thus far succeeded because of the determined opposition of the organized world community.

Strategy takes into account what you are trying to do, what obstacles stand in the way of your doing it, and what effort on your part must be employed to overcome these obstacles and to proceed to your basic objectives.

Secretary Acheson, in his November 29 address, outlined the six main elements of the "Strategy of Freedom" which underlie our policy. These are: (1) the development of an international order for the preservation of peace and freedom, under the United Nations; (2) the development of regional groupings, within the framework of the United Nations; (3) the rapid build-up of military strength both by us here at home and by other peoples willing to act together to keep the peace; (4) economic cooperation on the broadest basis, raising standards of living, supporting the institutions of liberty, and reinforcing our elementary security; (5) readiness at all times to negotiate just settlements of international disputes and to

<sup>1</sup> Address made before a regional conference on American foreign policy, sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia at Philadelphia, Pa., on Feb. 9 and released to the press on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 962.

find just accommodation for conflicting interests; (6) firm adherence in all our actions, at home and abroad, to the moral values which give meaning to our lives.

### **Objectives in the Far East**

What are our more specific objectives in the Far East, what are the obstacles in the way of our achieving them, and how do we plan to go about overcoming the obstacles?

We want to see the people of Asia organized and governed by institutions of their own making and by men of their own choice, their relations with other peoples and governments resting solidly upon mutual consent.

We want to see the new nations of Asia actively participating as full and equal members of the international community on the basis of agreed principles set forth in such great documents as the Charter of the United Nations.

We want to see the nations of Asia secure from aggression, whether by armed attack or by the insidious methods of penetration and subversion.

We want to see the nations of Asia develop their own resources and lift their standards of living by rapid increases in mutually beneficial trade and a more pervasive interchange of cultural values conducive to greater mutual understanding.

We want to see the nations of Asia settling their disputes among themselves by peaceful means and throwing their full support to the efforts of the United Nations to maintain peace on the basis of law and justice.

We want to see the nations of Asia in friendly association with the American people and Government across a wide range of political, economic, and cultural relationships, based on the knowledge that our desire for such association is motivated by a desire for friendship free from the taint of self-aggrandizement at the expense of others.

These purposes, or strategic objectives, if you like, are not set by the Government but by the American people. They reflect the kind of people we are, what we should like to see, not necessarily what we think we already have. They point to what may prove to be the most important political fact of our generation that the power, wealth, and imagination of the American people are committed to the purposes of peace, human liberty, and economic well-being, for ourselves and others. We must never, for one moment, lose sight of the power of that fact, through discouragement or doubt, doubt rising in us, not from our own self-questioning, but because of the insidious poison injected by Communist propaganda. It would be tragic indeed that, if at the very moment when such a fact could be decisive, we lost its meaning and forgot that we are a vital part of a great revolution, that of human freedom, and fell victim to a revolution in reverse, that of reactionary international communism.

Another thing about these purposes is that they reflect the fact that we are Americans, whose nature it is to see things through American eyes. That does not mean that the Asian view is necessarily different from our own. When we discuss our mutual interests through diplomacy or at the conference table, we habitually find a vast identity of interest. Study carefully, for example, the common interests set forth in a large number of international documents such as the Charter of the United Nations. That identity of interest also results from the fact that, as a land of many national and racial strains, the American people have evolved a form of simple ideas which are broadly humanistic and which are generally shared with men and women around the world.

### **Obstacles in Achieving Objectives**

Now, then, having suggested our objectives, what are the obstacles which stand in the way? They are formidable. The headlines and the radio remind us daily of the most dramatic and the most ominous obstacle of all—the threat and fact of aggression burning like a prairie fire. The cold, flagrant, cynical aggressions in Korea, first by the North Koreans and then by the Chinese Communists, were launched in open defiance of the basic law of the world community and in total disregard of the miserable peoples directly involved.

Also barring the path of the human race is aggression by the devious methods of subversion and penetration, stealth, and intimidation, aggression no less dangerous and in many ways more difficult to combat than open attack. There is not a country in Asia today, or the world for that matter, where this form of aggression does not constitute a threat to established institutions and the peaceful evolution of individual and national destinies.

Hand in hand with aggression, goes propaganda, and no place in the world today is under such a persistent and insidious barrage by the hawkers of Communist imperialism as is Asia. Every trick of distortion, every device of repetition and emphasis, are used by the Communists to confuse, to foster resentment, to set class against class and race against race, to prevent the growth of stable governments and satisfying economies, in short, to bring about weakness in the path of Communist ambition.

But there are other obstacles of less dramatic nature. Grinding poverty, for example. Hundreds of millions of men and women consume their entire energies in a desperate struggle for a limited and miserable existence against terrible odds.

Vast areas and populations are without elementary means of communication, without simple or efficient tools, or homes, or schools, without equipment to transform natural resources to human use; without cheap sources of power and fuel; without

the means to control floods, irrigate deserts, and combat pestilence.

There exists in Asia today an appalling dearth of engineers, teachers, administrators, managers and foremen, doctors and nurses, and a long list of those with special skills required to provide a basic institutional life for large societies.

There are new nations in Asia which have thrown off an older order only to find themselves without a new one sufficiently developed to take its place.

One senses a pervasive suspicion of all things new, all foreigners, and even suspicion of each other. The white man is particularly suspect, because he is still remembered as the symbol of foreign rule, too often seen only in the big hotels and fine houses, but seldom in the villages or out in the paddy fields.

In the realm of ideas, we face a formidable obstacle in the fact that communism has seized the word "revolution" around which to rally those who resent the status quo. Communism has appeared in Asia not as a Russian preaching the tyranny of the Kremlin but as an Asian preaching nationalism and promising Utopia. It will not be an easy job to meet this colossal fraud and extravagant and empty promise.

### Overcoming the Obstacles

We have talked about our purposes and have outlined some of the obstacles which stand in the way of their achievement. How do we try to move ahead?

We must accept the proposition that the problems of Asia are to be worked out by the Governments and the peoples of Asia, not because of any lack of interest or effort on our part, but because the peoples of Asia themselves will insist on it. We must remember that we have relations with other people, not control over them. We can help, but we cannot take over.

We must allow no misunderstanding about the nature of our own interest in Asia. We seek in Asia no territories, no special privileges, no special position, as President Truman, Secretary Acheson, and other responsible officials of this Government have made clear over and over again. We shall act in our own interest, but we have long since determined that our selfish interest lies in the conduct set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in joint action with others.

We shall continue to support the national aspirations of the peoples of Asia to be free, to determine their own institutions, to select their own rulers, and to regulate their relations with others on the basis of consent.

We shall continue to act vigorously and loyally as a member of the United Nations to deal with aggression. The peace and security of Asia, and of the whole world, is directly threatened by the lawless and unprovoked aggression in Korea.

### The Korean Question

We are in Korea because we are trying to prevent a world war and the frightful destruction of life which such a war would produce.

The thousands who have died in Korea have sacrificed their lives in a struggle to prevent the millions of deaths which world war would surely bring.

The issue in Korea is aggression. We can face it, or we can run away from it. If we face it, we have a chance to organize the determination of the world against aggression, to show the aggressor that his crime will not be accepted and that his crime will not pay. If we succeed, the aggressor may hold his hand. If we run away from it, the aggressor will learn that there is great profit in crime, that he will not be resisted and that his victims are weak and can be destroyed at will.

These are not theories but hard facts. We Americans have already had one unforgettable lesson about what happens when unbridled ambition goes unchecked. We have seen the world go down the trail from Manchuria to Ethiopia, to Munich, to Poland, and, finally, to Pearl Harbor. We must not tread this path again.

Let us not be discouraged too soon. At the end of World War II, the human race almost succeeded in doing what men have dreamed about for centuries, that is, in organizing a world to keep the peace. Only one Government stands in the way. That Government is a dictatorship which has behind it considerable power. But the peace-loving world itself is strong and we cannot afford to give up our goal just when we have come so close.

We are in Korea because we cannot afford to leave Red China and its neighbors under the impression that the forces of Peiping are irresistible and that Red China's neighbors must now come to terms with communism at the cost of their freedom.

The vaunted power of Red China is being unmasked in Korea. Chinese soldiers do not relish the punishment they are getting from our guns and planes and ships. They are learning that their masters have tricked them into a war of foreign aggression. They are learning that their masters have put them into battle without provision for minimum care in case of wounds or sickness or frostbite. In other words, Red China is learning a great deal about the cost of aggression.

We are now in Korea because we cannot abandon 20 million gallant Koreans to communism. We and they have fought side by side against aggression for several months, sometimes in defeat and sometimes in victory. We cannot now abandon our comrades to the fate which would be theirs if the Communists took over.

Further, we cannot leave our friends in the Philippines and in Japan under the impression that

we do not take our commitments seriously and that we might lack courage in the face of adversity.

Our gallant force in Korea is fully able to take care of itself. We should not act like a defeated nation when, in fact, we have not been defeated.

The willingness and ability of the entire free world to increase its strength and to join its forces to insure their mutual defense depends to a considerable extent upon the attitude of the United States. Our strength is increasing rapidly as is that of our friends.

If we can show that we have both the will and the ability to defend ourselves, the main attack may be averted. Our attitude in this situation may easily determine the course of history for years to come. That course may lead to peace or it may lead to disaster. This great nation cannot let history say of us that we chose the road to disaster, because we were unwilling to fight for peace.

### **The Formosan Problem**

Turning to another difficult problem, we cannot accept the forcible seizure of Formosa by those who are engaged upon a program of aggression. We shall insist upon a peaceful settlement of that problem by international action. We are continuing our economic assistance program in Formosa and are furnishing selected military assistance to put it in a better position to defend itself if an attempt is made to settle the issue by armed attack.

### **Safeguarding Security in Asia**

High on our agenda, is the early conclusion of a peace settlement with Japan and the return of Japan to a full and equal membership in the international community. John Foster Dulles is now in Japan, as a special representative of the President, to move this important purpose along as rapidly as possible.

If the nations of Asia and the Pacific conclude that the time has come to move closer together in arrangements to safeguard the security and well-being of the area as a whole, the United States will take a sympathetic interest in such a development.

We are ready to do what we can to help our friends in Asia strengthen their own institutions and put them in better position to meet the "strenuous conditions of the modern world." We can only help where our help is needed, because our resources are limited. We can only help where our help is wanted, because we have no desire to be an unwelcome guest. In some countries, we are being asked to furnish military assistance to help to meet the basic requirement of security. In others, we are being asked for economic and technical assistance through the splendid work of the Economic Cooperation Administration, through the Point 4 Program and other United Nations activities and through support by such agencies

as the Export-Import Bank. Results from this effort will, necessarily, be slow and undramatic. The effort itself will require our resources at a time when we have many demands upon us. It will also require Americans who are willing to sacrifice their comfort and risk their health and personal safety in distant lands. The courage and sacrifice of the tens of thousands of men and women who are working for peace are worthy of the courage and sacrifice being made by our soldiers and sailors and airmen in the battle in Korea. But we are a nation of builders, and the challenge of this service to the peoples of Asia is one which Americans will gladly accept.

Because we face a situation in Asia which can be vitally affected by the struggle for ideas, we are rapidly expanding our information programs in that area as part of the great Campaign for Truth for which the 81st Congress voted 79 million dollars. This will permit us to step up our efforts to reach the people of Asia through greatly strengthened medium-wave and short-wave broadcasts and through expanded programs for the exchange of persons, press and publications, libraries and institutes, and motion pictures. We believe that there are natural ties to bind us and the peoples of Asia together in firm friendship. Those ties must rest upon truth and greater knowledge of each other.

These are a few of the things which we are doing about our relations with Asia. We know that there is no miraculous formula and that toil and persistence will be required of us if there is to be success. We believe that our effort stands in favorable contrast to a Communist policy directed toward the extension of tyranny and the use of the big lie, sabotage, suspicion, and assassination for the accomplishment of its purposes.

As we move ahead, we must proceed on the assumption that general war is avoidable and that the war in Korea can be brought to an end in that country. We should not close our eyes to the possibility of peaceful settlement nor to the negotiation of an honorable conclusion to the high tension which now besets the world. It takes more than one to make a peace, but it is our responsibility to remain willing to do our part to that end.

I believe that Americans can feel, without arrogance, that we have made an enormous contribution to the peace. What we cannot do is to destroy the peace by bowing to aggression or by sacrificing the great principles upon which an orderly world community must rest. I am convinced that, if this great nation plants a standard of peace and justice, the nations of the world will rally around that standard. We have planted that standard, along with others, in the Charter of the United Nations. If we can find the wisdom and the courage we need for the exacting responsibility which now rests upon us, we need not fear the threatening dangers which evil men are trying to raise against us.

## Point 4 Agreement With Pakistan

[Released to the press February 9]

Pakistan and the United States today concluded a general Point 4 agreement. Dr. Henry Garland Bennett, Technical Cooperation Administrator, announced that the signing took place at Karachi, with Minister of State Mahmud Husain representing Pakistan and Ambassador Avra M. Warren representing the United States. Three other South Asian nations—India, Ceylon, and Nepal—have already signed agreements providing for cooperation under President Truman's Point 4 Program.

Dr. Bennett said:

The new Point 4 agreement with Pakistan is warmly welcomed by the United States. We have a great admiration and respect for the way in which the people of Pakistan, with their ancient culture and their youthful independence, have set about solving their problems. We hope and believe they will find the same opportunities and blessings in independent nationhood which the United States has experienced in the past 175 years.

Like the general agreements previously concluded with Middle Eastern, African, Latin-American, and other South Asian countries, the Pakistan agreement sets forth the basic terms of cooperation and paves the way for specific project agreements.

The United States has already approved a Pakistan request for Point 4 cooperation in the field of agriculture.

Pakistan has also submitted to the United States requests for additional technical aid which will provide several United States technicians to Pakistan and bring a substantial number of Pakistanis to this country for specialized training. These requests are now being considered by the Technical Cooperation Administration.

During the 3½ years of Pakistan's independence, her Government has made comprehensive plans for economic development, with particular emphasis on increasing the food supply. In carrying out these plans, Pakistan has also enlisted the cooperation of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

At the present time, the Pakistan Government has 92 development projects under active consideration, many of which have already received final approval. Among the most important projects are those aimed at putting 6 million additional acres of land under cultivation; generating 100,000 more kilowatts of electric power; making Chittagong a first-class port; constructing a fish harbor at Karachi; and developing such industries as textiles, vegetable oil, and leather. One of the long-range economic objectives of Pakistan is to correlate agricultural production with a measure of industrialization, in order to develop a balanced economy which will provide a higher standard of living for all the people.

Estimates of 1948 place Pakistan's population at 80 million people, 92 percent of whom live in rural areas. The population is predominantly Moslem, and the population is increasing by more than 1 percent each year.

Pakistan is approximately the size of Texas and Oklahoma combined. It is divided into two parts, separated by nearly 1,000 miles of the territory of the Republic of India. Western Pakistan has 85 percent of the total area. Eastern Pakistan, comprising only 15 percent of the country's land area, supports 58 percent of the total population.

## Point 4 Agreement With Afghanistan

[Released to the press February 8]

The Kingdom of Afghanistan and the United States on February 7 signed a general agreement for technical cooperation under the President's Point 4 Program. The Technical Cooperation Administration announced that the agreement had been signed at Kabul by Heydar Hoseni, Minister of National Economy of the Kingdom of Afghanistan, and American Ambassador Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr.

The general or "umbrella" agreement sets forth the basic conditions of cooperation, as provided in the Act for Economic Development and provides a framework for continued technical cooperation between the United States and Afghanistan.

As a continuing project under the new agreement, the United States will provide the services of two mining engineers to advise the Royal Afghanistan Ministry of Mines on the extraction, use and marketing of mineral resources, and on the improvement of coal production.

A country-wide mineral survey by the Royal Afghanistan Ministry of Mines was completed in November.

After an initial survey mission, the United Nations sent to Afghanistan in June 1950 a joint mission which included an agronomist, an industrial consultant on raw materials utilization, an expert in the improvement of livestock production, a soils and irrigation expert, and an expert on public administration.

Afghanistan lies between Soviet Central Asia and West Pakistan in the mountain belt which reaches from Asia Minor to the Himalayas. A land of mountains, with peaks reaching to 22,000 feet, Afghanistan has a population estimated at 12 million. Its chief export product is karakul lambskins for which the United States is its best customer.

The Government of Afghanistan has, in recent years, taken progressive steps toward developing the resources of the country for its people. In 1946, it employed an American engineering firm to make basic surveys and development plans and

to construct roads and irrigation works. It financed the extensive operations of this company entirely out of its own reserves for 3 years. In 1950, the Export-Import Bank granted a credit of 21 million dollars to Afghanistan to complete three of the major planned projects of dams and canal works.

## **U.S. and Mexico Reach Agreement on Agricultural Workers**

*Joint Statement by Chairmen of U. S. and Mexican Delegations*

[Released to the press February 5]

The delegations of Mexico and of the United States that have been meeting in the Ministry for Foreign Relations during the period between January 26 and February 3 of the present year for the purpose of examining the conditions which have governed the contracting of Mexican workers for employment in agricultural work in the United States have arrived at an agreement in principle which will be submitted as a recommendation to both Governments for their approval. This agreement, in brief, provides the following:

In order to apply still more effectively the provisions of the existing international agreement, it is necessary that new procedures be devised for the contracting of Mexican workers for temporary agricultural employment in the United States which will insure prompt and effective compliance with the obligations stipulated in the individual work contract.

Pursuant to the formal request made by the Mexican delegation that an agency of the United States Government assume direct responsibility for the contracting of workers, both delegations reached the following conclusions:

I. The Mexican delegation having repeatedly stated its desire that the contracting of workers be carried out with an agency of the Government of the United States—both to simplify the solution of points of disagreement arising between employers and workers, and to insure more effective cooperation in the purposes sought by both Governments, the American delegation, with Senator Ellender of Louisiana and Congressman Poage of Texas as advisers, agreed that a bill would be submitted immediately to the United States Congress authorizing the contracting of workers by an agency of the Government of the United States.

II. If the Government of the United States should be unable to undertake a program of contracting by Government agency, the Mexican dele-

gation indicated that it would be necessary to terminate the international agreement of August 1, 1949.

III. In view of the fact that there is no legislation in force in the United States which will permit contracting by an agency of the United States Government, the Government of Mexico agrees to the extension of the existing agreement until July 1 of this year. Both delegations agree to improve substantially the administration of the present program to insure more effective compliance with the provisions of the agreement and of the individual work contracts.

IV. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and the corresponding Mexican agency will redouble their efforts to prevent the illegal entry of workers into the United States. Any employer who hires workers who have entered the United States illegally will not be granted permission to contract new workers and any workers employed by him under contract will be withdrawn.

V. Any employer who fails to comply with the joint determination of the Mexican Consul General and the United States Employment Service with respect to any violation committed by him will have all of his individual work contracts promptly terminated and will be obliged to make good any payments that may remain unpaid. In the future no workers will be furnished him under the program unless he complies with the joint determination and to the satisfaction of the Mexican Government.

VI. Contracting will be carried out in Mexican territory as provided in the existing agreement. Meals and medical attention required by the existing agreement will be furnished by the employer while the worker is being transported from the place of contracting to the place of employment and return. Vehicles appropriate for transporting people must be used.

VII. The Mexican delegation, after reiterating its desire to cooperate with the United States, stated clearly that any program to furnish workers to the United States must be consistent with the present needs of Mexican agriculture, plans for Mexican agricultural development, and must be coordinated with the agricultural cycles of both countries. Authorization will therefore be given by Mexico to contract only those agricultural workers whose services are not required in Mexico.

We are pleased to record, especially, that the conduct of the conferences was governed at all times by a feeling of friendly cooperation and understanding arising out of the cordial relations existing between Mexico and the United States.

MEXICO, D. F., *February 3, 1951.*

ALFONSO GUERRA

*Chairman of the Mexican Delegation*

CARL W. STROM

*Chairman of the American Delegation*

## Congressional Hearings on Voice of America Requested

### LETTER FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY BARRETT TO SENATOR WILLIAM BENTON

[Released to the press February 9]

February 9, 1951

DEAR SENATOR BENTON: YOUR letter of January 31, addressed to the Secretary and released to the press, so directly affects my area of operations in the overseas information field that the Secretary has agreed to my writing you further about it.

As for an investigation, we would welcome one. In fact, I am so proud of what the outstandingly capable and loyal team presently engaged in this work is doing that I am now actively seeking the opportunity to have as many Members of Congress as possible hear our full story.

We expect soon, of course, to have the usual thorough and rigorous examination of the program and its progress by the two Appropriations Committees. In addition, we are today requesting the special Public Affairs Subcommittees of the House and Senate to give us at least a full day to bring them up to date on the progress of the Voice of America and related activities. I hope they will invite other Members of Congress to attend and will open the doors to the press. And I hope they will give us an additional half day in executive session to cover those subjects it is not in the national interest to publicize.

We believe we can then demonstrate that:

(1) Extraordinary progress has already been made in mounting a more militant and vastly larger Campaign of Truth since Congress voted the necessary funds a few months ago.

(2) We of the free world are by no means losing the battle for men's minds; we are well on our way toward winning it. In many areas of the world the Big Lie is already losing its effectiveness in the face of the truth offensive, which is being conducted in multiple ways, some direct and some extremely subtle.

(3) We could lose much ground if, as some urge, we merely set up a vast fireworks show of American propaganda. We would then seem to be trying to "buy the minds of men with American dollars." Dollars are needed, but dollars alone are by no means the entire answer.

(4) On balance, the best results in this field

can be gained by keeping an intimate relationship between information work and foreign-policy formulation. My experience in wartime psychological warfare and in an independent agency convinces me that this is essential, along with maintaining the maximum mobility and speed of operations that are so vital.

(5) The program is staffed today by hundreds of alert, loyal men and women who left promising private careers to join up and specialize in this difficult and often delicate work. Reinforced by a steady influx of top-flight talent from the outside and by the systematic advisory services of many of the best brains in the country, they are as able a group of specialists as has been assembled by any agency, private or public.

We look forward to an opportunity to document these conclusions before the appropriate committees of the Congress.

### VOA MOVIE CRITICIZED BY REPRESENTATIVE JUDD

[Released to the press February 8]

It has been reported by the press that Representative Walter H. Judd, Republican of Minnesota, today complained to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs concerning a "recent VOA movie which he said showed girls in bathing suits and in which hot American jazz was played."

So far as the Department can ascertain, the only recent Department movie to which Mr. Judd could be referring is a film sequence entitled, *Tanglewood*, a movie produced with the full cooperation of the noted American conductor, Serge Koussevitsky, of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, at last year's Tanglewood Music Festival in the Berkshires.

The principal footage of this film was devoted to orchestral renditions of Beethoven's "Egmont Overture" and Thompson's "Last Words of David," with a choral choir in the background.

There was a brief sequence devoted to recreational aspects of the Festival in which some of the Tanglewood students were shown taking a swim between classes and in which a few members of

the orchestra were shown relaxing at a "jam session" during their lunch hour.

This film was awarded high honors at last year's Film Festival in Venice and Edinburgh, and Dr. Koussevitsky was so proud of it that he took it with him and showed it on frequent occasions during a subsequent European tour.

Incidentally, every such film distributed to field areas is carefully reviewed and cleared by regional experts, prior to its showing, with a view toward avoiding offending any sensibilities of the indigenous populations of such areas.

#### **STATEMENT BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BARRETT**

*[Released to the press February 9]*

I want to knock in the head the talk to the effect that the Voice of America program is spreading to the world a lot of frothy business about bathing girls, jazz, and the like. Among others, a distinguished Member of Congress, in all good faith, referred publicly to such talk this week.

The Voice and related activities, today, are engaged in a tough, hard-hitting, and unprecedented Campaign of Truth. The job we are doing is one of exposing the phoniness of Kremlin communism, helping to build up spunk and determination in the free world, disproving Soviet lies about America, and helping erect psychological barriers to communism, and building, on both sides of the iron curtain, psychological obstacles to aggression.

The only bathing beach scenes distributed have been incidental illustrations in sequences designed to expose Soviet lies about Americans being a downtrodden, unhappy, boorish people suffering under capitalism's heel. These have been perfectly appropriate and constructive and, as with all our output, have been reviewed in advance by specialists in each area before distribution.

#### **Agreement With Canada on Operation of Radio Transmitters**

*[Released to the press February 8]*

An agreement with Canada on the operation of certain types of radio transmitters and equipment was signed today at Ottawa. This agreement will eliminate certain difficulties which have appeared in recent years because, by the laws of both Canada and the United States, citizens of each country have not been allowed to operate similar equipment in the other country.

Three classes of persons will benefit from the agreement. In the first place, United States and

Canadian pilots who are qualified radio operators will be permitted to operate the transmitters installed in civilian aircraft of the other country's registry. Secondly, operators of mobile radio transmitters installed in vehicles used for public service or for commercial purposes in border areas and private persons with radio telephone installed in their cars will be able to obtain permission to use their equipment while in the territory of the other country. Thirdly, amateur wireless operators will be permitted, under certain conditions, to use their sets while visiting the other country.

The agreement was signed for the United States by Stanley Woodward, United States Ambassador at Ottawa and for Canada by Lionel Chevrier, Minister of Transport. It will not come into force until it has been ratified by the legislatures of the two countries.

#### **Letters of Credence**

##### *Venezuela*

The newly appointed Ambassador of Venezuela, Señor Dr. Antonio Martín Aranjó, presented his credentials to the President on February 8. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release number 97 of February 8.

#### **U.S.S.R. Asked To Return Lend-Lease Defense Articles**

*[Released to the press February 8]*

*The following is the text of a note from Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, dated February 7, 1951, to Alexander S. Panyushkin, Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

I have the honor to refer to Article V of the Master Lend-Lease Agreement of June 11, 1942, between the Governments of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which provides that:

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will return to the United States of America at the end of the emergency, as determined by the President of the United States of America, such defense articles transferred under this agreement as shall not have been destroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President to be useful in the defense of the United States of America or of the Western Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

On July 7, 1948, the President of the United States of America determined that the emergency relative to the lend-lease program referred to in the provisions of the Master Lend-Lease Agree-

ments between the United States and various lend-lease countries had terminated.

I have the honor to confirm herewith the statement made by Ambassador John C. Wiley during the Lend-Lease Settlement discussions on January 27, 1951, that the President of the United States of America has determined that certain defense articles are of use to the United States, namely all the naval and merchant vessels and military watercraft which were transferred to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under the Lend-Lease Agreement of June 11, 1942, and which have not been heretofore returned to the United States. This will also confirm the request made by Ambassador Wiley on January 27, 1951, as directed by the President of the United States, that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics immediately return to the United States these defense articles in accordance with Article V of the Master Lend-Lease Agreement of June 11, 1942. A list of these vessels by category is attached hereto.<sup>1</sup>

It is further requested that representatives of the United States Government be permitted to examine all unserviceable vessels in order to determine the ultimate disposition of these vessels.

The Government of the United States expects that the Soviet naval experts now in the United States will promptly make arrangements with American naval experts for the immediate return of the vessels referred to above.

The Government of the United States reserves its rights under Article V of the Master Lend-

Lease Agreement of June 11, 1942, to demand the return to the United States, under the provision of this Article, of such other lend-lease articles as may be determined to be of use to the United States.

Accept, [etc.].

Enclosure: List of Vessels by category.

## Point 4 Experts Train for Assignments Abroad

On February 1, the Department of State announced that a second group of Point 4 experts is getting ready to go out on new field assignments in Chile, Mexico, Brazil, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and other countries where technical cooperation projects are scheduled or in operation.

The new contingent is now attending a required orientation course at the Foreign Service Institute in the Department of State before proceeding into the field to join the staff of approximately 350 technicians already at work on Point 4 projects. The Institute's 3-week orientation course puts primary emphasis on the understanding of foreign peoples, their cultures, customs, religions, and languages.

Dr. Henry G. Bennett, Technical Cooperation Administrator, plans to extend the period of the course to 3 months, following the initial experimental period.

After "graduating" from the course, the experts will spend a short additional briefing period in the technical agencies which they represent such as Agriculture, Interior, and Public Health. They will then proceed to the field, most of them taking their families with them. The new group comes from widely scattered American communities and represents a variety of skills, including rural education, vital statistics, sanitary engineering, and geological surveying.

## Chinese Fund Registration

[Released to the press February 8]

The Departments of State and Treasury have decided, after careful consideration, that the provision of the Treasury Department's freeze order of December 17, 1950, which stipulates the requirement that reports should be rendered with respect to non-Communist Chinese private property holdings in the United States, should not apply to Chinese diplomatic and consular officials, members of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations, Chinese members of the United Nations Secretariat, and other Chinese nationals holding diplomatic or official passports.

### <sup>1</sup> Naval Vessels

- 15 River Tugs
- 2 Icebreakers
- 34 Large Minesweepers
- 30 Landing Craft, Infantry
- 54 Landing Craft, Mechanized
- 2 Landing Craft, Support
- 17 Landing Craft, Tank
- 2 Landing Craft, Vehicle and Personnel
- 1 Motor Launch
- 1 Plane Personnel Boat
- 6 Pontoon Barges
- 205 Motor Torpedo Boats
- 140 Submarine Chasers
- 43 Minesweepers, YMS
- 4 Repair Barges

556

### Merchant Vessels

- 36 War-Built ships, Liberty-dry cargo
- 2 War-Built Tugs
- 47 Pre-war-built ships-dry cargo
- 1 Pre-war-built tanker
- 1 Pre-war-built tug

87

### Military Watercraft

- 9 Tankers—182 feet
- 1 Freight vessel
- 2 Machine barges
- 17 Crane barges

29

## Eleventh Report of U.N. Command Operations in Korea

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1-15, 1950<sup>1</sup>

U.N. doc. S/1996  
Transmitted Jan. 31, 1951

I submit herewith report number eleven of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 1-15 December, inclusive. Korean releases 690 through 737 provide detailed accounts of these operations.

### Ground Operations

In the face of Chinese Communist participation detected early in November, it was imperative to discover the enemy's tactical and strategic intentions without delay. As a reaction to the United Nations Eighth Army advance of 24 November, the Chinese Communist Forces were forced prematurely to launch a large-scale offensive which was clear proof of their mounting tactical readiness and full decision for the North Korean offensive operations. No North Korean Forces were employed in the massive enemy attack; it was an exclusive Chinese Communist operation.

The Eighth Army right flank position held by the II ROK Corps was penetrated resulting in an untenable tactical disposition for other units of the Eighth Army. Withdrawal was forced upon the Eighth Army by the overwhelming superiority of enemy numbers moving in a position to strike

it in the rear in the direction of Pyongyang. Eighth Army conducted deliberate planned withdrawals with unbroken cohesion, displaying skill by the field commanders and much gallantry by all forces concerned.

The X Corps was operating out of the east coast ports of Wonsan and Hamhung in an attack to the border. Its units were deployed on four lines of attack, the advance of the I ROK Corps along the northeastern coast which had passed Chongjin over 200 miles from the base and less than 60 miles from the border at its eastern extremity, the northern advance of the 7th Infantry Division which had reached the border at Hyesanjin, the northwesterly advance of the 1st Marine Division which had passed Yudam-ni on the western side of the Choshin Reservoir, and the westerly advance of the 3d Infantry Division out of Wonsan.

The massive extent of the Chinese Communist attack forced the withdrawal of the X Corps. From three of its four lines of advance this was effected without serious interference by the enemy. On the 4th, however, a major enemy drive impinged against the troops in the Choshin Reservoir area.

Whilst the 1st Marines with one battalion at Sindong-ni, one at Koto-ri and one with the 1st Marine Division Headquarters at Hagaru-ri at the south end of the Choshin Reservoir, kept the supply road and route of withdrawal open, the 5th and 7th Marines withdrew under heavy and continuous enemy pressure from their advanced position at Yudam-ni to the division base at Hagaru-ri, eleven miles to the south. Meanwhile, a task force consisting of two battalions of the 7th Infantry Division operating on the eastern side of the reservoir was attacked by an overwhelming number of Chinese Communist troops

<sup>1</sup> Transmitted to the Security Council by Ambassador Warren R. Austin, U.S. representative in the Security Council on Jan. 31. For text of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth reports to the Security Council on U.N. command operations in Korea, see BULLETIN of Aug. 7, 1950, p. 203; Aug. 28, 1950, p. 323; Sept. 11, 1950, p. 403; Oct. 2, 1950, p. 534; Oct. 16, 1950, p. 603; Nov. 6, 1950, p. 729; Nov. 13, 1950, p. 759, and Jan. 8, 1951, p. 43, respectively. These reports are published separately as Department of State publications 3935, 3955, 3962, 3978, 3986, 4006, 4015, and 4051, respectively. The eleventh report is published as Department of State publication 4108.

and withdrew across the frozen reservoir to join the Marines at Hagaru-ri.

All elements to the northward having closed at Hagaru-ri on 4 December, the Marine Division and attached elements of the 7th Infantry Division on the morning of 6 December resumed the attack to the southward. The enemy attempted to block the withdrawal route and brought pressure upon the column from the rear and both flanks. The column on 7 December reached the battalion holding the main supply route at Koto-ri. Meanwhile, a special task force from the 3d Infantry Division had moved north to Sudong-ni where it relieved the 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, which, in turn, attacked north to reopen the road to Koto-ri. On 9 December, the head of the column effected a juncture with this battalion. The following day the leading elements of the column debouched from the mountains onto the coastal plain and entered the Corps defensive position. By nightfall 11 December, all elements had been withdrawn to that position and the concentration of the Corps was complete.

In this epic action, the Marine Division and attached elements of the 7th Infantry Division marched and fought over 60 miles in bitter cold along a narrow tortuous ice-covered road against opposition of from six to eight Chinese Communist force divisions which suffered staggering losses. Success was due in no small part to the unprecedented extent and effectiveness of air support. The basic element, however, was the high quality of soldierly courage displayed by the personnel of the ground units who maintained their integrity in the face of continuous attacks by numerically superior forces, consistently held their positions until their wounded had been evacuated and doggedly refused to abandon supplies and equipment to the enemy.

Under cover of the Chinese Communist force operations, North Korean units were known to be reorganizing and re-equipping, in some instances within the sanctuary of Chinese territory, and are in a position to augment the total Chinese Communist forces. These reconstituted North Korean forces are formed into a number of corps, four of which have been identified and others are suspected. A Greek infantry battalion arrived on 9 December and has joined the United Nations Forces in Korea. The following ten nations are now represented by army combat forces in Korea: Australia, Greece, France, Republic of Korea, Netherlands, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States.

At the close of the period front lines in the Eighth Army sector ran generally from Tosong-ni near the west coast, north along the Yesong River to Kumchon, thence, northeast to Subyon-ni, southeast to Hongchon and Kapyong, northeast to Chichon-ni, and thence southeast to Naepyong-ni. Front lines in the X Corps sector followed an arch of fifteen miles radius centered on Hamhung.

## Naval Operations

During the period of this report, United Nations Naval Forces continued to deny enemy surface units movement in any of the waters surrounding Korea. In the early part of this period naval air and surface units supported Republic of Korea troops in their withdrawal from the Chongjin area to the Songjin area.

Surface units provided fire support covering the withdrawal of United Nations Forces from the Wonsan area, a withdrawal which was accomplished with no loss of either personnel or equipment.

One naval amphibious group operated on the west coast and one group on the east coast of Korea. These groups were invaluable in conducting the relocation of units and their operations were conducted with outstanding efficiency in performing moves with no loss of men or equipment.

Naval and Marine air units, both carrier and shore-based, provided close air support for troops throughout the area of northeast Korea. The epic of the period was the close naval and marine air support furnished the 1st Marine Division and elements of the United States 7th Infantry Division in the Yudam-ni-Hagaru-ri-Koto-ri area. This support, which pinned down enemy forces and decimated those that exposed themselves, helped mightily in the successful withdrawal action.

On 5 December all United Nations personnel in the port of Chinnampo were withdrawn by sea. A total of 6700 personnel were involved. Military facilities were destroyed by gunfire following this withdrawal. During this period drifting mines were frequently sighted and destroyed on the high seas. The hazard of these mines is particularly acute on the east coast. Minesweeping was continued in the Hungnam port area in order to improve the channel and make use of the port possible both day and night and in all types of weather.

## Air Operations

United Nations Air Forces threw the bulk of their effort into close support of ground forces cutting their way through overwhelming numbers of Chinese Communists. The toll of the enemy taken by United Nations aircraft contributed in large measure to the successful move of our forces from the Choshin Reservoir to the Hamhung area despite the tremendous odds against them. Air support provided by United States Marine Air Force and Naval Aircraft in this beleaguered area, described as magnificent by the ground forces commanders, represented one of the greatest concentrations of tactical air operations in history.

One outstanding operation was the evacuation of wounded from the reservoir area prior to the successful withdrawal by the United States First Marine Division and elements of the 7th United

States Division. The United States Far East Air Forces assisted by United States Marine and Royal Hellenic Air Force planes lifted the sick and wounded from a small improvised air strip at the southern tip of Choshin Reservoir. Icy runways, icing conditions in the air, and the mountains closely rimming the landing area as well as hostile action failed to prevent success of this operation.

The drive out of the mountains was further assisted by daily air drop of supplies of varying types from rations to bridge sections.

In Eighth Army area also tactical aircraft proved to be an effective weapon as enemy road blocks were eliminated and enemy concentrations of troops and supplies were repeatedly attacked, permitting ready disengagement and withdrawal of United Nations Forces.

Enemy air activity has increased but still remains indecisive. The Manchurian border continues to provide haven for hostile aircraft as well as for his largest concentrations of anti-aircraft artillery.

Night air operations to inhibit enemy movements are increasingly effective.

#### **Prisoners of War**

To date United Nations Forces have captured in excess of 145,000 Chinese and North Korean Communists. Since their capture these prisoners have been properly clothed, adequately fed, and given needed medical care.

#### **Civil Activities**

Since my last report military operations in Korea have made it necessary that certain revisions be made in the civil assistance program. Plans and requirements are continually being revised and made current in light of the changing conditions and factors involved.

Thousands of refugees from Communist oppression in North Korea have been streaming southward seeking the haven of United Nations protection. Emphasis at present is being placed on provisions of supplies for direct relief to alleviate suffering among these refugees made homeless as a result of the current military situation. It is estimated that upward of a million refugees will eventually require welfare assistance if they are to survive this winter.

The direct relief program faced by the United Nations Command at this time is a most difficult one. A great need exists for blankets, clothing, flannelette, food, medical supplies, etc. Member nations are urged to contribute relief supplies to alleviate the suffering and hardships of the war-ravaged peoples of Korea.

At the time of the destruction of the North Korean Peoples Army the civil assistance program was showing most tangible results; for example,

local governments had been re-established in most of the provinces and countries under the control of the United Nations Forces; schools, churches and hospitals were in operation; surveys had been conducted and plans had been instituted to revitalize the economy in the areas under United Nations control.

Contributions of relief supplies by United Nations members between 25 June 1950 and 6 December 1950 have now reached an estimated dollar value of over \$16 million. The largest item of 61,000 tons of rice with an estimated value of over \$7 million was contributed by Thailand, Nationalist China and the Philippines.

It is heartening to note the loyalty, cooperation and willingness of the peoples in the areas under United Nations control. Such unsolicited attitude is indicative of popular desire to achieve the aims of the United Nations in the establishment of a united, free Korea. I feel that the civil assistance program has contributed materially by exemplifying, to the peoples of the world in general and the people of Korea in particular, the policies and aims of the United Nations.

#### **Psychological Warfare**

Millions of leaflets are being air-dropped regularly over Chinese troop concentrations in Korea to inform these forces of United Nations aims in Korea. Chinese-language leaflets and loud-speaker broadcasts in the principal Chinese dialects are being used to reiterate United Nations friendship for the Chinese people. More than 150 million leaflets have been distributed in Korea. Simultaneously, United Nations radio broadcasts are informing the Korean people of the hostile acts by which alien Communist forces continue to frustrate their historic struggle for freedom and unity.

#### **Conclusions**

Objective appraisals of events bearing upon the United Nations military effort in Korea is essential if future plans and operations are to be in consonance with reality. The full import of the changed situation became evident during the period covered by this report, wherein interrogation of newly captured Chinese Communist prisoners of war has revealed both the extent of the participation of this new enemy and his basic intentions. There is thus left no doubt that it has long been the plan of the Chinese Communist authorities to commit so much of their war resources in manpower and material as necessary to insure destruction of the United Nations Command and prevent the United Nations from bringing order and unification to all of Korea. Our general attack of 24 November threw the surreptitious Chinese Communist buildup operations off balance and prematurely exposed the decision of the Chinese Communist authorities to inter-

vene—a decision not openly announced nor previously brought to light through political intelligence.

The open intervention of Communist China and the employment of its vast war resources against the relatively small United Nations Command forced us to withdraw from our offensive operations designed to destroy remaining North Korean opposition to the objectives of the United Nations and to assume a posture of defense. This has been accomplished in complete order with all units intact and losses well within normal limits of combat experience.

Communist centers of the world have sought to propagandize the thought that our tactical operations initiated on 24 November resulted in the United Nations Command being completely shattered. They have sought to create the illusion of major tactical disaster—to point to the Chinese Communist intervention in the Korean conflict as solely responsive to our own tactical decisions and movements. All of this is pure nonsense. The

United Nations Command is in excellent shape with high morale, conspicuous self-confidence and marked battle efficiency. It is in no sense a defeated command. The entry of Communist China into the Korean conflict—a risk inherent in our Korean operations from their very inception—was responsive alone to decisions long determined upon and given effect by the destruction of the North Korean satellite forces. The principal factor underlying the existing situation—that the United Nations Command now is opposed by the combined war resources of Communist China—has become somewhat obscured by this rash of propaganda tending to cloud the real issue.

The United Nations Command due to intervening circumstances, quite beyond its power to control, was unable to complete the execution of its prescribed mission. It is within its present capabilities, however, to continue to inflict staggering losses upon this new enemy power and to cause an enormous and progressive attrition to the Chinese Communist forces in Korea.

## Comments on Second Report of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board

by Isador Lubin

*U.S. Representative in the Economic and Social Council*<sup>1</sup>

My Government has examined the second report of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) as carefully as possible in the limited time available since its receipt. We recognize that the holding of this second session of the Technical Assistance Committee before the regular Ecosoc meeting has put a very heavy burden on the members of the TAB Secretariat who turned out the report in approximately 1 week after the close of the Technical Assistance Board meeting on January 19. I wish to express my appreciation to the Executive Secretary and his staff in the knowledge that countless hours of overtime were required to make this possible.

Since the first meeting of this Committee in August of last year, there have been many developments. The Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations has been organized; funds have been made available to the participating agencies; and the program has begun to be activated.

This is a very early date in the life of the expanded program to comment in any critical manner on what has been done to date or on plans for the future. However, we believe that at this state of development there are certain problems in the

operation of the program of which Governments should be aware, and matters which we believe it would be extremely helpful for Governments to discuss with the TAB, in terms of the administration of the program. It is in this spirit, then, that I would like to make these comments.

### General Comments on the Report

The first item that I should like to refer to is the fact that the Board reports that as of December 31, 1950, approximately 35 percent of the total funds pledged had been contributed. Of 54 Governments who made pledges, some payment has been made by 21 Governments. Obviously, there are good and sufficient reasons for the lag in payments on pledges on the part of many of these Governments. However, one of the factors that will affect the success of the expanded program will be the universality of its financial sponsorship. We trust that payments on all pledges will be made in the very near future. It would be of help to this Committee if the Secretary-General would inform us as to what steps have been taken to expedite the early payment of pledges.

We have been impressed by the efforts which the Board has made to improve its reporting, but there is still lacking the kind of information necessary to obtain any clear picture of the status of

<sup>1</sup> Statement made before the Technical Assistance Committee on Feb. 5, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

the expanded program as of any given date. . . . The United Nations listing includes certain activities under General Assembly Resolutions 58 (I) and 200 (III), but we do not know what criteria were used in determining the selection of the activities to be included under this heading or why Resolution 246 (III) was omitted. Neither are we able to determine from the report what the United Nations has actually done under the expanded program. It is essential that financial reports be presented in such a way as to avoid this confusion.

We believe the financial statement should include, in addition to the statement of estimated expenditures, figures on actual expenditures or obligations as of any given date. Some detail should also be presented of the items included under "administrative costs." We believe that the financial report should also include a statement of the local costs being borne by the recipient Governments.

In trying to arrive at a sound evaluation of the program on the basis of the available information, we found it difficult to do so without comparable information on projects financed from the regular budgets of the specialized agencies, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) and the Children's Fund. In this connection, I note that footnote 5 of table I states that the International Monetary Fund does not generally report requests received to the Board. I assume this refers primarily to advance notification, since it is our understanding that the Fund has reported its activities at some stage. It is recognized, of course, that in certain cases the Fund must withhold certain types of information and that it cannot agree to keep the TAB informed as to all requests before taking action. However, my Government hopes very much that the Fund will make an effort to keep the Board as fully informed as possible and at as early a stage as possible. We believe that other nonparticipating agencies in the United Nations system should report their requests to the Technical Assistance Board in order to facilitate coordination and avoid duplication.

From the standpoint of coordination also, it is important that the activities carried on under the regular budgets or by related United Nations programs should be reported equally with the activities under the expanded budget in such a way that the two can be seen side by side. . . .

It is important to know whether each of the specialized agencies is actually maintaining its regular technical activities at full strength and has not tended to carry such activities on the expanded budget. The point is, of course, that the technical assistance program is an expanded program, and we wish to be sure in our own minds that the expansion is actually taking place.

There may also be need for promoting more programs involving joint action by two or more agencies. It is most important that agriculture,

health, industry and labor, and education proceed together if we are to achieve balanced economic development for the general benefit of the people of the countries involved. In this connection, we hope that future reports will indicate the extent to which consideration is being given to social problems which may arise as a concomitant of economic development. We shall hope also that, in the next report, information will be provided showing the nationality of the experts participating in this program. It is our hope that such a list will indicate that the program is a genuine pooling of resources, with experts drawn from many countries, thus making available the technical know-how and experience of many areas of the world which have so much to contribute. We note also that many of the projects are set for extremely short periods of time, such as 3 months.

This is readily understandable in cases where short, exploratory missions are needed. However, we believe that in planning projects, agencies should give serious consideration to the problem of the over-all effectiveness of certain kinds of short-lived projects, in terms of their long-time contribution to the economic development of recipient countries. We have the impression from the report that the agencies may not be giving sufficient consideration to this particular aspect.

After all, it is the long-term economic development of the recipient countries that underlies the purposes of the technical assistance program. A mere series of what might be called *ad hoc* projects—particularly those of an advisory nature—can bring the program into disrepute unless there is reason to believe that the recipient country is both willing and able to put the advice into effect. Unless the possibility of financing, either through the attraction of private or governmental capital, and the availability of personnel or equipment to implement and carry on any recommendations are taken into consideration before projects are started, economic and social development may possibly be deterred rather than stimulated. I realize that the points I have made are included in the guiding principles and am not implying that they are being ignored. I realize also that we cannot expect perfection all at once or we will never get the program started, but I am concerned that we recognize the problem and face up to it.

## Program Evaluation

### UNITED NATIONS

Let us turn now to the activities which the various agencies are undertaking. In general, on the basis of the information available, the types of activity proposed seem to be in line with the objectives of the program, although it would be helpful to have clarification in a few cases which I shall mention at the appropriate time.

It is difficult to comment intelligently on the United Nations technical assistance program be-

cause the expanded program is not set forth separately from its activities under its regular program, namely under Resolution 200 (III), 58 (I), and 246 (III). We recognize the need for exploratory missions and surveys where countries need assistance in their economic planning and where the results of competent surveys are not already available. And thus far, it appears that exploratory missions have resulted in specific project recommendation which in many cases are being translated into action.

It is assumed that the need for such missions will be lessened as more resident technical assistance representatives and technical experts get into the field. We note some proposed projects are related to public finance, taxation, customs, tariffs, etc. We place great importance on this type of assistance.

It is particularly important that the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund coordinate their activities in the fiscal field. The one type of activity which we find has not been developed relates to the field of public administration. The lack of activity in this field, we feel, is quite serious. We shall appreciate the comments of the Board's chairman on this point.

We note that the Secretary-General's report to the Economic and Social Council states that all the funds under Resolution 200 (III) were committed as of last June. Presumably, some of the requests which other agencies have been able to put into effect under the expanded program resulted from the recommendations of missions sent out under the Resolution 200 (III) program. What we cannot learn from this report is: What has the United Nations itself been doing under the expanded program since its inauguration?

#### **FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION**

It is generally recognized that the major industry in most of the recipient countries is agriculture, including forestry and fisheries. We feel it is essential that the technical assistance program of Food and Agriculture Organization contribute as quickly as possible to improved agricultural production both to raise nutrition levels of the local populations and also to advance general economic development.

It appears to us that FAO is responding to requests for assistance in fields of activity clearly within the scope and capacity of the Organization and in conformity with the provisions of Ecosoc Resolution 222. Of the agreements already signed with 25 countries, and 15 others reported as nearly ready for signature, about half seem to involve requests for assistance on general agricultural policy and administration, supplemented with requests for assistance on many specialized problems such as crops and livestock, range management, land and water utilization, animal and plant disease control. About a third of the agree-

ments include plans for comprehensive assistance on forestry management, conservation, and utilization. Others include plans for basic assistance on agricultural economics, statistics, and marketing, and fisheries and nutrition.

We are gratified to note the emphasis which is being given to assistance designed to enable Governments to establish, or improve, their national economic and technical services for agriculture. We urge that this fundamental, long-range objective be continually kept in mind, even though FAO can and must respond to appropriate requests for help which will contribute to immediate food production. Several regional training programs are reported by FAO, and these we consider to be especially effective and appropriate for sponsorship by an international organization. In particular, we call attention to the successful series of regional training centers for agricultural censuses and statistics and the Asian training seminar on economic development, designed to enable member governments to meet the technical requirements of the International Bank and other lending agencies. We consider these an example of effective coordination, for these and a number of other similar training programs have been jointly sponsored by FAO, the United Nations, the International Bank, and regional organizations concerned.

It is our hope that in future reports FAO will be able to point to positive results in enabling Governments to set up or expand their permanent educational services, known variously as "extension services in agriculture and home economics," or "educational advisory services." We consider that this must be a primary objective of FAO if it is to make a significant contribution to long-run economic and agricultural development. Also, we hope that in the future FAO will be able to show the development of more long-range comprehensive programs with an increase in the number of experts sent for longer periods and a decrease in the number sent for short-term assignments.

#### **INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION**

It is our understanding that the ILO has continued a rather extensive program under its regular budget in fields of work such as utilization of manpower (vocational guidance and education, and training of technicians and administrators), assistance in migration from overpopulated areas to those where trained manpower is required, the development of systems of social security, and aid in establishment of labor and industrial standards.

We are disappointed to note so little work actually initiated under the expanded program and would urge the Organization to move as rapidly as possible in developing some of the programs which would be helpful to many Governments and would effectively supplement the work of other United Nations agencies. Of the five basic fields in which the ILO reports that it has received re-

quests, probably the most valuable contribution will be in the development of an effective labor force which will be available for the recipient countries plants and factories as their economies become industrialized, through assistance in the rationalization and mechanization of cottage and handicraft industries and the promotion of cooperatives. We are particularly impressed with the fact that Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Somaliland, Syria, and Thailand have submitted requests in this field. A similar comment may be made on the extensive programs of vocational education and guidance planned for a number of countries in cooperation with UNESCO.

#### UNESCO

We feel that UNESCO has an essential part to play in any program looking toward economic development, for it is impossible to expect any significant advance in industry, agriculture, health, or commerce without a corresponding advance in the educational level of the people themselves. It is not a coincidence that in those countries which have experienced a high level of industrial and agricultural development there is also a relatively high level of literacy and general education.

Some of UNESCO's proposed programs are apparently well designed to promote this objective. For example, we note that in Indonesia, UNESCO is planning to assist in the establishment of a fundamental education demonstration project and training center to help meet the pressing problem of illiteracy. Another such fundamental education center is being established in the north central province of Ceylon, where the Government is relocating some of the rapidly increasing population in an effort to make the country self-supporting in its food supply. The training center on fundamental education in Mexico, organized under the regular program, seems to us an excellent example of the type of program UNESCO should further under the "expanded program." The cooperation of the Organization of American States, FAO, ILO, and WHO in this project sets a worthy pattern in interagency coordination. In our view, assistance in teacher training for elementary schools and adult education directed first to the eradication of illiteracy should be given the highest possible priority by UNESCO, for, without raising levels of literacy and education, no extensive application of science to industrial and agricultural development can take place.

As we look over the projects listed under UNESCO, we are led to raise the question as to what criteria are used by UNESCO, during this initial stage of the expanded program, in determining what proportion of the available funds should be spent on activities such as the establishment of bibliographic centers as compared with mass education.

We note considerable emphasis on research projects, but we find nothing in the report which reveals the exact nature of such research and its relation to economic development. If it is possible, Mr. Chairman, at an appropriate time I would appreciate having the UNESCO representatives clarify these matters for us.

It is noted that UNESCO is planning assistance to Ecuador in several fields, including hydraulics, and that a Regional Conference of UNESCO National Commissions recommended the holding of conferences on the conservation of natural resources and arid zone problems. It is suggested that any program involving arid zones, water control, and utilization should be developed jointly by the United Nations and specialized agencies, which would enable the resources of all appropriate agencies to be used to their fullest extent, and also assure a proper division of responsibility among them. We also feel that conferences on conservation of resources should only be held when the need has been clearly demonstrated. This item is also to be considered by the Economic and Social Council, and we would urge UNESCO to move very slowly in this area until the Economic and Social Council has acted.

#### WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

We have been very favorably impressed with the concentration of effort shown in the World Health Organization program. As we understand, its proposed health projects are developed for the specific needs of each country and are of two general types. The first, most common, and most important, are those designed for quick results against diseases that depend on insect carriers for transmission, where the insect can be successfully attacked. The effects of this type of program of which malaria control is an example, are immediate. By improving the health of the local population, it adds to the productive capacity of the people. If combined with agricultural projects, such an undertaking permits a much more rapid attainment of the aims of the agricultural project, namely, increased food production.

The second general type of projects involve health programs that require a longer-term approach and more extensive use of experts. Many of the countries where this type of program is suitable are developing health demonstration areas to "round out" their public health programs and are using technical experts on loan for demonstration purposes and for the instruction of the local people who will continue the project.

These projects are all of a type essential to economic development and are especially appropriate to the underdeveloped countries under consideration. The emphasis throughout the program has been placed on endemic disease control, especially malaria control, and demonstration of public health work and health education which results in

a desirable focus on economic development objectives.

One type of WHO project, which will actually get under way in El Salvador shortly, appears to be particularly well suited to the purposes of the whole expanded technical assistance effort, is the so-called "health demonstration area." By this technique, a simultaneous coordinated attack is made upon all the health problems within a selected area. This includes programs against malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, communicable diseases, and others as the needs of the area require. At the same time, water supply, sewage disposal, and similar problems are to be tackled. The Government of the country will carry out this program not only with the help of WHO but also of other specialized agencies, which could help in meeting the problems and needs of the area. By this cooperative effort it is hoped that "model health areas," which are practical in both the physical and economic sense, can be set up in different regions of the world as demonstration projects. . . .

#### INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Although the report of the Board indicates that ICAO experts were not yet actually in the field as of December 31, preliminary surveys had been completed and projects approved so that experts will be operating in some 12 countries in the near future. It seems to us that the proposed projects for technical assistance will meet very real needs of economic development and are in line with the purpose of ICAO to standardize air navigation practices throughout the world on the highest possible level. ICAO, in selecting projects, seems to be laying particular stress upon keeping its programs on a practical basis and avoiding programs which could not be effectively carried out by underdeveloped countries, once the visiting missions have left the countries. We will look forward with particular interest to future reports of the results achieved under these projects.

#### Coordination

The Board has taken steps to arrange for exchange of information with regional agencies, with the United States, and with the Council for Technical Cooperation at Colombo regarding technical assistance activities. We note that it is anticipated that regional projects for the benefit of all countries of an area are emerging from resolutions of regional committees or conferences of several of the organizations. Some of these projects are discussed in the report, and we believe that these should be looked at carefully in relation to programs of other organizations. The instances I am about to cite happen to involve UNESCO, but they might just as easily have involved another agency. For example, project

(b)—"A Study of the Problems of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America, Particularly in Relation to Problems of Education" is the kind of project which the Inter-American Indian Institute has been working on for a number of years. The Indian Institute is a participating organization in the expanded program of the Organization of American States, and it would not seem proper for UNESCO to undertake such a project unless it were done in collaboration with OAS. Project (c)—"A Seminar for the Training of Specialists in the Techniques to be Used for a Survey of the Needs and Resources of Specialized Personnel in Latin America" raises a question with respect to the Economic Commission for Latin America. Should the type of survey indicated be needed, it would seem to fall within the scope of ECLA rather than of UNESCO. It may be pointed out also that in this instance the resolutions requesting UNESCO to organize five technical assistance projects at the regional level in Latin America came from a conference of National Commissions of the Western Hemisphere and not from governments, although it is assumed that no project would actually be undertaken except with the agreement of the countries concerned. This raises a policy question regarding the limitations of regional conferences in passing resolutions requesting technical assistance. My Government takes the position that in technical assistance discussions the purpose of technical conferences, or conferences such as that of the UNESCO National Commissions for the Western Hemisphere, is to analyze and assess needs rather than to determine who should meet them. It would seem to be appropriate, therefore, for such a conference to discuss the needs of an area with respect to the particular field in which the conference was interested, including perhaps, the financial implications, and, if possible, priorities.

However, it would not seem appropriate to pass a resolution prescribing that a particular country or organization undertake specific projects. This should be left to subsequent negotiations through appropriate channels. We would welcome also, although this relates to a different point, further information on the role of United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East vis-à-vis the expanded program in view of paragraph 10 of the General Assembly Resolution of December 2, 1950, which "calls upon the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies to utilize to the fullest extent the agency's facilities as a point of reference in coordination for technical assistance programs in the countries in which the agency is operating."

We note with satisfaction the arrangements that have been made by the Executive Secretary for liaison with the Council for Technical Cooperation at Colombo.

As to the coordination between the multilateral United Nations and the bilateral United States

programs, we think good results have been achieved. The foundation of the work on this problem has been the faithful exchange of information between the Technical Assistance Board and the United States State Department as to requests which have come in and as to our mutual plans with respect thereto. This practice will, of course, be continued on both sides. Also to be continued are the informal meetings which have been held from time to time between appropriate officials for the purpose of discussing specific problems of coordination.

But there is a further aspect to this work which I hope can be developed. Up until now, we have waited for requests and coordinated our work after requests have been received. We hope in the future to emphasize coordination in the field and at the planning stage. I look forward to the growth of arrangements under which the recipient governments will consult with representatives of all technical assistance programs that may be operating in the country, for the purpose of formulating requests at the planning stage. This means that the expanded program will require a kind of ambassador in many countries where major activities are anticipated. Thus, questions of planning and coordination can be raised in the field and not merely here in New York by the Technical Assistance Board. This is the next logical step; I hope we can begin at once to devise the practical means and instructions requisite for its fulfillment.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE REPRESENTATIVES**

At the first session of this Committee, my Government indicated the importance it attached to sending technical assistance representatives to countries in which major programs are anticipated. We are glad to note from the report that representatives are being sent to Afghanistan, Colombia, Indonesia, and Pakistan. A resident representative has also been sent to Haiti although he is not listed in the same column as the others in chart II. Does this mean that he represents only the United Nations? We understand that at the present time there are three types of resident representatives: a Technical Assistance Board representative, appointed by the Board as a whole; a joint representative acting only for a limited number of agencies; and a representative of the Secretary-General, who presumably acts only for the United Nations. In the first two cases, the terms of reference are agreed upon by the Board or the interested agencies, and, in the third, the terms of reference are drawn up by the Secretary-General in consultation with other interested agencies. I am not fully informed on the thinking which led the Board to establish these three categories, Mr. Chairman, and I wonder if, at the appropriate time, we might have the benefit of a statement by the Chairman of the Board on this problem, with particular reference to the relation-

ship between the resident representatives and the participating agencies.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BOARD**

With respect to the work of the Board, I should like to take this opportunity of saying that I think it has effectively coordinated agency activities from the point of view of avoiding duplication and developing cooperative working relationships. But we are convinced that more than this is needed if the purposes of section 2 (d) (III) of the guiding principles are to be met. This section provides that the technical assistance furnished shall "Be designed to meet the needs of the country concerned." We believe that Resolution 222 (IX) intended the Board should do more than avoid duplication and develop cooperative relationships. It is our belief that the Technical Assistance Board was to be the instrument to assure that the activities of each agency would supplement the activities of the others in meeting the economic development needs of recipient countries. Unless the Technical Assistance Board does this, there is no assurance that it will be done. There may be some disagreement with our position on this question. If so, we should welcome a full discussion of this matter, because to us it seems basic to the success of the program. This type of activity on the part of the Board cannot come into being overnight; but the Board must be kept conscious of its responsibility in this field so that we can progress in the proper and necessary direction as fast as possible.

We realize the pressures under which members of the Board have had to work in these few months when the business of overriding importance was to get the program under way. They have been faced with the numerous problems of their own agencies in connection with launching the expanded program and, in addition, have had to meet as a Board to consider the "important" projects and administrative problems of the program as a whole. But it should be pointed out that of the requests which are designated as "important" and are therefore reviewed by the Board, the majority of requests—say 85 to 90 percent of them—are not so designated and are not, therefore, formally considered, either as individual projects or in their relation to a total country program. Obviously, there cannot now be a pro-audit, as it were, by the Board of all requests before action is taken. But the Board should begin now to examine and to keep constantly under review the total program and the contribution which it is making to the general development of requesting countries. As personnel, particularly resident representatives, get out into the field, coordination will be facilitated through consultation and negotiation with governments. This will be of invaluable assistance to the Board, but it does not lessen its continuing responsibility for the effectiveness of the program as a whole.

These comments are made with the full realization that they may require some changes in the way the Technical Assistance Board is currently operating. Thought should be given to the kind of staff work which may be required to enable the Board to have before it at each meeting as complete information as possible regarding the essential aspects of all proposed or going programs for countries whose requests are to be considered. Careful consideration should also be given as to how work can be allocated to avoid duplicating staff studies in the Economic and Social Departments of the United Nations Secretariat and the TAB Secretariat. Greater use of informal working parties of agency representatives to consider specific problems and prepare recommendations for the consideration of the Board might facilitate the work of the Board and increase its effectiveness. More meetings may be required. I do not propose to say how the Board should organize itself. I am, however, convinced that, if we agree here on what we want from the Board, they will work out their own problems of operation. However, I think it is of the utmost importance that we discuss the question of coordination in the broad sense in which I have used that word, at this meeting. Next summer, we will be faced with reviewing financial arrangements, and my Government, like all others, will want to have a clear understanding of where we are going and how we propose to get there.

Mr. Chairman, I have raised a number of specific questions for clarification and some general problems which I believe it is important that this committee discuss during this meeting. In summary, these items are as follows:

1. Problems involved in improving the reporting on activities carried on under technical assistance. At a later time in this meeting, the United States delegation proposes to introduce a resolution dealing with this matter.

2. Questions regarding the activities of individual agencies within the expanded program. For example, clarification by the United Nations Technical Assistance Authority regarding activities under its expanded program and clarification by UNESCO, first, of its criteria in undertaking projects such as bibliographic centers and similar undertakings as contrasted with mass education projects; and second, of the nature of the research projects it proposes and their relation to economic development.

3. Problems involved in defining the functions of Technical Assistance representatives and determining the relationship between resident representatives and participating agencies.

4. The functions of the Technical Assistance Board, with particular reference to its role in reviewing activities of the agencies in relation to priority of country needs.

It seems to me that these items are of vital im-

portance and involve important matters of policy. In our opinion, it is essential that they should be given careful consideration by this Committee, so that it may give guidance to the Technical Assistance Board and formulate recommendations in its reports to the Economic and Social Council.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, may I refer to the public relations aspect of technical assistance. It is important that the activities which are being discussed here today should be better known to the peoples of all the participating countries. We doubt whether either in the United States or in other countries there is a full realization of the work which has already been done. We doubt whether many peoples, anywhere, have an understanding of our hopes for the future. We urge the Technical Assistance Board and each of the participating agencies quickly to develop more effective public information programs which will help the general public of all lands to grasp the significance of these activities and give them a sense of participation in the program which many of them so greatly desire. In final analysis, the technical assistance program was designed for the benefit and welfare of the people of the world. Its success will be dependent on the degree to which they know about the program and participate in it.

We feel confident that the expanded program for technical assistance which represents a worldwide experiment in bettering the living standards of people will gather momentum in geometrical ratio in the months and years ahead. We have faith in the broad base on which our program is supported and in the ability of the agencies to meet the great challenge which has been offered them.

## **Soviet Reply on Meeting of Foreign Ministers**

*The following is an unofficial translation of a note delivered to the American Chargé at Moscow, Walworth Barbour, on February 5, 1951, by Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky concerning a possible meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the U. S. S. R.*

In connection with the note of the Government of the United States of America of January 23, 1951, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U. S. S. R. has the honor to state the following:

1. The fulfillment of the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement on the question of the demilitarization of Germany and the elimination of differences in the positions of the four powers on this question have the most important significance for the relaxation of the presently existing tension in the international situation and, without a doubt, would considerably promote the improvement of

relations between the United States, France, Great Britain, and the U. S. S. R. However, the New York conference of the foreign ministers of the U. S. A., France, and Great Britain in September 1950 and the subsequent measures of the Governments of the three powers are definitely aimed at the recreation in West Germany of regular German army and at that huge increase of armaments in Europe and in the United States which is creating more and more alarm among the peoples who very recently experienced the shocks and calamities of the Second World War. It is precisely for this reason that the Soviet Government took upon itself on November 3 of last year the initiative in convoking the Council of Foreign Ministers for the discussion of the question of the demilitarization of Germany. Since the Government of the United States, as well as the Governments of France and Great Britain, likewise, set forth their striving for a lasting improvement in relations between the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, and also for the elimination of the grounds for the international tension existing at the present time, the Soviet Government considers that in such a case there should not be any basis whatever for further delaying the convocation of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

2. The Soviet Government cannot ignore that which has been going on before the eyes of everyone in recent months. While the New York conference of the ministers of the three foreign powers only raised the question of the revival of the German armed force and of the restoration of war industry in West Germany, since that time, the real significance of this decision of the three powers has been revealed in many ways. It is well known to the whole world that between the Governments of the U. S. A., France, and Great Britain, on the one hand, and the Bonn Government of Adenauer, on the other hand, there have been going on, for already more than a month, far reaching negotiations, the dangerous purpose of which is comprehended by all peace-loving peoples of Europe. In this connection, there must also be noted the fact of the negotiations of General Eisenhower with the Government of the revanchist Adenauer regarding the inclusion of the restored German army in the composition of the so-called "integrated armed forces" and the appointment itself at the present time of General Eisenhower as commander-in-chief of these armed forces, a fact which does not at all tally with the official statements about striving for peace. There is nothing surprising in the fact that it is precisely in view of such a situation in West Europe that extreme militarists and revanchists are raising their heads, and the Hitlerite lackeys of yesterday from among the most aggressive elements are acquiring great influence. The existing intentions to utilize the revived German armed forces as an obedient tool of a certain grouping of powers are

built upon unstable ground since under the protection of the Government of revanchists like Adenauer and Schumacher, militarists, from among the Hitlerite diehard adherents, who are embittered by failures, are now in West Germany more and more strengthening their influence and direct domination; they themselves want to utilize the situation which has been created for their own aggressive goals. The circumstances that, moreover, in a number of states in Europe and in the U. S. A. the increase of the army and the armaments race have assumed unprecedented proportions, of course intensifies, in many respects, the tense international situation and the disquiet among the people.

There has been created a situation where the meeting of the foreign ministers, for one reason or another, is being postponed even further, and, along with this, the demilitarization of Germany is not only not being carried out, but, on the contrary, measures are being conducted for the reestablishment of a regular German army and war industry in West Germany, as well as numerous other measures which are directed toward speeding up preparations for a new war. If such a situation is continued further, then, the conference of foreign ministers, obviously, will be confronted with *faits accomplis*. The Soviet Government has already declared its negative attitude toward such a policy of *faits accomplis*. It is possible that such a policy answers the desires of these or those aggressive circles, but the Soviet Government cannot but call attention to the inadmissibility of the situation which has been created.

3. In its note, the Government of the United States states that it considers it necessary to request a clarification on certain matters brought up in the previous note of the Soviet Government. In particular, the Government of the United States inquires whether the Soviet Government agrees to discuss, in addition to the question of the demilitarization of Germany, other questions also, although the Government of the U. S. at this time says nothing about precisely what questions are concerned.

The Soviet Government considers as possible the discussion at the session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of other questions also, having in view that these questions will be considered by the Council of Ministers in the composition and in the manner\* provided for by the Potsdam Agreement between the U. S. S. R., U. S. A., Great Britain, and France.

As for the remarks of the Government of the United States to the effect that the Praha declaration cannot be adopted as the basis for the discussion, on this question the position of the Soviet Government already has been set forth in its note of December 30, 1950.<sup>1</sup> It goes without saying that the Soviet Government is proceeding in this

\*Or under the conditions.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1951, p. 90.

from the equal right of all members of the Council of Foreign Ministers to introduce for the discussion of the Council any proposals on questions which will be adopted for consideration.

4. The Government of the United States in its note of January 23 raises the question of the tasks of a preliminary conference of representatives of the four powers.<sup>2</sup> The position of the Soviet Government on this question was also set forth in its note of December 30, 1950. The Soviet Government considers that a preliminary meeting of representatives of the U. S. A., France, Great Britain, and the U. S. S. R. should be confined to drafting an agenda, including the establishment of the order of the consideration of questions. Thus, the consideration of the substance of questions included on the agenda should not enter into the tasks of the preliminary meeting.

5. The Soviet Government does not oppose the convening of a preliminary meeting of representatives of the four powers at Paris.

The Soviet Government is sending analogous notes at the same time to the Governments of France and Great Britain.

## U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

### Twelfth Session (ECOSOC)

The Department of State announced on February 8 that Isador Lubin, the United States representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, will attend the twelfth session of the Council, which is to open at Santiago, Chile, on February 20. Mr. Lubin and the deputy United States representative on the Economic and Social Council, Walter Kotschnig, director, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, will be assisted by the following other members of the United States delegation:

#### Advisers

Kathleen Bell, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State  
Herbert Block, Division of Research for U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, Department of State  
Joseph D. Coppock, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State  
William L. Hebbard, Division of International Finance, Department of the Treasury  
Otis Mulliken, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State  
Walter Salant, Board of Economic Advisers, Executive Office of the President  
H. Gerald Smith, Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, Santiago  
William J. Stibravy, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State

#### Press Relations Officer

Richard G. Cushing, Attaché, American Embassy, Santiago

#### Secretary of Delegation

Henry E. Allen, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

#### Technical Assistants

Mrs. Gladys Hart, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, New York  
Forrest Murden, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, New York

The Economic and Social Council is responsible for making or initiating studies and reports concerning international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters; for the promotion of respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and for making recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly of the United Nations, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned. All of these responsibilities are reflected in the provisional agenda for the twelfth session of the Council, which contains 35 items proposed by (1) the Council at previous sessions, (2) the General Assembly, Security Council, or Trusteeship Council, (3) members of the United Nations and specialized agencies, or (4) the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Among the important matters with which the Council will deal at this twelfth session are an annual survey of the world economic situation, technical assistance, the financing of the economic development of underdeveloped countries, a survey of the extent of forced labor and means of eliminating it, allegations regarding infringement of trade union rights, and international cooperation on water control and utilization.

With respect to technical assistance matters, the Council will consider two reports: a report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolutions on advisory social welfare services, on technical assistance for economic development, and on international facilities for the promotion of training in public administration; and a report by the Technical Assistance Committee, a standing committee of the Council, on the activities undertaken and the results achieved under the expanded program of technical assistance.

Pursuant to a resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its fifth session, the Council will also consider practical methods, conditions, and policies for achieving the adequate expansion and steadier flow of foreign capital, both private and public, required for the financing of the economic development of underdeveloped countries. Special attention will be given, in this connection, to the financing of non-self-liquidating projects which are basic to economic development.

Among other important matters with which the Council is expected to deal are questions re-

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 5, 1951, p. 228.

lating to the coordination of the activities of the specialized agencies and questions concerning the status of nongovernmental organizations.

The Economic and Social Council is composed of one representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The member states, at the present time, are Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay.

### Rubber Study Group

The Department of State announced on February 2 that the following delegation has been designated to represent the United States Government at the eighth session of the Rubber Study Group, which is to begin at London on February 5:

#### Chairman

Willis C. Armstrong, associate chief, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State

#### Advisers

Frederick D. Bates, Jr., chief, Chemicals and Rubber Section, Materials Division, Munitions Board, National Military Establishment

William F. Busser, second secretary and consul, United States Embassy, London

Stanley Metzger, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, Department of State

James L. O'Sullivan, acting officer in charge, Indonesian and Pacific Island Affairs, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State

Brig. Gen. Thomas B. Wilson, USAR, special consultant to the Administrator, General Services Administration

Arthur Wolf, industrial specialist, National Production Authority, Department of Commerce

The conference will review the supply and demand position of natural and synthetic rubber, particularly in 1951 and 1952, and consider what action, if any, is necessary and desirable to secure an equitable distribution of the supplies which are expected to be available.

The following countries are expected to attend: Canada, Ceylon, France, Indonesia, Italy, Netherlands, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Vietnam.

### Confirmation of ECOSOC Appointments

On February 1, 1951, the Senate confirmed the following nominations:

Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt to be representative on the Human Rights Commission for a term of 3 years;

George P. Baker to be representative of the Transport and Communications Commission for a term of 3 years;

Leroy D. Stinebower to be representative of the Economic, Employment, and Development Commission for a term of 3 years.

## Fifth Series of U.S. Treaty Developments Released

[Released to the press February 5]

The Department of State made available to the public today the fifth in its series of releases of *United States Treaty Developments*. This publication is a documented loose-leaf reference service providing continuously up-to-date information on the history and status of international agreements entered into by this country.

The current release brings to over 900 the number of international agreements annotated in *United States Treaty Developments*. The release contains annotations on approximately 100 agreements not previously included. Information is given on many agreements of recent date as well as on a number of important older agreements concerning which there have been current developments. The North Atlantic Treaty, the 1948 treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Italy, the 1949 International Wheat Agreement, and the lend-lease settlement agreements with France are among the agreements annotated in the current release. Pertinent information is supplied as to date and place of signature, effective date, duration, ratifications, adherences, reservations, amendments, extensions, terminations (as a whole or as to particular provisions), authorizing and implementing legislation, Executive action, administrative and diplomatic interpretations, and court decisions.

In addition, the release brings up to date annotations on approximately 145 agreements previously included in *United States Treaty Developments*. Information concerning treaties submitted to the Senate and not yet in force (appendix I) and a numerical list of the Treaties and Other International Acts Series (appendix II) are also included in the current release. A detailed cumulative index, by countries and subjects, accompanies each new release.

*United States Treaty Developments* is now in its fifth year of publication. It is designed primarily to meet the needs of government agencies, legislators, international lawyers, historians, teachers, and research workers for up-to-date factual information on developments affecting international agreements entered into by the United States. It provides information of a type not readily available elsewhere and serves as a guide to related material of an authoritative nature.

The fifth release may be purchased for \$2.75 from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Previous releases also available include the first release (1947), \$4.00; the second release (June 1948), \$3.25; the third release (December 1948), \$3.50; and the fourth release (June 1949), \$2.75.

*United States Treaty Developments* is compiled by the Treaty Staff, Office of the Legal Adviser.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Confirmations

On February 1, 1951, the Senate confirmed the following nominations:

John D. Erwin to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Honduras;

Monnett B. Davis to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Israel;

Stanton Griffis to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Spain.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Joseph B. Koepfli Appointed Science Adviser

The Department of State announced on February 6 that Dr. Joseph B. Koepfli, of the California Institute of Technology, has been named science adviser in the Department of State. Dr. Koepfli's appointment follows consultation with a number of the nation's leading scientists.

Creation of the Office of the Science Adviser was proposed by Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner, Special Consultant to the Secretary, in his report, *Science and Foreign Relations*, made public last June. Dr. Koepfli will assist in developing the Department's international science program recommended in this report.

A major responsibility of the science adviser and his staff will consist of helping to shape United States foreign policies and of advising on the administration of programs in their science aspects. In assuming this responsibility, Dr. Koepfli's office will draw freely upon the competence of other scientists and will seek to bring about the closest teamwork between American scientists and Government officials in policy formulation and administration. His office will serve as the central point in the Department of liaison with the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, and other public and private science organizations.

The Office of Science Adviser will be bolstered by the placement in important foreign service posts of top-flight American scientists. These science staffs will keep Dr. Koepfli abreast of developments of science abroad and will facilitate the flow of scientific information between this country and friendly nations.

### Ralph Hilton Named Public Affairs Adviser on Inter-American Matters

The Department of State announced on February 8 that on January 8, 1951, Ralph Hilton assumed his duties as Public Affairs Adviser for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Hilton will serve as the immediate adviser on public affairs matters to Edward G. Miller, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs.

Mr. Hilton succeeds Forney A. Rankin, who has been assigned to the United States Embassy at Mexico City as Public Affairs Officer.

### Oscar W. Meier Named Economic Affairs Officer for Africa

The Department of State announced on February 5 that Oscar W. Meier has been appointed economic affairs officer for the Office of African Affairs. In his new post, Mr. Meier will direct the Department's economic relations with all African countries except Algeria, Egypt, and the Union of South Africa.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Recent Releases

*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.*

**Copyright.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2121. Pub. 4005. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Israel—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington May 4, 1950; entered into force May 4, 1950, operative retroactively May 15, 1948.

**Reciprocal Trade: Multiple Exchange Surcharges; Temporary Waiver of Article I of Agreement of November 28, 1936.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2124. Pub. 4014. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Costa Rica—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington April 4, 1950; entered into force April 4, 1950, operative retroactively April 1, 1950.

**Uses of the Waters of the Niagara River.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2130. Pub. 4028. 8 pp. 5¢.

Convention between the United States and Canada—Signed at Washington February 27, 1950; entered into force October 10, 1950.

**Expanding World Trade: United States Policy and Program.** Commercial Policy Series 133. Pub. 4032. 11 pp.

A background summary, including charts, of the trade-agreements program.

**United Nations Action in Korea Under Unified Command: Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Reports to the Security Council.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 65. Pub. 4051. 25 pp. 10¢.

**U.S. National Commission UNESCO News, January 1951.** Pub. 4054. 16 pp. \$1.00 per year, domestic; \$1.35 per year, foreign, 10¢ a copy.

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

**Diplomatic List, January 1951.** Pub. 4064. 167 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.

**The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program.** Commercial Policy Series 134. Pub. 4086. 4 pp.

A fact sheet describing its progress since its enactment in 1934.

## The United States in the United Nations

[February 9-15, 1951]

### General Assembly

The General Assembly met in plenary session February 13. S. K. Tsarapkin (U.S.S.R.), reintroduced the two U.S.S.R. draft resolutions: (1) alleging United States "aggression" in China and (2) complaint of United States air bombing of Chinese territory, which were overwhelmingly rejected in Committee I on February 7. No debate was held on these items. The first resolution was rejected by vote of 5 (Soviet)-48-3 (Yugoslavia, Burma, Indonesia), and the second by a vote of 5 (Soviet)-51-2 (Yugoslavia, Afghanistan).

United States delegate, Ernest A. Gross, once again pointed out that these charges of United States "aggression" were a "complete tissue of lies and distortions." The United States has no aggressive designs or ambitions with respect to Formosa. Noting that the Soviet spokesman had attacked United States friendship for China and the Chinese people, Mr. Gross remarked, "I think that the memory of the Chinese people and any history of China not written in Moscow will be sufficient proof that American friendship for the Chinese people has been and continues to be sincere. . . . The only nation which controls many thousands of square miles of territory which were once Chinese is not the United States, but the Soviet Union."

Item 3 on the agenda, Place of Meeting of the Sixth General Assembly, was considered next. The President, Nasrollah Entezam, informed the members of the difficulty the Secretary-General had encountered on his recent trip abroad in an endeavor to carry out the General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1950, to convene the next session in Europe. The only suitable site was Paris but, on January 25, the Secretary-General had received a letter from the permanent representative of France to the United Nations which informed him of "the decision taken by the French Government to decline the offer which might be made to it to hold the next session of the General Assembly at Paris." It was recommended, therefore, that reconsideration be given to the decision

and that the next session should be held at the United Nations headquarters. However, Adolfo Costa du Rels (Bolivia) advised he had been informed that a new draft law was being put before the French National Assembly to have Paris offered as the sixth General Assembly site, and he proposed that discussion be suspended for two weeks. Mr. Entezam put the following question to the General Assembly: "Does the General Assembly agree to meet not later than March 10, with the understanding that if a favorable result occurs from the Paris *demarche*, an earlier meeting would be scheduled?" This action was approved 39-5 (Soviet)-11 (U.S.), and the meeting adjourned.

*Committee for Coordination of Work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments.*—In his address before the General Assembly on United Nations Day October 24, 1950, President Truman stressed the need for "cooperative and effective disarmament. It would be a way of achieving the high purposes of the United Nations without the tremendous expenditures for armaments which conditions in the world today make imperative." In referring to the above Commissions, he said, "Much valuable work has already been done by the two disarmament commissions on the different technical problems confronting them. I believe it would be useful to explore ways in which the work of these commissions could now be more closely brought together."

Subsequently, on December 13, the General Assembly adopted a resolution setting up a committee, consisting of the 10 members of the Security Council, together with Canada, to consider and report to the next Assembly session on ways and means whereby the work of the two Commissions may be coordinated, and on the advisability of their functions being merged and placed under a new and consolidated disarmament commission. This committee met for the first time on February 14, and was addressed by the Secretary-General Mr. Trygve Lie. After briefly reviewing the past work of the two Commissions, Mr. Lie said he did not agree with the view that in the present state of world tension "with rearmaments proceeding

at a rapid pace on all sides," it might seem academic and even Utopian to proceed with "serious discussion and planning on the regulation and reduction of armaments."

The next speaker, Yakov A. Malik (U.S.S.R.), introduced a resolution to invite the People's Republic of China to take part in the work of the Committee as the representative of China. However, a motion made by the United States representative, Frank C. Nash, to postpone consideration of this proposal until the General Assembly had taken action on the question of Chinese representation, was approved 9-1 (U.S.S.R.)-2 (Yugoslavia, India). The rest of the meeting was given to inconclusive debate on the adoption of the principles governing the chairmanship of the Committee and selection of the Chairman and it was, therefore, decided to defer further consideration of this matter until the next meeting.

*The Good Offices Committee.*—Sven Grafstrom (Sweden) and Luis Paddilla Nervo (Mexico) have agreed to serve with the President of the General Assembly, Nasrollah Entezam (Iran), on the Good Offices Committee established under the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on February 1 to endeavor to bring about a peaceful settlement in Korea in accordance with United Nations objectives.

*United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.*—The newly constituted Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) opened its meeting on February 9 and elected Mrs. Donald B. Sinclair (Canada) as Chairman. Mrs. Sinclair had served ably as Chairman of the Fund's Program Committee since its inception. The new Board reflects the shifting emphasis of the Fund's activities by providing greater representation from the countries in the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia.

On a motion of the United States representative, Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, the Board voted 18-5-(Yugoslavia, India, Israel, U.S.S.R., Byelorussia)-2 (Switzerland, Indonesia) to adjourn the debate without action on the substance of the U.S.S.R. proposal to seat the representative of the People's Republic of China. The Board also elected the following committees: the Program Committee: United States, Switzerland, France, United Kingdom, India, Australia, Brazil, U.S.S.R., Ecuador, China, and Ceylon; the Administrative and Budget Committee: France, United States, Bolivia, New Zealand, Israel, Iraq, and Thailand. The Board voted to reconstitute the Joint UNICEF-WHO Committee on Health Policy.

Among the actions of significance taken by the Board are the following: It referred the final report of the First Executive Board, December 11, 1946 to December 31, 1950, to the twelfth session of the Economic and Social Council for its information. The Board decided to use this re-

port as a basis for its review of current administrative policies and practices to the end of achieving greater emphasis on long-range activities for children and more equitable distribution of the Fund's resources to areas outside of Europe. A shift in this direction is already underway.

The Board approved allocations and apportionments for various countries in the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia and also approved the extension of emergency relief operations in Greece and Yugoslavia and for Palestine refugee mothers and children. The Board deferred action on a recommendation made by the Administration for conducting a special collection for children in connection with United Nations Day in 1951. The decision of the Board will be taken by mail referendum.

On the initiative of the United States alternative representative, Miss Frances K. Kernohan, the Board agreed that at the next meeting of the Program Committee, scheduled for April 30, 1951, there should be a careful review of the current administrative policies and practices of the Fund in an effort to make them more effective in meeting the needs of children in Latin America and Asia. The next meeting of the Executive Board is scheduled for May 22, 1951.

#### **Trusteeship Council**

The Council completed hearings on the report on Western Samoa presented by the High Commissioner, G. R. Powles. During the course of the discussion, Mr. Powles replied to written and oral inquiries relating to the political, economic, educational, and social conditions in Western Samoa. It was the general feeling that the administering authority for this trust territory was faithfully carrying out its charter obligations.

The Council's *Ad Hoc* Committee on Petitions held its first meeting on February 12 and Andre Wendelen (Belgium) was elected chairman. On February 13, three petitions were examined: a single petition from Western Samoa, and two petitions relating to French Togoland. The petition from the Chinese Association in Samoa concerning Western Samoa requested freedom to establish private business, recognition of Chinese-Samoan marriages, permission for repatriated Chinese to return educational institutions for children of Chinese parentage, and official registry of the Chinese Association. The High Commissioner, Mr. Powles, explained how these complaints had been taken care of and, therefore, nothing further was required of the Trusteeship Council. Discussion on the two petitions on French Togoland led to the conclusion that appropriate resolutions would be presented at the February 20 meeting. Petitions relating to the trust territory of the Pacific Islands would be examined at a subsequent meeting.

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*The Department of State*

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## The Fallacy of a "Preventive War"

by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup<sup>1</sup>

THE CURRENT DEBATES ON American foreign policy are a good sign of the awakened popular interest in our international relations. It is no longer necessary, as it was 30 years ago, to try to persuade people that they should have an intense personal interest in such questions. In 1922, Elihu Root, who in addition to his many other distinctions was an Honorary Chancellor of Union College, wrote the inaugural article in *Foreign Affairs*. In that article he said:

"The control of foreign relations by modern democracies creates a new and pressing demand for popular education in international affairs. . . . A self-respecting democracy which undertakes to control the action of its government as a member of this community of nations, and wishes to respond fairly and fully, not only to the demands of its own interests, but to the moral obligations of a member of the community, is bound to try to understand this great and complicated subject so that it may act, not upon prejudice and error, but upon knowledge and understanding."

It would be fortunate if one could say that foreign policy is really very simple, but that would not be true. Foreign policy has to cover the whole world, which is full of complications. If we commonly used the expression "domestic policy" to describe everything our Government does in regard to agriculture, taxation, conservation, crime, interstate commerce, defense, veterans' affairs, finance, the mails, and the dozens of other governmental functions, we would find that domestic policy covered a less complicated bundle of problems than those which have to be met by our foreign policy. This is true because almost every subject which the Government deals with internally has its duplicate in the international field. As the President said in his State of the Union message on January 8, "the state of our Nation is in great part the state of our friends and allies throughout the world." Foreign policy actually also must cover relations with our enemies as well.

<sup>1</sup> Address made at Union College at Schenectady, N. Y. on Feb 23 and released to the press on the same date.

In the same article to which I have referred, Mr. Root, who had been Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and United States Senator from New York, and who therefore had a remarkably broad familiarity with public affairs, made some further wise comments which are pertinent today:

"There is one specially important result which should follow from such a popular understanding of foreign affairs. That is, a sense of public responsibility in speech and writing, or perhaps it would be better stated as a public sense of private responsibility for words used in discussing international affairs. . . . It cannot, however, be expected that every individual in a great democracy will naturally practice restraint. Political demagogues will seek popularity by public speeches, full of insult to foreign countries, and yellow journals will seek to increase their circulation by appeals to prejudice against foreigners. Hitherto these have been passed over because the speakers and writers were regarded as irresponsible, but if the democracy of which the speakers and publishers are a part is to control international intercourse that irresponsibility ends, and it is the business of the democracy to see to it that practices by its members which lead directly towards war are discouraged and condemned."

In the course of the current debates on foreign policy, there has appeared a line of argument which is no less dangerous because its authors have been unwilling to be perfectly frank. One development of this theme has received wide circulation through its publication in a weekly magazine. The comment to which I refer is based on the following passage from the President's message on the State of the Union:

"If we build our strength—and we are building it—the Soviet rulers may face the facts and lay aside their plans to take over the world. That is what we hope will happen, and that is what we are trying to bring about. That is the only realistic road to peace."

This statement by the President was part of a general exposition of the aggressive policies of the Soviet Union and of the contrasting peaceful policies of the United States. He outlined three points in our foreign policy.

The first covered the economic assistance program which we are carrying out in various countries. The President showed that this was one of the most effective ways to counter the typical Soviet Communist propaganda and their subversive techniques. He reminded us of the tremendous effect of the Marshall Plan on the stabilization of the European countries. He pointed out the way in which our programs of economic development will help to meet the basic causes of human distress upon which Communist propaganda attempts to feed.

Secondly, he mentioned our military assistance to countries which want to defend themselves. Here he referred to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He referred to the courage and confidence inspired by the appointment of General Eisenhower. He pointed to the record of U. N. armed resistance to aggression in Korea and our general support for independent governments of Asia. In a later part of his speech he dwelt at length upon the essential need of our own great rearmament effort.

Thirdly, the President pointed out that our foreign policy program includes our determination to continue to work for peaceful settlements of international disputes. He repeated our willingness to engage in negotiations with the Soviet Union as well as with any one else. He repeated our fixed determination to avoid appeasement.

The attack upon this program is based upon a very different idea. This other idea is that the United States can save itself only by resorting to preventive war. This is the inescapable logic of the position even though the conclusion is hedged by saying that maybe war is inevitable and maybe it is not. This line of thinking is obviously based on the cowardly and defeatist attitude which thinks that the United States and the other countries of the free world have no strength whatever except the atomic bomb. It assumes that we are incapable of determination, that we cannot stand a prolonged effort, that there is no strength or value in the basic traditions and principles of our democracy and our way of life. To put it crudely, this line of argument is based on the theory that the American people have no guts. It argues that when we are faced by a brutal enemy we cannot hold out either in the struggle for men's minds or in the struggle to save their bodies from destruction.

The American people have not accepted these propositions. They have not given their government any mandate to go to war. On the contrary, the American people clearly believe in the policy of peace through strength which the President outlined.

Let us summarize again the essential points in that program and then look at the alternative.

The first point in the program is building defensive strength.

The second point is at least to keep open the possibility of negotiation. In the latest note sent by the United States, France, and the United Kingdom to the Soviet Union regarding a meeting of the Foreign Ministers we have again said that we are perfectly willing to sit down and talk with them and have urged them to agree really to explore the basic causes of tensions.

The third point is that these steps are designed to deter the Soviet Union from launching an attack on the rest of the world.

The fourth point is that if the Soviet Union insists upon forcing war upon the world, the steps we are taking will put us in the best possible position to defend ourselves and to gain the victory.

The fifth point is that if the Soviets are deterred from starting the war, we may find ourselves in a rather long period of armed truce. In such a period the program we are following will enable the United States at least to hold its own. Both reason and history tell us that the corrosive elements of self-destruction are potent in a totalitarian police state and not in our democracy.

The sixth point is that there may or may not be a change in Soviet policy, but if such a change does occur we will be in a position to take advantage of it.

The seventh point is that if there is no change in Soviet policy, we have not left undone anything which we ought to have done and we will have lost none of the essential strength of our position.

The only alternative course to follow would be to start a war against the Soviet Union now. That is the policy to which the irresponsibles would inevitably drive us even though they are afraid to admit the logical conclusion of their arguments and seek to conceal it.

The task of our foreign policy is to guide the United States along a road which will preserve peace so long as peace can be maintained with justice and freedom. The United States will fight, if necessary, to preserve freedom and justice, but it will not make war merely because the road to peace is inevitably long and hard and tiresome.

Many of those who attack the foreign policy of the United States seem to be quite indifferent to the fact that they are constantly supporting the propaganda of the Soviet Union. They seem bent on convincing the other peoples of the world—just as the Communist propaganda tries to convince them—that we are a country bankrupt in ideas, resources, and courage. The result of their propaganda, like the result of Communist propaganda, is to persuade some people that we are constantly losing and that Soviet imperialism is the "wave of the future." These people know in their hearts that this line is just as false when they utter it as when the Soviet Union utters it. For whatever motive or reason, however, they ignore

the injury which they are doing to their country and to the whole cause of the free world. As Mr. Root said: "Such public expressions by our own citizens bring discredit upon our country and injure its business and imperil its peace. . . . They will practically cease whenever the American public really condemns and resents them so that neither public office nor newspaper advertising or circulation can be obtained by them."

Actually, if one reviews the results of American foreign policy one finds a situation very different from that which is pictured by the irresponsibles. As a result of the Marshall Plan, Europe has been rescued from its terrible postwar difficulties and the Communist attempt to capture Western European governments has been defeated all along the line. As a result of the North Atlantic Treaty, the countries of Western Europe, together with Canada and the United States, under the military leadership of General Eisenhower are creating a strong defensive force. As a result of the Truman Doctrine, Greece has been saved from the Communists and is now contributing strength to the general position of the free world. With assistance from our military aid program, Turkey is strong and resolute.

As a result of the President's courageous decision on June 25 and of the overwhelming support of the members of the United Nations, the flagrant aggression in Korea has been met by force and is in check. The Communist aggression in Korea has been branded as such by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Not all of our problems have been solved. There always have been, and there always will be, unresolved problems in the international scene. Progress toward the solution of many of these problems is being made. In spite of the opposition of the Soviet Government, we are advancing in our effort to reestablish Germany and Japan as democratic members of the community of nations stripped of any possibility or desire for a return to the aggressive regimes which brought about their countries' downfall. In the Western Hemisphere a solid basis of collaboration with the American republics has grown steadily firmer. Next month the Foreign Ministers of all the American republics will meet in Washington to consolidate their efforts in meeting our common problems.

There have been long periods in the history of American foreign policy when we were at peace and without anxiety that our disagreements with other governments might sharpen into war. For decades we devoted our energies to the perfection of plans and procedures for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Today we are confronted by the active hostility of a government

which, despite its signature of the United Nations Charter, has consistently refused to resort to the traditional processes of pacific settlement—conciliation, mediation, arbitration, judicial settlement. The Soviet Union does not recognize any abstract concept of the rule of law or the impartial administration of justice. For them law and the administration of justice are merely the instruments of the all-powerful state. In actuality this means the Party and its controlling oligarchy. This attitude in international affairs reflects the barbaric crudity of its internal system which respects only force as personified in the police state. No philosophic verbiage can conceal this fact, which inevitably colors the whole face of international relations today. Fortunately, the United Nations remains as a focus for the efforts of the law-abiding community to maintain decent standards of international conduct. We have normal differences and disagreements from time to time with governments other than those of the Soviet bloc, but these issues do not poison our relationships. Nor does it deflect us from the great democratic principle of the equality of states. In spite of Communist provocations and domestic vilification it will remain the object and the obligation of American foreign policy to seek peaceful adjustments of all issues without surrender or appeasement. We must be strong and resourceful. Above all we must have the moral strength which comes from conviction in the rightness of our cause.

## **Execution of Certain German War Criminals Stayed**

*[Released to the press February 15]*

Each of the German war criminals whose death sentence was sustained in the recent decisions of United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy and Gen. Thomas T. Handy filed petitions for habeas corpus in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. These petitions were all denied by the court on the ground that there was no jurisdiction.

An appeal was taken in each of the cases and was docketed in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals today. In the light of this development, the Solicitor General of the United States has advised the Department of State and the Department of the Army that the executions should be stayed. Accordingly, instructions have been issued staying the executions until further action by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

## U.S. Insists That Discussion With Soviet Union Include Real Causes of Tension in Europe

### NOTE OF FEBRUARY 19, 1951 TO THE SOVIET UNION

[Released to the press February 20]

The Ambassador of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Soviet Government's note of February 5, 1951,<sup>1</sup> and under instructions from his Government, to reply as follows:

The United States Government regrets that the Soviet Government in its reply repeats and further exaggerates inaccurate statements about the policies and motives of the United States, France, the United Kingdom as well as the German Federal Republic. The Soviet allegations are totally without foundation.

The attempt to eliminate the causes of international tension is a subject which so deeply touches the interests of all peoples that it demands the most serious and honest consideration. Clearly, if these causes are to be eliminated, they must first be correctly identified.

It is obvious that it is not the German problem or the consideration of a German contribution to the defense of Western Europe which lies at the root of the present tension. The United States Government wishes to emphasize, moreover, that in Western Germany there do not exist any German military forces, or any German war industry and that the only *fait accompli* in this field in Europe is the existence of the huge armaments maintained by the Soviet bloc which include forces raised in East Germany. In short, as the United States Government stated in its note of December 22,<sup>2</sup> the serious tension which exists at present arises in the first instance from the general attitude adopted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. since the end of the war.

The Soviet Government has referred to the defense program undertaken by the United States and the free nations of Europe. It must be as

apparent to the Soviet Government, as it is to world public opinion, that the free nations of the world, confronted with the vast armed forces maintained by the Soviet Union and the nations under its control and in the face of the frustration by the Soviet Government of the sincere efforts of a large majority of the members of the United Nations to obtain the effective international control and reduction of armaments, have had no course except to move to redress for their own security the great disparity in armed forces existing in the world.

The United States Government wishes to insure that the discussion at any meeting of the four Ministers shall include these real causes of tension and that a suitable agenda to that end be drawn up. Since the Soviet Government has admitted the possibility of discussing questions other than Germany, and has itself drawn attention to that of armaments, the Government of the United States, which desires to raise this question, assumes that the Soviet Government does not object to the representatives of the four Governments in the preliminary conversations preparing an agenda which will cover the causes of tension in Europe, including the existing level of armaments; problems affecting Germany; the Austrian treaty. The formulation of these and other subjects which may be agreed upon, as well as their order on the agenda, will naturally be considered at the preliminary conference.

If the Soviet Government agrees with the basis outlined above for a preliminary conference in Paris, the United States Government suggests that the representatives of the Four Powers meet there on March 5. If, as the Government of the United States hopes, the preliminary conference of representatives finds a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the ministers, the Government of the United States suggests that the Foreign Ministers of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union meet in Washington on a date to be recommended by the representatives. The Government of the United States is informed that these arrangements would be convenient to the Governments of France and the United Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 19, 1951, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 1, 1951, p. 11.

## Marshal Stalin's Pravda Interview Emphasizes Soviet Deception on an International Scale

### VOA AND WIRELESS BULLETIN BROADCAST U.S. REACTION

[Released to the press February 18]

The Voice of America and the *Wireless Bulletin* of the Department of State have, for the past 2 days, been broadcasting to the world the reaction of the United States and its fellow democracies engendered by Prime Minister Stalin's *Pravda* interview.

In all of these broadcasts, the Voice of America and the *Bulletin* have emphasized the fact that, whereas the Soviet state has heretofore used its puppet rulers and stooges to propagandize the world with the fake charges and claims of the Kremlin, the Chief of the Soviet Union, himself, has now put himself on record and on trial before the world by lending his own name to the Soviet deception on an international scale.

Even while the United States official reply to the Stalin statement was being studied and formulated, the Voice of America was gathering and beaming to the entire world, in 28 languages, the opinions voiced by individuals both in the United States and abroad.

In addition, the Voice put on the air, as fast as they became available, pertinent excerpts from a speech delivered yesterday by Ambassador Ernest Gross, deputy United States representative to the United Nations, before the Practicing Law Institute in New York,<sup>1</sup> on "the Soviet revolt against the United Nations," and from an address by Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Edward W. Barrett, at St. Louis, Missouri, on Friday night.<sup>2</sup>

In that speech, Mr. Barrett declared that the Soviet Union now finds it necessary to bolster its sagging propaganda efforts by putting the "Big Boss, himself" into action.

In the opinion of Assistant Secretary Barrett, the interview by Prime Minister Stalin was inspired, in part, by the growing defections among the Communists in Italy and elsewhere, and Moscow has, thus, been forced into a highly defensive position.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 26, 1951, p. 352.

The Voice is giving the official United States statement released by Michael J. McDermott, Special Assistant to the Secretary for Press Relations, yesterday, the heaviest play of all, particularly in broadcasts in the Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Russian satellite languages.

A "package" program rounding up the reactions of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Canada, and other nations has also been beamed to the world.

This "package" program also included statements from a number of United States Senators, among whom were Senators Connally, Wherry, Hickenlooper, Mundt, and Morse.

The Voice of America is now gathering editorial comment by domestic and foreign columnists which will become the basis for programs to be broadcast on Monday.

The *Wireless Bulletin*, transmitted by Morse code, ordinarily is not sent out on Saturdays, but, as an emergency measure, the United States official answer to Marshal Stalin's interview was relayed to 16 key outposts as soon as it became available.

In today's regular *Bulletin* broadcast, the statement is being distributed to 60 or more United States Embassies, Legations, and consular offices all over the globe. Accompanying this, is a 250-word background discussion and roundup of Congressional and editorial opinion.

### STATEMENT BY MICHAEL J. McDERMOTT

[Released to the press February 17]

*The following is an oral statement issued to the press by Michael J. McDermott, Chief Press Officer, concerning Prime Minister Stalin's Pravda interview.*

The fact of Soviet armament and the responsibility for aggression are too well-established for the truth to be obscured by one or more misstatement. No man alive knows better than Prime Minister Stalin who was behind the Communist aggression in Korea.

The only new feature in this interview is the indication that Marshal Stalin now agrees with us that the cause of world tension does not center in

Germany as the Soviet Government has been contending. Marshal Stalin alleges many other causes of tension but does not mention Germany.

There are a number of apparent reasons why Marshal Stalin himself might feel it necessary to set up an interview with *Pravda* at this time. Among other things he is laying down lines for the next gathering of his so-called Partisans of Peace. Moreover, the spate of purges and defections within the Communist world shows the dissatisfaction with Soviet policy. We may be sure that the people of the Soviet Union feel keenly the isolation into which their rulers have forced them; hence, the necessity for Marshal Stalin to try to prove again that all the world is out of step.

This is clearly an attempt to regain lost ground. However, we can hope that the way Marshal Stalin has vented his anger on so many nations—all the North Atlantic Powers, the American Republics, and all the Asiatic nations which voted against aggression in Korea—as well as the United Nations as a body—will awaken the Soviet people to the dangerous road down which they are being led.

The fact that Marshall Stalin says that war is not inevitable is noted with interest all over the world. This shows the universal belief that the danger comes from the Kremlin's aggressive moves in Europe and Asia and that Prime Minister Stalin and his associates have the power to remove the threat of war—if they will.

## **Americans Urged To Reject and Expose False Motives of "Peace Pilgrimage" of the "American Peace Crusade"**

[Released to the press February 20]

*The following is the text of a letter from Secretary of State Dean Acheson to Representative A. S. J. Carnahan concerning the "American Peace Crusade" and its plans for a "peace pilgrimage" to Washington on March 1.*

*February 16, 1951*

I have received your letter of February 12 concerning the "American Peace Crusade," and its plans for a "peace pilgrimage" to Washington on March 1. From the membership of the group, and the general tenor of its pronouncements, it is obvious that this "American Peace Crusade" is merely a continuation or regrouping of the spurious Partisans of Peace movement, which, as you know, has been the most concentrated and far-flung propaganda effort of the international Communist movement in the postwar period.

The Partisans of Peace movement was organized by several Communist-controlled groups in Paris in 1949. The focal point of its original effort was a world-wide drive to collect 400 million signatures to the so-called Stockholm Appeal, an adroitly framed petition which superficially appeared merely to be an affirmation of the world-wide desire for peace and the universal desire for effective control of atomic energy. What the Stockholm Appeal actually called for, however, was the adoption of the Soviet plan for the regulation of atomic energy—a plan which has been overwhelmingly rejected again and again by the majority of the United Nations.

The Partisans of Peace and its partner the Cominform announced that one goal of the movement was to collect five million signatures in the United States. In spite of the most intensive campaign by Communist agents and those deceived by them, a final count of two million sig-

natures was officially claimed by the Cominform as having been collected in this country. I know it is as shocking to you as it is to me to think that even that small a percentage of our citizens would sign their names to a petition which by its very nature had as its objective the weakening, if not the destruction, of the bonds which unite the free world. What the appeal in effect called for was the banning of any use of the atomic bomb, without any admission of the desirability of banning the tremendous armies and armament the U.S.S.R. and its satellites have maintained since 1945, not to speak of the illegal rearmament of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania beyond the limits imposed in the peace treaties.

In this latest manifestation of the Partisans of Peace, "American Peace Crusade" or "Peace Pilgrimage," or whatever name it goes by at the time, the same people are calling for the same things, but this time they have added two more points.

The first is that the Peace Crusade calls for the United Nation forces to withdraw from Korea. The Cominform has been calling for an immediate withdrawal from Korea, too. The Cominform wants us to withdraw from Korea because, if we do withdraw, it will mean that we are not willing to resist aggression wherever it may break out. Voluntary withdrawal from Korea would be a clear indication to the forces of international communism that the United States, as the leader of the forces of the United Nations, was abdicating its responsibilities, abandoning its allies, and renouncing the moral force which has made this country what it is.

The second point these Peace Crusaders stress

is that we should immediately seat Communist China in the United Nations. When you consider that, by an overwhelming vote, Communist China was recently condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor, a sudden seating of Communist China would in effect be an invitation to other aggressive-minded governments to flout the principles of the Charter and would indeed offer a premium for the very sort of aggression we are combating.

Of course, the Peace Crusaders call for atomic arms control. We know what they mean by this, too. They mean the highly propagandized Soviet plan for atomic arms control which the Partisans of Peace so zealously promoted while ignoring the United States proposal overwhelmingly supported by the United Nations with the exception of the Soviet bloc.

There is no doubt that this "Crusade for Peace" will try to use the standard weapons of the Partisans of Peace—divide and conquer, infiltrate and confuse. I am sure you will agree with me that it is the duty of every American to reject and expose the false motives of this group.

## **Lithuanian and Amoy Dialect Added to VOA Programs**

*[Released to the press February 12]*

The Voice of America will add Lithuanian and the Amoy dialect of Chinese to its schedule of broadcasts effective Friday, February 16, the Department of State announced today. An additional 15-minute broadcast in Mandarin will also be started at that time.

The daily 15-minute Lithuanian broadcast will consist of news and commentary and will be broadcast from 11:00-11:15 a. m., e.s.t. (7:00-7:15 p. m., Lithuanian time) by transmitters here and abroad.

Lithuanian will become the first of the three Baltic republic languages to be used by VOA. Estonian and Latvian will be added to the broadcast schedule later, supplementing programs already being beamed in Russian and Ukrainian to listeners within the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

The inaugural Lithuanian program will consist of statements by Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Edward W. Barrett; Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania; Lithuanian Minister Povilas Žadeikis, and the Lithuanian-American Council in Chicago.

The daily 30-minute Amoy broadcast will consist of news and features about the United States and American relations with the Far East. Originating from studios in New York, the program will be broadcast from 5:30-6:00 a.m., e.s.t. (6:30-7:00 p. m., Chinese time) by two

short-wave transmitters in the United States and relayed by three short- and medium-wave transmitters at Honolulu and Manila.

The additional 15-minute Mandarin broadcast will bring the total VOA broadcasting to China to five hours daily: three hours of Mandarin, 1½ hours of Cantonese, and ½ hour of Amoy.

The new programs will increase to 28 the number of languages and dialects utilized by the Voice of America in its world-wide radio service and will increase the total broadcast output to more than 35 program hours daily.

## **Friendly Nations of Pacific Area Discuss Security Problems**

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*

*[Released to the press February 21]*

There has been considerable speculation about a Pacific pact.

Security in the Pacific area is, of course, one of the 24-hour-a-day preoccupations of the United States Government. Aggression and threats of aggression in Korea and other parts of the Far East give the area more than its share of danger spots. This country and all free nations whose people live in the area are deeply and vitally concerned.

The United States has long been aware of the desires of some of the countries of the Pacific for cooperative arrangements in that area. The United States has been sympathetic to these desires and has discussed them informally with a number of the governments concerned.

The United States is fully aware of the diversities of peoples and cultures and of the difficulties presented. We have no formula which we are trying to advocate.

In this spirit, representatives of the United States have informally discussed the problem of Pacific security with representatives of friendly governments. We expect that these discussions will continue and that many proposals for increased cooperation will be considered. It is impossible, at this time, to say what plan or proposal can be agreed upon or whether, in fact, any proposal will find ultimate general acceptance. This will depend upon the views of all of the interested nations and upon the changing framework of conditions and circumstances within which we work.

Whatever method can be found, our objectives and those of our friends will remain the same: the sound and secure development of the nations of the Pacific area, free from the fear of aggression and the threat of encroachment on their sovereignty and independence.

## Our Answer to the Big Lie

by William C. Johnstone, Jr.  
Director, Office of Educational Exchange<sup>1</sup>

Today, we are living in a sort of purgatory between the hell of war and the heaven of peace. More than 5 years ago, the last of the major powers to oppose us in World War II surrendered unconditionally. Even before the smoke of battle had cleared, we were at work bringing relief to war-weary people. It was our desire to help these people to their feet so that they could again take their place with dignity in a free and peaceful world. We expected that our former ally would work with us in achieving this goal. Instead, the Kremlin has made capital of the distress and suffering brought on by war to further its imperialistic policy of expansion until, today, three-quarters of a billion people are dominated by the Soviet rulers.

In this sick and confused world, the Kremlin's major tool of aggression is the Big Lie. Since World War II, the Soviet propaganda machine has been used to soften up whole populations. Korea is a good example. Several months before the Moscow-inspired aggression, Chong Son, Vice Minister of Culture and Propaganda, spoke to the people of North Korea over Pyongyang radio on October 19, 1949. He said, and I quote:

Only by absorbing the advanced Soviet culture will we be able to develop our national culture further. Therefore, we must intensify our efforts to absorb more vigorously the advanced Soviet culture so that we may develop our national culture to a higher level and make ours a rich, powerful country.

It is interesting to note that, in the autumn of 1945, the Korean-Soviet Culture Society had a membership of about 3,700, with only 20 branches. By May 1949, the membership had swollen to 1,300,000 with 105 branches and 20,000 units. In order to train middle-school teachers and Government employees, more than 100 special Russian-

language schools were established, already having more than 1,500 graduates. In addition, almost 70,000 lectures and concerts were given by Soviet artists, writers, and other cultural representatives in 1948, and an even greater number in 1949.

By June 1950, the North Koreans were sufficiently sovietized to accept the signal from Moscow to make a fanatical onslaught against their own people in order to extend Communist domination over the entire country.

### Samples of Soviet Propaganda

Most of the Soviet propaganda is directed against the United States. Take the case of China. Here, are some samples of what the Communists "feed" the Chinese people:

We must hate America, because she is the Chinese people's implacable enemy . . . America has openly invaded our country and is preparing further aggression against us.

America is actively supporting and rearming Japan.

America is conniving to destroy us from within.

We must despise America, because it is a corrupt imperialist nation, the world center of reaction and decay.

In America so-called "democracy" is completely false and unreal.

The American election system is nothing but an artifice to deceive the people.

This last choice bit reminds me of the story reportedly circulated in Munich beer halls to the effect that a thief broke into the chief propaganda office in the Soviet zone and made off with the complete results of next year's elections.

Through outright lies, by generalizing on isolated weaknesses of our life and institutions, by exaggeration and insinuation, the Kremlin is attempting to discredit the United States and to undermine American prestige everywhere. Listen to bits of the Moscow story:

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the World Affairs Council of Northern California at San Francisco, Calif., on Feb. 23 and released to the press on the same date.

From Vladivostok Radio we hear:

. . . the capitalist pays the worker just enough to prevent his death by starvation.

From *Pravda* comes this attack:

The President of the United States is a sanctimonious hypocrite . . . the backer of murderers, traitors, and bandits.

From *Trud* comes another untruth from the big bag of lies:

Three-fourths of the population of the most powerful capitalist country (the United States) is deprived of medical care.

From Azerbaizhan Radio our educational system is attacked in these words:

Schools in America are very few in number and education is very expensive, because the capitalists consider it harmful to educate the masses.

And from Radio Moscow we are informed that:

Ruling circles of the United States have harnessed American schools to the task of preparation for a new world war.

Because the Kremlin is hampered neither by moral restrictions nor by public opinion, it is free to distort to its heart's content. Let me give you an example from a Slovak broadcast depicting a United States Cabinet meeting:

When the U. S. Minister of Education was called upon to furnish the text of a proposed article (by President Truman), it was found that he had stopped attending Cabinet meetings, because his salary had not been paid for several years. The Secretary of the Treasury explained that there were no funds for such purposes, for they had to be used for armaments.

The proposal to reduce the quantity of hydrogen in the hydrogen bomb in order to get money for the Ministry of Education was rejected because the bomb industry might complain and a crisis on the Wall Street market might result.

So goes the Kremlin version of life in America. It is a story which we cannot ignore unless we resign ourselves to let freedom shrink and shrivel to our own borders. We must remember that more than a billion people in Europe and the Near and Far East—still free—are directly threatened by the imperialistic designs of the Kremlin. They must be told the truth or they, like 750 million others may find themselves behind the curtain, prisoners of propaganda, victims of the Big Lie.

### **The Task of Telling the Truth**

What are we doing about it? What is our answer?

For many years, your Government, along with private groups and institutions, has engaged in international truth-telling programs designed to increase understanding and create good will. Conducted principally in the Western Hemisphere, these programs have paid their way many times over in creating and maintaining solid, healthy relations among the peoples of the 21 American republics.

This was good as far as it went. However, when

the menace of communism became increasingly apparent following World War II, it was clear that our purposes, our ideals, and our way of life must be made known on a larger scale. With the passage of the Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the United States Government embarked for the first time on a world-wide program aimed at increasing mutual understanding and good will. But, as the months passed and the "hate" campaign of the Communists grew, it was evident that a much more vigorous, hard-hitting program was needed.

It was the realization of this fact that caused President Truman, early in 1950, to call on the American people to support a great Campaign of Truth. He put it this way:

Our task is to present the truth to the millions of people who are uninformed or misinformed or unconvinced. . . . Our task is to show them that freedom is the way to economic and social advancement, the way to political independence, the way to strength, happiness and peace.

. . . We must pool our efforts with those of the other free peoples in a sustained, intensified program to promote the cause of freedom against the propaganda of slavery. We must make ourselves heard round the world in a great campaign of truth.

The task of telling the truth, which Secretary Acheson has termed the sixth element in the strategy of freedom, is not separate and distinct from other elements of our foreign policy. It is a vital part of what we are doing to build a peaceful world. It is essential to the success of our foreign policy that the military, political, and economic measures we are taking be accompanied by an effective information and educational exchange program.

The job calls for resourcefulness, imagination, and daring.

Our objectives are clear:

1. To strengthen the unity of those nations devoted to the cause of freedom and to show that their interests and those of the United States coincide;
2. to spread the conviction that the United States is an enlightened, strong, and determined power deserving the full support of other free nations;
3. to stimulate among free nations the building of the unified strength necessary to deter aggression and secure peace;
4. to develop and maintain psychological resistance to Soviet tyranny and imperialism.

Whether or not we are successful in halting the Communist drive for the control of men's minds throughout the world will depend largely on our ability to identify those population elements whose attitudes and opinions will be decisive in shaping world events.

### **Our Varied System of Communications**

We must reach them with convincing, influential facts.

To accomplish this, the United States Information and Educational Exchange program employs a variety of communication systems—radio, motion pictures, publications, information centers, and the exchange of persons. Each makes a unique contribution to the total effort. I am glad to report that our Campaign of Truth is rapidly expanding. When the Congress appropriated additional funds in the summer of 1950, the Department of State began at once to intensify the program, to sharpen its emphasis, and pin-point its output more closely to the critical areas of the world.

Statistics on the volume of output by the United States Information and Educational Exchange program are staggering, but we are still far from the saturation point. Let me give you a few highlights.

In 28 different languages, the Voice of America beams to the world more than 70 programs daily, ranging from 15 minutes to one hour, for a total of 35 program hours daily. These programs are broadcast to areas having a potential audience of 300 million. Surveys, letters from listeners, efforts from hostile press and radio to discredit the broadcasts, reports from United States missions, and reports from correspondents and travelers provide convincing proof that the Voice is being heard. Two hundred thousand letters were received from listeners in 1950 alone.

#### **Frantic Reaction of the U.S.S.R.**

Despite the Kremlin's frantic attempts to jam the Voice, we have reliable evidence that the Russians are hearing it in large numbers. And this the Kremlin fears.

I was interested in reading a transcript of a recent debate in the United Nations on the jamming of foreign broadcasts. The resolution adopted at the end of the debate expressly condemns jamming in "inviting all Member Governments to refrain from such interference with the right of their peoples to freedom of information."

Speaking for the U.S.S.R. delegation, Mr. Rostchin said,

There is no need to say that psychological warfare—or radio warfare—facilitates neither the maintenance of peace and security, nor the development of friendly relations between nations . . . In the face of the so-called psychological warfare being carried out by Washington and London against a number of nations, the right and duty of the latter is to take steps in order to paralyze the aggressor in this war, to defend their people from the consequences of such an attack, and to render the aggressor's weapons ineffective.

Mr. Demchenko, representing the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, added his charge that the ruling circles of the United States were attempting—

. . . to morally disarm the people, to weaken the democratic camp, and to inspire distrust of the U.S.S.R. . . . We consider that any government is in its right to defend itself against such type of information.

It was Mr. Vyshinsky who said more than a year ago that the Soviet regime had to jam foreign broadcasts in order to protect the broadcasts from the antagonism of the Russian people.

Thus, through the courtesy of the Kremlin, three-quarters of a billion people live in a land where not even the air is free! Could it be that they fear the truth?

We are telling the truth to the people behind the curtain. We are telling them why the United States supports the United Nations and what the United Nations has accomplished. Over the radio, in films, books, and pamphlets, we are telling why Americans are supporting UNesco and the specialized United Nations agencies and how communities all over America keep themselves informed about the United Nations.

In the Campaign of Truth, much of the increased publications effort is going into pamphlets and booklets. Indicative of the volume of this program, nearly 100 million will be produced in 1951. To handle fast moving news, the *Wireless Bulletin* transmits by Morse or radio teletype between 8,500 and 9,000 words every 24 hours to 62 missions in 59 countries for use by United States and foreign news agencies and foreign government officials. One of the most dramatic publications is the Russian language magazine, *Amerika*, 50,000 copies of which are delivered to Moscow each month for sale through a Soviet news agency.

#### **Expanding the Campaign of Truth**

This is only a small part of what we are doing to reach the masses with printed materials, posters, and handbills.

In the intensified Campaign of Truth, the output of motion pictures will be doubled during the next year, and an increased number of mobile projector units will be put on the highways and in rural areas where no facilities for showings exist. Last year, more than 100 million people viewed 300,000 film showings. In 1951, a total of 79 productions is planned to picture various aspects of the American scene.

Under the expanded Campaign of Truth, 42 new United States information centers are being added during 1951 to the 140 centers now operating in 61 countries. These new centers will add greatly to the more than 24 million people who visited the centers in 1950. Through these centers, open-shelf collections of United States books, magazines, Government documents, maps, and other materials are made available. It is interesting to note just how much the Kremlin fears this means of telling the truth.

Only a year ago, the United States operated information centers in 7 iron curtain countries, where people could read and see about our life and institutions. On February 24, 1950, the Communist regime closed our information center at

Sofia, Bulgaria. On March 2, the center at Bucharest, Rumania, was shut down; on April 22, the Czechoslovak Government ordered the centers at Praha and Bratislava closed. Until we finally locked the doors of the United States Library in Praha, Czechoslovaks crowded into the rooms to take away American materials which we left behind.

In addition to the 30 American centers in Latin America assisted by the Department, two binational societies are planned in the Near East and one in the Far East in 1951. Emphasis is being placed on the teaching of English, using American developed texts. Last year, almost 50,000 persons studied English in various centers in Latin America.

### **Value of the Exchange of Persons Program**

In the exchange of persons program, we hold a trump card, for, with the exception of the captive or satellite countries, the Soviet Union has been unwilling to expose its own citizens to the tangible proof of democracy in other countries.

In 1950, this Government brought 4,300 teachers, students, research scholars, lecturers, and leaders to this country. In 1951, the figure will be more than 5,000. During 1950, we awarded grants to 1,250 Americans to go aboard for serious study, lecturing, and to serve as specialist advisers in foreign countries; this year, the number will be increased to 1,525. I emphasize that these are Government grants. Private resources in this and other countries account for the exchange of many more people. Right now, for example, there are about 30,000 foreign students from 125 countries studying on 1,200 American campuses. Only a small fraction of these is supported by the Government.

Although the persons to be exchanged between the United States and 60 countries this year represents a substantial numerical increase over the previous year, this is by no means the important factor in the intensified program. We cannot weigh the effectiveness of the exchange of persons program on a quantitative scale.

In other words, it is not so important to increase the number of grantees as it is to improve the quality or significant experience of each person brought here or sent abroad. That implies the efficient organization and close coordination of a variety of resources, both public and private.

We must remember that every American who goes abroad either represents the greatness or the weakness of American life to the peoples with whom he comes in contact. He can exert an influence for our good, or he can be just another person. Likewise, every person who comes to the United States can strengthen us, or he can be just another visitor.

The letters we receive from those who have visited the United States make interesting reading and attest to the value of their experience here in

correcting misconceptions about American life and institutions.

For example, a French student who visited the United States during 1950, wrote:

Many of my friends had written to me from France that Americans, by giving us scholarships, were trying a little to make propaganda toys out of us, and I was glad to see that Americans were too upright for that. They showed me the worst slums of the town; they told me much about the racial problem; how bad it was but also how decided they were to improve the position of the colored people. I wonder how many of us would have taken Americans to see the slums of our own towns, how many wouldn't have tried to hide them as well as possible from their looks. Americans are honest; they want us to understand them and realize that understanding without knowing is impossible.

A German student had this comment to make:

In conclusion I may say that the association with my American friends and acquaintances inspired me with more international understanding and good will than any propaganda of national and religious hatred will ever be able to take away. I went back to Germany eager to spread this spirit among my fellow countrymen, hoping that this will be at least one step toward a free and peaceful world.

Some of the comments are on the lighter side, like the British student who was asked in what way he promoted a better understanding between his country and the United States. He replied, "I married an American!"

### **The Importance of "Targeting"**

One of the most important factors in the intensified Campaign of Truth is the increased attention given to "targeting." Thirty-one countries are now considered by the Department of State to be areas of critical concern. These are countries which either have succumbed to Communist domination, are in the most serious danger of being overrun, or are so strategically located that their loss to the Communist forces would constitute a serious blow.

These are the countries where our answer to the Big Lie is receiving major emphasis.

Targets vary from country to country but all output, whether it be the printed word, motion pictures, radio or exchange of persons, is tailored for specific key target groups.

In Southeast Asia, our answer to the Big Lie is targeted primarily at the great masses. In Indochina, for example, a major campaign is under way to tell the Vietnamese the true story of Communist Ho Chi-minh, who has represented himself as a friendly land reformer. Here, the problem is one of awakening the deluded masses to the evils of Communist infiltration. In reaching these masses where illiteracy is high, the program makes wide use of simple visual techniques—cartoons, posters, and motion pictures.

In this business of pin-pointing our objectives, of targeting the program, the two-way exchange of people is one of the best weapons in our arsenal of truth. It is an accurate weapon in destroying

the Big Lie. It can hit the target with tremendous power.

When the Communists tell the people of France or Italy or Belgium, for instance, that labor is not free in the United States—that the workers are only tools of the greedy capitalist, we can invite a labor leader to come to the United States and see for himself. We've done that many times. Listen to the reaction of one labor journalist from a critical area following his visit to the United States. What struck him most, he wrote, was—

... that the present strength of the American labor movement has been reached without the help of philosophical ideologies, and without necessarily entering directly the political struggle, giving to every worker as an individual, complete ideological and political freedom, without interference.

### Racial Progress

We know we haven't licked the race problem, but, when the Communists go overboard with their line that the Negro is persecuted, has no educational or job opportunities, we can let the doubters see for themselves. We can bring educators and other leaders of thought and opinion here, and we can send Negroes abroad.

In fact, we have sent Negro grantees to a number of European countries to study and lecture. When the Howard University players toured northern Europe last year, the Scandinavians were surprised that these American Negroes were just like the other American students they had met.

One of the favorite lines of the Communists is the alleged crass materialism and lack of culture in this country. They tell the French, who are rightfully proud of their cultural development, for example, that the United States is a dollar-happy, uncultured country. The best answer to that lie is to bring Frenchmen here to see for themselves. As one French student put it:

Before coming to the United States I thought this country was a very new country without literature, without history, without any background. Well, I have changed my mind. The American people have a literature and I have enjoyed learning it.

Intellectual and youth groups have an influence in the political life of their countries far outweighing their numbers. Communist influence among them is feeding on feelings of racial inferiority and deep-seated differences in culture and religion. Exchanges among these groups, as well as Government officials, journalists, and specialists, are effectively countering Communist lies and creating pro-American attitudes. For example, a Far Eastern journalist, whose paper had often carried virulent anti-American articles, returned to write a series of favorable stories about America. Our Embassy also noted that this paper was currently using 50 percent more of the

output of the Campaign of Truth than heretofore.

One final example of the power of the see-it-for-yourself approach in correcting misconceptions about the United States: An Israeli writer for an anti-American paper spent 3 months in the United States and was so impressed by his observations of free elections, which the Communists charge are only faked, that he wrote a series of articles, friendly in tone, which were printed by his paper.

### Truth as a Weapon

The free flow of persons between the United States and other countries of the world illustrates the big difference between the free world and the slave world.

We have nothing to hide. We do not have to enact the drama of America with the front curtain down. We can say to the German, the Italian, the Indian, the Iranian—"Here's a ticket to America—here's a ticket to a front row seat where you can freely see the all-American cast perform." He may not like the show—although usually he does, but, in any event, he can recognize the truth when he is an eye witness to it.

The facts of international life, today, make grim reading. There is no question as to just how serious is the threat we face. We can be sure about one thing—this battle of ideas will not end in a "win, lose, or draw" decision. The Big Lie cannot, for long, stand the attack of the Bigger Truth. One must win; there will be no draw.

Americans and other free peoples are being put to the most severe test in their history, but we should not fear the future. We can take heart in the fact that a majority of the world's 2½ billion people are friendly to us. An overwhelming majority of the member countries of the United Nations stand on our side, 53 against 9 for the Kremlin. Remember, too, that, while 750 million people are imprisoned behind the iron curtain, they are by no means happy with their lot. Large numbers are weary from living under the ruthless regime of the Soviet bosses. Finally, we know that we have truth on our side. And the truth has one big advantage over the lie—it can be proved.

Today, we have a tremendous psychological advantage. We are learning to use the truth as a weapon against the slave masters who hide behind the iron curtain. We may look forward to the day when truth, hard-hitting truth, will raise that curtain and unmask the actors behind it.

I believe we are rapidly approaching the end of Act II in the drama—*The Big Lie*. The play will end as all tragedies end—the oppressor of human rights and freedoms will be found out one day and tried before the court of world opinion.

## America's Part in Building a Free World

by *Adrian S. Fisher, Legal Adviser*<sup>1</sup>

There are two prime problems which recently have been the subject of a good deal of public and legislative discussion—Korea and the defense of Western Europe.

Let me digress, here, for a moment, to emphasize an important point—but one which is frequently overlooked. Korea and Western Europe are separated geographically by half the globe, and there is a tendency to regard them as separate problems. To do so is a mistake. They are phases of the same problem, and they must be handled as such. The fundamental world-wide problem of which Korea, Western Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia are but related phases is the world-wide menace of Communist imperialism.

This is the basic factor of the current crisis. We can not permit any local crisis or propaganda maneuver to distract our attention from it. We must attack all the individual difficulties which face us with this in mind. In the sense that all roads led to Rome, all international troubles trace back to Moscow.

### **Soviet Pressures on Free World**

Let us take a moment to discover how the Soviet Union reached a position to exert such pressure on the free world. Before World War II, Germany and Japan were bulwarks against Russian expansion. The war wiped out the power of those two nations and grievously weakened France. Consequently, although the Soviet Union sustained grave injury as a result of the war, the vacuum which obtained in central Europe enabled the Soviet Union to hold the line of her greatest military advance. This expansion was accomplished by flagrant violation of solemn agreements which the Soviets concluded with the Western Powers. These were agreements designed to stabilize the postwar world, so that we could get on with the rehabilitation of the ravaged areas.

<sup>1</sup>Excerpts from an address delivered before the National Farm Institute at Des Moines, Ia., on Feb. 17 and released to the press on the same date.

The key factor of the Soviet ability to expand with such comparative ease and American inability to offer effective counter was our postwar demobilization. Actually, we did more than demobilize—we dismantled the most powerful “triphibious” military striking force that the world has ever known. There is no point in our saying, now, that this was a mistake. At the time, 9 Americans out of 10 thought it a fine idea. I was in a B-29 squadron at the time, and I certainly agreed with the majority. But it was quickly driven home to us that the Soviet Union respects strength and strength alone. Throughout these past 6 years, the men of the Politburo have been free to pursue their plan of conquest backed by the security of a huge military force.

This is the harsh fact which has influenced our entire effort to check the spread of world communism. It is a fact which we must face—even if it galls us. As a people, we have never been inclined toward militarism. We have hastily disarmed after each war, and this time we are paying a stiff price for the privilege of relaxing.

The lands and the peoples on whom the Soviets imposed their tyranny are populous and extensive. However, they did not encompass the centers of industrial power and technical resources represented by Japan, in the Far East, and by Germany and free Europe, in the West.

### **U.S. Counteroffensive Against Soviet Encroachment**

To the United States and to the nations alined with us in the effort to check Soviet expansion, these areas are decisive. Once swallowed up in the Soviet sphere, they would provide Russia with industrial capacity and the skilled manpower sufficient to permit the Kremlin to wall in the United States with an overwhelming and hostile preponderance of power—military, industrial, and manpower. If the Western Hemisphere were to stand alone, we can get only a partial picture of our peril by considering the difficulties of obtaining access to the strategic materials necessary to maintain

a defense effort of the size now contemplated. A true picture can be obtained only if one considers what our position would be like if 87 percent of the world's manpower and more than half its productive capacity were to fall under the control of international communism.

Consequently, it was vital for the United States to make every effort within its power to help the free nations in the path of Soviet conquest ward off encroachment. We must aid them in recovering their strength as quickly as possible. The plain necessity of safeguarding our own security demanded that the industrial power and the technical resources of Japan and other areas in Southeast Asia, and the productive wealth of West Germany, the Ruhr and the Saar and free Europe, be kept out of Soviet hands and alined with the West. We, therefore, launched a counteroffensive to construct what Secretary Acheson has described as situations of strength. When these have been erected, we will have achieved two important objectives. We will have stabilized conditions in many sensitive areas. We may be able to sit down with the Soviet and make agreements that stick, because we will, then, hold as many of the trump cards of power as they do.

As is readily apparent, we faced then—and we face now—a task that is far from simple. Although we are a great power our capacities and resources are not without limit. We had to tailor our plans to fit the limits of our strength. We had to guard against the folly of all-out commitments in Europe, in Asia Minor and the Middle East, in Southeast Asia and the Orient. Yet, we had to move quickly and effectively wherever there was opportunity which served our purpose.

The overriding concerns are American security and world peace. We recognize that those basic objectives interlock, and we have identified the source of the threat to them both. Moreover, we know that physical strength, both actual and potential, is an important factor in the achievement of these ends. But we also must use our heads to capitalize on our intangible assets—our leadership in the free world and the bonds of friendship and trust that link us with other free nations. But, in our dealings with the Soviet Union, we know that they will always be looking beyond the subject up for negotiation to see if we have the required muscle. If it is there, they will modify their behavior, accordingly.

This, I must emphasize, is neither speculation nor theory. It has been frequently demonstrated. In Iran, in 1946; in Greece and in Turkey; twice in Berlin, in Italy, and in France, when aggressive Communist gestures were firmly and determinedly met—the attitude of the Soviet became conciliatory and they pulled in their horns.

#### **Methods of Achieving Aims**

How have we gone about achieving our aims, and what is our current position?

American policy has followed two courses that ran parallel. Through the United Nations, we devoted our efforts to helping create conditions of international law and order. Our purpose was to do all in our power to establish the kind of conditions in which free men could live, work, and retain some hope for the future. We can report some progress along this line although the calculated and unremitting obstructionism of the Soviet bloc has made a difficult job immensely more difficult.

The second course, which has an intermediate or interim objective as against the long-range effort centered in the United Nations, aims at building a strong, well-coordinated group of free nations, able and willing to defend its freedoms against any potential aggressor. It is essential to remember that the principle underlying this coalition is one of mutual aid and self-help. This makes good sense on two scores. Firstly, the mutual aid idea is sound, because it is apparent that no one of the free nations—not even the United States—is strong enough to do it alone. Secondly, the self-help aspect is a requisite, because we know, from personal experience, that it is futile to try to help a person who will not help himself. This precept applies to nations as well as individuals.

A number of mileposts along the road to this association of free nations has already been passed. Through vigorous action in the United Nations, we forced the Soviet to withdraw from northern Iran and abandon a puppet Kurdish regime that sought the overthrow of the Iranian Government. The puppet regime, of course, promptly collapsed. We gave interim economic aid to France and Italy which quashed an internal Communist threat in those nations. We put into effect the Marshall Plan which has succeeded in spectacular fashion. In sum, we have given important assistance in what amounts to the reconstruction of an entire continent—and this in the space of 5 years. The people of the Marshall Plan nations have been helped toward a renewed faith in life and a rebirth of hope.

Once a start had been made on the road back to stability and strength by this economic transfusion, the North Atlantic Treaty was drafted. This was an important political accomplishment and a complement to the economic program. By declaring that an attack on one member of the pact would be regarded as an attack on all, the treaty gave heart to the individual members, particularly the smaller nations, by assuring them that, if they were attacked, they would not have to fight alone. The treaty also served notice to any potential aggressor that cheap conquest was no longer a possibility within the pact area. The totalitarian technique of picking off victims, one by one, would have to be ditched.

The treaty was rounded out, given the necessary material force, by the Mutual Defense Assistance Program which offered arms and material aid to

those partners who were building up their defenses and requested our help.

In the North Atlantic area, we can report that the international organization is moving ahead. The long and arduous negotiations as to precisely what principles would determine the organization of the area defenses have been concluded, and the resulting agreements have been translated into operating plans. To describe this accomplishment in the space of a single sentence performs a classic exercise in compression, because the problems involved were many, various, and extraordinarily complex.

For example, we cannot pass over the granddaddy of all European difficulties which is now very much with us in the form of units of West German troops in the European army. France has had a series of bitter experiences with their German neighbor over the past three-quarters of a century. Twice, within the memory of many Frenchmen, the Prussians have attacked and overrun their homeland, killed off the flower of French youth, and devastated the nation. Jules Moch, the French representative at the recent North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) talks in New York had one son killed by the Nazis and a second still suffering the effects of years' imprisonment in a German concentration camp.

It is too much to expect that Moch and millions of other Frenchmen should adopt a cool and detached attitude toward any development which has the slightest coloration of German rearmament. Yet, we are compelled to acknowledge that Western Germany must be kept clear of Soviet domination—whether by conquest or by subversion. We must admit that it is foolish to consider a defense of Western Europe without including West Germany. And we know it is equally foolish to talk of defending West Germany without getting help from the Western Germans themselves.

Nevertheless, a basis for reconciling a difference as deep and as hard-held as that on the question of German troops has been reached. There are details to be worked out. But we believe that a working agreement can be reached without compromising principles. This shows how far the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has progressed. Personally, I feel that if we can get French and German cooperation in this matter, we can do practically anything.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has reached the point of a build-up of troop strength in a single, integrated European army under the command of a great American leader, General Eisenhower. He has already made a first-hand survey of his new command. The reports on the European reaction to his appointment and on his appearance there show that he has quickened the pulse of the people and measurably lifted popular morale. With the efficiency and energy we have come to take for granted from him, he has buckled

down to one of the most trying and difficult jobs ever tackled by any military commander. We can, now, expect action.

### U.S. Role in Defense of the West

Before turning from the situation in Europe, mention should be made of several of the questions raised in the debate over America's role in the defense of the West. If my reading of the arguments of the various debaters is accurate, I think we can safely state that there is a general agreement in principle that the security of Western Europe is closely allied to our own. The question is, thereby, narrowed to one of the extent and the manner in which America will participate. Shall we or shall we not send ground units and, if we are to send ground units, then, how many?

The concept of an American Gibraltar, ringed with a chain of island outposts, contains, within itself the seed of its own collapse. To be effective, a defense must be flexible, mobile, and in depth. The Gibraltar-type of defense has none of these qualities. By its nature, encirclement is assured. And, as John Foster Dulles aptly put it, "a defense that accepts encirclement quickly decomposes."

There is a second and, I believe, equally basic error into which the advocates of an American Gibraltar fall. The restriction placed on the American participation in the defense of Western Europe is so qualified as to make it appear that we don't intend to stand shoulder to shoulder with our European partners if the crisis breaks. The capacities of sea power in defending Western Europe are, obviously, limited to the continental fringe. And it is highly questionable whether air power alone, even under the most favorable of circumstances, can stop—or even slow—the advance of the kind of a land force with which the Soviets would attack in the West.

The factors deterring an attack on Europe are three. Our retaliatory air power, our reserve power, and the integrated forces in being in the North Atlantic area. This last is the one at issue, and the factor which is now weak. Many arguments have been submitted as to why we should not attempt to build it up.

Some argue that we can rely on the first two deterrents, and others, that defense forces cannot possibly be made large enough to be effective. Still, others assert that an effective force would provoke a Soviet attack. Though mutually contradictory, these arguments all lead to a do-nothing policy. In other words, the conclusion is that we strengthen Europe by leaving it weak.

Individually, these arguments do not hold water. We cannot continue to rely on retaliatory air power, because time will diminish our advantage in this field. The defense forces can be made large enough to be effective, because we do not need to match the opposing Soviet force man for man. The integrated force will be but one of three parts of the combined Western strength. Thirdly, there

is no good reason for believing that an effective force that is patently a force for defense only will provoke anything but greater caution from the Soviet Union.

It has been said before, and I am going to stress again, that the people of Western Europe are much concerned about defense—but they have no interest, whatever, in another liberation. And, if we are talking in terms of defense, there is no sense in considering anything but an effective defense. That effective defense calls for some American divisions.

Please mark that word "some." To my knowledge, no official has proposed or has even contemplated sending a large American Army to garrison Western Europe. Throughout the discussions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the talks about the size and composition of the European army, it has been a fundamental of the American position that the nations immediately concerned would supply the major portion of the manpower for the land forces. It has been always clearly understood that any increase in American troop strength overseas would be predicated on a corresponding increase in the ground forces of our pact partners. That understanding goes back to the principle of mutual aid and self-help upon which the whole North Atlantic structure has been based.

Then, what about the insistence, from some quarters, that an arbitrary limit or percentage should be set on the number of units which shall be sent to Europe. It seems to me that this is a technical matter to be decided by qualified technicians who have a first-hand knowledge of the requirements. Actually, the question of limit or ratio turns on our confidence in the ability of our military leaders to decide what is best from the point of view of our own security. If we trust them, we should leave the decision on the number of divisions up to them. If we don't trust them, we should get leaders we do trust.

I have great faith in General Eisenhower. He knows Europe as do few men. I am also certain that the security and welfare of the United States are as close to his heart as they are to yours or mine. Instead of tying General Eisenhower's hands with regulations and restrictions, I think it is up to us to give him all the support that we can muster, to show him that we believe in him and back him 100 percent.

We can reduce the question of Western European defense to the terms we apply to our daily life. We know that the fair-weather friend is no friend at all. We know that the way to keep friends is to stick by them when they face trouble. This is the case with our friends in Western Europe. If we want to keep them—and we need them for our own survival—we've got to show them with deeds, as well as fine words, that they can depend on us.

With our help, and their own hard labors, they have made a magnificent recovery from the near-

prostration which afflicted them after the war. Now, they face the exhausting effort of rearming, of channeling a substantial percentage of the product of their labor into the construction of a defense against the neighboring menace in the East. They have done much on their own. And they have given firm indications of their intentions to do more—provided we are still with them in fact as well as in spirit. In pure self-interest, it is up to us to take the initiative and demonstrate that we can be counted upon.

### **Opposing Aggression in Korea**

Our other front page problem is the fighting in Korea. A number of Americans are asking why we went into Korea in the first place and why we are staying there. The United States and the United Nations went into Korea for a reason which is valid now, was valid then, and will be valid a century hence. There is only one way to stop aggression, and that is to demonstrate to aggressors that it is a costly and hazardous undertaking.

Had we not come to the aid of the Republic of Korea, we would have been accessories to the start of a chain reaction of aggression which would have destroyed all hope of a world based on international law and order. It was essential for the security of this country to show that the free world would not again travel the dreary and suicidal road of appeasement—from Manchuria, to Ethiopia, to the Rhineland, to Anschluss with Austria, and, finally, to the debacle at Munich. It was necessary to serve firm notice that the United States and its associates would oppose the aggressor wherever it was within our capacities to do so.

Why, then, are we staying in Korea? The Korean campaign is no quixotic venture. We are well aware that the trained troops committed to this struggle are vital to the security of this country and the free world. There is no intention of squandering the lives of American fighting men in hopeless combat.

Our forces, there, are serving an important purpose. We can best measure the scope of that purpose if we examine what would happen if we pulled out of Korea. What effect would such action have on our allies, particularly the Koreans who have fought so valiantly in defense of their homeland? What impact would our quitting have on the rest of our friends in the Far East?

Consigning the Koreans to the not so tender mercies of the Communist imperialists would make a deep and lasting impression on the other peoples of Asia. They would, unquestionably, conclude that this was the fate of those who took a stand against communism as an ally of the United States.

If the effect of withdrawal on our friends would be disastrous, what would a pull-out do for Mao Tse-tung and his Chinese Communist regime? There is reason to believe that important units of

the first line Chinese Communist troops are being chewed up in the Korean campaign. There are indications that maintaining a force there is drawing on reserves of men and material which might otherwise be earmarked for aggression elsewhere in Asia. The minute we withdraw, this drain ceases. The Chinese Communists are, then, free to proceed, unhampered, wherever their timetable of conquest has scheduled the next move. What they would be certain to trumpet as a victory over the free world in Korea would give them an important psychological asset, because it would lend credence to their pose that Chinese power is invincible. It takes little imagination to envisage the effect of this facade of invincibility elsewhere in Asia. This, alone, might be sufficient to loose a wave of communism which would sweep the area.

In Korea, we are defending a principle as well as a country struggling against odds to preserve its freedom. If we maintain our national integrity, we will have accomplished a purpose that will be worth many divisions in a subsequent crisis.

We have no cause for doubting our ability to do the job. In combination with our allies, we have an abundance of all the vital factors. We hear much of the overwhelming manpower behind the iron curtain. But the manpower of the free world is its equal in numbers and, on a man to man basis, infinitely superior, because a free man is far more effective than a slave. We have a tremendous advantage in resources, in technical skills, and in industrial power. And we have demonstrated, time and again, in our history, that we have the courage and the determination to see this crisis through.

Our main concern, at this stage, is to stick together. Our job is to keep our allies firmly with us and pool our strength. To reverse an old American saying, divided we may fall, but united we will stand.

## Italian Military Program Within Provisions of Peace Treaty

[Released to the press February 21]

*Following is an exchange of letters between Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. and Jack K. McFall, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, concerning military provisions of the Italian Peace Treaty.*

*February 2, 1951*

MY DEAR SENATOR LODGE: Thank you very much for the views expressed in your letter of January 9, 1951 concerning the military provisions of the Italian Peace Treaty. It should be noted, with reference to your suggestion concerning the withdrawal or denunciation of the Italian Peace Treaty, that the Treaty contains no provision for termination, denunciation, or withdrawal; however, it does provide two procedures

whereby the military provisions of the Treaty may be revised.

The Department is naturally aware of the limitations contained in the military provisions and of their relationship to the rearmament effort, not only of Italy, but of all members of the North Atlantic Treaty.

In connection with the general rearmament effort, the Italian Government has recently revealed its intention to proceed with the implementation of an additional military production program amounting to 250,000,000,000 lire or \$400,000,000, making a total military expenditure of 575,000,000,000 lire for the calendar year 1951. The production of war material contemplated under this program and urgently needed by the Italian Army will, of course, require time for completion. Since even this program, which will require aid from the United States if it is to be accomplished, imposes a heavy burden upon the Italian economy, the Italian Peace Treaty at the present moment is not materially limiting the Italian rearmament effort.

The problem posed for the future by these provisions, however, presents important political and legal considerations, not only for Italy but also for the United States and other signatories of the Italian Peace Treaty. The Department has this matter under continuous study.

*January 9, 1951*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Under the terms of the Italian Peace Treaty, the Italian Army is limited to 185,000 and stringent limitations are put on military training and on the development of the Italian Navy and Air Force.

These limitations will certainly hamper Italy's capacity to contribute to the armed forces being set up under the Atlantic Pact. This is bad for Italy and bad for the other nations who are members of the Atlantic Pact, including the United States. Surely, it is in the interests of the United States for American manpower not to have to carry an undue load of combat and in the narrowest sense, therefore, we have an interest in enabling Italy to participate as completely as possible.

Obviously, the conditions which existed at the time the Italian Peace Treaty was concluded no longer apply. The idea that Italy could possibly be a threat to the peace—which is implicit in the Treaty—is today clearly absurd. On the contrary, Italy would be a great help toward the maintenance of peace. The provision in Article 46 envisaging Italian membership in the United Nations has been completely nullified by the abuse of the veto power by the Soviet Union.

Thus, the question of withdrawing from or denouncing the Italian Peace Treaty becomes extremely pressing. Will you please advise me, therefore, what steps can be taken in order to end the present highly unfortunate and unjust situation caused by the existence of the so-called Italian Peace Treaty?

## Export-Import Bank Loan to Spain for Agriculture and Industry

[Released to the press by the Export-Import Bank  
February 14]

Spain is the beneficiary of four separate credits totaling 12.2 million dollars, established by the Export-Import Bank with the approval of the Economic Cooperation Administrator.

The credits were made on the basis of an authorization in chapter XI, title 1 of the General Appropriations Act of 1951, providing for credit assistance to Spain on credit terms in accordance with section 111 (c) (2) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended.

The credits established include 5 million dollars for cotton, 3.5 million dollars for fertilizers, 3 million dollars for tractors and spare parts, and 700 thousand dollars for equipment, machinery, and parts necessary to complete a nitrogenous fertilizer plant in Spain.

The manufacture of textiles, especially cotton, is the major industrial activity of Spain. This industry is centered in the Barcelona area. It employs nearly 500,000 workers and produces for both the domestic market and export. Normally, the United States has been a major source of supply for Spain's requirements in raw cotton. However, in recent years, owing to the shortages of dollar exchange, Spain has relied to a large extent on other sources.

Spain is mainly an agricultural country, some 55 percent of its population being engaged in agricultural pursuits. In normal years, agricultural production supplied the needs of a steadily growing population and provided some 65 percent of the country's total exports. There has, however, been a general decline in agricultural output since 1939 to about two-thirds of prewar levels. Among the principal reasons for this decline have been the lack of nitrogenous fertilizers and farm machinery and equipment.

The purpose of the fertilizer and tractor credits is to assist Spain to revive her agricultural output and thus be less dependent upon foreign sources of supply for foodstuffs in which she has in the past been self-sufficient. The fourth credit of 700 thousand dollars, in favor of the Sociedad Iberica del Nitrogeno, is designed to aid Spain to increase the domestic production of nitrogenous fertilizer and to become less dependent on outside sources of supply. A private Spanish corporation founded in 1923, the Sociedad Iberica del Nitrogeno, is one of the major producers of nitrogenous fertilizers in Spain; the equipment and materials are necessary to assist in the construction of a synthetic ammonia and nitrogenous fertilizer plant in the Asturias.

Sociedad Iberica del Nitrogeno is both the obligor and beneficiary of the credit for fertilizer plant equipment. The Bank of Spain, the central

bank of the country since 1829, is the obligor for the other three credits. The beneficiary of such cotton as may become available under the credit is the Consorcio de Industriales Textiles Algoderos, an association of cotton textile manufacturers. The Ministry of Agriculture will allocate the fertilizers and tractors and spare parts through dealers and other established commercial channels.

Terms and conditions for each of the four credits are identical. Each credit bears interest at 3 percent per annum, payable semiannually, the principal to be repaid 20 years following a period of grace of 5 years on payment of principal, and each credit is to be unconditionally guaranteed by the Spanish Government.

Inquiries relating to the commodities and equipment eligible for financing under the credits should be addressed to the Spanish Embassy in Washington, D. C.

## Cuba Offers To Cooperate in U.S. Defense Program

[Released to the press February 10]

A delegation representing Cuban industry and Cuban labor leaves for Habana today after having spent several days at Washington, D. C., talking in a general way with officials of the United States Government regarding its desire to cooperate in the United States defense production program.

The Cuban group composed of Burke Hedges, president of the National Association of Manufacturers and other outstanding Cuban industrialists, and Francisco Aguirre and Cesar Lancis, secretaries for foreign relations and economic affairs respectively of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, came to the United States with the approval of the Cuban Government to offer, unconditionally and without requesting commitments or assistance of any kind, industrial, raw material and manpower resources in Cuba for such use as could effectively be made of them in the defense production program of the United States.

Cuban industry and labor representatives alike pledged their assistance in what they termed the war of supply which the free world is waging against the forces of oppression in its efforts, both to safeguard its way of life and to prevent if possible a general military conflict by building up its own strength.

The offer of cooperation made upon this basis and in this spirit was welcomed by United States officials charged with the responsibility for defense production and stockpiling programs, who recommended to the Cuban delegation that they make a survey of resources and facilities in Cuba in the light of United States defense requirements and deficiencies.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

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

#### Adjourned During February 1951

##### United Nations:

Economic and Social Council:		
Committee on Draft Convention on Freedom of Information . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Jan. 15-Feb. 7
Economic Commission for Europe: Meetings of Coal Committee.	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 20-23
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:		
Regional Conference of Statisticians . . . . .	Rangoon . . . . .	Jan. 22-Feb. 4
Subcommission on Iron and Steel: Third Session. . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 14-16
Committee on Industry and Trade . . . . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 15-26
International Children's Emergency Fund: Executive Board . . .	New York . . . . .	Feb. 9 (1 day)
Centenary Celebrations of Geological Survey of India . . . . .	Calcutta . . . . .	Jan. 10-27
Inter-American Commission of Women, First Regional Seminar . .	San Salvador . . . . .	Jan. 15-Feb. 3
Universal Postal Union Executive Committee, Joint Conference with International Air Transport Association.	Cairo . . . . .	Jan. 22-Feb. 5
International Cotton Advisory Committee: 10th Plenary Meeting . .	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 1-10*
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Indo-Pacific Council of Fisheries: Third Meeting. . . . .	Madras . . . . .	Feb. 1-16
Meeting on Agricultural Extension. . . . .	Turrialba . . . . .	Feb. 3-25
Rubber Conference . . . . .	London . . . . .	Feb. 5-21*
British Commonwealth Consultative Committee on South and South- east Asia.	Colombo . . . . .	Feb. 12-20
ILO (International Labor Organization): Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee, Third Session.	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 12-24

#### In Session As of February 28, 1951

GATT: Third Set of Tariff Negotiations of Contracting Parties . . .	Torquay . . . . .	Sept. 28-
Tripartite Conversations on Security Export Controls . . . . .	London and Paris . . . . .	Oct. 17-
FAO: Latin American Training Center for Agricultural Statistics . .	San José . . . . .	Jan. 8-
Engineering Exhibition, Indian International . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Jan. 10-
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Council: 12th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Jan. 30-
Intergovernmental Study Group on Germany . . . . .	London . . . . .	Jan. 30-
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization):		
Planning Board for Ocean Shipping: Civil Requirements and Shipping Availability Committees.	London . . . . .	Feb. 12-
Expert Committee on Staff Matters . . . . .	London . . . . .	Feb. 19-
United Nations:		
General Assembly: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Sept. 19-
Trusteeship Council: Eighth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Jan. 29-
Committee To Merge Functions of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments.	New York . . . . .	Feb. 14-
Committee on Public Information: 14th Session. . . . .	New York . . . . .	Feb. 27-
Economic and Social Council:		
12th Session . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Feb. 20-
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Seventh Ses- sion.	Lahore . . . . .	Feb. 28-
Motion Picture Festival . . . . .	Punta del Este, Uruguay . .	Feb. 15-
ILO: Governing Body: 114th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 26-
Agricultural Machinery Show . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Feb. 27-
International Materials Conference . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Feb. 26-

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

\*Tentative.

*Calendar of Meetings—Continued*

**Scheduled March 1–May 31, 1951**

Four Power Conference on Swiss Allied Accord . . . . .	Bern . . . . .	Mar. 5–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
International Telegraph Consultative Committee Study Groups . .	Geneva . . . . .	Mar. 6–
Administrative Council: Sixth Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Apr. 16–
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization):		
Planning Board for Ocean Shipping, Working Group: Second and Third Meetings.	Washington and London . . . . .	Mar. 12 and April
First South American Petroleum Congress . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Mar. 12–
United Nations:		
Economic and Social Council:		
Transport and Communications Commission: Fifth Session . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Mar. 12–
Economic Commission for Europe:		
Transport Committee, Working Party on Statistical Information.	Geneva . . . . .	Mar. 5–
Social Commission: Seventh Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Mar. 19–
Human Rights Commission: Seventh Success . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Apr. 16–
Population Commission: Sixth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Apr. 23–
Commission on the Status of Women: Fifth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	Apr. 23
Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press: Fifth Session.	New York . . . . .	May 7–
Statistical Commission: Sixth Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	May 7–
Fiscal Commission: Third Session . . . . .	Lake Success . . . . .	May 7–
Economic, Employment and Development Commission: Sixth Session.	Lake Success . . . . .	May 14–
Economic Commission for Latin America: Fourth Session . . . .	Mexico . . . . .	May 21–
Economic Commission for Europe: Sixth Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	May 21–
International Law Commission: Third Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	May 21–
Extraordinary Session of the Directors of the International Meteorological Organization (IMO).	Paris . . . . .	Mar. 15–
First Congress of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) . . .	Paris . . . . .	Mar. 15–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Air Navigation Commission Airworthiness Division: Fourth Session.	Montreal . . . . .	Mar. 20–
Air Navigation Commission Operations Division: Fourth Session .	Montreal . . . . .	Mar. 27–
Air Navigation Commission Communications Division: Fourth Session.	Montreal . . . . .	Apr. 24–
Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Mar. 26–
Lyon International Trade Fair, Thirty-Third . . . . .	Lyon . . . . .	Mar. 31–
Engineering Congress, Second Pan American . . . . .	Habana . . . . .	March
International Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission: First Meeting.	Washington . . . . .	Apr. 2–
South Pacific Quarantine Conference . . . . .	Suva, Fiji Islands . . . . .	Apr. 2–
Cannes Film Festival . . . . .	Cannes, France . . . . .	Apr. 2–
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Working Party on Rice Breeders: Second Meeting . . . . .	Bogor . . . . .	Apr. 9–
Working Party on Fertilizers: First Meeting . . . . .	Bogor . . . . .	Apr. 9–
Joint FAO–WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition: Second Session	Rome . . . . .	Apr. 10–
Milan Fair, XXIX International (Fiera di Milano) . . . . .	Milan . . . . .	Apr. 12–
Rubber Study Group: Eighth Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Apr. 16–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Special Committee on International Sanitary Regulations . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Apr. 16–
Fourth World Health Assembly . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	May 7
Brussels International Trade Fair: Twenty-fifth . . . . .	Brussels . . . . .	Apr. 21–
Fourth South American Congress on Neurosurgery. . . . .	Pôrto Alegre, Brazil . . . . .	Apr. 22–
Health Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute: 55th Meeting . . .	Southport, England . . . . .	Apr. 23–
Pan American Sanitary Organization, 13th Meeting of the Executive Committee.	Washington . . . . .	Apr. 23–
South Pacific Commission: Seventh Session . . . . .	Nouméa, New Caledonia . . . . .	Apr. 28–
International Textile Exposition . . . . .	Lille, France . . . . .	Apr. 28–
Interparliamentary Union, Council . . . . .	Nice . . . . .	April
First Freedom International . . . . .	New York . . . . .	April
First South American Congress of Chemistry . . . . .	Lima . . . . .	May 4–
Ninth International Exhibition of Decorative and Industrial Arts and Modern Architecture.	Milan . . . . .	May 5–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Coal Mines: Fourth Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	May 7–
Joint Maritime Commission . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	May 21–
Governing Body: 115th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	May
First Pan American Congress on Medical Education . . . . .	Lima . . . . .	May 14–
Universal Postal Union: Executive and Liaison Committee . . . . .	St. Gallen, Switzerland . . . . .	May 21–
First Pan American Congress on Veterinary Medicine (Joint FAO/Pan American Sanitary Bureau).	Lima . . . . .	May 20–
Canadian International Trade Fair, Fourth . . . . .	Toronto . . . . .	May 28–
Caribbean Commission: 12th Meeting . . . . .	Barbados . . . . .	May
Third Inter-American Seminar on Social Affairs . . . . .	Pôrto Alegre, Brazil . . . . .	May
Festival of Britain, 1951 . . . . .	England . . . . .	May 3–

# International Materials Conference

## Name Commodity Committees

### COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

[Released to the press February 25]

It has been announced in Washington by the Central Group of the International Materials Conference that the first committee of the new organization for international cooperation in the field of essential materials would meet in Washington today and that it would be concerned with copper, zinc, and lead. The following countries have accepted the invitation to participate in the work of the committee: Australia, Belgium (for Benelux), Canada, Chile, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Peru, United Kingdom, United States of America.

This development follows the announcement made by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States on January 12th that invitations were being sent to the Governments of other major consuming and producing countries to join with them in establishing new international machinery for collaboration against the growing shortage of many essential materials. The sponsoring Governments announced at the same time that they were setting up a temporary Central Group of representatives charged with the responsibility of creating a servicing mechanism or secretariat for the international organization.

The new machinery will consist of a series of separate international commodity committees whose task it will be to review the supply position for essential materials which are in short supply, or in danger of becoming so, and to recommend measures for increasing the production and insuring the effective distribution and use of such materials. Each committee will function independently, and each will make recommendations direct to governments and not through the Central Group. Each committee will establish its own rules of procedure and operating arrangements.

This new organization will bear the collective title "International Materials Conference," and the first Committee to meet will be called "The Copper, Zinc and Lead Committee of the International Materials Conference (Imc)." Other committees will be named similarly.

The members of the Central Group of the International Materials Conference are:

Raoul de Vitry, France  
Viscount Knollys, United Kingdom  
Edwin T. Gibson, United States.

They have appointed Charles W. Jeffers of the United States as executive secretary in charge of the central secretariat which is in course of being set up for the Commodity Committees. The various committees of the Conference will meet in Washington in the offices provided temporarily by the State Department at 1778 Pennsylvania Ave-

nue, NW., where the secretariat will have its offices also.

The schedule of meetings of further committees of the International Materials Conference and of the countries which have accepted invitations to participate is as follows:

#### March 1. *Sulphur Committee*

Australia, Belgium (for Benelux) Brazil, Canada, France, Italy, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

#### March 5. *Cotton and Cotton Linters Committee*

Belgium (for Benelux), Brazil, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Peru, United Kingdom, United States.

#### March 8. *Tungsten and Molybdenum Committee*

Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.

#### March 12. *Manganese, Nickel and Cobalt Committee*

Belgium (for Benelux), Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Norway, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

#### April 2. *Wool Committee*

To be announced at a later date.

The establishment of additional committees of the Imc for other scarce materials is under consideration.

In issuing invitations to other countries to participate in the work of the new organization, the sponsoring Governments were concerned to secure the maximum possible representation of producing and consuming interests, while insuring that the committees would not become too unwieldy in size for effective and rapid operation. In respect of most commodities, the countries which have agreed to participate account for between 80 percent and 90 percent of the producing and consuming interests.

It is expected that one of the first tasks of each Commodity Committee, in formulating its operating procedure, will be to make proper arrangements for fully safeguarding the interests, whether as producers or consumers, of countries which are not members. While this will be a matter for each committee to determine in accordance with its own procedure, it is assumed that countries which are not members will be afforded appropriate facilities for making a direct statement of their respective interests to each committee.

### STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[Released to the press February 21]

I am informed that a number of you have inquired about the status of our efforts at creation

of international machinery for the control by the free countries of scarce commodities and particularly about the creation of scarce commodity committees.

Six such committees have been created. They are:

1. Copper, Zinc, and Lead
2. Sulphur
3. Cotton
4. Tungsten and Molybdenum
5. Manganese, Nickel, and Cobalt
6. Wool

Although I am not, at the moment, at liberty to give you the country composition of these committees, I can say that sufficient replies have now been received to go forward with the tentative plans for the convening of the committees.

The first to convene—that for Copper, Zinc, and Lead—will hold its first meeting next Monday, February 26. Others will hold their first meetings at intervals between then and the end of March. They will be held in closed session.

The three sponsoring Governments (the U.S., U.K., and France) hope to be able to issue a joint statement later in the week giving further details, including the names of the participating countries.

## United States Delegation to International Labor Office (ILO)

The 114th session of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office (ILO) will convene at Geneva, March 6–10, 1951. This full session will be preceded by meetings of the Finance, Manpower, Technical Assistance and other Committees, commencing on February 26. Philip M. Kaiser, Assistant Secretary of Labor, will attend this meeting in his capacity as United States Government representative on the Governing Body of the ILO. Named to serve as advisers on the delegation are:

- Robert M. Barnett, Economic Officer (Labor), American Legation, Bern, Switzerland; Resident at Geneva  
L. Wendell Hayes, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.  
Edward B. Persons, Chief, ILO Division, Office of International Labor Affairs, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The Governing Body is composed of 32 persons—16 representing governments (of which the United States is one), 8 representing employers, and 8 representing workers. Serving as the executive board of the International Labor Organization, the Governing Body, which normally meets four times annually, has general supervision of the Office and the various committees and commissions of the Organization.

Among the 19 items on the agenda of this session are an examination of reports of the Director

General and those standing committees which have held meetings since the 113th session of the Governing Body, held at Brussels last November. These reports deal with allocations, finance, industrial safety and health, technical assistance, and other administrative, economic, and social matters. The date of the convening of the 115th session of the Governing Body, as well as dates and places of certain other ILO regional conferences and committee meetings, will be decided at this meeting.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

Activity of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce 81st Congress. Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce pursuant to H. Res. 107. H. Rept. 3251, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 10 pp.

The State of the Union. Address of the President of the United States—before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives on the subject of the state of the Union. H. Doc. 1, 82d Cong., 1st sess. 8 pp.

The Economic Report of the President Transmitted to the Congress January 1951—together with a report to the President. The Annual Economic Review by the Council of Economic Advisers. H. Doc. 30, 82d Cong., 1st sess. 241 pp.

Eighth Report to Congress of the Economic Cooperation Administration (Supplement). Economic Cooperation agreements and amendments thereto concluded July 1, 1948–June 30, 1950. H. Doc. 645, Part 2, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 114 pp.

Ninth Report to Congress of the Economic Cooperation Administration. For the quarter ended June 30, 1950. H. Doc. 713, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 156 pp.

Further United States Assistance To Meet Emergency Created by the Food Shortage in Yugoslavia. Message from the President of the United States transmitting—recommendation relative to enactment of legislation authorizing further United States assistance to meet the emergency created by the food shortage in Yugoslavia. H. Doc. 723, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 2 pp.

Report on Audit of Export-Import Bank of Washington, 1950. Letter from the Comptroller General of the United States transmitting—report on the audit of Export-Import Bank of Washington for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950. H. Doc. 725, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 19 pp.

Civil Aeronautics Act Amendments. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce House of Representatives Eighty-First Congress, second session on S. 4, H. R. 8126, S. 3377, H. R. 8413, S. 451, H. R. 9320—to amend the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, May 22, June 16, 23, and August 17, 1950. (Department of State, pp. 63, 77.) 93 pp.

Amendments to War Claims Act of 1948 Trading With the Enemy Act. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce House of Representatives Eighty-First Congress, second session on H. R. 6808, H. R. 7001, H. R. 7030, S. 3000—amending War Claims Act of 1948; S. 603, H. R. 1849, H. R. 2780, H. R. 6431, H. R. 7002, H. R. 1848, S. 1292, H. R. 6300, S. 3901, H. R. 8998, H. R. 6096—amending the Trading With the Enemy Act. March 22, 24, May 15, June 15, August 3, 18, 24, 25, and September 1, 1950. (Department of State, pp. 5, 9, 138, 154, 157, 195, 201, 215, 237, 261, 348, 376, 416) 426 pp.

## West Indian Conference: Fourth Session

by *Elizabeth H. Armstrong*

The West Indian Conference (fourth session) met at the Piscadera Bay Club, Willemstad, Curaçao, Netherlands West Indies, from November 24 to December 7, 1950. It was attended by delegates from the 14 of the 15 territories administered by the four member governments of the Caribbean Commission—France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Delegates came from the French Departments of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana, from the Netherlands West Indies and Surinam, from the British West Indian territories of Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, and the Windward Islands, and from the United States Territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The 16 Caribbean Commissioners from the four respective member governments attended the sessions of the West Indian Conference. The Conference was also attended by a large number of observers representing the United Nations, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Labor Organization (ILO), many of whom made important contributions to the meetings. Dr. H. Riemens, the Netherlands cochairman of the Commission and Netherlands Minister to Venezuela, presided. Observers from Canada, Haiti, and such institutions as the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at Trinidad, the Pasteur Institute of Martinique, and the University of Puerto Rico also attended.

The West Indian Conference is one of the auxiliary bodies of the Caribbean Commission and was originally established by joint communiqué of its predecessor, the Anglo-Caribbean Commission, on January 4, 1944. The first session of the West Indian Conference met at Barbados in March of that year, and the second session, at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States, in February–March 1946, and the third session, at Guadeloupe in December 1948.

Established in 1946 by a four-power agreement, the Caribbean Commission is a consultative and advisory body to the member governments in the

social and economic fields. Its predecessor, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission had been established in 1942. The agreement establishing the Caribbean Commission stated that its principal functions concentrated on economic and social matters of common interest to the Caribbean area, particularly in the fields of agriculture, communications, education, fisheries, health, housing, industry, labor, social welfare, and trade. The Commission was further empowered to study, formulate, and recommend programs and policies with respect to social and economic problems designed to contribute to the well-being of the Caribbean area and to advise member and territorial governments of such matters, as well as to assist in coordinating local projects of regional significance.

The agreement stipulates that the West Indian Conference shall be an auxiliary body of the Commission whose continuity is insured by means of regular sessions. Delegates to the conferences are appointed for each territory in accordance with its own constitutional procedure. The functions of the Conference are to provide regular means of consultation between delegates from the territories on matters of common interest within the Commission's terms of reference and to afford the opportunity of presenting to the Commission recommendations on such matters.

The West Indian conferences, from their inception and until recently, have had the unique distinction of being the only international conferences in which the delegates actually represent the peoples of non-self-governing territories. They have evolved from being meetings of territorial delegates to discuss general problems, which was characteristic of the first and second sessions, into an important and responsible forum at which delegates undertake consideration on the widest possible basis of a particular functional aspect of the social and economic development of the area.

As a result of the policy of focusing attention upon a particular subject at each Conference, the Caribbean Commission decided upon "The Agri-

cultural Problems of the Caribbean" as the principal theme of the fourth session. The Commission set up a tentative agenda for the Conference that included such items as the importance of agriculture in Caribbean economy with reference to the world market, farm management, soil conservation, animal husbandry, rural welfare, land tenure and settlement, rural housing, cooperatives, agricultural credit and marketing problems, agricultural labor, and mechanization. In view of the extent of the agenda, it was decided to seek aid from experts in member governments and in the specialized agencies of the United Nations for the preparation of the documentation for the Conference. As a result of this policy, an extensive and well-prepared documentation, developed by experts in member governments and in the FAO and ILO, was laid before the Conference delegates when they met at Curaçao on November 24.

### Organization of the Conference

At the first plenary session of the Conference, on November 24, a preliminary discussion of the agenda and of methods of handling it took place. To obviate duplication of effort, the Conference decided that documentation prepared for the fourth session should be immediately discussed in a number of committees which it then established. Many of the experts responsible for the documentation were present at the Conference and were asked to be available to committees during the discussions of the various agenda items.

The Conference established nine committees, which dealt with the following items of the agenda:

- I. Report of the Secretary General
- II. Importance of Agriculture
- III. Soil Conservation and Fertility  
Water Control
- IV. Animal Husbandry
- V. Land Tenure  
Land Settlement  
Rural Housing
- VI. Extension Services  
General Rural Education  
Cooperatives
- VII. Agricultural Credit and Marketing Problems
- VIII. Agricultural Labor and Mechanization  
Types of Farming
- IX. Agricultural Research

Each committee was composed of one member of each respective territorial delegation accompanied by advisers. In addition to representatives of the Secretariat, most of the committees were also attended by experts from the national governments and such organizations as the FAO, ILO, etc. The committee meetings were noteworthy for the objectiveness of their discussions. Most of the delegates and their advisers who took part in their deliberations were experts in the particular field which the Committee had under consideration. Outside observers, familiar with international conferences, were particularly struck by the genuine interest of the participants, the spirit

of interterritorial cooperation, and the minimum of political bias which characterized the discussions. This common interest and serious purpose resulted in a free give and take of discussion and, to a large degree, in clear-cut recommendations.

### Discussions in Committee

Committee I considered the Secretary General's report of the accomplishments of the Commission in the 2-year period since the last West Indian Conference in 1948 and formulated recommendations for the agenda of the fifth session of the West Indian Conference scheduled to be held in 1952. This Committee discussed what action had been taken or omitted on the 84 recommendations of the 1948 West Indian Conference. It expressed a strong wish that the Commission renew efforts to find solutions for such problems as the availability of investment capital; the holding of a conference to examine Caribbean tariffs with a view to their reduction; disapproval of the continuance of any restrictions on migration on the grounds of race or color; and support for the enactment of legislation regarding labor standards in the area.

The Committee, although recognizing the value of many of the recommendations for action toward the improvement of agriculture in the Caribbean territories, expressed the fear, based on past experiences, that many of these recommendations would fail to receive effective and complete implementation unless additional means of financing agricultural development in the Caribbean territories were to be found. It, therefore, recommended that a special conference of representatives of the territorial governments should be called, in the near future, under the auspices of the Caribbean Commission to consider the various aspects of commercial exploitation of the agricultural potentialities of the area with special emphasis on the development of the timber trade.

The Committee recommended that the main theme of the fifth session of the conference should be "Vocational Education in the Caribbean Area" but that the next conference should also review the work of previous sessions with a view to making an appraisal of the extent to which effective action has been obtained in the region.

Committee II discussed the importance of agriculture in Caribbean economy. It enthusiastically endorsed a paper on this subject by Dr. S. Daniel Neumark of FAO which it considered to be a major contribution toward the promotion of the aims of the Caribbean Commission. The principal proposal was that the Caribbean Commission should recommend to the member governments that they secure the services of one or more agricultural economists under the program of technical assistance for economic development. Such an expert would be called upon to advise and assist in the formulation of the agricultural plans and programs of each territory with a view to developing an agricultural program for the area and should

also study foreign and Caribbean markets with a view of expanding sales in them.

The Commission, subsequently, agreed to recommend to member governments that the Secretary General should be authorized to approach the FAO with a view to obtaining the services of such an expert under the expanded United Nations program of technical assistance. As a result, the member governments are now considering the matter.

Committee III considered the question of soil conservation and fertility as well as that of water control in the area. Its principal recommendations were the establishment of a land improvement and protection project in the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent which should undertake soil improvement and agricultural surveys, the preparation of economic land use classification maps, and the preparation of recommended plans for general land improvements in these islands. This project called for the establishment of a complete land improvement and demonstration program selecting for the purpose at least one entire watershed (drainage basin) and should include pedological and land-capability surveys as well as land capabilities classification. The Committee, in proposing the land improvement project, recommended that the Caribbean Commission, through the member governments, should approach the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations or the appropriate authorities of the United States Point 4 Program to provide the Caribbean area with the services of the necessary experts.

In the field of water control, Committee III suggested that the Commission should collect and disseminate to territorial governments pertinent information on the development of water-control work within the Caribbean area and should urge them to consider the need for critical examination and modification, where necessary, of legislation for controlling the utilization of forest lands.

Committee IV, which discussed the question of animal husbandry, strongly endorsed the report of the livestock conference held under the Commission auspices in the course of 1950. It further recommended that the FAO documentation be used as a standard guide for the livestock problems of the area. Committee IV made a number of recommendations to the Commission which dealt largely with technical aspects of the problems of animal husbandry in the Caribbean area. These recommendations stressed the necessity for the collection and dissemination of pertinent information, the enactment of uniform regulations regarding animal diseases, their control and eradication, the establishment of a regional animal diagnostic laboratory in Trinidad, the temporary exchange of technical personnel, and the need for periodic technical meetings for specialist workers. A recommendation asked the Caribbean Commission to approach the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations to secure the services of ex-

perts in the fields of animal feeding, feed manufacturing, and various types of crops.

Committee V dealt with problems of land tenure, land settlement, and rural housing. The discussion of land tenure was, at times, somewhat controversial, involving, as it did, deliberation regarding the possible changes in land holding. The Committee agreed that the dynamics of land tenure were such that no single system was good for all times and all places. It recommended that territorial governments should lay down conditions against the abuse of land and requiring that utilization and maintenance be in accord with regulations for insuring its best use and be commensurate with the maintenance of fertility and proper physical condition. The Committee expressed the opinion that the system of farm laborers living on estates, plantations, or in houses elsewhere belonging to the landlord was not beneficial to the social and economic well-being of Caribbean territories and should be replaced by laborers' settlements in or near the estates.

The Caribbean Commission was requested to compile all legislation enacted in the Caribbean territories regulating the relations between private land owners and tenants and sharecroppers and between tenants and the state as the case may be. It is noteworthy that the Committee recommended that the Caribbean Commission should make a comprehensive study of land holdings in the Caribbean with the view of determining whether it would be economically desirable to adopt the 500-acre law of Puerto Rico or a similar law suitable to the particular needs of the area.

In the field of rural housing, the Committee pointed out that rural housing for low income families in rural areas is as much a public responsibility as that for low income families in urban areas. It was agreed that the housing problem of low income rural families has not received the attention that its magnitude commands. Tribute was paid to Puerto Rico's approach to the problem of rural housing through an aided self-help program. The principal recommendations of the Committee included a request that the Commission make available to all territorial governments information on the activities of the proposed inter-American housing research and training station as well as on the activities sponsored by the United Nations Technical Assistance administration and the specialized agencies. It was agreed that the Caribbean Commission should take the lead in suggesting rural housing as an important area for both research and action and that information on the program of Puerto Rico's aided self-help rural housing program should be made generally available.

Committee VI, which dealt with the general problem of rural education, also considered extension services, home economics education, and extension cooperatives in the Caribbean. Its recommendations drew attention to the immediate

necessity for the establishment of institutional training facilities for an extension staff where these are not already available. The Committee recommended also that the documentation on home economics prepared for the Conference should be referred for detailed study to the meeting on home economics extension scheduled to be held early in 1952 under the joint sponsorship of the Caribbean Commission and the FAO. The subject of cooperatives in the Caribbean commanded a great deal of interest, and the detailed study of "Home Economics Education and Extension in the Caribbean," prepared for the West Indian Conference, was referred to the jointly sponsored meeting on rural cooperatives under the auspices of the FAO and Caribbean Commission which was subsequently held at Trinidad in January 1951. It was pointed out that one of the main contributory causes of the difficulty experienced in the correct initiation of cooperatives among small mixed farmers lay in the fact that the question was approached from the wrong end in an effort to find an opportunity to apply cooperative techniques, rather than the creation of an appreciation of an agricultural need which demands cooperation for its solution. The Committee also urged that the territorial governments should consider convening territorial meetings on general rural education and that the Caribbean Commission circulate the reports of such meetings with a view to covering Caribbean Conferences at a later stage.

Committee VII, which considered technological aspects of planning marketing facilities in Puerto Rico, strongly recommended that the Caribbean Commission, after consulting with territorial governments, should secure the services of two experts under the auspices of the FAO to study and formulate marketing projects. In the field of agricultural credit, the Committee recommended that the Commission should ask territorial governments to undertake surveys wherever needed of credit facilities available to farmers and pointed out that extreme care should be exercised in insuring that all elements entering into the agricultural economy be given full consideration.

Committee VIII considered documentation on agricultural labor and mechanization as well as on types of farming. It recommended that highest priority be given by governments to establish new and to expand existing employment opportunities through the promotion of industrialization with special emphasis on secondary industries based on local primary production and on handicraft industries. Governments were urged, as they had been at the third session of the West Indian Conference, to take or to continue to take all possible action to develop avenues of migration for employment and settlement. Governments were also urged to introduce social measures designed to anticipate and offset the consequences of mechanization on the level of employment.

Committee IX, which considered the problems of agricultural research, recommended that terri-

torial governments be invited to give priority to applied research and agricultural extensions; to provide facilities for the institutional training of staff for applied research and extension work; and to set up national committees to assign priorities in the policies and programs for applied research in their respective territories.

#### **Action by the Caribbean Commission**

Based upon the experience of the West Indian Conference (third session), which had shown that it was extremely difficult for the Caribbean Commission to pass adequately and wisely on the Conference recommendations in a few days after the close of the Conference, the Commission deferred action on most of the Conference recommendations and made decisions on only those which it considered of the highest priority. As a result of this policy, the Commission agreed that the two following projects for technical assistance developed by the Conference were of the highest priority:

1. The appointment of an agricultural economist to work in the Central Secretariat of the Commission for the period of 1 year to assist in the formulation, development, and coordination of area-wide technical assistance projects in the field of agriculture and to study foreign as well as Caribbean markets;

2. The establishment of a pilot project, in the British islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, to deal with land improvement and protection by means of land capabilities surveys and land-capability classification.

The Commission agreed to recommend to the member governments that the Secretary General should be authorized to approach the FAO with a view to obtaining the services, under the expanded program of technical assistance, of the agricultural economist required for the first project.

Regarding the second project, the Commission agreed to request the Netherlands, French, and United States Governments to approve an approach being made to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations by the United Kingdom Government on behalf of all the member governments in the Caribbean Commission with regard to the proposed St. Lucia and St. Vincent land-use pilot program. It was further agreed that the United Kingdom Government should be invited to take the necessary steps toward the realization of these projects and that the Commission should closely follow their implementation and play an active role in the dissemination of information on the results achieved.

#### **Conclusion**

The United States observers at the Fourth West Indian Conference, who had been present at one or more of the previous sessions of the Conference, were favorably impressed with the evolution of

these conferences and the growing stature of the delegates who attend them. The recent Conference at Curaçao demonstrated that the Commission's decision to concentrate upon a particular theme, at each successive session of the Conference, has proved quite helpful to the latter. The first and second West Indian Conferences in which many of the delegates, especially those from the more isolated territories, were having their first experience of an international meeting tended to lack focus and be hampered by discursive discussions. The third West Indian Conference held in Guadeloupe in 1948 concentrated primarily upon the subject of "The Industrialization of the Caribbean Area" and discussions were far more realistic and practical. It remained, however, for the fourth session, with carefully prepared documentation, to reach a level of successful application of the conference technique in dealing with pertinent problems which many other international conferences have not yet achieved. The objectiveness, which was characteristic of the Conference, was due, in large measure, to the fact that the delegates, for the most part, were either technical experts in their own right or responsible representatives of territorial governments.

Although the Caribbean Commission and its auxiliary bodies are limited by the terms of the agreement to consideration of economic and social matters, it would be unrealistic to expect that discussions would not impinge upon political questions from time to time. Political questions were touched upon more than once during the Conference. Such questions could not be stifled in the committees and were handled straightforwardly by the Netherlands cochairman who was also chairman of the Conference. Several of the more critically minded delegates tended to stress what they believed to be failures on the part of the metropolitan governments to observe the full letter of the law in such matters as human rights and labor legislation. It was clear, however, that the atmosphere of free discussion, which has developed in the West Indian Conference, has served as an educative medium for many of the delegates, and, together with their experience in connection with local administration in their own territories, has combined to make the Conference a highly responsible body. The general atmosphere tended to become more friendly as the Conference progressed, and there appeared to be, at the close, a greater understanding on the part of the delegates of the problems of other territories.

Although the claim made at the second session of the Conference that it was, in fact, a parliament of the region was an exaggeration, the West Indian Conference has become a forum for the discussion of the economic and social problems of the area of high importance to the delegates who attend and to their respective territories. Many delegates at Curaçao expressed the opinion that the West Indian Conference constituted the most

useful institution for the discussion of problems of the area which has ever existed. Should the West Indian Conference (fourth session) be characteristic of those which may follow, the history of the Caribbean Commission will show that regional cooperation in the Caribbean area was not retarded by lack of good will, mutual respect, and understanding among the territorial delegates to the Conferences.

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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 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

The United Nations Secretariat has established an *Official Records* series for the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission; which includes summaries of proceedings, resolutions, and reports of the various commissions and committees. Publications in the *Official Records* series will not be listed in this department as heretofore, but information on securing subscriptions to the series may be obtained from the International Documents Service.

## Analysis of Soviet Performance in the United Nations

by Ernest A. Gross

U.S. Deputy Representative to the U.N.<sup>1</sup>

The speech I have prepared for this occasion was designed to meet the request of your program committee for an analysis of the Soviet performance in the United Nations. In asking me to speak on this topic you have singled out a problem which has been of continuous concern to all of us at the United States Mission.

I prepared my remarks on Thursday night. I make this point for the sake of the historical record, and to advise you that any peculiar timeliness my remarks may seem to have in relation to certain remarks made in Moscow, is, to borrow a phrase well-known to a legal group, "purely coincidental."

Can the United Nations help to settle the conflict between Communist imperialism and the free world?

The Charter of the United Nations was written in those days of 1945 when the victorious coalition was closing in on Berlin. Most people, then, believed that the alliance formed to meet a common enemy would survive into the days of peace. That belief has proved false.

Does this mean that the United Nations cannot be made an effective organization for collective action for peace with freedom?

The United Nations is an instrument of the policy of nations. It would be a mistake to consider it the instrument of policy of any one nation or group of nations.

But it would be an even greater mistake to overlook the fact that United States foreign policy is based upon exactly the same standards of conduct and has exactly the same objectives as are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

This is an important fact. It means that one of our fundamental objectives is to bring about Soviet compliance with the United Nations Charter. It is not enough to say merely that it is United States policy to support the United Nations. The real point is that in defending the United Nations we are supporting standards of behavior and pol-

icy objectives which are necessary for the survival of freedom in the world.

The issue is, therefore, inescapably drawn between those who are for the principles of the Charter and those who are in revolt against them.

Before getting to specific cases, I want to make it clear I realize that our policy with regard to the Soviet Union covers a much wider range of issues than is involved in the United Nations alone.

Regional organizations, like the North Atlantic Treaty and the Organization of American States, are parts of the broader picture of our defenses against Soviet imperialism. Our defense program at home is a crucially important element. So are our foreign military and economic assistance programs.

But I am looking at the problem through United Nations eyes.

### **Kremlin Revolt Against U.N. Collective Security System**

It seems clear to me that the aim of the Soviet leaders is to break up the United Nations collective security system.

We sometimes forget that the essential requirements for peace and freedom in the world are the same as the requirements for peace and freedom at home. We are taught in school that in the United States peace and freedom are inseparable. The Constitution of the United States refers to "domestic tranquility" and guarantees freedom in the Bill of Rights.

However, more and more people have come to realize that international peace, like "domestic Tranquility," rests upon freedom. This is eloquently summarized in a sentence from an address by Secretary of State Acheson:

Freedom means the independence of nations, the respect for spiritual values, and the dignity of man.

I would add only that it is precisely this freedom which the United Nations collective security system is organized to preserve.

Now, let's look at cases to see why I say the

<sup>1</sup>Address made at the Practicing Law Institute Forum at New York, N.Y., on Feb. 17 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

Kremlin is in revolt against the United Nations and is trying to break up its collective security system.

#### **DISARMAMENT**

We all recall, to our sorrow, that the free world disarmed 5 years ago. A military vacuum was left in Western Europe before peace was made. We led the disarmament race, dismantling a magnificent military establishment, putting ships and planes in moth balls, converting industry to peacetime production.

We set the pace in this because, among other things, we were setting the pace toward a stated objective of the United Nations Charter: promoting the "establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources."

The only trouble is that Moscow did not join in the disarmament race. On the contrary, she maintained at least 175 divisions of the Red Army in being and, in addition, turned back to dark ages of the past by setting up a system of puppet armies. The world is concerned by the preparation of these puppet armies in Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Marshal Tito has told the Yugoslav Parliament that these armies total 660,000 men: nearly 3 times the number permitted to these Governments by the treaties of peace. And, finally, she, alone of all the major nations, has made impossible the attainment of an effective atomic energy control system.

Such a course of conduct is utterly at odds with the Charter. It is not compatible with a policy of maintaining international peace and security. It is a negation of the principle of collective security.

#### **DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

Next, is the general denial of human rights in the Soviet Union and in Soviet-controlled areas. This is a course so open and notorious as to make details unnecessary here. This course of action in the Soviet-controlled satellites is not merely a violation of the peace treaties with these countries; nor is it merely a violation of the United Nations Charter which commits members to "the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." It is a course of action that strikes at what the General Assembly of the United Nations has declared to be one of the essentials of peace.

General Marshall, then Secretary of State, said to the Third General Assembly in 1948:

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. . . . 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.

That was in 1948. More than 2 years later, we

do not find the situation improved, nor the threat diminished.

Respect for fundamental human rights is not a negotiable issue. Compliance with the obligations of the Charter is not a negotiable issue. The problem which confronts the free world is the threat to the peace which is implicit in systematic denials of basic human rights, precisely because peace and freedom are inseparable.

It is for this reason, too, that the Soviet Union is in revolt against a collective security system dedicated to the promotion of human rights and freedoms.

#### **ISOLATION BEHIND IRON CURTAIN**

We come then to the Soviet policy of the iron curtain, and all that this implies in a world of spreading education and commerce and the narrowing of space and time. The crossing of a street from West Berlin to the Soviet sector of that city is a trip 500 years backward to the age of the walled town.

The enforced isolation by the Kremlin of peoples within its system strikes at the heart of virtually every major policy of the United Nations. It hinders the maintenance of international peace and security by breeding suspicion of what goes on behind the wall and by precluding inspection systems essential to regulation of armaments. It prevents development of friendly relations among nations. This must, in the last analysis, be based on friendship and understanding among peoples as well as among governments. It obstructs cooperation in solving international, economic, and social problems since a confined and isolated people cannot participate in cooperative endeavors. This explains the fact that the Soviet Union is not a member of such United Nations agencies as the World Health Organization or the Food and Agricultural Organization.

We must conclude, I think, that the iron curtain policy itself brings the Soviet Union into revolt against the United Nations and vital aspects of the collective security system.

#### **"CREEPING AGGRESSION"**

Still, another Soviet policy, which needs only to be stated to prove its essential conflict with the United Nations Charter, is its persistent support of subversion outside its borders. This has become so crude in certain countries that we now find Italian Communist leaders resigning from their party rather than accept the doctrine that a Soviet attack upon Italy would be a so-called "justified war."

Another name for subversion is "creeping aggression." It is as incompatible with the United Nations collective security system as is open aggression.

I turn now to armed aggression, and to sponsorship of armed aggression.

When the aggression by the North Korean forces was being debated last summer in the Security Council every representative at the Security Council table (I include the Soviet representative) realized that the Soviet Union could have prevented that aggression. Everyone there knew that a single word, uttered at any time, could call off that aggression. The United States delegate, Ambassador Austin, made this specific charge. The Soviet representative, far from denying the fact, admitted it in effect by introducing a resolution setting forth the general terms upon which the Soviet would call off the aggression. These terms were inconsistent with United Nations policies and, therefore, unacceptable.

We all know that the United Nations forces, under United States leadership, broke the back of the North Korean aggression.

The Chinese Communists then intervened and a new aggression started and, with it, a new war in Korea. I do not intend to discuss this now, except to say that the Soviet actions in the United Nations with regard to this new aggression bear a striking resemblance to its actions and attitudes with regard to the earlier North Korean aggression.

One aspect of the matter to which I would call your attention, however, is the dramatic illustration of another Soviet technique which lies at the heart of its revolt against the collective security system. This is its constant effort to portray the United Nations action in Korea as so-called American intervention.

#### **PROPAGANDA AGAINST U. S.**

It has become a fixed point of Soviet policy to try to create acceptance of the myth that the major tensions in the world today exist primarily between the Soviet Union and the United States.

At home and abroad, the Kremlin works night and day to persuade people that the United States is the principal enemy of peace and freedom, that we are aggressors in the Far East, that our economic aid programs are forms of "imperialism," that we control a so-called "automatic majority" in the United Nations.

Although this propaganda stream strikes us as absurd, its falsity does not prevent its acceptance by many in various parts of the world. Even at home, we find some people unconsciously affected by it.

In the United States Mission, we are sometimes asked: "Why doesn't the United States sit down alone with the Soviet Union and try to work things out?" Others ask: "Why do we get involved with a lot of other countries instead of worrying about ourselves for a change?"

I think this kind of question ignores the real reason why the Kremlin is working so hard to isolate us from the rest of the free world and to isolate them from us.

The real reason, I submit, is this: Only by iso-

lating us can the Soviet Union hope to destroy the collective security system.

I believe this is more than a matter of our size, strength of resources, industrial power, and other attributes which give to the United States a leadership position in the free world.

Coupled with these attributes, a Divine Providence has ordained that a powerful nation should exist whose standards of conduct and objectives of policy are those of the Charter of the United Nations.

For it is the fact that in every respect in which I have shown the Kremlin to be at war with the Charter, the United States is dedicated to support the Charter. We are joined in this support by almost all the members of the United Nations. But we are the most powerful of this great majority.

We are, accordingly, the symbol and the target. But the objective of the assault upon us is the destruction of the collective security system which we symbolize.

Why else should the Soviet Union so stubbornly single us out for special attack?

Certainly this course does not frighten us, nor weaken us at home. On the contrary, it is obvious to everyone—and it must be clear to the Kremlin—that it actually unites our public and fortifies our determination.

It is true that the attack on us is calculated to make enemies for us abroad. But is this not merely another way of saying that its purpose is to destroy confidence in us, to undermine the moral unity of the non-Soviet states, to split the free world into fragments?

For, what are our obvious objectives abroad, and why should the Soviet Union seek to alienate peoples from us? We do not seek land overseas nor special privileges. Through the United Nations, we have assisted in the birth of new countries such as Indonesia and Israel. Our strength has been devoted to fostering independence, as in the case of the Philippines.

Does the Kremlin believe that, if they make an enemy for us, they, thereby, gain themselves a friend? I do not believe they are so foolish.

What would be the consequence if their persistent campaign should succeed in creating among our own people a retreat from the collective security system? This is obviously one aim of Soviet tactics.

#### **Evaluation of Usefulness of U.N.**

The answer to these questions depends upon an evaluation of the present usefulness of the United Nations. It also involves an appraisal of its possible future growth. I turn now to these subjects.

The United States favors the continued development of the United Nations as an effectively functioning international organization. We want it to function effectively not only in the social, economic, and technical fields but also in that diffi-

cult field which involves the maintenance of international peace and security.

I do not agree with those who say that the United Nations is not capable of dealing with disputes involving large powers. There is no such limitation in the Charter. Nor is there any practical reason for such a limitation.

In fact, it has, since June 25, been dealing with a "big aggression," although how "big" the aggression really was we did not fully discover until the open Chinese Communist aggression in Korea. But it was apparent from the very beginning that the North Korean forces had been trained in Communist China and heavily armored by the Soviet Union.

This did not deter the United Nations from making a decision last June 25 to repel the aggression nor from making another decision on February 1 to condemn the new aggression.

Human institutions have a way of expanding and becoming stronger in proportion to the firmness with which they meet threats to their existence. The history of our own Constitution is the best proof of this.

The United Nations is rising to greatness and permanence for the same reason.

A collective security system is not, of course, in itself a guaranty against war.

However, a collective security system which is soundly based and flexible in operation will go a long way in deterring aggression by creating grave risks for would-be aggressors.

The United Nations is soundly based, because it is founded on correct moral principles.

Its operations during the Korean aggression prove its flexibility.

In the first place, I refer to the Security Council resolution of July 7, 1950, which requested the United States to assume the role of supplying a Unified Command. In view of the fact that the Soviet Union had obstructed efforts to develop United Nations Forces, as contemplated in the Charter, the device of the Unified Command gave to the community of free nations opportunity to contribute to immediate collective action.

Another important step was the authority given by the Security Council to the combined forces to fly the United Nations flag. This should not be dismissed as an empty symbolic gesture. The United Nations flag, flying beside the flags of the United States and the other participating nations, is a constant reminder that the steps to repel aggression represent the combined determination of the free world. If proof is needed of the moral importance of this, it can be found in the persistently repeated Soviet charges that the forces in Korea are "illegally" using the United Nations flag.

But, by far the most important evidence of future usefulness and growth of the United Nations was the adoption by this General Assembly of the uniting-for-peace resolution.

By that resolution, the free world, drawing upon the constitutional powers inherent in the Charter, put itself in position to create an organized system of collective defense in spite of Soviet obstruction.

The heart of this program is to be found in the provisions for the Collective Measures Committee and the plans for military coordination in the face of future armed attacks against any member.

We now have the authority and general formula for bringing a real collective defense program into being. It will take time to do it. Coordinating the training, equipping, transport, command, and so forth of 50 nations so that contingents of effective forces can be assembled and directed at a given point is no simple matter. But it can be done, and the United Nations has decided, by overwhelming vote, to do it.

In the future, a vote in the General Assembly recommending collective action to defend the peace can, thus, become more than an expression of opinion and moral judgment. Each vote can be backed by an advance pledge of prepared units of military power.

Moreover, each vote can be backed by facts. The same resolution authorized the establishment of a Peace Observation Commission which can send representatives to every area of potential danger. It can ascertain the facts of the situation and keep the General Assembly informed.

Through the development of the Collective Measures Committee and the Peace Observation Commission, the General Assembly can increase its ability to reach judgments and enhance its capacity to enforce them.

No other single resolution demonstrates so clearly the fact that the United Nations is a flexible, adaptable institution.

I am confident that it will withstand the present revolt against its collective security system. The free world must, together, make certain of this. For, in the world of today, a "collective security" system is, in reality, a system for "collective survival."

## Communiqués Regarding Korea

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander in Chief of United Nations Command, has transmitted communiqués regarding Korea to the Secretary General of the United Nations under the following United Nations document numbers: S/1990, January 29; S/1991, January 29; S/1993, January 30; S/1997, January 31; S/1998, January 31; S/1999, February 5; S/2002, February 6; S/2003, February 7; S/2004, February 9; S/2005, February 9; S/2006, February 12; S/2008, February 13.

## Peaceful Solution Sought in the India-Pakistan Dispute

*Statement by Ernest A. Gross  
Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations*<sup>1</sup>

In speaking on the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council today by the United Kingdom and the United States, I wish at the outset to call the attention of the Council to the statement made by Sir Owen Dixon in his report submitted to the President of the Council on September 15 last. I think that this statement, which so well indicates Sir Owen's attitude in his negotiations, should be borne in mind by the Council today. He said:

It was obvious to me that in my attempt to settle the dispute I must be governed by the course that had been taken by the Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and agreed upon by the parties. It might be true that the chances of such a course proving successful were much reduced by the failure of the parties over so long a period of time, notwithstanding the assistance of the Commission, to agree upon any practical measures in pursuance of that course for the solution of the problem. But the terms of the agreed resolution of 5th January 1949 were specific in appointing a free and impartial plebiscite as the means by which the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan would be decided. What was wanting was agreement upon the matters, including demilitarization, which were preliminary to even the commencement of the necessary arrangements for the taking of a poll of the inhabitants.

### **U. S.-U. K. Draft Resolution**

Sir Owen's statement, in my opinion, should set the tone for this meeting and is the foundation for the resolution submitted for the Council's consideration today.

The item before us opens up for the Security Council the continuance of its function of bringing about by peaceful means and, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the adjustment or settlement of an international dispute. I believe it is clear that the Council can effectively do this and that, in this case, it has proceeded on the basis that it is the agreement of the parties on which a lasting political settlement must be built.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Security Council on Feb. 21 and released by the U. S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

A very important affirmative element in this case, which has been singularly lacking in other of our immediate concerns, is the fact that the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India have indicated in the clearest terms that there exists on the part of both Governments the will to settle the Kashmir case peacefully and to examine solutions carefully. Also, the area of disagreement has been narrowed. Thus, the Security Council comes to this case with this affirmative attitude of the parties and I think all would agree that the Council can best exercise its functions by narrowing further this area of disagreement. That is the premise on which the draft resolution before you is based.

There are two main questions my Government believes are the primary business of the Council in its continued consideration of the Kashmir problem. The first is an action which has been described by the delegate of the United Kingdom, which the authorities in the Indian-controlled area of Kashmir are undertaking to determine the future shape and affiliation of the state. The second is the matter of bringing about a final solution of the case in accordance with the principle of peaceful settlement. The first issue is presented in the preamble of the draft resolution and the second is dealt with in the operative clauses.

The members of the Security Council were advised, through a letter filed with the President of the Council by the Government of Pakistan on December 14, 1950, of a resolution of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, meeting in the area of the state under the general control of the Indian Government. This resolution was proposed on October 27, 1950; was adopted on October 28; and was endorsed by Prime Minister Nehru of India. The resolution proposed convening a constituent assembly to determine the future form of government of the entire state, including the areas under Pakistani control, and to determine the question of the state's affiliations. More recent press reports from Kashmir and India have described how the implementation of this resolution has begun. According to these reports,

electoral rolls in Indian-occupied areas of Kashmir are expected to be completed by March of this year, and elections may be held in June or July. Although the Pakistan-held parts of Kashmir would not participate in the vote, the decisions of the constituent assembly will be held applicable to all parts of the state including the Pakistan-controlled areas. It is our impression that the proclamation, which ordered the carrying into effect of these steps implementing the 28 October Kashmir National Conference resolution, was approved by the Government of India.

When the Governments of India and Pakistan accepted in writing the principles formulated in the January 5, 1949, resolution of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, both Governments agreed that the question of accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices. I emphasize "free and impartial" as well as "U.N. auspices" because it seems clear that these words support each other in a guaranty to the world and to each party that the plebiscite would be so fair that objective and dispassionate observers could not criticize the plebiscite in any way. Equally important in this concept to the idea of a free and impartial plebiscite is the guaranty to the Governments of India and Pakistan that each will have its interest protected by a plebiscite under United Nations auspices, so that the outcome will not be held unfair and the result of coercion or intimidation.

The United States firmly believes that there can be no real and lasting settlement of the Kashmir dispute which is not acceptable to both parties. Any attempt to decide the issue, without the consent of both parties, will only leave a constant and explosive irritant in the relations between these two Governments—an irritant which will effectively prevent the bringing about of peace and security in South Asia. Our friendship for the Governments and peoples of Pakistan and India has led us always to stand ready to extend whatever aid and service we can in contributing to their friendly and peaceful relationship. The Prime Minister of India on November 2, 1947, in a radio broadcast stated that the future of Kashmir should be settled by a referendum held under international auspices, like the United Nations. He repeated this pledge in press statements as late as September 30, 1950, and January 16 this year.

Moreover, in the light of the Indian commitment as expressed in its acceptance of the 5 January 1949 UNCIP resolution, it is clear that such plebiscite can be held only under United Nations auspices, if it is to provide the guaranties of fairness and impartiality expressed in the UNCIP resolution. My Government is in full agreement with the view expressed by the United Kingdom delegate that the action proposed by the Kashmir National Conference would not bring about such fair and impartial plebiscite.

The draft resolution tabled at the outset of this meeting proposes that a declaration to this effect be adopted by the Security Council. We also share the view of the delegate of the United Kingdom that the Council cannot accept or approve of a plebiscite conducted without the approval or supervision of the Council or its representatives. Our friendship for the Governments and peoples of India and Pakistan should not deter us from expressing ourselves on this point. I was impressed by the sober anxiety which Sir Gladwyn Jebb voiced on this matter, and with him I believe that, if the Security Council hears an explanation, we shall find ourselves reassured that what is intended does not prejudice the parties' prior commitments.

The operative section of the draft resolution, which has been presented today for Security Council approval by the United Kingdom and United States, proposes the appointment of a United Nations representative to effect the demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of demilitarization proposals made previously by Sir Owen Dixon, with such modifications as the United Nations representative deems advisable; and to present to the parties and obtain their agreement to detailed principles for carrying out the plebiscite. In order to explain the reasons for this proposal, I think it advisable to review briefly the history of negotiations in this case.

#### **History of the Kashmir Dispute**

The Kashmir dispute was brought before the Security Council on January 1, 1948.

Since January 1948, the Security Council has made three separate attempts to aid the parties in reaching a reasonable solution of the dispute, and there have been a number of diplomatic approaches by the United Kingdom and the United States supplementing these United Nations efforts. On January 20, 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was established by the Security Council and was able after extended negotiations to obtain agreement to a cease-fire and other principles under which a truce and plebiscite could be brought about, both parties agreeing that the question of accession of the State to India or Pakistan should be decided by a state-wide plebiscite under United Nations auspices. This agreement was formalized in the UNCIP resolution of 5 January 1949. UNCIP was unable, however, to bring about demilitarization and the holding of a plebiscite. In December 1949, the Security Council appointed its current President, General McNaughton of Canada, to consult with the parties in order to help them find a mutually satisfactory basis for dealing with the Kashmir dispute. General McNaughton reported on February 3 that he had not been successful; that the Pakistan Government had accepted his proposals in substance, while the Government of India did not agree on the same important issues

concerning which UNCIP had previously reported it had been unable to obtain Indian acceptance of the Commission's various proposals.

The Council then decided on March 14, 1950, to appoint a United Nations representative to take the place of UNCIP and to aid the parties to work out a demilitarization program, as well as to offer any suggestions which might contribute to the solution of the Kashmir dispute. Sir Owen Dixon was appointed United Nations representative on April 12. He spent from May until the end of August in investigation and negotiations on the subcontinent. Sir Owen presented various proposals to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan regarding the measures necessary to make it possible to hold a state-wide plebiscite to determine the future of Kashmir.

Having been unsuccessful in obtaining Indian agreement to his demilitarization proposals and his suggestions for conditions which, in his opinion, would assure a fair and impartial state-wide plebiscite, the United Nations representative ascertained the reactions of the two Prime Ministers to various plans alternative to that of an over-all plebiscite. While the Government of India appeared interested in the suggestions, the Government of Pakistan contended they contravened India's commitment to determine the future of the state as a whole by a state-wide plebiscite. Despite this apparent impasse, Sir Owen continued in August his negotiations, and persuaded the Government of Pakistan to agree to discuss possible alternative settlements without abandoning their adherence to the principle of a state-wide plebiscite, provided that the Government of India would agree to accept a plan to be drafted by Sir Owen containing conditions for a fair and impartial plebiscite in the general area of the Vale of Kashmir. Sir Owen drew up such a plan, but it proved unacceptable to the Government of India. Consequently, Sir Owen left the subcontinent on August 23, both Prime Ministers having agreed that there was nothing further he could do under his terms of reference.

Since Sir Owen filed the report with the Security Council in September, the Council has not met to consider the Kashmir dispute. However, in London in January of this year, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers attempted, I understand, to make some progress toward a solution of this issue.

This recital of earnest but unavailing efforts to bring about a final solution of the Kashmir dispute may seem at first hearing to present a picture which offers little hope of eventual solution for this perplexing issue, so disruptive to the peace and security of the world. On the contrary, upon reflection, I draw renewed faith that we can advance toward a final and lasting peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question. When the dispute was first laid before the Security Council in January 1948, an undeclared war was raging in

Kashmir and threatening to spread beyond its borders. Thanks to the efforts of the Security Council and its representatives, the fighting was stopped. The parties exhibited a most cooperative attitude in agreeing to the cessation of hostilities, and themselves worked out the cease-fire line. Moreover, throughout the continuing negotiations, the Prime Ministers of both countries have steadily reiterated their earnest desire to settle by peaceful means this dispute as well as all other existing disagreements between them. In a statement on September 30, 1950, the Prime Minister of India affirmed that India has always been prepared to agree for the duration of the plebiscite, and for a suitable period preceding it, to the appointment of United Nations representatives enjoying powers which . . . would be sufficient to insure that every national of Jammu and Kashmir casts his vote "freely and without fear." On January 16, 1951, the Indian Premier declared that "India has repeatedly offered to work out with the United Nations reasonable safeguards to enable the people of Kashmir to express their will, and is always ready to do so."

Likewise, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan, in a statement to the Pakistan Parliament on October 5, 1950, said, "We want to live on the friendliest terms possible with India. We want to settle all our disputes peacefully." In the published correspondence between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan regarding the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two countries, the Prime Minister of Pakistan is quoted in a letter dated November 27, 1950, as saying to Mr. Nehru, "I have also declared over and over again that Pakistan wants peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question." He added, "I agree with you that it is our common misfortune that this correspondence seems to have produced no positive result. Despite my deep disappointment, I assure you that I still believe that it is in the highest degree essential that our two Governments should settle all disputes by peaceful methods. I am convinced, and I am never tired of saying so, that a war between India and Pakistan would be an unmitigated disaster for both countries and I assure you that I shall continue to work for peace."

#### **U. S. Position**

The United States believes that the quoted utterances of the Prime Ministers of these two great countries indicate most clearly not only that there exists on the part of both Governments the will to settle the Kashmir dispute peaceably and to examine solutions carefully but also that the area of disagreement has been narrowed. The Security Council can best exercise its functions to narrow further this area of disagreement by effecting demilitarization of Kashmir as prerequisite to conducting a plebiscite. The previous negotiations

in this dispute have pointed up the area of disagreement as involving, primarily: first, the procedure for and the extent of demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir preparatory to holding a plebiscite; second, the degree of control it would be necessary to exercise over the functions of government in the state in order to insure a fair and impartial plebiscite. The draft resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom and the United States proposes to deal with these two principal issues.

The resolution provides for the appointment of a United Nations representative to succeed to the post resigned by Sir Owen Dixon, but with amplified and strengthened terms of reference. The United Nations representative has two principal tasks: He is to effect the demilitarization of the state on the basis of the demilitarization proposals which had previously been presented by Sir Owen Dixon, with such modifications as he himself deems advisable; he is to present and obtain the agreement of the parties to a detailed plan for carrying out a plebiscite in the state, in order to give effect to their solemn commitment that the future of the state is to be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under United Nations auspices. The resolution of March 14, 1950, placed the burden of preparing and executing the demilitarization program upon the parties themselves, assisted by the United Nations representative. There was no reference to the working out of a detailed plebiscite plan. The present draft resolution proposes that the United Nations representative, after consultation with the two Governments in regard to their differences, himself effect the demilitarization of the state and assume the initiative in presenting to the two Governments and obtaining their agreement to a detailed plan for the plebiscite.

The United Nations representative is authorized to take into account in his task four considerations which, although definitely not exclusive of any others, we regard as important suggestions by the Security Council of possibilities which might well be considered when the United Nations representative frames his proposals to the Governments of India and Pakistan. My British colleague has described in some detail these possibilities, and I shall merely cite them without extensive analysis of their content. First is the report of Sir Owen Dixon, which describes his most careful and objective attempt to present proposals which would meet the principal objections of the parties to both demilitarization and the general form of a plebiscite. As the most recent attempt by a Security Council representative to help the parties in settling this dispute, it contains valuable information which undoubtedly will aid the new United Nations representative. Second is the possibility that, for purposes of maintaining order and guaranteeing the state from external aggression during the period of demilitarization and the holding of

the plebiscite, forces might be provided from states members of the United Nations or raised locally. Third is the possibility that, although a state-wide plebiscite would decide the accession of Kashmir on the basis of majority vote, the losing party might, subsequent to the plebiscite, be assigned those local areas in which such party had obtained the overwhelming majority local vote. The qualification to this suggestion is that due account must be taken of geographic and economic considerations which would vitally affect both sides. Fourthly, there is the possibility that, while affirming the principle that there must be United Nations supervision over the functions of government in the state during the demilitarization and plebiscite periods, it may be appropriate to have different degrees of such supervision for different areas of the state.

The resolution has one more major provision designed to strengthen the hand of the United Nations representative in his negotiations and to aid the parties to reach a full and lasting settlement of this complex problem. This provision calls upon the parties to accept arbitration upon the points of difference remaining unresolved through the efforts of the United Nations representative. The United Kingdom and the United States believe it necessary that still another Charter device for peaceful settlement be provided whereby unresolved issues can be settled objectively, so that the parties and the United Nations representative may be assured that the Security Council is firmly resolved that all possible means for peaceful settlement to bring about a full solution of the Kashmir dispute be offered the parties. I believe that it is the duty of the Council to call to the attention of both Governments their obligation under the Charter of the United Nations to seek a solution by all manner of peaceful means, including arbitration.

These are the essential elements of the resolution which the United Kingdom and the United States have placed before the Security Council today for discussion. I know that the representatives of the Council and the parties will want to study the terms of the resolution with great care. In concluding my remarks, I wish to emphasize my deep concern that the Security Council give prompt consideration to this resolution. The situation on the subcontinent, in which the Kashmir dispute provides a constant irritant prejudicing friendly relations between the parties and injuring their economic well-being, demands that the Security Council press forward suggestions which it believes may help the parties toward a reasonable and acceptable determination of this dispute. I sincerely believe this resolution offers good possibilities for successfully channeling the Council's activities in the direction of practical aid to the parties. The time and the situation demand this aid and require that it be given without thought of criticizing either of the parties or attempting to sit in judgment upon them.

# The United States in the United Nations

[February 23–March 1, 1951]

## Security Council

The Council held its second meeting on Kashmir on March 1. In view of the fact that India is one of the parties to this dispute, Sir Benegal N. Rau, who was to have been president for the month of March, requested D. J. von Balluseck (Netherlands) to take his place.

Sir Rau stated that the Indian Government was "wholly unable to accept the United Kingdom-United States sponsored draft resolution, because, in many respects, it runs counter to decisions previously taken by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) with the agreement of the parties." He felt that, in view of the two resolutions adopted by the Commission on August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, there was no occasion for the use of any foreign troops, nor could India accept any supervision of Kashmir's Government or interference with its normal functions. These two UNCIP resolutions contained adequate provisions for an impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices, and India could not make further concessions. He also explained that the main purpose of the Constituent Assembly would be to provide a properly elected legislature to which the executive could be made responsible. It was not intended "to prejudice the issues before the Security Council or to come in its way." In connection with the reduction of military strength in Kashmir, he stated that India had reduced its forces by 20 percent to 25 percent and was prepared to continue this process if Pakistan, on its part, would withdraw its army from the state. He pointed out that both Governments had recently signed a trade agreement and, if left to themselves, they might be expected to reach agreement on other matters. At the conclusion of his statement, the meeting was adjourned.

## Economic and Social Council

Despite deliberate tactics on the part of the Soviet bloc to disrupt the work of the Ecosoc's twelfth session at Santiago, Chile, the Council and its committees were able to take action on the following items: (1) a resolution was adopted in plenary, by vote of 14-0-4 (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, U.S.S.R.), to forward the draft Convention on Human Rights to the Human

Rights Commission for further consideration; (2) the Economic Committee adopted two amended resolutions proposed in the report by the Secretary-General on Conservation and Utilization of Resources; (3) the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, by vote of 4-1-2, reported to the Council it could not consider a Polish proposal to put on the agenda the World Federation of Trade Unions' complaint against France, stemming from that country's closing of WFTU headquarters in Paris, as the matter had been submitted too late; (4) the Council took action on several items regarding narcotic drugs, including approval of the reports of the Narcotic Drugs Commission and the Central Opium Board; (5) the Technical Assistance Committee adopted a resolution, 16-0-1, on the specific parts of the costs of technical assistance services which recipient governments should pay in local currency or in kind, and (6) the Council adopted (15-3) a joint resolution, cosponsored by France, Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States, on international cooperation on water control and utilization.

During the debate on the draft Human Rights Convention the Chairman, Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile), had to call for order several times and censured the Soviet bloc delegates for using the floor for irrelevant matters. The United States deputy representative, Walter M. Kotschnig, stated that the Soviet Union and its satellites were trying to weaken the United Nations General Assembly's draft of a Covenant on Human Rights, which would guarantee many freedoms to all men. He referred to a proposal by Poland to delete paragraphs providing international inspection to ascertain whether member countries were adhering to the Covenant. Observing that the Covenant provides an impartial committee to supervise its application, Mr. Kotschnig said Poland "objects to impartiality" and prefers no supervision since "some of these rights are not observed in the Soviet Union and its satellites." He also noted that although the Soviet bloc had complained of United States efforts to aid other peoples in Latin America, "Poland and Russia have not contributed one penny toward constructive United Nations programs" which attempt to furnish such aid throughout the world.

The Committee on Non-Governmental Organi-

zations granted hearings on trade union rights to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), to the Federation of Christian Trade Unions (FCTU), and to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). In the plenary debate on allegations made by the ICFTU of infringements of trade union rights in the U.S.S.R., Hungary, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, its delegate, Miss Toni Sender, stated, "In Russia the workers have no liberty to choose their place of work. Management has power to transfer workers from one factory to another anywhere in the entire country." Mr. Kotschnig noted that the trade unions in Soviet Russia are nothing more than "an instrument of the single party state to make workers more productive and more docile." By a vote of 13-5 (Soviet bloc, Chile, Uruguay) the Council passed a United States resolution adjourning debate until next session on a new series of charges of violations of trade union rights filed by the Communist-backed WFTU against Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, United Kingdom, and the United States, inasmuch as these were only submitted the latter part of the week and time was required for defendant countries to make studies.

#### **Trusteeship Council**

The following steps were taken in the Council this week:

1. President Dr. Max Henriquez Urena (Dominican Republic) nominated Belgium, Australia, Thailand, and Dominican Republic to a committee to draft the Council's report on the trust territory of the Pacific Islands.

2. The President proposed that the Committee on Administrative Unions be composed of two of the present members, United States and New Zealand, plus Thailand and China. The U.S.S.R. protested against the appointment of the Chinese delegate; however, the Chinese membership was approved 10-1 (U.S.S.R.)-1, as well as the other members.

3. The Argentine draft resolution requesting the General Assembly to include on its sixth session agenda the question of Italian voting in the Council was approved 9-1 (U.S.S.R.)-2 (U.K., N.Z.).

4. The Council considered the report of the Committee on Visiting Missions and decided to return it to the Committee, together with proposed draft statement for use of visiting missions, with the request that it be modified in accordance with the suggestions and views expressed by the members during the debate.

5. The Dominican Republic's draft resolution taking note of the Secretary-General's 20-year peace plan and requesting the administering authorities of trust territories to furnish the Council with information relating to progress thereon, was adopted by vote of 11-1 (U.S.S.R.)-0.

6. The Council approved the resolution and interim report of the Draft Committee on the Ques-

tionnaire, with amendments, by vote of 11-0-1. The amendments called for comments of administering powers to be submitted by May 15 instead of April 15 and submission of a final report by the Committee sometime during the Council's ninth session.

7. With regard to the Ewe problem (relating to the movement to unify parts of British and French Togoland), the Council heard a special French representative, P. Baptiste, deliver a report on his investigation of elections in French Togoland to the Enlarged Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs, and studied the minutes of the first meeting of the Commission which was held in Lome, November 7-8, 1950.

8. Lastly, the Council undertook an examination of the annual report on the trust territory of Nauru. The special representative of the administering authority (Australia), H. H. Reeve, after an initial statement, was questioned by members of the Council on conditions on this small island territory. Members completed their observations on the report, with exception of a final statement by the administering authority.

*Ad Hoc Committee on Petitions.*—The Committee continued its examination of petitions. Among those considered were petitions concerning the trust territory of the Pacific Islands, on which the Committee submitted a draft report to the Council, together with proposed resolutions on each of these seven petitions.

Rear Admiral L. S. Fiske participated in the Committee's examination of these petitions as special representative of the administering authority, the United States.

The three draft resolutions on Petitions 1, 3, and 4 received from the Village Council of Luta, Women of Palu, and Village of Tanapag, respectively, were adopted; final action on the others was deferred for further discussion. Resolution on Petition No. 1 recommends "that the administering authority continue to take the necessary steps to explain fully to the petitioners the exact meaning and implications of the selection of a flag for the Territory . . . that the creation of a flag for the Territory will in no way hinder the flying of the flag of the United States, so long as that country remains the administering authority;" resolution on Petition No. 3 draws the attention of the petitioners in particular to the fact that it is within the jurisdiction of each municipality of Palau to forbid the manufacture of alcoholic beverages" and "invites the Secretary-General to inform the administering authority and the petitioner of this resolution," and resolution on Petition No. 4 states "HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the observations of the Administering Authority that the Governor of the Northern Mariannas is appointed by the United States and that for the present no change in this procedure is contemplated, decides that under the circumstances no action by the Council is called for on this petition."

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# Laying Foundations for a Pacific Peace

## REPORT ON WORK OF PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TO JAPAN

*by Ambassador John Foster Dulles, Consultant to the Secretary<sup>1</sup>*

Last January, the President asked me to head a Japanese Peace Mission. Our Mission has now visited Japan and also the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. We returned this week. We went with many questions in our minds. We come back with answers that give us hope and confidence.

That does not mean that the task ahead is easy. On the contrary, the problems we face in the Pacific are very difficult. It is not merely a matter of liquidating the old war with Japan but of building a strong bulwark against the threat of Communist aggression from the East.

To do that is vital to our own safety. Many seem to think that our safety is linked only to the West, meaning Europe, and that the East can be ignored. Of course, Europe is important. But just as the United States would be in peril if Europe were overrun, so also we and Europe would be in peril if the East were overrun. We should never forget that Stalin, long ago, laid it down as basic Communist strategy that "the road to victory over the West" lies through the East. That is still taught in the Communist "bible."

The Second World War created a vacuum of power in Europe which Stalin had not foreseen, and communism seized the unexpected opportunity to move into that vacuum. But militant communism has never abandoned its Eastern strategy. Asia is where the Soviet Communists have pushed most persistently and most violently. They threaten war in Europe; but they practice war in China, Korea, Indochina, and Tibet. Today, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and Southeast Asia stand between the United States and the vast manpower and natural resources of Northeast

Asia which are already being exploited by the new Russian imperialism.

In the still free area, that communism has not conquered, Japan occupies a key position. Japan's industrial potential is great and unique in that part of the world. That fact, of course, increases the danger, for Japan's industrial capacity is something that Russia covets. If Japan should succumb to Communist aggression, there would be a combination of Russian, Japanese, and Chinese power in the East which would be dangerously formidable. Therefore, the free nations face the task of turning what was an enemy into a dependable friend and uniting separate and discordant elements into a harmonious whole. That is not easy. But our Mission now feels confident that it can be done.

### Japan's Progress Since Surrender

A peace settlement is one essential step in this essential process. Five and one-half years have passed since Japan surrendered unconditionally. During this period, she has been occupied by American troops and political authority has been largely exercised through General MacArthur as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. The Japanese people have scrupulously and loyally complied with the surrender terms. They have been completely disarmed. They have eliminated the militaristic leaders who caused Japan's downfall and have liquidated the vicious police state system. They have adopted representative government with universal suffrage. There is freedom of the press. Labor has won, and exercises, the right to organize.

All of this has been welcomed by the Japanese nation. Since July last, United States combat troops have been totally withdrawn from Japan for service in the Korean war, and, for 8 months,

<sup>1</sup> Address made over the Columbia Broadcasting System on Mar. 1 and released to the press on the same date.

the Allies have had, in Japan, no means of compulsion whatsoever. Nevertheless, the Japanese people, without compulsion, have wholeheartedly supported the authority of the Supreme Commander. That is a good measure of the transformation that has occurred. Also, the Japanese, within the limits permitted by the surrender terms, have, in Japan, voluntarily cooperated with the United Nations effort in Korea.

It is the unqualified judgment of General MacArthur that the Japanese people have won the right to be restored to a position of equality within the society of free nations. Our Mission wholly endorses that conclusion.

How shall we bring Japan into this new estate? The answer is not simple. The United States and Japan are not the only parties concerned. We have allies, some of whom suffered relatively more than we; and we cannot honorably ignore their points of view. Also, if Japan's admission to a place in the free world, is to be meaningful, it must be a free choice and not a choice made under the coercion of any threat or the inducement of any economic bribe.

In our talks with Japanese leaders, we always had these necessities in mind. Our goal is not to get a mere piece of paper beginning with the word "peace" and ending with a red seal. We seek deeds which will, in fact, enlarge and invigorate the whole free world.

#### **Peace Terms Under Discussion**

The terms of Japanese peace which we have first discussed with our allies, and have now discussed with Japanese leaders, involve the following basic elements:

1. The peace should restore Japan as an equal in the society of nations.

That means that Japan should not be subjected to restrictions on her sovereignty of a kind which other sovereign nations do not accept for themselves. These, if imposed on the Japanese, would understandingly hurt their pride, as seemingly designed to make them forever a second-class nation.

2. The peace should give Japan a chance to earn her way in the world and become self-sustaining.

Japan faces, of course, a difficult economic problem, and, during the occupation, the United States has given help to a total of 2 billion dollars. A few Japanese with whom we talked felt that the United States should continue to subsidize Japan's economy. That point of view we discouraged. In the final statement, which we made on leaving Japan, we said:

We have come to the view that Japan can develop for her people a satisfactory and rising standard of living by her own efforts and by the resourcefulness and industry of her people, on the assumption that the treaty of peace does not place upon Japan heavy economic or financial burdens or major commercial disabilities.

That means, of course, not continuing indefinitely the United States subsidy. Also, it means no artificial impairment of Japan's industrial activity. Other nations must be willing to face up to Japanese competition subject to normal tariff restrictions and to Japan's adherence to fair trade practices. Japan must have the opportunity to earn the means to buy abroad the food and raw materials necessary to enable her people to live and to work. Otherwise, communism will take over.

We believe that there is work the Japanese can do which will be useful and acceptable to the rest of the world. Under these conditions, we do not think that the Japanese people should be encouraged to depend upon American charity but, rather, to seek a self-respecting independence.

3. The peace should encourage close cultural relations between Japan and the West.

Japan has a great national culture, drawn, in large part, from China and India. Japanese pictorial art, their drama, their gardens, their arrangement of flowers and of food show an appreciation of beauty which illustrates how the Western world can enrich itself. The West, in turn, can contribute much to the culture and science of Japan.

Our Mission made a special effort to explore ways of developing cultural and intellectual interchange. We believe this will be mutually advantageous and lead to increasing understanding and respect.

The great quality of the free world is that it combines unity with difference. In that respect, it contrasts with communism, which seeks a society of abject conformity. We seek, in peace, a relationship with Japan which will benefit both Japan and the other members of the free world by finding richness in diversity.

4. The peace should give Japan a reasonable degree of security.

In these times, none of us can enjoy absolute security. Our Mission did, however, discuss with Japanese leaders how to give Japan a large measure of protection. With the authority of the President, and following conversations last January with committees of Congress, I stated publicly in Japan that, if the Japanese wanted it, the United States would sympathetically consider the retention of United States forces in and about Japan so that the coming into force of a treaty of peace would not leave Japan a vacuum of power into which Soviet communism would surely move. In this connection, however, we emphasized two points.

First, we made clear that this suggestion was genuinely an invitation, which Japan could accept or decline. It was important to make this clear, because a voluntary act of committal by Japan was needed as a test of the Japanese nation. We wanted a free choice, not a forced choice, because, as I said to the Japanese:

The United States is not interested in slavish conduct. That is the stock in trade of the Communist world. We are concerned only with the brave and the free. The choice must be Japan's own choice.

The second point we made was that any United States protection now offered could only be on a provisional basis because, under the surrender terms, Japan is not now in a position to undertake what the Senate Vandenberg resolution refers to as "continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid." We emphasized that this is basic United States policy, and, accordingly, we can not permanently give any nation a "free ride," so far as security is concerned.

The Japanese nation reacted honorably to both of these points that we made. The Prime Minister, in answer to my suggestion, said that

the Japanese Government and a preponderant majority of the Japanese people warmly welcome the Ambassador's [Dulles] invitation to a security arrangement with the United States for the protection of unarmed Japan by the stationing of United States armed forces in and about the country.

We ourselves were convinced that the Prime Minister correctly interpreted the will of the Japanese nation, because we received the same impression from representatives of various parliamentary groups, from representatives of labor, industry and education, and from the mass of correspondence and editorial comment that came to our attention.

In response to our warning that there could be no definitive collective security system for Japan without Japan's own continuous self-help and mutual aid, the Prime Minister said:

We realize fully our responsibilities to defend our own land, and do what we can in this respect. When we recover our independence and join the council of free nations as a free member, the circumstances and scope of the Japanese contribution will be determined according to the extent of our economic and industrial recovery.

Since Japan is an island, her security is strongly influenced by sea and air power, power which the United States is in a position to exercise in the Pacific. The defense of Japan need not require, either from the United States or from Japan, the large ground forces which might be thought necessary if Japan had land boundaries with the Soviet Union or Communist China.

At the present time, the only legal and practical security measures which can be taken by Japan relate to internal security. There is much here that needs to be done. But, in due course, as the Japanese Prime Minister pointed out, Japan will face up to the problem of sharing in the collective defense of her area.

#### **Reparations to the Philippines**

Following a stay of a little over 2 weeks in Japan, our Mission proceeded to the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand.

In the Philippines, we found much concern with

the problem of reparations. The Philippines had gravely suffered from its cruel invasion and occupation by Japan. Although much has been rebuilt, there are signs of devastation on every hand, and almost every family has had one or more members killed by the Japanese. It is only natural that there should be bitterness and a demand for at least material reparation. The amount sought reaches 8 billion dollars. The mood is like that of the French at the end of World War I.

We sympathized totally with the Philippine sentiment. We had no argument to make against the justice of reparation claims. We had to point out, however, that reparation is not merely a matter of justice, it is a matter of economics.

The fact is that a nation situated as is Japan can barely pay for its essential imports in food and raw materials. To require reparation payments means either that the United States must pay the reparation bill or there will be default preceded by widespread starvation and unemployment. This would assure the conquest of Japan by communism and not be in the real interest of the Philippines.

After World War I the United States, through loans to Germany did, for a time, pay the German reparations bill. But our Mission indicated that the United States would not be prepared to repeat that in the case of Japan. We are helping largely in the task of Philippine reconstruction; but we are not prepared to pay a Japanese reparation bill.

This was not an easy or a pleasant point of view to present to our brave comrades-in-arms who have suffered grievously. It is a tribute to the Philippine leaders, in both the executive and legislative branches, that they, nevertheless, gave us a courteous hearing in an atmosphere of genuine hospitality.

#### **Conference With Australia and New Zealand**

In Australia we had 4 days of uninterrupted conference with Prime Minister Menzies, with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Spender, and other members of the Australian Government. Also, the New Zealand Foreign Minister, Mr. Doidge, took part in our discussions.

The principal problem discussed was how to prevent a possible recurrence of Japanese aggression. The anxiety of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand was quite understandable. Their peoples had felt the hot breath of Japan's war effort, and, in northern Australia, our Mission saw for itself the scars from Japanese bombing. In that part of the world, the threat of Russian and Chinese Communist invasion seemed rather remote, while the possibility of another Japanese invasion seemed a reality to those who had recently experienced that danger at first hand. The peoples of Australia and New Zealand did not like to contemplate a future where they might stand alone against a Japan which might be armed in collusion with Russia and Communist

China. Public opinion favored a peace treaty which would prescribe severe limits on any future Japanese rearmament.

This attitude, like the Philippine demand for reparations, was quite understandable. Again, it corresponded with the mood of the French after World I. We pointed out, however, that the Versailles Treaty experience indicated that the surest way to induce rearmament is to forbid it. Treaty restrictions of that kind are inherently unenforceable except by war, and they are discriminatory because they do not reflect a general program of disarmament. Therefore, they seem to be a challenge to a nation's dignity and stature. They give nationalistic and militaristic leaders a chance to incite the people and to arouse them to demonstrate their sovereign equality by throwing off the unequal restrictions. It was on such slogans that Hitler rode to power in Germany.

In an address which I made in Australia, I said that it was demonstrable folly to try to rely, for peace, on the very methods which had led up to Germany's second war. The better way was to inculcate the spirit of collective security, the United Nations ideal of force not used save in the common interest. Then, armament becomes a matter of collective, not national, decision.

It did, however, seem reasonable to try to meet the desire of the Australian and New Zealand peoples for an ending of their apparent state of isolation in the Pacific area through some arrangement which would make clear that an armed attack on them from any quarter would be looked upon by the United States as dangerous to its own peace and security.

No decisions were made. But we continue receptive to proposals for adding to the unity and strength of the area of which Australia and New Zealand form part.

Our three-power talks at the Australian capital enabled us to explore all aspects of the western Pacific problem in an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness. In Mr. Spender's words, the discussions "represented consultation at its best." We are confident that, in one form or another, good results will follow.

We went on from Australia to New Zealand where we had the welcome and useful opportunity of conferring with Mr. Holland, the Prime Minister, and with members of his Cabinet.

#### **Success of U.S. Occupation Policies**

The trip of our Mission to the East represented, in essence, a continuation of the talks begun with our allies last September, while the United Nations General Assembly was in session. We have now reached a point where it ought to be possible to draft promptly the actual text of a Japanese peace treaty which would genuinely promote peace in the Far East.

That this is possible, under the difficult and delicate conditions that exist, is, above all, due

to the conduct of the occupation by General MacArthur. His administration has been characterized by a combination of justice and mercy such as victors have rarely shown toward a vanquished and guilty nation. He so used victory that we do not, today, face in Asia the overpowering hostility which could be represented by a combination of Soviet Russia, of Communist China, and of a Japan bent on revenge.

#### **U.N. Action in Korea**

The occupation policies give us one solid foundation stone on which to build. Another vital contribution is the courage, skill and fortitude being shown in Korea by those who are serving the cause of the United Nations. If the Republic of Korea had been overrun by Communist armies and if there had been only verbal protests or defense merely of a token and ineffectual character, that would have marked the beginning of a series of disasters which might have included Japan and never have stopped until they reached the homes of each one of us. But the North Korean Communist aggressors were destroyed. And when, in replacement, the Chinese Communist hordes came in, they have been checked with losses which, in terms of dead, wounded, prisoners, and disabled, may now mount to several hundred thousand men.

United Nations forces in Korea have forged a fiery furnace into which nearly one million Communist troops have now been fed by their ambitious and despotic rulers. That operation represents, in a real sense, a defense of our own homeland, and it provides the opportunity to win peace in the Pacific. For that, we must be eternally grateful not only to General MacArthur, General Ridgway, and the high command but, particularly, to the rank and file of the troops of the United States and the other United Nations who sacrificially responded to the call of duty, often at the price of life itself.

#### **Sacrifices for Peace in the Pacific**

Finally, as another foundation stone, we have the present effort of the American people to create a great force-in-being, so as to make it apparent that Russia could not quickly, or at all, win a general war.

I have often said that there would never be lasting peace until nations were prepared, in time of peace, to make sacrifices for peace such as they make, in time of war, for victory. For the first time in all history, there is such an effort. The United States is making sacrifices such as no free nation has ever made except in a war for survival. We can hope we are not making that effort too late. We can know, on the basis of our Mission's contact with peoples of other lands, that these others are moved to respond in kind and that they feel a new confidence in the capacity of the United

States to lead the free world out of the present morass of peril and confusion.

All in all, General MacArthur in Japan, our fighting men in Korea, and the American people here at home have laid a good foundation upon which to build a lasting peace in the Pacific. Our recent Mission has put up the scaffolding for that building. The work of filling in with bricks and mortar is now to be done. If that is well done, there will be in Japan and related areas a new sense of security and well-being. That will help to thwart the Stalin strategy of conquering the West via the East, and, indeed, it can so spectacularly demonstrate the worth and capacity of freedom that the example will loosen the present hold of Communist despotism upon its captive world.

Liberation is a goal we must never relinquish. This nation of ours was founded by men who believed that their conduct and example could be a great force for political liberty throughout the world. They looked outward, not inward. As President Lincoln said, their Declaration of Independence offered—

liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time.

In their time, much of Europe and of this American hemisphere was held by despotic power supported by the Russian Empire and its Holy Alliance. That grip was pried loose. In that process, our nation played a powerful, yet peaceful, part. That can be done again. It will be done again if, in the free world, men use freedom so well that they set up an influence that is contagious. That is the great goal to have in mind as we and our friends build peace in the Pacific. It is the goal which, if we are resolute, we shall attain.

## Communism on the Wane in Western Europe

*Statement by Homer M. Byington, Jr.  
Director, Office of Western European Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Moscow is losing the battle to take over Western Europe by boring from within. Communist strength in Western Europe is on the wane.

Here is the proof—estimated figures on Communist strength after World War II and today:

AUSTRIA:	Communist Party membership in 1946: 150,000 In 1950: 100,000. A reduction of 34%
BELGIUM:	1946: 100,000 1950: 35,000. A reduction of 65%
DENMARK:	1946: 60,000 1950: 22,500. A reduction of 63%
FRANCE:	1946: 850,000 1950: 600,000. A reduction of 30%

<sup>1</sup> Made over the NBC television network on Mar. 3 and released to the press on the same date.

ITALY:	1948: 2.3 million 1950: 1.6 million. A reduction of 31%
LUXEMBOURG:	1946: 3,000 1950: 500. A reduction of 84%
NETHERLANDS:	1946: 50,000 1950: 33,000. A reduction of 34%
NORWAY:	1946: 40,000 1950: 14,000. A reduction of 65%
SWEDEN:	1946: 60,000 1950: 33,000. A reduction of 45%
UNITED KINGDOM:	1946: 60,000 1950: 40,000. A reduction of 34%
WESTERN GERMANY:	1946: 300,000 1950: 200,000. A reduction of 34%

The followers of Stalin are losing ground despite the glitter of their false promises, strong-arm tactics, threats, and pressures of all kinds.

We are witnessing an economic and moral recovery in Western Europe of remarkable proportions. In 1945, international communism seemed ready to take over. Today, we find that the living conditions of the people have greatly improved and that democratic government, where it was once weak, has been strengthened. This is proof of the moral fibre and intelligence of these peoples and their leaders. It justifies our confidence that in the next 5 years the picture will be correspondingly better than it is today.

The part of the American people in this recovery is fundamental. With the aid of the Marshall Plan, Western Europe has rebuilt its industry, made its railroads run again and resumed its important role in the world economy.

We are now joined with them in a great military effort to confront the threat of Communist aggression. Only by achieving united moral and military strength, can we hope to prevent aggression and insure an enduring peace. Korea has shown that small free nations are no longer to be devoured one by one and that aggression does not and will not pay.

International Communists are using every propaganda trick in the book to undermine the free nations. At the same time, they hold out a completely false exaggerated picture of their own aims and way of life. The Department of State has undertaken to counter these lies with a campaign of truth through VOA—overseas press—films—and libraries. Between the United States and these free nations, there is a continuing exchange of teachers, students, leaders of labor, industry, and government. These activities are a very important part of American foreign policy.

The encouraging report I bring you today is a tribute to the peoples of Western Europe who, although directly in the path of Communist aggression, nevertheless, are growing stronger and better able to resist the Communist danger. It is also a tribute to you—the American people—who through the Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Treaty have had the courage and foresight to undertake the responsibility of leadership in preserving the free world.

# Counteract Defeatism by Winning the Cold War

by Edward W. Barrett  
*Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

There is much talk these days in the press and on the floor of Congress about the so-called cold war and how it should be waged. We, who conduct this nation's efforts in the psychological field, are glad to see such a display of public interest. We are constantly seeking to improve our program and welcome any suggestions which will help us do so.

But, at the same time, we are extremely proud of what is presently being done, and we're anxious for the American people to know more about it. We believe that a greater awareness of what is being done will wipe out much of the defeatism prevalent today and increase the realization that, far from losing the battle, we and our fellow free nations can go on winning it.

## The Correct Propaganda Approach

I want to warn as strongly as I can against the skywriting school of propaganda. There are those, today, who say we should plaster the countryside of Europe with American billboards and send American sound trucks blaring through continental villages. Any one who really knows Europe today knows that this would do more harm than good. It would simply support the present tendency of too many Europeans to think that the current conflict is basically just one of the United States versus the U.S.S.R. And it would permit the enemies of freedom to shout that we are "just trying to buy the minds of men with American dollars."

Instead of this flamboyant approach, we feel much greater progress can be made in other ways: first, by telling our story forthrightly over the Voice of America and our other media; second, by sponsoring large-scale visits to this country by leaders of thought in other nations; third, by encouraging and assisting like-minded groups in other countries to mount large-scale, home-grown campaigns to expose Kremlin communism and drive home the reasons for strength and unity in the free world.

A very large part of our work today consists of stimulating and encouraging and assisting organizations and groups abroad to join in the Campaign of Truth. There is nothing tricky about this. All the organizations concerned are groups who see the world picture as we see it. But they do need stimulation, help, ideas and assistance of many kinds. We are ready, willing, and able to

provide such cooperation. There are, today, hundreds of pieces of literature that have resulted from just such joint cooperative activities.

## Chief Objectives

At the risk of oversimplifying, we can say that we have four chief objectives:

1. Exposing to the world, directly and indirectly, the truly reactionary vicious and phony nature of Kremlin communism;

2. building up a spirit of unity, spunk, determination, and confidence in all the nations of the free world;

3. inculcating in other peoples a readiness and desire to cooperate with America—by disproving Soviet lies about us and by making clear that we are a resolute, strong, and honest nation whose moral strength and physical strength can be counted on;

4. building, behind the iron curtain, psychological obstacles to further Kremlin aggression.

Are we hitting the target? I think the actions of the Soviets themselves are one of the best proofs of this. They employ a thousand-odd transmitters in a gigantic effort to block us; they splatter their papers and fill their radios with violent attacks on what we say.

And now, I can report that a major effort has been mounted to try to jam the Voice of America out of China. At the present moment, this effort is successful in parts of southern China as far as our most popular programs—those rebroadcast via Manila—are concerned.

Briefly, here are some of the things being done to give the program more punch.

In the technical field, a group of the nations' leading scientists, some on loan from industry, have been hard at work and their ideas are being put into effect as quickly as possible. I can say with confidence that their efforts are producing very major improvements in techniques.

Our policy-making and writing staffs boast dozens of top-notch people who, in a spirit of public service, have left positions as noted correspondents, chiefs of press services and bureaus, network producers and executives, film, advertising, and education specialists and are serving their government.

To these, we are adding more of the same calibre. We have been pleased to welcome in the past few weeks two leading advertising executives, a nationally known editor, a research director from a major network, a score of top correspondents, some distinguished educators, and a number of foreign experts.

By means of panels, which operate under our Presidential Advisory Commissions, we are able to get valuable aid on a part-time basis from more than 100 of the country's leading experts in the fields of press, radio, films, labor, public relations, education, and religion.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts, as released to the press on Feb. 28, from an address made before the Rotary Club at Brooklyn, N. Y. on Feb. 28.

## The American Idea: Package It for Export

by John M. Begg<sup>1</sup>

It is a real pleasure to be here today; to have this opportunity to tell you of your State Department's information program and of our plans for the immediate future. I know of no group in the United States that is more keenly aware of, or more vitally interested in, the grave world problems which confront us. Government and business must meet and solve those problems by working together.

Frankly, your Government needs your help. We are engaged in a deadly serious struggle on a world-wide basis against the spread of Soviet imperialism. At the moment, it is largely a struggle for men's minds. It is a war of words and ideas in which we are fighting for the ideals and national interests to which we, as a nation, have adhered for more than 175 years. Your Government recognizes that, in order to achieve the objectives of its foreign policy throughout the world, it must have the cooperation of private enterprise and private organizations whose daily relationships with people in foreign lands contribute to the building of international good will.

In this great struggle, the interests of American Government and American business abroad are synonymous. The Kremlin propagandists attack our Government by attacking American business. They tell the Russian people, and the rest of the world, that "Big business runs America"; that "The entire economic, industrial, and financial activities of the United States are controlled by only 730 men." They say, too, that we are "plotting war."

Day in and day out, the Soviet plotters in the Kremlin play upon the fears and apprehensions of the people outside Russia. In China, where the Soviets are waging a feverish campaign to whip up hate against us, the people are told that we are the "enemies of Asia."

We know every one of these statements to be

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the World Trade Conference at Chicago, Ill. on Feb. 27 and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Begg is Director, Private Enterprise Corporation, International Information and Educational Exchange Program.

ridiculous. But how well do the people of the world know us so that they, too, will judge them to be false? How well have we sold ourselves abroad? What can we do to do a better job in the future?

### Our History of Peace Promotion

First, let's look at the tools that we have to work with. What do we stand for? What are our basic aims? What is the American idea?

It is the translation to the people of the world of our basic national interests.

We are a peaceful people. Our history demonstrates that we are a friendly people who, through our own initiative and free way of life, have achieved the highest standard of living the world has ever known. We are an independent nation, and we believe in individual freedom; and we shall fight to preserve that independence and that freedom.

Since the end of the last war, we have endeavored to secure world peace through the support of the United Nations. In addition to that, we have helped in the economic recovery of Europe through the Marshall Plan; we are trying to improve the standard of living of many peoples through the Point 4 Program. We have resolutely promoted peace and enabled free nations to protect their independence.

These things we have done with the hope of securing better understanding among the free peoples of the world. But, until January 1948, we had no wide-scale information program within the Government to tell the American story abroad, to combat the lies and misinformation that were spread throughout the world by the dictators of the Russian people. During the years when we strove almost silently and vainly for peace, the Russian leaders took up where Hitler and Mussolini had left off.

Today, thanks to the President and the Congress, we have the means to wage a Campaign of Truth throughout the world. And truth is the one thing the Politburo cannot stand.

Let us take Korea as a case in point. Our economic missions had achieved singular success in South Korea. Agricultural production was steadily increasing, and the relationship between the United States and the South Korean Government was a friendly one based upon mutual respect, confidence, and achievement.

During 1949, the Russians set up in North Korea a Soviet-Korean Culture Society. This arm of the Kremlin established 250 branches throughout North Korea and enrolled 1,300,000 members. During 1949 alone, the Russians conducted more than 70,000 lectures, movies, and concerts and distributed half a million books. They preached the same campaign of hate that they are now conducting in Asia. Their propaganda campaign was intense and became progressively vigorous and venal—right up to the day when the North Korean puppets invaded their neighbors to the south. But, while the Soviets preached hate, the people in North Korea knew that in South Korea there was food. During those years, more than a million men, women, and children escaped from Russian domination above the 38th parallel. One truth they could not combat. American economic aid had brought a better life to the South Korean people.

The Kremlin strategy is wide open to effective counterattack. And the most powerful weapon which we can bring to bear on the Soviets in this war of ideas is an information program. Our Campaign of Truth is the one weapon which can expose the Soviet position for what it really is—a stronghold of reaction and imperialism.

### **Broadcasting the Voice of America**

One of the most effective means of penetrating the iron curtain is, of course, the Voice of America radio broadcasts. This world-wide network of 38 short-wave transmitters, with relay stations abroad, is on the air 24 hours a day in English and in 28 foreign languages. Every day, 75 carefully tailored programs are broadcast to specific target areas. We know from continuing evaluation that the Voice of America is producing outstanding results on both sides of the iron curtain.

For example, a large newspaper in Hungary recently reported what it called examples of "hysterical hoarding" by the workers. The Voice of America had reported an approaching shortage and had suggested that they buy matches. In one store alone, sales rose from 30 boxes a day to more than 1,300.

This war of words has produced a new type of humor behind the iron curtain. The people of Poland tell the story about the broadcast the Propaganda Ministry was conducting from a factory. One of the workers was reluctant to speak.

"Just imagine," the announcer argued. "All of Poland will be listening to you."

The worker remained silent.

"But Comrade," the announcer urged, "if you

tell the truth about our wonderful life in Poland, the decadent democracies will hear your words—in fact, the whole world will hear you."

"Even America?" the worker asked.

"Yes, Comrade, even America."

The worker grabbed the microphone and shouted: "This is Poland! Help! Help!"

The Voice of America, of course, because of its spectacular nature and wide appeal overshadows in the public mind many other important aspects of the State Department's information program—and it is about them that I am here to tell you today. For they are fields in which you, in private enterprise, and you in business and civic organizations, can provide active assistance to your Government.

### **Information and Cultural Organization**

Let me give you a quick picture of our organization. Our information and cultural program is under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Edward Barrett. It is administered by Charles Hulten, the General Manager, who conducts operations through the Office of International Information and the Office of Educational Exchange. We have more than 600 Public Affairs officers attached to our 142 diplomatic and consular missions throughout the world. It is through them that we conduct regional and local operations. They are our direct contact with the people overseas.

It is through this framework that the Private Enterprise Staff aids and cooperates with business organizations and civic groups in helping to carry the Campaign of Truth to the people of the world.

Companies doing business overseas have been able to help us—and, in many cases, we have been able to help them. Companies selling products overseas can also sell America and our concept of freedom.

A great many are doing it today. For one thing, they know that improved living standards create a demand for more and better goods; and, in most cases, these business organizations in foreign lands are key factors in community life. It is through their representatives that America is largely judged, public opinion molded, and international good will obtained.

Some American companies which advertise in foreign publications have adapted their copy to help sell the American idea abroad. But there are not enough of them. We need more.

### **Selling America Through Advertising**

Here, for example, is an advertisement which appeared in many foreign newspapers. The copy reads:

The stability and reliability of sulfadiazine continue to make it the sulfonilamide of choice for a broad range of infectious encountered in every country in the world.

A member of the Advertising Council pointed

to this copy and suggested that it could have helped to sell America, too, if a single sentence had been added. And it is a very simple sentence, too. It read:

It is a product of ceaseless American research—a necessary part of the American system which benefits the people of the world with the better products at lower prices.

A slight change—but a powerful sales message.

We need that type of thought to help sell the truth abroad—for if the Kremlinites have their way, the people of the world would think twice before they purchased an American product.

This idea of selling America through advertising copy lends itself to commercially sponsored broadcasts abroad, to posters and window cards, to pamphlets and leaflets. The field is so broad that there is really no end to the media through which business and industry can help sell the truth abroad. Because of the great benefits in understanding and good will which American advertising in foreign publications produce, we hope that our businesses will be able to expand their foreign advertising budgets during the critical days that lie ahead.

In planning such a campaign, we can be of some help to you. The Department of State cooperated with the Advertising Council in publishing a booklet entitled, *Advertising, A New Weapon in the World Wide Fight for Freedom*. It is a guide for American business firms advertising overseas. Copies may be obtained at the office of the Advertising Council here in Chicago.

Through our information offices abroad, we can help your company determine the vitally important “type of approach” which would produce the best results in a particular area or country. In addition to that, our Public Affairs officers could work closely with your company representatives abroad and, in many instances, would be in a position to evaluate the effectiveness of the campaign.

Another important medium for telling the American story abroad is through motion picture films. Technical and scientific films as well as those which portray some phase of Americana are popular in foreign countries. We have a great need for acceptable films depicting the daily life of Americans, our industries, colleges, and universities; our system of public health and schools. Film libraries are maintained in our 140 Foreign Service establishments and more than 12 million people in foreign countries see these films each month. Just think, more than 400 thousand people in all the free countries of the world sat down today to view our films. Perhaps your company or your organization has a film that would lend itself to use before this audience overseas.

In this event, I would like to point out one important factor. Some films which we would have liked to include in our program could not be adapted for foreign use. So, if your firm is planning to produce a technical or documentary film,

a check with the Motion Picture Division of the Department of State might result in your producing a film that could be used both here and abroad.

We have a great need for educational material—“know-how” booklets and leaflets which many industries use to describe their product and methods of production. These we distribute through our 140 information centers in 62 countries. More than 24 million people use these centers. They provide us with a powerful outlet for the American story.

If your company has such educational material and there is a question in your mind as to its usefulness overseas, the Department of State will be glad to examine it and, if it meets with our objectives, help facilitate its distribution abroad.

A number of companies are including leaflets, printed cards, and other informative material in the thousands of letters which they send abroad in the course of a year. One manufacturer is including picture cards of historic America in his product in South America. I assure you, they are as popular down there as the baseball and football cards that the children collect in this country. Maybe your product could include a message from the United States.

One large company here in Chicago, and many more throughout the country, have urged their employees to send their company magazines to friends and relatives overseas. Others have sponsored the collection of used magazines for shipment to our information centers overseas where they are distributed.

From every walk of life and from all parts of America, men, women, and children are writing letters overseas. These messages from Main Street, from the hearts of Americans, are telling our story in the surest way that it can be told. This great project is sponsored by the Common Council for American Unity. It has rallied the foreign language press and radio in this country in support of the most dramatic personal appeal for peace any people have ever undertaken. Get behind this grass-roots program. Urge your associates and employees to send a letter to a friend, a relative, a Rotary Club or a Chamber of Commerce overseas. And, if you need advice or help in formulating a company or an organization letter-writing campaign, call upon us.

Last year, nearly a million dollars worth of books were sent overseas through the CARE organization. We hope they will double that amount this year. But we hope, too, that private enterprise will help in the collection of books on industrial subjects which are needed in universities, schools, and libraries abroad.

#### **The Exchange Program**

Many years ago, the pioneer companies in foreign trade discovered that it pays dividends to bring foreign employees to this country for training and education. Today, numerous companies

offer scholarships to worthy students in American universities and conduct continuous exchange programs for their workers. The extension of this practice by more companies could only bring a better understanding of American life and the promotion of international good will.

Under the exchange of persons program, our Government helps 6 thousand students, specialists, teachers, and opinion leaders visit back and forth between this country and other countries each year. A Scandinavian newspaper editor completely reversed his policies—from anti-American to pro-American after a visit here. Other newspapermen from France, Italy, and Greece have come here with tongue in cheek only to return home with an entirely different concept and editorial opinion of our country. American businesses might well consider the possibilities for building good will and understanding, as well as the sale of products, inherent in bringing foreign editors and writers to this country to report on their companies' activities and, incidentally, to be exposed to American ideas.

One more item. Within the next few months, advertising departments will start planning their companies' 1952 calendars. Our information centers throughout the world report a tremendous demand for American calendars. If your 1952 edition will contain some portrayal of American life, we could assure you of overseas distribution. Better than that, we would be happy to advise with you on the type of calendar that is in the greatest demand in various parts of the world. Here, is an important way in which a few more advertising dollars can earn a tremendous amount of good will.

### **Exporting the American Idea**

I have outlined very briefly how your State Department's information program is organized and some of the fields in which private enterprise can render active assistance in waging our Campaign of Truth. You can export the American idea by pointing up your foreign magazine, newspaper, and radio advertising to sell America, too; by making your industrial and civic films adaptable for foreign distribution; by sending cards, pamphlets, and leaflets of Americana overseas with your correspondence and your products; by sending your company magazines and shipping quantities of slick-paper magazines and books abroad; by increasing the number of foreign trainees in this country; sponsoring the invitation of foreign editors to visit us; by adapting your calendars to overseas distribution. There are many more avenues of approach in exporting the American idea which you may know much better than I.

One thing is clear. We must mobilize our resources—both public and private—behind this campaign. We must utilize to the very utmost the vigor and the power of our democratic process.

We must wage our campaign with energy and enthusiasm that matches our ability.

We know that the Soviet system is vulnerable to the truth. It is our job to see that the truth gets out.

To help attain that end, the Department of State will, in the near future, open an office here in Chicago. It will be staffed with a private enterprise officer whose duty will be to enlist the aid, the counsel, advice, and the active cooperation of business, industry, commercial, social, and civic groups in the Midwest area in our world Campaign of Truth.

The Campaign of Truth which we are waging cannot by itself win the conflict in which we are engaged. But an all-out, vigorous Campaign of Truth in which every facet of American life is brought to bear, can supplement our country's political, economic, and military plans in a way that might well spell the difference between defeat and victory in the struggle for men's minds.

The stakes are high. The free world depends on us. We must win!

## **Execution of Death Sentences of German War Criminals Withheld**

*[Released to the press February 26]*

The Supreme Court today informally asked the Department of State and the Department of the Army to withhold until further notice execution of the death sentences of seven German war criminals. The Departments of State and the Army have accordingly advised John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner for Germany, and Gen. Thomas J. Handy, Commanding General, European Command, to withhold executions of the seven war criminals concerned until further notice. It is understood that counsel for the convicted men will be allowed 30 days in which to apply for a writ of certiorari which, if issued, would bring the cases formally before the Supreme Court.

## **Relaxation of Foreign Investment Policy in Germany**

*[Released to the press at Frankfurt and Washington March 2]*

In June of last year, the Allied High Commission announced its decision to progressively relax postwar restrictions on foreign investments in Germany and approved a procedure for putting its plan into effect.<sup>1</sup> Progress under this pro-

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of July 10, 1950, p. 72.

cedure was closely observed by the High Commission, and it has been decided that a stage has been reached where further relaxations are justified and necessary to promote further economic progress. The new relaxations, which are embodied in a detailed procedure prepared by the financial advisers of the High Commissioners, have been the subject of discussions with German financial and economic authorities and are designed to benefit not only the German economy by providing greater facilities for additional investment capital but foreign owners of idle blocked marks and potential foreign investors as well since terms of transfer of blocked marks can be arranged out side of Germany and in any currency.

Authority has been given the Bank Deutscher Laender to issue a general license under Military Government Laws No. 52 and No. 53 (revised) permitting the transfer of DM bank balances owned by persons outside of Germany to other nonresidents. Funds so transferred will be designated as "acquired blocked DM's" and may be used only for investment purposes as specified below. At the same time, the bank was authorized to issue a second general license permitting the use of such funds by the new owner for the acquisition of securities issued by public bodies in the Federal territory and the Western sectors of Berlin and securities publicly dealt in at stock exchanges in those areas and the resale, for DM's, of assets so acquired.

The Bank Deutscher Laender has also been authorized to issue special licenses to owners of "acquired blocked DM's" for the acquisition and sale of unlisted securities of and participations in private enterprises in the Federal territory or the Western sectors of Berlin, the purchase and sale of real estate and construction or reconstruction of buildings on such property or other property in those areas belonging to owners of "acquired blocked DM accounts" and the granting of DM loans to natural or juridical persons having their ordinary residence there. Applications for special licenses should be filed with the Land Central Bank in whose district the applicant's account is carried. Land Central Banks have been instructed as to data required by the Bank Deutscher Laender for proper examination of applications and decision under criteria established by the Allied High Commission.

Revenue from property, acquired under the foregoing procedure as well as proceeds from the resale of such property, must be credited to an "acquired blocked DM account" in the name of the property's owner but will, however, be available for reinvestment as well as payment of taxes, bank charges, fees, and other expenses arising from the acquisition, administration, and sale of investment property. The regulation further provides that "acquired blocked DM accounts" (or property bought out of such accounts) will not be automatically placed at the free disposal

of their owners should they take up residence in Germany.

## **Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Heads American Relief for Korea**

The Department of State announced on February 26 the acceptance by Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., of the chairmanship of American Relief for Korea, a voluntary organization sponsored by the Department of State. This will be in addition to his services as a vice chairman of the American Association for the United Nations.

Mr. Fairbanks will lead the country-wide campaign to meet the appeal of Secretary-General Lie of the United Nations and General MacArthur's Unified Command to provide warm clothing for several million Korean war victims.

## **Boston Symphony Program for French President Unofficial Function**

*[Released to the press February 12]*

The Department of State would like to make it clear that certain statements in the press concerning a concert of the Boston Symphony Orchestra to be held at Constitution Hall on Saturday, March 31, 1951, are not based on facts.

In the first place, the Department has not been approached by any musical organization wishing to give a concert in honor of the President of the French Republic.

In the early part of December, the Department was told by the French Embassy that Charles Munch, conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, a distinguished French musician, had approached the Embassy and stated that he would like to give a special concert of the Boston Symphony in honor of the President of the French Republic during his visit to Washington in March 1951 if an appropriate date could be arranged.

The Department replied that it had no objection, if this concert could be fitted into the schedule, and that it was clearly understood that the Department would not in any way be expected to promote the concert.

No official function having been scheduled for the evening of March 31, the directors of the Boston Symphony Orchestra were informed that that day would be suitable if the orchestra wished to go ahead with their generous offer.

It should be pointed out that, aside from placing this engagement on the itinerary, neither the Department nor the French Embassy has taken any steps whatsoever in making the arrangements.

## Delegation to Inaugural Ceremonies for President of Uruguay

[Released to the press February 23]

The White House has approved the following delegation to represent the United States at ceremonies marking the inauguration of Dr. Andrew Martínez Trueba as President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay on March 1:

Christian M. Ravnal, Personal Representative of the President and Special Ambassador; Chief of Delegation; U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay  
Edward G. Miller, Jr., Personal Representative of the President and Special Ambassador; Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

Other members of the delegation will be:

Donald L. Jackson, Member; U.S. Representative from the State of California  
A. S. J. Carnahan, Member; U.S. Representative from the State of Missouri  
Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon, USAF, Member; Air Force Representative, U.S. Military Staff Committee of United Nations  
Maj. Gen. Ray E. Porter, USA, Member; Commanding General, U.S. Army Caribbean  
Rear Admiral Milton E. Miles, USN, Member; Director, Pan-American Affairs and U.S. Naval Missions, Department of Defense  
Raymond D. Muir, Member; Chief Ceremonial Officer, Department of State  
Brig. Gen. A. F. Lorenzen, USA, Retired, Member; Chicago, Illinois and Miami Beach, Florida  
William W. Walker, Member; Counselor of U.S. Embassy in Uruguay  
Col. Paul K. Porch, Member; Senior Military Attaché, U.S. Embassy in Uruguay  
Capt. Manuel C. Castro, Member; Air Attaché, U.S. Embassy in Uruguay  
R. Kenneth Oakley, Member; Department of State

The delegation will leave from Washington on February 24. They are scheduled to arrive in Montevideo on February 27.

Mr. Miller arrived at Montevideo today from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he has been visiting since February 18 at the invitation of the Foreign Minister of Brazil, João Neves da Fontoura. Admiral Miles is visiting United States Naval Missions in South America and will proceed directly to Montevideo. General Porter will join the delegation when the United States Air Force plane stops at Puerto Rico en route.

## Assistant Secretary Miller's Itinerary to South America

[Released to the press February 14]

Edward G. Miller, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, will leave from New York on February 17, 1951, for South America, going first to Rio de Janeiro at the invitation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, João Neves da Fontoura, to engage in exploratory conversations

with the new administration and United States Ambassador Herschel V. Johnson concerning Brazilian-United States cooperation.

Mr. Miller will then proceed to Montevideo, Uruguay, to attend ceremonies marking the inauguration of Dr. Andrés Martínez Trueba on March 1 as President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

After attending the presidential inauguration and Uruguay's International Film Festival, Mr. Miller will attend the first Pan American Games at Buenos Aires at the invitation of the Argentine Federation of Sports. The Pan American Games, to be held February 25 to March 8, are being modeled after the Olympic Games and will be held every 4 years between the Olympic Games in a different country in the Western Hemisphere.

From Argentina, Mr. Miller will go to Santiago, Chile, to observe the meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which will be held in Santiago commencing February 20 and which will be the first meeting of any major United Nations organization to be held in Latin America. While in Santiago, Mr. Miller will pay a courtesy call on President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla.

Before returning to Washington, Mr. Miller will make a brief courtesy call in Lima, Peru.

## Point 4 Agreement With Dominican Republic Signed

[Released to the press February 21]

The United States yesterday concluded a Point 4 general agreement with the Dominican Republic, according to an announcement by the Technical Cooperation Administration. The agreement was formalized in Ciudad Trujillo by an exchange of notes between Ambassador Ralph H. Ackerman, representing the United States, and Foreign Affairs Secretary Virgilio Diaz Ordonez, representing the Dominican Republic.

Since 1942, the United States Department of Agriculture has been carrying on rubber research in cooperation with the Dominican Republic. This work is continuing under Point 4. The American technician doing part-time research is Arthur W. Bechtel of Pennsylvania. The signing of the general agreement paves the way for cooperation between the two Governments on other specific Point 4 projects.

The Dominican Republic is approximately the size of South Carolina. It occupies the eastern two-thirds of the Island of Hispaniola, in the West Indies. The population of the Republic according to the 1950 census was estimated at 2,100,000, four-fifths of the people living in rural areas. The Dominican economy is basically agricultural. Sugar provides approximately one-half the value of all exports. Coffee and cacao also are important export products.

## CONTRACTING PARTIES TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE: FIFTH SESSION

by Leonard Weiss

The representatives of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) met at Torquay, England, from November 2 to December 16, 1950, to deal with problems relating to the application of the Agreement. This constituted the fifth session, previous sessions having been held at Habana, Geneva (2 sessions), and Annecy, France.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was concluded by 23 countries in October 1947 for the purpose of reducing the barriers to their trade with each other. Of the original contracting parties, two have withdrawn, namely, China and Lebanon. Nine additional countries have acceded to the Agreement in accordance with the terms of the Annecy Protocol of Accession, dated October 10, 1949. Indonesia, formerly included in the overseas territories regarding which notification of provisional application was given by the Netherlands, became a contracting party in her own right on February 24, 1950. As of March 1, 1951, 31 countries, accounting for approximately three-fourths of the world's trade, are parties to the Agreement. Seven more countries (Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, Korea, Peru, Philippines, Turkey, and Uruguay), are expected to accede to the Agreement after the completion of the tariff negotiations now taking place at Torquay.

Forty-two countries and three international organizations (the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation) were represented. Twenty-nine of the 31 countries, now parties to the Agreement, sent representatives;<sup>1</sup> 13 others, including the aforementioned 7 now negotiating for accession, sent observers.

### Problems Considered

#### IMPORT RESTRICTIONS

Among the numerous problems discussed at Torquay, the most important substantive item on the agenda consisted of the consultations which were held with seven of the British Commonwealth countries and Chile on their import restrictions against the dollar area. These consultations were held under article XII of the General Agreement which makes detailed provision for consultation on import restrictions applied for balance-of-payment reasons. In accordance with the provisions of article XV of the Agreement, the International Monetary Fund was a party to the consultation and provided the basic factual data on which discussion was based. A working party of nine countries studied the material provided by the Fund, the information which each had available from its own sources, and statements and facts submitted by each of the consulting countries. As a result of this study, the delegations of Belgium, Cuba, Canada, and the United States expressed the opinion that the time had come when, with all due caution in the light of the uncertainties of today's world, Australia, Ceylon, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia, and the United Kingdom might begin the progressive relaxation of their import restrictions against the dollar area.

The British, Australian, and New Zealand delegations expressed the view that those advocating this position had overestimated the favorable factors in their situation and underestimated the unfavorable factors, particularly the possible burdens which would be imposed upon them by a

<sup>1</sup> Nicaragua and Syria did not send representatives.

rearmament program. Nevertheless, they undertook to report the views expressed in the working party to their governments and indicated that those views would be taken into account in the formulation of policy.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF GATT

Perhaps the other most important item on the agenda concerned arrangements for the continuing administration of the General Agreement. A number of delegations felt that the operations of the Agreement had suffered from the fact that the Contracting Parties met only periodically and that there was no machinery for any kind of operation between sessions. In fact, the General Agreement had no real secretariat and had to rely upon the secretariat of the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization. The Canadian delegation, therefore, proposed the formation of a standing committee of the Contracting Parties which could perform certain functions between sessions and also suggested the establishment of a permanent secretariat.

The importance of the Canadian proposal was heightened during the session by the announcement in the United States of the President's decision not to resubmit the Charter of the International Trade Organization to the Congress, which almost certainly meant that no other countries would proceed with ratification of the Habana Charter. As a consequence GATT meetings remain as the only international forum specifically dedicated to the discussion of detailed commercial policy problems.

A working party was established to study the problem of the continuing administration of the General Agreement. The report of this working party will be transmitted to the Governments of the Contracting Parties for their examination with a view to a fuller consideration, at the sixth session, of the Canadian proposal for establishing a standing committee and a permanent secretariat.

A significant accomplishment of the fifth session was the formulation by the Contracting Parties of a set of rules and principles which the Contracting Parties recommended to their respective Governments for adoption in the administration of any necessary import and export restrictions. The United States advanced this proposal in view of the fact that, given the necessity for certain import and export controls, the manner, in which such controls were administered, could make a great deal of difference to the individual businessman. In many cases, the administration of such controls was causing serious and unnecessary hardships to businessmen. The Contracting Parties welcomed the United States proposal, and agreement was reached on a code of practices for the standardization and simplification of trade and exchange controls. This code is designed to eliminate unnecessary hardships and simplify traders' problems resulting from import and export controls, exchange restrictions, chang-

ing regulations, and complex administrative formalities.

#### TARIFF MATTERS

A number of questions relating to tariff matters and the accession of additional countries to the Agreement required the attention of the Contracting Parties. Tariff negotiations among the Contracting Parties and the acceding countries took place simultaneously with the fifth session and continued after it had adjourned on December 16, 1950. These negotiations, which are still in progress, are expected to be concluded within the next month or so. In anticipation of the conclusion of these negotiations, the Contracting Parties agreed on a protocol defining the terms on which the new countries will accede to the Agreement. Arrangements were also made to extend for a further 3-year period, subject to limited renegotiations to be completed at Torquay, the assured life of the tariff concessions previously concluded in tariff negotiations at Geneva and Annecy. An extension of time was granted to permit several countries, notably Brazil, Cuba, Lebanon, and Syria, to give notification of their intention to apply concessions negotiated at Annecy. The results of certain United States-Cuban tariff renegotiations, concluded last year, were reported to the Contracting Parties. Steps were also taken to consolidate the existing tariff schedules of the GATT in order to facilitate their use by businessmen, government officials, and others.

#### CONSIDERATION OF COMPLAINTS

At the fifth session, the Contracting Parties also dealt with several matters resulting from complaints that particular countries had violated the Agreement or otherwise nullified or impaired its benefits. One such case related to the application of discriminatory internal taxes by Brazil. This matter had been considered at previous sessions, and Brazil had agreed to take steps to correct the situation. At the fifth session, Brazil presented to the Contracting Parties for their consideration a proposed law designed to eliminate such discrimination as was inconsistent with the Agreement. At Brazil's request, the proposed law was reviewed and suggestions made to correct a number of inadequacies contained therein.

Another case involved Australia and Chile. At the fourth session at Geneva, Chile charged that Australia had, through discriminatory subsidy action, nullified the value of a tariff concession granted on sodium nitrate by Australia. Following consideration of the problem at that session, the Contracting Parties recommended an adjustment of the matter by Australia so as to remove the competitive inequality resulting from Australia's action. The two countries consulted and announced at the fifth session that they had arrived at a mutually satisfactory settlement.

A third case involved a complaint by the Netherlands against the United Kingdom that the latter had been applying her purchase tax to goods imported from abroad while comparable domestic goods were exempt from the tax. The United Kingdom, admitting that her purchase tax system had come to have some protective effect in practice, declared that it had not been designed for this purpose and announced that efforts were being made to eliminate the discrimination against imports resulting from the tax. On the basis of this announcement, the matter was pressed no further although it was placed on the agenda for the next session should it prove necessary again to discuss the problem.

A fourth case concerned a complaint by Belgium that quotas were being applied against her by certain countries for protectionist purposes. Following bilateral consultations with these countries, Belgium reported to the Contracting Parties that she had received satisfactory assurance for a settlement of the matter so that no further consideration of the problem was required.

A fifth case dealt with the application by the United States of the escape clause in article XIX of the Agreement. Acting under this provision, the United States withdrew tariff concessions on women's fur felt hats and hat bodies valued at over 9 dollars but not more than 24 dollars a dozen in order to avoid serious injury to our domestic industry. Although the United States has indicated her intention to maintain the withdrawal and is entitled under the Agreement to do so, the considerations raised by this action are under study by an intersessional working party which is to report to the next session.

#### **MODIFYING PROVISIONS OF GATT**

In addition to the handling of these disputes, the Contracting Parties considered two proposals involving modifications in the provisions of the General Agreement. The first proposal, initiated by Norway, was to incorporate into the Agreement provisions from chapter II of the Charter for an International Trade Organization dealing with employment. As a result of considerable sentiment expressed against any such action at the fifth session, Norway withdrew her proposal.

The second proposal related to an extension of the time limit embodied in article XX of the Agreement, which permitted certain exceptional measures essential to meeting various postwar shortage and surplus problems during a transitional period which was to terminate on January 1, 1951. Recognizing that these problems were still prevalent, the Contracting Parties agreed to extend for another year the period during which such measures might be used.

At the fifth session, the Contracting Parties also considered applications by Haiti, Denmark, and Italy for the maintenance of certain protective

measures to promote their economic development. These applications had been submitted in accordance with the provisions of article XVIII of the Agreement under which approval of the Contracting Parties may be obtained for such protective measures as would otherwise be prohibited under the Agreement. The Contracting Parties granted Haiti the right to maintain import licensing controls on tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes for 5 years. The applications of Denmark and Italy were withdrawn since they did not fall within the types of measures envisaged by article XVIII.

#### **IMPORT AND EXPORT QUOTAS**

The Contracting Parties also agreed on a questionnaire and other requests for information relating to import and export quotas and to subsidies. The Agreement calls for a general review of import restrictions imposed for balance-of-payment reasons, and, in addition, for an annual report of discriminatory import quotas imposed for such purposes. The first such report was issued last year, and the second is to be prepared at the sixth session, at which time the Contracting Parties will also undertake the general review of import restrictions for balance-of-payment reasons. A questionnaire was agreed upon to obtain the necessary information on import restrictions imposed for balance-of-payment purposes in order that the required review and report on such restrictions could be effectively undertaken at the sixth session. In addition, it was agreed to request the Contracting Parties to submit statements on import controls they were maintaining for other than balance-of-payment reasons and on such export controls as they might be applying. It was further agreed, in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement, that the Contracting Parties should report on subsidies affecting international trade which were applied by them.

#### **SPECIAL EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS**

The Contracting Parties considered the problem of the application of special exchange agreements into which all parties to the Agreement who are not members of the International Monetary Fund are required to enter. The purpose of these agreements is to insure that countries do not resort to financial measures to frustrate the trade obligations they have assumed under the Agreement. The Contracting Parties reviewed the position of those countries which were not yet members of the Fund and which had not concluded special exchange agreements, and also agreed upon procedural arrangements for the application of such agreements as had been concluded.

#### **OTHER GENERAL ITEMS**

Of the various other problems before the Contracting Parties at the fifth session, mention should be made of their review of developments toward

a South Africa-Southern Rhodesia customs union and of their study of a proposed draft agreement on the importation of insecticides. With regard to the former, the Contracting Parties considered a report submitted by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and expressed the hope that the next report would give greater consideration to the removal of various restrictions in the trade between the two countries. As to the latter problem, at the request of the Director-General of the World Health Organization, the Contracting Parties studied a proposed agreement to eliminate duties on insecticides and related materials. The resultant views of the experts at the GATT meeting were transmitted to the Director-General of the WHO, together with the draft of an amended agreement.

The Contracting Parties agreed to hold their sixth session at Geneva, beginning on September 17, 1951.

### General Impressions and Conclusions

One vivid impression gained of the fifth session of the Contracting Parties was that of rather surprising efficiency in operation. Despite the formidable agenda of over 30 items, covering many complicated issues, and the necessity of operating in two languages, English and French, in consecutive translation, the delegates completed their task in the relatively short period of 6 weeks.

The effectiveness with which the Contracting Parties conduct their meetings is due to numerous reasons, of which three seem particularly worth mentioning. One is the generally high level of technical competence of the delegates sent to these meetings. Another is the unusual efficiency of the small secretariat servicing these meetings. A third is the fact that many of the representatives have attended these sessions consistently through the years and, thus, have come to know each other and learn to work together with a minimum of friction and maximum of dispatch.

This last fact points up another dominant impression which one gains at these meetings, namely, the unusual friendliness and cooperative spirit among the delegates and secretariat members. In the meetings, the delegates displayed a sincere desire to understand each other's views and problems and to find, where possible, a reasonable solution which would meet any legitimate interest advanced.

Another impression, quite strongly conveyed, was the extent to which a great majority of the countries represented, particularly those of medium and small size, felt that the General Agreement afforded them an excellent opportunity not only to learn what developments were transpiring in the field of trade and commercial policy but also to participate in the formulation of that policy, an opportunity not offered elsewhere.

During the meetings of the fifth session of the Contracting Parties, the force of international public opinion was marked. In an increasing

number of cases, countries which have been attempting bilaterally, without success, to secure adjustments of grievances with each other have discovered that, by putting the matter on the agenda of a meeting of the Contracting Parties, reasonable satisfaction could be obtained, simply because the countries at which the grievances were directed did not feel that their cases would stand up under the objective scrutiny of a group of other countries and did not wish to be put in the position of defending an untenable case or of violating a solemn commitment.

The fifth session of the Contracting Parties clearly demonstrated the great need for some such forum as the GATT sessions afford in the international trade field. This need was reflected in the wide and complicated range of commercial policy problems on the agenda; in the fact that problems which could not be settled bilaterally were resolved through multilateral consultations and that, in some cases, the mere fact that a particular dispute could be raised internationally led to a prompt settlement of the problem; in the request of such agencies as the World Health Organization for advice and guidance on a problem relating to international trade; and in the discussion of the problem of the continuing administration of the General Agreement and the proposal to establish a standing committee and a permanent secretariat.

As the successive sessions of the Contracting Parties have been held, there has been an increase in the number of countries represented, as well as an increase in the quantity, variety, and complexity of problems considered. In each meeting, new ideas have developed on handling questions arising under the Agreement. Each meeting has given further proof that satisfactory solution of a wide variety of trade problems can be obtained by the process of frank consultation between countries which have committed themselves to abide by certain definite obligations and principles.

Consultation is important, but, alone, it is not enough, for the force of a definite commitment is often needed to achieve a satisfactory result. On the other hand, a commitment alone is not enough, since there are often different ways in which it may be interpreted or applied, some of which would be highly satisfactory to other countries which are affected and others which would be highly unsatisfactory.

Through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the periodic sessions of the Contracting Parties, a group of countries, which account for approximately three-fourths of the world's trade, have agreed upon a set of international rules of behavior under which they are now engaged in working out their case law in frank discussion around the conference table. This is a new experiment in international economic relations with immense and encouraging potentialities.

●Leonard Weiss, author of the above article, is Assistant Chief, Commercial Policy Staff, Office of International Trade Policy.

## **Quadripartite Meeting on Allied-Swiss Accord To Convene**

*[Released to the press February 26]*

The Department of State announced today that a quadripartite meeting on the Swiss-Allied Accord will be convened in Bern, Switzerland, on March 5, 1951. The Accord, which was signed on May 25, 1946, by the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, acting pursuant to authority conferred on them by the Paris reparations agreement, and Switzerland, provides for the liquidation of property in Switzerland owned by Germans in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

German property in Switzerland which is subject to liquidation is valued at approximately 500 million Swiss francs of which, under the terms of the Accord, one-half will be paid to the Allies and one-half will be retained by Switzerland. The Allied share, after deductions for payments to the International Refugee Organization for the relief and rehabilitation of nonrepatriable victims of Nazi action, will be distributed through the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency to the member governments as reparation from Germany.

## **Harding F. Bancroft Named to Collective Measures Committee**

The Department of State announced on February 27 the appointment by President Truman of Harding F. Bancroft as deputy United States representative on the United Nations Collective Measures Committee, with the personal rank of Minister. The 14-member Committee, which was established by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 3, 1950, is to study and make a report to the Security Council and the General Assembly, not later than September 1, 1951, on methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, taking account of collective self-defense and regional arrangements (arts. 51 and 52 of the Charter). Other members of the Committee are: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, Philippines, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

In preparing its report, the Committee will, when necessary, consult with the Secretary-Gen-

<sup>1</sup> See, BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1946, p. 955; June 30, 1946, p. 1101, 1121; and May 22, 1949, p. 659.

eral of the United Nations and such other member governments as it deems appropriate.

Ambassador Warren R. Austin, the principal United States representative to the United Nations, will serve as principal United States representative on the Collective Measures Committee.

The Department also announced today that John S. Dickey, president of Dartmouth College, has agreed to serve as Consultant to the Department of State and to the Collective Measures Committee.

## **Copper, Zinc, Lead Committee Holds First Meeting**

*[Released to the press by IMC March 1]*

At its first meeting held on Monday, February 26, the Copper, Zinc and Lead Committee of the International Materials Conference (IMC) elected Frank H. Hayes, the United States representative as chairman pro tempore. He will also continue to represent the United States.

The agenda adopted concerned credentials, consideration of permanent rules of procedure, and the best methods of entry into the substance of the work.

It was generally agreed that notification by the Ambassador in Washington would suffice for accreditation. Pending adoption of permanent rules of procedure, it was decided that decisions on procedural matters will be made by simple majority; member governments may designate accredited alternates or advisers without numerical limitation except that attendance will be limited to two persons per government at any one time.

It was also agreed that lead and zinc should be considered together and that copper should be considered separately. The Committee established a subcommittee to develop plans for a collection of informational statistics needed by the full Committee. The chairman appointed France, Germany, United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, Chile, and the United States to this subcommittee. The representatives of Belgium and Norway were appointed to serve with the Committee Secretary in drafting proposed rules of procedure.

The Copper, Zinc and Lead Committee, as with the other commodity committees which will meet, consists of representatives of the leading producing and consuming countries. It comprises an autonomous body, free to proceed with its work as it thinks best. Because some Governments which are interested in these materials are not participating directly, the Committee also has a trusteeship function.

## The United States in the United Nations

[March 2-8]

### General Assembly

*Collective Measures Committee.*—The 14-nation Collective Measures Committee established under the General Assembly writing-for-peace resolution met for the first time on March 5. This Committee is authorized to study and make a report to the Security Council and Assembly, not later than September 1, 1951, on methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The members represented on the Committee are: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, the Philippines, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Ambassador Warren R. Austin is the principal United States representative; Harding F. Baneroff is United States Minister and deputy representative.

The following action was taken at this meeting: (1) Ambassador João Carlos Muniz (Brazil) was elected chairman; (2) election of other officers was postponed; (3) the General Assembly rules of procedure were adopted; and (4) it was agreed that the sessions would be closed unless otherwise decided.

In a brief statement, the chairman, Mr. Muniz, pointed out the purpose of the Committee, the magnitude of the assignment, and the need for the fullest cooperation of United Nations members.

Mr. Baneroff outlined the United States views on the uniting-for-peace resolution and on the purpose and scope of the Committee's task. He suggested that, in considering plans for "a more comprehensive system of coordination among member states," the Committee should: (1) "study and develop interim arrangements for the collective use of armed forces" which the Assembly has recommended that members make available for United Nations service; (2) work out plans for "the collective application of political, economic, and psychological measures to restrain aggression, or to meet it, if it occurs." He outlined various problems which the Committee should consider, namely, the availability of armed forces for the United Nations; the relation of regional pacts to a universal collective security system; the possibility of creating a United Nations legion, recruited on a voluntary basis by the United Nations itself; and the many aspects of collective security organization.

*The Committee of 12 (established by General Assembly Resolution 496 (V)).*—The second meeting of the coordinating committee on the atomic energy and conventional armaments commissions, which was held on March 2, was concerned with organizational matters. After some discussion in behalf of a permanent chairman, the proposal of the Soviet delegate, Yakov A. Malik, that the principle of alphabetical rotation of the chairmanship should be adopted, was approved unanimously. The first chairman was selected by lot, and the name of the United States representative, Frank C. Nash, was drawn.

The United Kingdom delegate, J. E. Coulson, suggested that a permanent rapporteur be appointed, which was approved by vote of 9-2 (U.S.S.R., China)-1 (India). R. G. Riddell (Canada) was elected rapporteur. After adoption of the provisional agenda, the Soviet delegate suggested that the Committee use the Atomic Energy Commission's rules of procedure to govern its work. This suggestion was rejected by vote of 1-5-6, and, instead, the proposal of the French delegate, Francis Lacoste, that the General Assembly's rules be adopted as a basis was approved 6 (U.S.)-1 (U.S.S.R.)-5. Certain adaptations and modifications will be made by the Secretariat in these rules and they will be submitted to the Committee in final form at the next meeting.

### Economic and Social Council

The Council resolved that the item on trade-union rights adopted by 14-3 (Soviet bloc)-1 a Belgian-Swedish sponsored resolution to forward the numerous charges of alleged violations to the attention of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office.

During the greater part of the week, the plenary Council held discussions on item 3, the world economic situation. (Copies of the United Nations *World Economic Report, 1949-1950*, had been distributed to the members.) Some of the points brought out by the delegates were (1) the needs of the underdeveloped countries for financial and technical assistance; (2) the effects of inflationary pressures resulting from the aggression in Korea and the increase in military expenditures; and (3) the fact that the world economic situation today was dominated by the world political situation.

The United States representative, Isador Lubin, refuted figures cited by the Soviet Union on United

States military expenditures, unemployment, and total production, declaring "such a distortion of statistics is an insult to this Council." Mr. Lubin said that the United States is "keenly aware that our own strength is bound up with the strength of the other free nations. This is true both for the immediate future and in the long run. Our economic program is being formulated in the light of the combined military programs of all the free nations and of their combined needs, productive resources, and potentialities. We must be certain our foreign aid program like our domestic program serves high priority purposes. We are fully aware that the joint strength of the free nations requires not only military strength but also moral strength, economic strength, and above all, unity of ultimate purpose."

Among the other actions taken this week, the Council heard reports of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, confirmed the membership of China in the Fiscal and Social Commissions by a vote of 11-4 (Soviet bloc, Pakistan)-3, and authorized the Council President to invite the representative of the Arab League to attend the session as an observer.

#### **Security Council**

The Council held two meetings this week on the Kashmir question and heard Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan Minister for Foreign Affairs, who pointed out that India's whole argument rested on the untenable assumption that India is in lawful occupation of Kashmir, whereas India's occupation of Kashmir was, in fact, brought about by a conspiracy between the Hindu ruler of the state and the Hindu leaders of India.

He cited Pakistan's repeated efforts to reach a settlement with India wherein the people of Kashmir could settle their future through a fair and impartial plebiscite and noted that suggestions, generally acceptable to Pakistan and rejected by India, had been made over the past 3 years by the Security Council, the United Nations Commission, General MacNaughton, Sir Owen Dixon, and the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries. Sir Zafrulla stressed that Prime Minister Nehru had, on November 8, 1947, taken the position that no accession could take place, or, at least, could be recognized before the will of the people had been ascertained. However, India has since then argued that the accession had, in fact, taken place and the only question of a plebiscite was to determine whether the state was to remain within India; that as a result of the accession, India had acquired a superior position in regard to both the demilitarization and the plebiscite arrangements, as opposed to Pakistan.

He stated that the Security Council had recognized that a free poll would be impossible if the

troops of the interested parties were present, but that India interpreted its agreement to allow the United Nations Commission or representative to dispose of troops during the plebiscite as being an agreement to permit "disposition" rather than "disposal." Sir Zafrulla also referred to the United Nations Commission's conclusion that India was not prepared to withdraw the bulk of her forces unless Pakistan agreed to a condition which had not previously been contained in the resolutions accepted by both parties. He also cited the report of Sir Owen Dixon, the United Nations representative who had succeeded the Commission, in which Sir Owen declared his conviction that India would not agree to demilitarization or to provisions for a state-wide plebiscite of such nature as to permit of the plebiscite being conducted in such a way that its freedom and fairness would not be imperiled. He maintained that the projected Constituent Assembly in the Indian-controlled area of Kashmir was the result of a long-thought-out scheme and was a clear indication that India had never had any intention of proceeding with a free plebiscite under United Nations auspices. He urged the Council to take prompt and vigorous action by appointing "an outstanding personality of high repute to implement the International Agreement and give him full powers for the discharge of his responsibility, including the power to effect demilitarization by removing or disbanding the military forces of all interested parties."

He proposed that the United States-United Kingdom draft resolution should be modified: (a) to call on both parties to withdraw their forces and extend full cooperation to the proposed United Nations representative; (b) India should be asked not to proceed with convoking the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, and (c) that paragraph 4 (iii) of the draft covering possibility of assigning local areas to the party obtaining the minority vote in the state-wide election, in the event of overwhelming local vote in favor of that party, should be deleted since its reference to the possibility of boundary adjustments contravened the agreement and implied a partition solution. He readily accepted the principle that demilitarization of the area should be followed by a plebiscite safeguarded by neutral United Nations forces. Sir Zafrulla declared Pakistan's complete willingness to accept arbitration, adding that his Government had often suggested to India this method for settling their outstanding disagreements. He concluded by observing that Kashmir was "the key to and barometer of Indo-Pakistan relations" and warned that the sense of frustration and despair arising from one party's refusal to allow a fair and peaceful settlement "had already mounted to a dangerous pitch." He appealed to the Security Council to approach their task in that sense of urgency.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Senator Benton's Study on Information Activities Welcomed

[Released to the press February 19]

There is no one in America who appreciates and understands more than Senator Benton the enormous potentialities of the Campaign of Truth. The Department is proud of what has been done in this campaign already and of new projects now under way, but it is eager to be sure that no possibilities are overlooked by the Government and that the best possible use is made of all channels of information and educational exchange to advance the cause of the free world. For these reasons, the Department would heartily welcome the constructive study proposed by Senator Benton in his important resolution introduced today.

*The following is the text of the resolution (S. Res. 74) submitted by Senator Benton (for himself and Senator Wiley) on February 19.*

WHEREAS the first weapon of aggression by the Kremlin is propaganda designed to subvert, to confuse, and to divide the free world, and to inflame the Russian and satellite peoples with hatred for our free institutions, and

WHEREAS the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe has just reported to Congress that the security of the free world requires not only military and economic strength but a psychological offensive in behalf of our democratic principles and aspirations; and

WHEREAS General Eisenhower called for a great expansion in our campaign of truth which would give enormous moral strength to all other phases of our foreign policy—military, diplomatic, and economic; and

WHEREAS the international propagation of the democratic creed should be made an instrument of supreme national policy: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof duly designated by the chairman of such committee, in conjunction with two other Senators designated by the President of the Senate, shall conduct a full and complete study and investigation with respect to—

(A) The objectives, operations, and effectiveness of existing foreign information programs conducted by the Department of State and other agencies of the United States.

(B) The prompt development of techniques, methods, and programs for greatly expanded and far more effective operations in this vital area of foreign policy, including the following, among others:

(1) Maximum utilization of radio broadcasting, by medium wave as well as short-wave, to overcome barriers of language, censorship, distance, and other obstacles to reaching the minds of the peoples of the world.

(2) Development of a comprehensive world-wide program to produce and exhibit documentary and educational motion pictures.

(3) Significant and immediate expansion of our program for people-to-people diplomacy, through exchange of students, industrial and technical experts, as well as representatives of cultural, labor, and religious groups.

(4) Use of all other practicable techniques and media to reach and inform people who are shut off from the free world by censorship and suppression.

(5) Promotion of democratic education abroad, including the occupied areas of Germany and Japan.

(6) Increased coordination with international information programs of other free nations.

(7) Maintenance, through the United Nations and through our own diplomacy, of a steady and steadily increasing pressure in behalf of world-wide freedom of information.

(8) Increased support and development of and coordination with the United Nations and its appropriate specialized agencies, facilities, and programs.

(9) Further encouragement of nongovernmental agencies to help inspire and guide the efforts of the millions of private American citizens who might use their talents and resources and contacts overseas in furtherance of the programs and objectives of this resolution.

(C) The extent and scope of organization and of reorganization of existing departmental and agency structures which may be necessary or desirable to accomplish the foregoing objectives in the present world crisis.

SEC. 2. The committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations for necessary appropriations or legislation as it may deem desirable.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee is authorized to employ on a temporary basis such technical, clerical, or other assistants as it deems desirable. The necessary expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$\_\_\_\_, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

### Erwin D. Canham Named Chairman of Information Advisory Group

[Released to the press by the White House February 27]

The President has appointed Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, to succeed Mark F. Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, as chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Information.

Mr. Ethridge recently resigned as chairman of the Commission for reasons of health. Mr. Canham is a past president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and has been a member of the Commission since it was established on August 9, 1948. The other members of the Commission are:

Mark A. May, director, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Justin Miller, president, National Association of Broadcasters, Los Angeles, Calif.

Philip D. Reed, chairman, General Electric Company, New York, N. Y.

Under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948), the Commission is responsible for formulating and recommending to the Secretary of State informational policies and programs to promote the objectives of the United States in welding the free world into an effective instrument for resisting Soviet imperialism. The recent supplemental appropriation by the Congress for the broadening, strengthening, and sharpening of America's Campaign of Truth has substantially increased the effectiveness of the efforts now being

made through the State Department's information program to gain support for United States policies among the peoples of the free world and to strengthen the determination of those peoples to stand firm in the face of threatening aggression. The information program, conducted through the media of radio, motion pictures, press and publication, is conducted by the Department's Office of International Information under Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

### Appointment of Officers

The following officers have been appointed in the Office of Regional American Affairs, effective January 25, 1951:

- Ivan B. White as Director
- Edward A. Jamison as Officer in Charge, Special Political Affairs
- George N. Monsma as Officer in Charge, International Organizations Affairs
- Charles P. Nolan as Officer in Charge, Transportation and Communications.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Security Problems in Middle East Discussed at Diplomatic Conference

*Statement by George C. McGhee*<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 23]

The Conference of American Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions in the Middle East has been concluded, after a week of discussions of general matters concerning more important problems of the area and related American programs and policies.

Admiral Robert B. Carney, Commander in Chief, Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, participated in the meeting, which was presided over by George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.

This meeting was one of a series of such conferences which are held from time to time to provide group consultation between diplomatic representatives and officers of the Department of State from Washington. These conferences are particularly useful in formulating recommendations to which the United States Government gives consideration in the development of its policies.

In the light of the changes in the international situation during the past year, it was natural that

<sup>1</sup>Made at the close of the conference of American Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions in the Middle East which was held at Istanbul from February 14-21.

the conference should focus special attention on matters dealing with the security of the several countries in the area. The conference noted with particular satisfaction the further progress which Turkey, Greece, and Iran have made during the past year in building up their own defenses and the notable contribution which Turkey and Greece have made to collective security action in Korea.

Since security is an area-wide problem, the conference was also pleased to note signs that other states of this region are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for making individual contributions to general area security and, in a larger sense, to that of the free world. The conference was confident that this trend will continue and that it will receive sympathetic support from other similarly inclined states outside the area.

When the last Chiefs of Mission Conference was held in November 1949, emphasis was placed upon economic and social development. This year's conference, while recognizing the sense of urgency manifest in efforts of the peoples of the Middle East to achieve security, also recognized their fundamental desires for the betterment of their economic conditions. The conference was strongly of the view that the efforts to meet the first should not be to the exclusion of the second. The United States is in many ways demonstrating tangible support of the Middle East states in their efforts toward economic progress.

The delegates to the conference are grateful to the Turkish Government and people for their hospitality during the period of the meeting. This hospitality is indicative of the friendly relations which so happily exist between the United States and Turkey and the peoples of the Middle East.

### Consular Conference Scheduled To Meet in Ceylon

[Released to the press February 14]

As part of normal practice there will be held in Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, the week of February 26 a meeting of United States consular and diplomatic officers for the purpose of exchanging views and discussing questions of mutual interest. Ambassador Loy W. Henderson from New Delhi, Ambassador Avra M. Warren from Karachi, and Ambassador Joseph C. Satterthwaite from Colombo, together with members of their staffs will attend. There will also be present officers from the Embassy in Kabul, Consuls General Prescott Childs of Bombay and Evan M. Wilson of Calcutta, and Consuls Robert Rossow, Jr., of Madras, Charles D. Withers of Dacca, and Vice Consul John C. Craig of Lahore.

The Washington group will be under the leadership of George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.

### Consular Offices

The American consulate at Isfahan, Iran, was officially opened to the public on February 5, 1951.

An American consulate was established at Bengehazi, Libya, on August 3, 1950, and was opened to the public on February 12, 1951.

## The Indian Emergency Food Aid Program

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

I am grateful for this opportunity to express to your Committee my support of the humanitarian proposal to furnish emergency food aid to India contained in the 11 identical bills introduced in the House by a bipartisan group of Representatives, nine of whom are members of this Committee. The President, in his message to the Congress of February 12, stressed India's urgent need of such assistance and the compelling reasons why we should respond to the Indian appeal. I wish, particularly, to emphasize the President's clear restatement of the fundamental American principle that human need overrides political differences.

We face, frankly, the fact that there exist some important political differences between our Government and the Government of India. These concern the different courses which our two Governments have followed toward the acts of aggression which have taken place in Korea and the danger which exists of further aggression. Both Governments have been striving to restore peace in the Far East and to prevent an extension of the Korean conflict to other areas. We have differed as to the most effective ways of achieving these objectives.

This Government is convinced that the measures which it proposed and which the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted provide the most effective means to restrain aggression in Asia. We are also convinced that the Government of India is entitled to make its own independent judgments on these and other matters which concern it. The fact that these judgments sometimes differ from ours has nothing whatsoever to do with our feelings toward the people of India or our humanitarian desire to help avert the dread threat of hunger which overhangs them.

#### Review of Events Causing India's Need for Aid

With your permission, I should like to review the sequence of events which has brought us together to consider food aid to India. In August

1947, the British Government, by an act of the highest statesmanship, transferred the power of governance of its Indian Empire to the new Governments of India and Pakistan. These new nations began their existence in the aftermath of World War II. This meant for India, internally, that its transportation system and industrial plant were run down by overuse and undermaintenance during the war years; that prewar programs for land reclamation and the improvement of agricultural methods had not been carried out; and that inflation, to some degree repressed during the war, was a serious threat to the national economy. Externally, it meant the disruption of prewar trade patterns. Former food suppliers, such as Burma and Indochina, were torn by internal strife. The United Kingdom and the other European industrial nations, traditional sources of manufactures, were digging themselves out of the debris of 6 years of savage warfare—and the United States was drawing heavily on its resources for aid to the rehabilitation of Europe. The new India was born into a difficult economic environment.

The inhospitable world environment was worsened locally by the fact that the Indian Empire had been partitioned into two new nations. I shall not dwell on the historical reasons for this partition, but I would like to refer to some of its consequences.

Food shortages had been a recurrent problem for the British in their subcontinental empire. Domestic food production had rarely been more than adequate to meet the minimum subsistence needs of the population, and, in bad crop years, heavy imports of food grains were required. This problem became the more acute for the new Indian Government as western Pakistan included some of the most important food grain producing areas of the subcontinent. India began its independent existence as a food deficit area and has had to import substantial quantities of food grains each year since 1947.

The difficulties were increased by the movement of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan into India and of Moslems from India into Pakistan in the months immediately following partition. More than 10 million people were involved in this mass migration. Most of them were farmers who left their lands with crops standing and brought away

<sup>1</sup> Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Feb. 20 and released to the press on the same date.

only as much as they and their families could carry on their backs or in bullock carts. There was, of course, a loss of food grain at the time of the migration. There have also been serious after-effects resulting from the inevitable delays in resettling the refugees on new land and in providing them tools and seed to resume production.

Despite all of these very serious handicaps, India has been endeavoring to increase domestic food production and to reduce its dependence upon food grain imports. A "Grow-More-Food" campaign was intensified shortly after independence was achieved, and the Government had projected decreasing annual food grain imports with a cut-off date in 1951 or 1952. This program proved impossible of attainment, and, by mid-1950, the Government had estimated that it would have to import in the range of 2½ million tons of food grains in 1951.

Nature intervened. Beginning in June 1950, India suffered a series of natural disasters—floods, droughts, and locust plagues—which afflicted large and widely separated areas of the country. It became apparent that domestic food grain availabilities were going to be some 5 million tons less in 1951 than in 1950. The Indian Government restudied the situation and concluded that to maintain its rationing system and to extend it to prevent starvation in new food deficit areas, it would have to set its import target at 6 million tons of food grains.

#### **U.S. as Source for Grain**

This decision raised two major problems for the Government of India: where to find the grain and how to pay for it.

Where was the grain to come from? India canvassed its normal supplies in the sterling area and Southeast Asia, and new sources. It found that somewhat less than half of its requirements could be obtained from sources other than the United States but that approximately 3½ million tons would have to be acquired in this country.

Now, many people have asked whether India cannot obtain food grains in Pakistan. They are aware of the fact, which I have already mentioned, that western Pakistan contains some of the important grain producing areas of the subcontinent. They are disturbed by reports that India did not acquire surplus grain which Pakistan had available a year ago.

India and Pakistan were unable to reach agreement on price with respect to surplus Pakistan food grains early last year. The grain was subsequently sold elsewhere by Pakistan, and India bought its requirements from other sources.

Pakistan has suffered to some extent from the floods, which ravaged the Indian Punjab, and the magnitude of possible Pakistan surpluses, which might be available for purchase by India in 1951, is not now certain. Whatever these surpluses may be, we would certainly expect that, in view of

the urgent human need, India and Pakistan will exhaust every possibility of arranging for their acquisition by India. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the Indian need is far greater than any possible Pakistan surpluses.

Our own survey of the world food grain situation leads us to the same conclusion as the Government of India has reached—namely, that over half of its 1951 import target of 6 million tons will have to be obtained in the United States. This is the more true because of the immediacy of the Indian need.

India has already been forced to cut back the standard food grain ration from 12 to 9 ounces a day. A substantial increase in imports is urgently needed to prevent a further worsening of the situation. The grain specially requested from this country should begin to move as soon as possible and, in no case, later than April first. We would hope that approximately a million tons could be delivered in India before August in order to meet the most critical period of food shortages beginning in midsummer and continuing into the fall.

Can India pay for 6 million tons of food grains? The Indian Government, itself, estimates that it can pay for about 4 million tons but that it does not have currently available foreign exchange resources for the remaining 2 million tons. Accordingly, when that Government requested our assistance in acquiring this quantity, it inquired whether it would be possible to obtain the grain on a long-term credit or some other special arrangement. Our own studies show that India could not pay for these 2 million tons without drawing heavily upon its sterling balances with the United Kingdom.

Some people have asked why India's sterling balances should not be used to purchase all the grain it needs. It should be noted, in the first place, that, as a result of withdrawals to finance essential imports and the transfer to Pakistan of its share of these balances, they have been reduced to approximately one-half of the amount at which they stood shortly after the war. Because of the devaluation of sterling, their dollar value has been reduced even more and is now only about one-third of what it was at its peak in 1946. These balances constitute the bulk of India's international assets. They provide the greater part of the backing for its currency, and the working funds used to finance its normal volume of international transactions. Moreover, they are almost the only source of accumulated capital available for essential economic development.

India's 6-year program for economic development, prepared in connection with the Commonwealth Colombo Plan, provides for the utilization of a substantial portion of the sterling balances in carrying out the program. If the balances were used to finance the importation of the 2 million tons of grain we are here discussing, the funds available for developmental and other essential purposes would be correspondingly reduced.

We must bear in mind that India's development program is directed primarily toward maintaining the present standard of living of its people, although it is, of course, hoped that some improvement will result. Moreover, projects for the expansion of food production are a key part of the program. If it became necessary for India to abandon or drastically reduce its program, a decline in living standards and a continuation of food shortages would be inevitable. In these circumstances, the Indian people would be sorely tried, and doctrines of despair would more readily receive a hearing. The Government of India is fully aware of the danger which would then threaten the new democratic constitution and governmental institutions which it has so recently established.

When those of us in the executive branch of the Government considered the Indian suggestion that the 2 million tons of food grain might be made available on a long-term credit basis, we discovered that the problems created were much the same as those involved in the use of India's sterling balances. India hopes to finance part of its 6-year development program by loans. Its debt-servicing capacity is limited. If its credit were pledged for grain, it would be unable to qualify for the hoped-for developmental loans. In addition, credits for the acquisition of consumers goods, such as foodstuffs, required to meet an emergency situation, are economically unsound as they provide no basis for the creation of income and foreign exchange to repay the credit.

#### **Grain Needs on Grant Basis**

It is clear to me that our own interest and India's interest require that we provide the grain which India needs to supplement its purchase program on a grant basis. India's need is of an emergency relief character, and it cannot be satisfactorily met through normal fiscal procedures without serious jeopardy to its essential development program.

Not a few people have asked why we did not provide food to India before now. They have in mind the fruitless informal discussions which took place between United States and Indian officials a little more than a year ago to seek some basis on which this country could provide 1 million tons of wheat to India on concessional terms. These discussions were carried on in good faith and with diligence on both sides, but no arrangement could be found which was practicable for the two countries. It should be emphasized that India was not then faced with a critical emergency of the type that now exists.

As 1950 progressed and we saw the increasing difficulties of India's food position, the executive branch of this Government took such steps as were open to us to be of assistance. Although wheat was not in surplus in this country, grain

sorghums were. We asked the Indian Government whether it could use this grain. In June, the Commodity Credit Corporation sold 200,000 tons of grain sorghum to the Government of India at a figure slightly below the parity price. India's difficulties increased and, in October, arrangements were made which have enabled India to acquire 427,000 tons of sorghum at a cost to the Government of India substantially below the parity price. This particular transaction was made possible by the participation of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the use of some of its funds.

These efforts, on our part, were, I believe, helpful to the Indian Government. Unfortunately, they and any similar small-scale measures are wholly inadequate to meet India's present food crisis. The sponsors of the bills, now before this Committee, accordingly, propose that the Congress authorize the appropriation to the President of the funds necessary to provide 2 million tons of food grains as a grant for emergency food assistance to the people of India.

In order that the extent of the Indian need may be more precisely determined and in order that our own supply position and transport availabilities may be reassessed before committing ourselves irrevocably to the full program, it is the intent of the sponsors of the bills, and of the executive branch of the Government, that appropriations under this authorization should be made in two stages. The initial appropriation should be in an amount sufficient to finance the procurement and delivery at shipside in United States ports of 1 million tons. For reasons which I have already stated, this appropriation should be made at the earliest possible date. The timing of the second appropriation and the amount required, thereunder, can be determined on the basis of further study and such new developments as may arise.

Nature has dealt India a severe blow. Unless the Indian people receive assistance in the present emergency, and the United States is the only country which has the necessary grain, many of them will suffer hunger and starvation, and their efforts to proceed with the development of their country and to improve their social and economic conditions will be seriously impeded. Their hopes will be dimmed. I firmly believe that the American people wish to respond to this need, and I urgently recommend that this Committee and the House authorize the supply of 2 million tons of food grains to India on a grant basis.

#### **STATEMENT BY LOY W. HENDERSON AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO INDIA<sup>2</sup>**

India has appealed to the United States for assistance in obtaining sufficient food grains to

<sup>2</sup> Read into the record before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Feb. 21 and released to the press on the same date.

meet the minimum food requirements of the Indian people during 1951.

Our Embassy in India and our consulates general in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, after making careful studies of the food situation in India, are convinced that India's appeal is fully justified. It is my earnest hope, therefore, that the United States will respond to this appeal in a manner which will be in accord with the best traditions and the highest ideals of our country.

In considering India's appeal, we should bear in mind certain basic facts. India became an independent country only 3½ years ago. Independence was accompanied by partition of British India into the great sister states of India and Pakistan. Partition resulted in human suffering and economic loss and derangement on an unprecedented scale. Pakistan received both extensive food-growing areas and much of the land which had produced the jute and cotton which British India had been accustomed to sell abroad to obtain funds to pay for its imports. India's transport system was truncated both in the East and in the West. Many of its economic enterprises were physically divided as well as disrupted by the departure to Pakistan of great numbers of skilled workers. While still struggling with these problems and the task of reorganizing the country and of setting up a government, India has also had to try to care for the needs of millions of penniless, homeless, and unemployed refugees.

The new India, however, has refused to be dismayed by the size and urgency of its problems. It has been approaching them with courage and determination. One of its urgent tasks has been that of eliminating the chronic shortage of food. For centuries, India has been cursed periodically with famines resulting from floods, droughts, and other natural calamities.

Long before independence, the then Government of India was endeavoring to reduce the losses due to droughts and floods by taking measures for flood control and for the extension of irrigation. The Government of the new India has been trying to complete and to expand the work of its predecessor as fast as its financial, material, and human resources would permit. It has been building dams, constructing reservoirs and canals, sinking tube wells, reclaiming new lands, and taking other measures to increase agricultural production.

Twelve months ago, the Government was still hoping that, by 1951, India would be able to produce sufficient food to supply all of its needs. But 1950 has proved to be one of the worst in Indian history from the standpoint of natural calamities. During the summer of 1950, violent earthquakes in the foothills of the eastern Himalayas destroyed towns, farms, bridges, and communication systems. Earth slides in the mountains choked

rivers, creating temporary reservoirs, the waters of which later burst forth into the plains below, creating new river channels and destroying farm lands. A short time later, the rivers of the Punjab overflowed their banks, and hundreds of square miles of rich farm lands were inundated. Even the beautiful Valley of Kashmir, perched high in the Himalayas, suffered the worst flood in its history. The damage which India suffered from natural calamities in 1950 was not limited to destruction of food crops. The financial burden of repairing and rebuilding towns, villages, factories, bridges, railways, canals, and so forth, is immense.

Another factor of basic importance is that population pressure and extremely low living standards force the Indian people to subsist largely upon a cereal diet. Alternatives are practically nonexistent. When crops fail, the people in the millions go hungry. 1951 is such a year. Present indications are that natural calamities in 1950 caused the loss of some 6 million tons of food grains. Estimation of the import requirements at a minimum of 6 million means that millions will still go hungry despite the Government's efforts to spread the deficit as equably as possible. The recent 25 percent reduction in the official ration from 12 ounces to only 9 ounces daily clearly shows the critical situation with which the Government is faced.

#### **Financial Situation**

The Indian Government has set aside funds for the purchase of slightly less than 4 million tons of the 6 million tons of food grain which it must import in 1951. It has not planned to purchase the full 6 million tons, because it does not feel, in view of its present financial and economic position, that it can afford to do so. That is the reason why, after much hesitation, it has asked assistance of the United States in obtaining the balance. Our own investigations and studies have convinced us India could not purchase the full 6 million tons without placing an extremely dangerous strain upon its economy. If it should endeavor to purchase the full quantity with cash, it would be compelled to curtail other purchases from abroad which are essential for the operation of its economic machinery. It has already restricted other imports to the danger point. If it should try to buy the additional food grain on credit, it would be greatly handicapped until those credits were repaid in its efforts to carry out its programs for increasing food production and for maintaining the present living standard. Furthermore, for some time to come, India's borrowing capacity will be limited. If its foreign indebtedness should be increased in order to purchase foodstuffs, its ability to obtain loans for purposes of economic development would be correspondingly impaired.

## American Aid To Further Friendly Relations

It was not easy for India to decide to make its appeal to the United States for assistance. The Indian people cherish their new freedom. They wish to exercise it to the full. They do not wish to feel that their right to formulate and carry out internal and foreign policies of their own choosing is in any way curtailed because of a sense of obligation toward any foreign country, friendly though that country may be. The Indian people would probably prefer to starve rather than to sacrifice any of their political and economic independence. India, feeling as it does about these matters, has displayed great confidence in the disinterested friendship of the United States by appealing to it for aid in this time of need. I hope that the United States will show by the manner in which it treats this appeal that the confidence of India was not misplaced.

I have no doubt the Indian people would be shocked, hurt, and disillusioned if this American aid should not be forthcoming at a time when difficulties are crowding in on a hard-pressed govern-

ment and people from all sides, both externally and internally. And we may be sure that our critics and enemies would know how to exploit such a situation to their own great advantage.

History had destined that India and the United States are to exist for generations to come as two of the world's greatest nations and as neighbors in a fast shrinking world. It is important for peace and human happiness that the peoples of these two countries shall live together in friendship and mutual confidence. An atmosphere of this kind cannot be created overnight. Neither can it be produced by a single act. It can be developed only by patient protracted effort, by the constant exercise of mutual tolerance, and by the display over the years of a sincere spirit of human helpfulness. I am convinced that it will mean much to the relations between the peoples of the United States and those of India during the years to come, if it can be said, that when India, in a great food crisis coming so soon after its attainment of independence, turned toward the United States, the United States was not found wanting.

## Western Europe's Determination for a Strong Defense

*Statement by John Sherman Cooper<sup>1</sup>*

I appreciate deeply this opportunity to testify before the distinguished members of the Joint Committee on Foreign Relations and Armed Services upon the questions which have been raised by the resolution introduced by Senator Wherry.

During the course of these hearings, distinguished American officials and private citizens have discussed with this Committee the large interests of American foreign policy and particularly the interest of our own security, which require the defense of Western Europe and our participation in that defense. I believe strongly in the force and validity of their arguments, but I do not intend to repeat or elaborate them in this statement.

The proposals which have been made that the use of American ground forces should be prohibited, or that restriction should be placed upon their use in Western Europe, are based in part upon two related fears. One is that our partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will not take adequate measures in their own defense. The second questions their resolution to defend themselves, or, as it is bluntly called, "the will to fight." These doubts have led to statements that

the sending of additional troops to Europe would commit the United States to the major share of its defense on the land. It is to the questions of the adequacy of the efforts now being made by our partners and their "will to fight" that I desire to address myself today.

### NAT Meetings

Since last May, I have worked with the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, upon matters connected with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As an adviser, I attended the London meetings of the North Atlantic Council last May and the Brussels meeting in December. In August 1950, I went with Mr. Charles Spofford, the United States representative, to attend the first meeting of the Council of Deputies held in London.

My only purpose in citing these facts is to indicate an opportunity to know the recommendations that have been made by the Council and to appraise through a period of 10 months the adequacy of the measures taken by treaty members toward carrying into effect the Council's recommendations.

At the London meeting of the Council, held last May, the discussions were in the planning stage. They were directed to the completion of a

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees on Feb. 26. Mr. Cooper is a consultant to the Secretary on North Atlantic Council matters.

defense plan for the North Atlantic area and the development of an integrated force of national units to make the plan effective.

The first meeting of the Council of Deputies in August was held in an atmosphere of greater urgency. The aggression against South Korea, undoubtedly directed by Russia, had been committed. The United States had acted to increase its defense budget and forces. The chief purpose of the August meeting was to urge other nations to make a corresponding effort and to hasten their defense preparations. The response was cautious and inadequate. It was evident that Governments were proceeding upon the premise that it was possible to build a defense, or at least some defense, without any diminution or change in domestic and social programs. It was the time, inconsistent in its terms, of "parallel priorities." The *London Times* characterized it more correctly as a time of "arms without tears." Members of the Committee will recall that on my return last August, I expressed to them, as I did publicly, a conviction that the defense efforts made at that time, were wholly inadequate.

#### **Western Europe Increases Defenses**

After the Brussels meeting in December, I remained in Europe for 7 weeks, visiting Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Western Germany. In these countries I had the opportunity to talk to Government officials, leaders of opposition parties, members of the parliamentary bodies, trade union leaders, businessmen, newspaper people, veterans, and students, as well as civil and military personnel of the United States.

From these talks and observations, and upon a basis of comparison with conditions existing last year, I formed certain conclusions upon the defense measures being taken in Great Britain, France, and Italy and upon the extent of their support by public opinion.

The first conclusion is that there has been a complete reversal by the Governments from the attitude held last August that it was possible to have an effective defense program without making it the prior and chief objective.

I am certain that the intellectual and moral decision has been made by the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy that their countries must make a full defense effort and that they will support fully the defense of Western Europe.

The extent to which this decision is being implemented and the support that it is receiving from the people varies, but this indispensable decision has been made.

There is a natural tendency to judge the action of European treaty members in terms of the resources and capabilities of the United States.

In comparison with the steps taken by our country, the present defense programs of Great Brit-

ain, France, and Italy may not appear large. In terms of their capabilities and responsibilities, they represent large advances. They have made the start toward adequate defense programs.

#### **UNITED KINGDOM**

My second conclusion is that defense measures will be enlarged and enlarged quickly if the United States participates fully in the defense of Europe, I will speak first of the United Kingdom. Prior to the war in Korea, the United Kingdom was spending a larger proportion of its gross national income upon the defense than the United States and, in proportion to population the strength of its armed forces, was larger than that of the United States. Nearly 275,000 of its troops were serving in foreign countries.

Since Korea, the defense budget of the United Kingdom has been increased three times from a figure of 2,237 million dollars to approximately 4,700 million dollars annually. It has been announced that programs are under way which will double military production in 2 years and quadruple production in the third and fourth years. Regular military forces are being increased and reservists will be called up. Compulsory service in the armed forces has been increased from 18 to 24 months, and the bottom age limit is 18 years. Great Britain has as large a force in Germany as the United States and has already made the decision to send additional divisions. Thus, the difficult decisions of increasing the term of military service, fixing the minimum age limit for compulsory service, and of sending additional troops to Europe, which are being debated today in the United States, have been made by the United Kingdom.

The matter of economic controls is very much on our minds today. Again it must be remembered that the Government of the United Kingdom possesses the power to mobilize totally the manpower and material resources of the United Kingdom and that many controls have been continuously in effect since 1940.

Upon the political side, it can certainly be said that there is no opposition from the "opposition party" to an expanding defense program.

I believe that it is a true statement to say that the United Kingdom has an adequate program under way and that it will make its full defense effort and contribution to European defense. I have never heard anyone question the British "will to fight."

#### **FRANCE**

France, like the United Kingdom prior to the Korean war, was appropriating to its defense budget a larger percentage of its national income than the United States. Its military forces were larger than ours in proportion to population. Large French forces have been engaged in Indo-

china for many months, tying down the bulk of commissioned and professional soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the French army. France believes that these forces are performing a valuable mission in preventing the spread of aggression in Southeast Asia.

Since Korea, France has increased its defense budget by some 30 percent to approximately 2,200 million dollars, tightened its compulsory service system, and increased the length of military service from 12 to 18 months. It is reequipping its forces with the aid of our Military Defense Assistance Program. It has more troops in Germany than has the United States and has made the decision to send additional troops.

Upon the question of "will to resist," France can point to these decisive steps that have been taken by its Government, a Government containing men whom it would be difficult to match in intelligence, courage, and imagination. There is no question about this Government's "will to fight." It can point to the heroism of its troops in Indochina and Korea. The high estimate which French officials place upon the improved morale and effectiveness of their troops in Germany was confirmed to me by United States and British military personnel.

It is more difficult to report upon the attitude of the French people. I can only say that every French official and every private person with whom I talked said vigorously and, at times with some anger, that there was no substantial support in France for a policy of "neutralism."

The officials of the anti-Communist labor union were confident that their strength is growing and that their membership will support fully the defense program of the nation. They point to the inability of the Communists to halt the unloading and transfer of military supplies.

Every French official and political leader with whom I talked believes that confidence in the ability to build an effective defense is growing among the French people. This is important and must be given weight, for you will agree with me that it is a necessity that those in public be able to appraise correctly the opinion of their people.

I have discussed France at some length because the movement in France toward defense is in a sense typical of Europe. With the possible exception of Italy, the magnitude of the efforts made in other countries is not yet so great, but in each country, defense budgets have been increased, military forces are being increased, reorganized, and equipped. Confidence is growing among the people.

#### ITALY

The strong desire of Italy, limited by its peace treaty, to participate in European defense, its vigorous Government, and the recent defections in the Communist Party, are characteristic evidences of this confidence.

I do not want to exaggerate. It is certain that Europe could not defend itself now against Soviet aggression. It is certain that its programs are yet inadequate. But it is a growing, developing process that can succeed with our help.

#### Faith in U.S. Builds Confidence

My last conclusion, and one which I emphasize most strongly, is that the magnitude and adequacy of the European defense effort and the speed with which it moves will depend at last upon the confidence of the people of Europe that it has a reasonable chance of success.

The indispensable requirement in building that confidence is that the United States will participate fully in the defense of Europe in the air, on the seas, and I emphasize, on the land.

If there is belief in the constancy of our policy, if there is faith that we will carry out every obligation of the North Atlantic Treaty, that we will join in the defense of Europe in the initial stages of an assault, should it come, there will be a defense of Europe. Without that faith, the effort which is necessary will not be made.

This is applicable to Germany. There I talked to a larger number of people than in any other country. I am certain that they have made their choice with the West. Eight million expellees and hundreds of thousands of veterans who were war prisoners of the Russians know their cruelty and tyranny. But the Germans are exposed. They will not arm before there is some assurance of security. They do not believe there will be such assurance without United States participation in defense.

I make it clear that this is not a proposal to defend Europe single-handed. I found no official in Europe who believed that the United States should or would defend Europe alone. Everyone understands that the United Kingdom, and every European treaty member, must contribute fully, but everyone knows that without the full participation of the United States at this time, defense is impossible.

It may be said that we have committed ourselves to mutual defense by the North Atlantic pact. But there is a vast difference between the statement of a commitment made in the best of faith and in providing the means to make the commitment effective. The Korean experience emphasizes the difficulty and time necessary to transport men and equipment after an assault has commenced. However good our intentions, it is doubtful that we would be able to transport men and equipment to Europe in time, once an assault has started. The people of Europe have suffered one occupation. They know that a Soviet occupation would stamp out the elements of resistance and then civilization. Their interest is in an effective defense.

This means that the United States and Great

Britain must commit men and equipment to deter an assault or to defend against it if it comes.

Will these decisions provoke an attack? I would like to report to the Committee that every official, every party leader, every labor leader with whom I talked expressed the opinion that the commitment of additional troops would not cause Soviet action. All said that to fail to defend ourselves would ultimately encourage Soviet aggression or would bring about the loss of Europe through subversion, hopelessness, and despair.

### **Purpose of North Atlantic Treaty**

I would like to emphasize, as so many have done, that the great purpose of the pact is not to be found in article 5 and the measures which would be taken in the event of war.

The great purposes of the pact are to deter aggression, to prevent war, and to build such military and economic strength, and a unity that in time may enable us to escape the impasse which binds us today.

The people of Europe and Great Britain are tremendously tired of war. Around them are the monuments of destruction. The best of a generation of young men are gone. Their civilian populations have suffered material and psychological wounds that we have not experienced. They do not have our resources, or industrial plants, yet there is a growing determination to make the effort and sacrifice for defense.

### **U.S. Obligations and Leadership**

In summing up, I make these points:

*First.*—There is a full understanding in Europe of the aggressive purposes of Soviet Russia and of their threat to Europe.

*Second.*—The Governments have made the decision that the defense of Europe must be constructed to deter aggression and to withstand it if attacked.

*Third.*—The peoples are awakening and will make the great effort to build a defense if they have reasonable confidence that it will succeed.

*Fourth.*—The absolute requirement for that confidence is the full participation of the United States in the defense of Europe with ground forces as well as sea and air forces.

*Fifth.*—The question which is now being debated, that is the sending of additional troops by the United States to Europe, is crucial. If a decision emerges from this debate which denies the use of ground troops or so limits their use as to cast doubt on our purpose to stand with Europe, it could kill the effort and the confidence now developing. A decision of approval will give them impetus and lead toward success.

The decision of the President to send additional troops to Europe was courageous and right. This Committee, the Congress, and the people of the United States have a difficult decision to make. A

failure to act could well be the greatest surrender in history. I cannot believe that the United States—which more than any other nation holds the ability to tip the scales toward peace by deterring aggression, the ability to sustain the vitality and force of the democratic idea in the world—will fail.

I hope that the pending resolution will be defeated and that a majority of both parties will vote against it.

## **THE CONGRESS**

### **Legislation**

**Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950.** Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives, 81st Cong., 2d sess. on H. R. 9853. A bill to promote the foreign policy and provide for the defense and general welfare of the United States by furnishing emergency relief assistance to Yugoslavia, November 29 and 30, 1950. 77 pp.

**Export of Strategic Materials.** Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce House of Representatives, 81st Cong., 2d sess., Committee study of export licensing of strategic materials, September 6, 7, 12, 15, and 18, 1950 [Department of State, p. 183.] 225 pp.

**Legislative Activities of Executive Agencies.** Part 10 of hearings before the House Select Committee of Lobbying Activities House of Representatives, 81st Cong., 2d sess., created pursuant to H. R. 298. Bureau of the Budget, General Accounting Office, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Department of Agriculture, Federal Security Administration [Department of State, p. 447.] 481 pp.

**Activities of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, 81st Cong., S. Rept. 1, 82d Cong., 1st sess.** 71 pp.

**Certain Cases in Which the Attorney General Had Suspended Deportation.** S. Rept. 22, 82d Cong., 1st sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 6.] 2 pp.

**Certain Cases in Which the Attorney General Had Suspended Deportation.** S. Rept. 23, 82d Cong., 1st sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 7.] 2 pp.

**Amending the Philippine Property Act of 1946.** S. Rept. 2576, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8546.] 4 pp.

**Emergency Relief Assistance to Yugoslavia.** S. Rept. 2588, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 4234.] 10 pp.

**Certain Cases in Which the Attorney General Had Suspended Deportation.** S. Rept. 2616, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 108.] 2 pp.

**Providing the Privilege of Becoming a Naturalized Citizen of the United States to All Aliens Having a Legal Right to Permanent Residence.** S. Rept. 2636, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 9780.] 4 pp.

**Reorganizations in the Executive Branch of the Government.** S. Rept. 2680, 81st Cong., 2d sess. Report of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments [Department of State, p. 69.] 83 pp.

**Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1951.** S. Rept. 2684, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 9920.] 18 pp.

**Audits of Government Corporations.** S. Rept. 2685, 81st Cong., 2d sess., Report of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. 64 pp.

*(Continued on page 434)*

## World Conditions Create Urgency for Approval of St. Lawrence Project

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*<sup>1</sup>

I have appeared before you to testify in support of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project on previous occasions. Today, the threatening trend of international developments has created an even deeper sense of urgency with respect to this project than existed before.

During the past 6 months, our Government has been obliged to assume expanding burdens of an economic, diplomatic, and military character. Events in Korea demonstrate that we must develop further our economic and military strength in order to bear these burdens with assurance of success. Since we may have to meet even graver threats to our security in the future than those which we face today, we must not only maintain our strength; we must steadily augment it. Therefore, it is essential to take stock of our vast resources and to plan how they can most effectively contribute to our security during a protracted period of international tension. We must select and act upon the measures we can take now, which will assure the greatest return in increased strength and security later on.

I believe the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project is outstanding in this respect. I should like to explore with you, therefore, the bases of our recommendation that the project, as set forth in the 1941 St. Lawrence agreement and in the legislation now before you, be approved.

Forty-six miles of St. Lawrence River boundary waters is the principle area to be developed jointly by the two Governments under terms of the 1941 agreement. Failure to develop this stretch of the river known as the International Rapids Section and to modernize the 68-mile Canadian section downstream has prevented the linking together of the 1,000 miles of the Great Lakes with the 1,000 miles of the St. Lawrence River east from the Rapids to the Atlantic Ocean for deep draft shipping. Large expenditures have been made by both the United States and Cana-

dian Governments in the construction of locks, such as the MacArthur Lock at Sault Ste. Marie and those of the Welland Canal, as well as in the deepening of harbors and river channels. The maximum use of these works cannot be achieved until the construction of the 46-mile stretch of the seaway in the International Rapids Section and the corresponding work in the Canadian section extending downstream to Montreal have been completed. The lack of this development constitutes an obstacle to the full utilization of the great transportation route afforded by this river and hinders the full economic development of the Northeast and North Central regions of our country. In this way, it prevents them from making their full contribution to our security.

### **Legal Framework for Utilization of Boundary Waters**

The freedom to use the waters of this great inland sea, without discrimination, is guaranteed to the citizens of both countries by treaties beginning in 1794 and ending with the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. The right of navigation extends to "all canals connecting boundary waters" and would be applicable to the proposed seaway.

The development of very large quantities of electric power by the construction of a dam and reservoir in the International Rapids Section is also contemplated in the 1941 agreement. The 1909 Treaty provides that no uses, obstructions, or diversions of boundary waters might, thereafter, be made on either side of the line, which affect the natural level or flow of the waters on the other side of the line, without resort to the International Joint Commission or to a special agreement between the parties. Article XIII of the treaty further provides that—

In all cases where special agreements between the High Contracting Parties hereto are referred to in the foregoing articles, such agreements are understood and intended to include not only direct agreements between the High Contracting Parties but also any mutual arrangement between the United States and the Dominion of Canada expressed

<sup>1</sup> Made before the House Committee on Public Works in support of H. J. Res. 3 on Feb. 20 and released to the press on the same date.

by concurrent or reciprocal legislation on the part of Congress and the Parliament of the Dominion.

As stated in section 1 of the joint resolution, this provision constitutes the basis for the negotiation of the agreement of March 19, 1941, and its submission to Congress for approval.

H. J. Resolution 3, which is typical of the several current proposals on this subject, approves this agreement of 1941, with the exception of three articles in whole or in part. It also authorizes the President to fulfill the undertakings made on behalf of the United States in the agreement after the Canadian Government has approved it, together with the changes made in it by this resolution.

I want, particularly, to explain the reasons for the exceptions to certain sections of the agreement set forth on page 2, lines 1 to 6 of this measure. The first exception relates to article VII of the agreement. This article would assure continuance of the rights of navigation in the Great Lakes Basin on a permanent basis. As the 1909 Treaty guaranteeing these rights contains provisions for termination, it was considered essential that the possibility of termination should be eliminated. The Senate has indicated that this is a matter more appropriately dealt with by a treaty, and it is understood that the Canadians are willing to negotiate such a treaty with representatives of this Government.

The second exception made by the measure relates to article VIII, paragraph (c) of the agreement which provides—

... that if either country should authorize diversions of water from the Great Lakes system, other or greater than those permitted on January 1, 1940, the Government of such country would give immediate consideration to the representations of the other.

If satisfactory settlement were not possible, the article provides for an arbitral tribunal. The particular dispute, envisaged by this article, related to possible future increase in the diversion of Lake Michigan waters through the Chicago Drainage Canal. The issue as to the Chicago Drainage Canal was settled by the decision of the Supreme Court in *Wisconsin v. Illinois*, in April 1930, which enjoined the objectionable diversion. The International Joint Commission has complete jurisdiction over diversion of boundary waters in general, and both countries have regarded with satisfaction the exercise of that jurisdiction by the Commission. Because of these facts, it is believed that this provision for a special arbitral tribunal is unnecessary, and, consequently, its omission is advisable.

The third exception, effected by this measure, relates to article IX of the agreement concerning the Niagara River. The subject matter of this article was dealt with in the treaty concerning uses of the waters of the Niagara River signed on February 27, 1950, which is already in force between the two countries.

The joint resolution also contains a provision

in section 3 that is not included in the 1941 agreement; namely, that the seaway shall be self-liquidating through the payment of tolls. The additional agreement, to be negotiated on this subject with Canada, is to become effective only after approval by the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of Canada. We have received assurances that the Canadian Government is prepared to agree to the principle of making the St. Lawrence Seaway self-liquidating by means of toll charges, subject to the conclusion of mutually satisfactory arrangements.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I should like to draw to your attention the notes exchanged between this Government and the Canadian Government on May 8, 1950, amending article II (b) of the agreement. Through this exchange, the completion date of December 31, 1948, for the navigation works was replaced by more flexible phraseology providing for completion of the project within 8 years after the date of entry into force of the agreement. I suggest that the legislation now before you be amended to include approval of this exchange of notes, and I should like to insert in the record, at this time, wording which you may wish to consider in effecting such a change.

#### **Value of St. Lawrence Project**

The Administration is requesting the Congress to approve this agreement because of the contribution it will make to the growth of our economy and of its particular value to national defense. It will provide an interior route for the transportation of essential materials; in particular, for iron ore from the Labrador fields to the steel mills of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and to other parts of the Great Lakes area. The need for this ore, as a supplement to the dwindling reserves of the Mesabi Range, is urgent. This project will also furnish a dependable source of additional low-cost power which can be used to increase the production of goods, which are vital to our defense. Both the seaway and power aspects of the St. Lawrence Project will add substantially to our economic strength, at a time, when—from what can be foretold today—we may need to mobilize a large portion of our available industrial capacity for the protection of our security. Other witnesses will be prepared to discuss these matters in whatever detail you desire. I want to stress the fact that the United States will benefit doubly from construction of the St. Lawrence Project. It will not only strengthen the United States economy but will be of equal value to Canada in the development of its industrial establishment. Like us, the Canadians are devoted to the objectives of the free world and their resources, as well as our own, can be counted upon to contribute to its preservation.

In fact, the Canadian Government has been

awaiting approval of the St. Lawrence Project for almost 20 years in order to complete its share of the construction. It is important for us to consider and weigh Canadian interests in the matter as well as our own. As the Committee knows, we depend heavily upon Canada for many essential materials such as nickel, newsprint, asbestos, and zinc, in addition to uranium. The Canadians, in turn, rely on the United States for a vast range of industrial and agricultural products. The interdependence of the two countries is shown by the unparalleled volume of trade between them. Each country exported to the other over 2 billion dollars worth of goods in 1950, the largest commercial interchange that has ever occurred between two nations.

In order to obtain the materials which are vital to us in time of crisis, close cooperation with Canada is imperative. In recognition of this reality, our Governments concluded an exchange of notes last October establishing a set of principles for economic cooperation. That agreement is intended to create a basis for cooperation so that the governmental agencies of the two countries can work together as closely as the military exigencies require. Approval of the 1941 agreement for the joint development of the St. Lawrence River would be a further important contribution to this essential cooperation with Canada.

Our reliance on Canada, and Canada's reliance on us, is not confined to the economic or political field. From a military point of view, the defense of the United States cannot be conducted independently of the defense of Canada. The two countries compose a single defensive unit. This fact was officially recognized in 1940, when the Permanent Joint Board on Defense was established to consider means by which the United States and Canada could cooperate more fully for their common security. This Board functions today with increasing effectiveness, and, earlier this month, it made a joint recommendation<sup>2</sup> concerning the military value of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. The Board's statement is as follows:

The Board reexamined the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project in the light of the serious international situation and the needs of continental defense. The Board also reaffirmed the value of the project in peacetime and considered anew its immediate importance in terms of the present-day defense of the northern half of this continent.

Since the Board's previous recommendations of May 1947 and December 1948, the international situation had deteriorated markedly. In the Far East, there had already been fighting which involved both Canada and the U. S. Other dangerous situations which might lead to open combat involving our two nations existed in other parts of the world. It appeared that the free nations might be entering a period of protracted crisis during which it was imperative that our military strength be steadily increased.

In view of these ominous circumstances, the Board be-

lieved it had a duty again to recommend early construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. The project would yield additional supplies of hydro-electric power—supplies which were already needed in the north-eastern United States and eastern Canada, and which later would become vital to the expansion of our military strength. The Seaway would provide an inland waterway relatively safe from enemy action. It would enable the two countries to move war materials at less cost in money and resources than by any other means. In addition, the Seaway would permit greatly increased shipbuilding and ship repairs in the relatively well-protected Great Lakes shipyards.

The diminution of the iron ore supplies of the Mesabi Range, coupled with the discovery and development of large new deposits of high-grade ore in Labrador constituted an added reason for immediate commencement of work on the project. Since Labrador iron ore could be transported most economically by ship to the large steel producing centers of the Great Lakes, the value of the Labrador mines, so necessary to defense industry, could be fully exploited only by building the Seaway.

In the Board's opinion, the addition which the project would make to our military potential would far outweigh the initial expenditure in manpower, money and critical materials. Much of these materials would be required in any event because if the combined project for navigation and power were not now proceeded with, alternative sources of power would have to be provided.

The Board recognized the risk to the St. Lawrence Seaway Project from enemy attack. It was of the opinion, however, that this risk was no greater than the danger to many other existing installations of comparable importance. Since the area concerned was already one of high defense priority, the Board believed that adequate protective measures would be possible on a reasonably economical basis.

Having in mind these considerations and reaffirming its previous recommendations, the Board Recommended:

"That the two Governments take immediate action to implement the 1941 St. Lawrence Agreement as a vital measure for their common defense."

I urge you to consider seriously this judgment by the men who are charged with the responsibility of coordinating the defenses of our two countries and to report favorably on the measure now before you.

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#### Legislation—Continued from page 431

Extension of Title II of the First War Powers Act, 1941. S. Rept. 2686, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany S. 4266] 3 pp.

Summary of the Legislative Record of the Eighty-First Congress, 2d sess. (from January 3, 1950, to September 23, 1950) together with a Statement Relative Thereto Pursuant to a Request of the Honorable Scott W. Lucas, United States Senator from Illinois. S. Doc. 236, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 39 pp.

Summary of Legislation Enacted by the Eighty-First Congress, 1st sess. and 2d sess., (January 3, 1949–September 23, 1950) together with a Statement Relative Thereto Pursuant to a Request of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry, United States Senator from Nebraska. S. Doc. 237, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 22 pp.

Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government. Interim Report submitted to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments by its Subcommittee on Investigations pursuant to S. Res. 280, 81st Cong., A Resolution authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to Carry Out Certain Duties. S. Doc. 241, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 26 pp.

Legislative History of Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate 81st Cong., S. Doc. 247, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [Department of State pp. 35, 37.] 66 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Contained in the minutes of the Board, which met from January 29–February 2, 1951.

## Renewal of Trade Agreements Act Advocated

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*<sup>1</sup>

I am appearing in support of the trade agreements program and to urge extension of the Trade Agreements Act. I cannot, however, support H. R. 1612 as amended in the House of Representatives. I do not think that the bill as amended is in the national interest.

I would like to state briefly the reasons why I believe a continuation of the program is important and then to comment on each of the House amendments and their effect on the program.

### **Importance of Trade Agreements Program**

The preservation and development of sound trading relationships with the other countries of the free world is an essential and important element in the task of trying to build unity and strength in the free world. None of the free countries is self-sufficient. They are economically interdependent. To be economically strong, each of them needs many things from the others. In order to obtain these things, each must be able to sell its products to the others.

One of the main purposes we are trying to achieve in the tremendous effort of mobilization for defense, in which we are now engaged in concert with other countries, is to create in the world conditions under which we can, without fear of aggression, pursue the uninterrupted, normal, fruitful intercourse between nations of which trade is one of the most important and most fundamental elements.

Since the war, we have made great strides in building up production and trade in and between the free countries. With the aid of the European Recovery Program, the countries of Western Europe have made remarkable progress in the restoration of their production and in building up their economic strength. Production in other areas of the world has substantially increased. Considerable progress has been made toward a restoration of balance in the international payments of many countries.

Through the economic development programs of various governments, the Point 4 Program and the technical assistance programs of the United Nations, a concerted effort has been begun to help improve economic conditions in the underdeveloped areas of the world. The more developed countries have started to share increasingly with the people in those areas some of the skills and some of the knowledge which will help them to improve their present unsatisfactory standards of living. As they see that their standards of living can be improved, they will feel that they have a real stake in the future and will not fall easy prey to the false promises of communism.

Important steps have been taken for the expansion of world trade. Tariffs have been reduced over a wider area of world trade than ever before. Agreement has been reached limiting the use of various forms of trade restrictions. A wide area of trade in Europe has been entirely freed from quotas. Some important restrictions in the Western Hemisphere have been lifted completely.

Each of these activities has contributed, in its own way, to building greater strength and greater unity in the free world. Each has produced both immediate improvements and promise for the future.

The Trade Agreements Act has made it possible for us to participate in this effort to expand world trade. Since the war, we have negotiated trade agreements, now in effect, with 32 countries with which in 1949 we carried on about two-thirds of our foreign trade. These countries and ourselves together carry on about three-quarters of the trade of the world. The agreements reduce tariffs or bind low tariffs or duty-free status on products accounting for over half the goods moving in international commerce.

During the period of this activity, the people of the United States have achieved the highest levels of prosperity and real personal income that this country has ever known.

The standards of wages and working conditions of the wage and salary earners of the United States, as well as the standards maintained by our

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Senate Finance Committee on Feb. 22 and released to the press on the same date.

farmers, during this period have been the highest in history. What has been truly remarkable about this improvement has been the generality with which standards have risen—the way in which farmers and workers in all segments of industry have benefited. This phenomenon should put to rest, for once and for all, the old fear that a lowering of tariff barriers would depress labor standards in the United States. Despite substantial differences in money wages paid to workers on our farms and in factories and those paid abroad, the superior efficiency of our industry and agriculture has offset the apparent wage disadvantage. So much so, in fact, that it is United States competition that is feared in many areas of the world, rather than the competition of countries where wages are low and efficiency is equally low.

There are some special cases in which disparities in wages might create some degree of competitive problem, even for United States industry. This is, particularly, the case in industries where there has been relatively little mechanization, and where labor cost is still a very large proportion of total cost. The record of action under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act demonstrates clearly that we have been fully aware of this situation and that we have carefully acted with respect to situations of this kind in a manner that would avoid serious injury to the industry and the workers involved.

We in the United States believe in the private enterprise system. We have long advocated that system in international meetings. We have reiterated that we believe in free competition and that we are striving to contribute to building the kind of world trading system in which competition, equality of opportunity, and private enterprise can have their best opportunity to survive and develop. Private enterprise in international trade cannot flourish in a world of high tariffs, quotas, and arbitrary discriminations by governments.

Many trade barriers remain. But, despite all the difficulties with which countries have been confronted—shortages of materials and production and foreign exchange; despite the fact that the difficulties of the postwar situation have necessitated many controls and many deviations from the basic objective of lowering barriers, we have made slow but sure progress in the right direction. Tariffs have been lowered. Preferences have been reduced. The use of other forms of barriers has been limited.

The choice of whether the principal trading nations of the world continue to work for those objectives and in that direction depends very largely upon what we do and what they believe we are going to do. If the United States starts in the direction of restricting trade, of protectionism, of economic isolationism, or if we lead other countries to believe that that is what we are going to do, the trend will be reversed and we will move rapidly in the direction of more restriction, more bilateralism, and more discrimination in world trading

conditions. This is true, of course, because we are the most important trading nation in the world and because we are the nation that has the most at stake in the preservation of the private, competitive enterprise system.

The world wants leadership in this field, as in others. We can and should provide it.

We are engaged in mobilizing all our resources to build up our own strength and that of free and friendly countries. We are determined that by no act or deed shall we contribute to building up the war potential of the Soviet Union and its satellite states. In this activity, we have the cooperation of many other free and friendly countries, which normally have much closer and more extensive trading relations with the Soviet bloc than we do. If we deny our market unnecessarily to those friendly countries or if we act in such a way as to make them believe that such is our intention, they must turn elsewhere to dispose of their products in order to get things they need. It is, therefore, to our interest in the immediate struggle to develop and expand our trade with these countries. It is contrary to our national interest to discourage such trade.

Trade builds strength. Trade helps raise standards of living. The prospect of greater opportunities for trade brings hope; provides incentives to produce; creates a greater stake in the future.

Therefore, I emphasize again that it is important for us in our total policy to maintain as high a volume as possible of fruitful, normal trade between ourselves and free and friendly countries, to maintain the foundations of that trade, and to keep its objectives alive and vigorous. In a period of scarcity, such as that we are now entering, it is peculiarly inappropriate to take steps which are likely to result in raising tariffs.

That is why I urged in the House, and I urge before this Committee that the Congress renew the Trade Agreements Act and not cripple it, for that act has been both the instrument and the symbol of United States leadership in the constructive, unifying, and strengthening work of laying the foundations for expanded world trade.

#### **Ways and Means Committee Bill**

H. R. 1612, as reported to the House of Representatives by the Ways and Means Committee, extended the authority of the President to negotiate trade agreements under the Trade Agreements Act in the same form in which it has existed for most of the life of the program. I believe that the record of accomplishment under the act and the way the authority conferred by the act has been administered fully justify that action.

The constant objective of the Administration has been to create the maximum opportunities for enlarging and strengthening the export and import trade of the United States and to take the utmost care to see that no domestic industry or

branch of labor or agriculture was injured in that process. I believe that these objectives have been accomplished. Many fears of injury have been expressed. The vast bulk of them have proved to be unjustified.

I do not claim that the administration of the act has been perfect. It would indeed be surprising, in an operation of this magnitude over a period of 17 years, if some mistakes had not been made. But the objectives of those engaged in working on the program, the standard by which they have been guided, has been the commitment of two Presidents that no American industry would knowingly be injured by the use of the authority conferred by the Trade Agreements Act.

It is indicative of the care with which the program has been administered by the interdepartmental trade agreements organization that out of all the hundreds, even thousands, of individual United States tariff items which have been reduced or bound in these agreements during the life of the escape clause, there have been only 21 applications for its use. Four of these applications, including one received last week, are still pending before the Tariff Commission. Of the 17 that have been dealt with, only one has been found by the Tariff Commission to justify action. In that case, action was promptly taken and the concession in question was withdrawn.

#### House Amendments

I would now like to discuss the amendments to H. R. 1612, added by the House of Representatives. These amendments deal a severe blow to the program. They reflect a philosophy alien to its purpose and unjustified by its record. That philosophy was well described by the *Baltimore Evening Sun* in an editorial written the day after the House action. Speaking of the trade agreements program the editorial said:

A vigorous and confident philosophy underlies this program—a philosophy worthy of a vigorous and confident country at the height of its economic power. The philosophy underlying the “peril point” amendment, however, is the philosophy of a country cowering in its corner and unwilling to put its great system of free enterprise to the competitive test. Behind all the amendments adopted yesterday is fear—fear of what the rest of the world can do to our prosperity.

Two of the House amendments are procedural. Two are substantive.

The first procedural amendment introduces a slightly modified form of the so-called peril-point amendment introduced in the renewal of 1948 and repealed in 1949. This amendment was opposed by the Administration then. We consider it restrictive and unnecessary now.

We have explained, in the past, the extreme difficulty of fixing the precise point at which injury will be caused. The requirement that the Tariff Commission fix such a point can only result in overcaution.

The prohibition against Tariff Commission participation in the decisions of the Trade Agreements Committee and in negotiation of agreements will handicap the Trade Agreements Committee and our negotiators.

The second procedural amendment requires the Tariff Commission to make an investigation upon every application, no matter how flimsy the case presented. It could be invoked without any increase in imports whatsoever. It could be invoked even if the imports complained of were not the result of a tariff concession. Injury to only a segment of an industry, no matter how marginal, would be sufficient to invoke the clause and withdraw a concession.

It, then, goes on to require that, if the Tariff Commission finds that no injury is caused or threatened, it must, nevertheless, fix and publish a peril-point. This would be a wholly useless exercise which would not give the industry any protection and would give the Tariff Commission a lot of work. If the peril-point amendment just discussed were to be adopted, this would mean a complete duplication of effort.

Finally, the amendment would make any decline in sales or increase in inventory or any downward trend in production, employment, and wages, regardless of cause, evidence of serious injury if import competition contributed to it in any way. This could be deemed to be true even though the real reason for the injury might be strikes or credit restrictions (e.g. housing) or domestic competition or a style change, and imports might have decreased even more than domestic sales. The Tariff Commission itself has stated the case against rigid criteria of this kind in its own statement on procedures under the existing escape clause, as follows:

It needs to be emphasized at the outset that, in considering how to determine whether serious injury has been caused or is threatened within the meaning of the escape clause, no single, simple criterion or set of criteria can be laid down for application in all cases. Each case will have to be judged on its own merits. Some, perhaps most, of the criteria applicable in a given case will be similar in character to those applicable to the generality of cases. But the relative importance to be attached to these identical criteria may vary with individual cases. Moreover, there will often be other circumstances to be taken into account which are peculiar to a particular case.

These amendments are unnecessary because of the care with which possible concessions and their probable effects are studied under existing procedures before recommendations are made to the President and because an adequate escape clause is now included in the great majority of our trade agreements. They are undesirable and the second is unworkable in its present form for the reasons that I have given.

There appears, however, to be a considerable feeling that some form of peril-point procedure and some form of escape-clause procedure should be written into the act, rather than be dealt with by Executive action. If that is the desire of the

Congress, despite the views which have been expressed by the Administration and by many witnesses appearing in support of the program, I believe that amendments could be worked out on these two subjects which would permit the program to continue in a workable form. For example, the peril-point amendment, introduced by the House, would be materially improved if the prohibition against participation by the Tariff Commission in the work of the Trade Agreements Committee and in the actual negotiation of the agreements were eliminated.

In a number of respects, the escape-clause amendment, introduced by the House, would not unduly hamper the operation of the program. In others—for example, its requirement of a duplicating and unnecessary peril-point finding and its arbitrary definition of what would constitute evidence of injury, a definition which would include any number of cases in which no injury would exist at all—it would be unworkable. It could be made workable by eliminating the requirement of a peril-point finding; or by requiring the Tariff Commission to take into account various danger signals, still leaving their evidentiary effect to the Commission as bipartisan experts; or by certain other changes.

The third House amendment denies the benefit of future tariff concessions to certain Communist countries. This amendment has behind it a motive with which I fully sympathize. I am sure that a vast majority of its supporters believe that it would contribute to reducing the potential of the Soviet bloc to do us harm. I wish it did. But the Committee, in considering this amendment, should be aware of the fact that the economic effects of this amendment would be virtually nil. It would have little effect upon the salability of dutiable Soviet-bloc products. It would not affect the salability of their duty-free products at all. It would not contribute to our military security, for we already have strict controls over exports to the Soviet countries which may possibly contribute to their military potential.

In order to comply with this amendment, it would be necessary for us to violate a number of agreements which we have with Soviet-controlled countries long antedating our present difficulties with them. In two cases, Poland and Hungary, the agreements in question are treaties ratified by the Senate, which have some value to us. It would also mean violating our obligations to Czechoslovakia under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which we negotiated with Czechoslovakia when it was still a free and friendly country.

Such action gives good ammunition to Soviet propagandists.

I would, therefore, urge the Committee to consider whether, if it desires to continue this amendment at all, it would not be preferable to limit its effect to cases in which our national security might be involved, if such cases should exist.

The final House amendment requires that tariff

concessions must be withdrawn when the sales price of an imported product, duty paid, is equal to or less than the support price of any agricultural product for which price support is available. This amendment would destroy the program without accomplishing its avowed purpose.

The Secretary of Agriculture, who will follow me as a witness, will testify on this point in more detail. I would, merely, like to point out that the effect of this amendment would be to make it impossible for us to give or maintain any binding tariff concessions on the great majority of agricultural products, other than the so-called tropical imports such as coffee, bananas, and tea, which we do not produce commercially in this country. This is because, if we ever decided to support the price of one of those products and the duty paid price of the import got down to the support price, we would have to withdraw the concession. If we cannot give firm concessions on agricultural products, we cannot expect to get firm concessions in return. Over half of the concessions which we have obtained in our trade agreements in the past, and which we hope to get in the future, are concessions for our agricultural exports.

The second important point in connection with this amendment is that the products, which are under price support in this country and to which the amendment would apply if it did become operative, are predominantly the products in which we have the largest export interest and in which we are most competitive with the home production of foreign countries to which we export them. One of the main objects of our trade agreement negotiations has been to get concessions from other countries for these products. Our exports of price-supported products during 1949-1950, for example, were over 5 times our imports of those products.

So, this amendment would prevent us from effective tariff bargaining in the future, require us to breach agreements made in the past, and would injure precisely those products which it is ostensibly designed to assist. Far from reducing the cost of price support programs, the amendment would tend to increase it. Far from helping the American farmer, it would hurt him. Far from helping the American taxpayer, it would hurt him.

The cumulative effect of these four amendments in their present form is to make the trade agreements program quite unworkable. It would be peculiarly unfortunate to take such an action at this time when our most vital objective is to develop the maximum economic, political, and military cooperation between the nations of the free world and their maximum unity and strength. For the United States to take a major step to limit present and future access by the products of friendly countries to its markets at this time would be completely contrary to the best interests of this country.

On the other hand, for the Congress to extend the act without restrictive amendments will give

fresh confidence in our leadership and reaffirm to people, at home and abroad, our intention to work in every way to build up the economic strength of the free world, now and in the future.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Recent Releases

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**Air Transport Services.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2140. Pub. 3991. 13 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Spain amending agreement of December 2, 1944, as amended—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Madrid July 4, 1950; entered into force July 4, 1950.

**Regulation of Production and Marketing of Sugar.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2114. Pub. 3993. 6 pp. 5¢.

Protocol between the United States and other Governments prolonging the international agreement of May 6, 1937—Signed at London August 31, 1949; proclaimed by the President of the United States September 22, 1950; effective September 1, 1949.

**Preparing for a Career in the Foreign Service of the United States.** Department and Foreign Service Series 20. Pub. 3997. 92 pp. 25¢.

Qualifications required of candidates at the entering grade together with sample written examinations.

### Foreign Relations Volume on American Republics Released

[Released to the press February 24]

The Department of State released today *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1934, volume IV, The American Republics*. This volume deals with multilateral aspects of political and economic problems involving the United States and other American Republics. Bilateral relations with Argentina and Brazil are also covered. Volume III (*The Far East*) has previously been published.<sup>1</sup> Three other volumes for 1934 will be issued as soon as they are ready.

Restoration of peace between Bolivia and Paraguay, the maintenance of friendly relations between several other American Republics where existing differences threatened to become more serious, the liberalization of commercial policies, and revival of international trade were the chief inter-American concerns of the United States during 1934 as reflected in this volume.

The major political chapter in the volume re-

ports the unsuccessful efforts of the League of Nations and of the United States and other American nations to achieve a settlement of the 6-year old Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

The correspondence pertaining to the role of the League of Nations reveals that, while it was vitally interested in helping to find a solution, whether through inter-American cooperation or through the more universal cooperation of the League, the United States then believed that American problems could be most advantageously solved through some form of cooperation among the American states themselves. The United States recognized, however, that a basic need of the American continent was the creation of a practical and effective inter-American mechanism which would be constantly available when disputes threatened or broke out. Without benefit of such a purely American peace agency in 1934, the United States did cooperate with the League on the Chaco matter to the extent of agreeing to accept a nonvoting membership on the Neutral Supervisory Commission, consisting of representatives from American states only, and to maintain informal contact with the Chaco Advisory Committee.

Other political issues dealt with in this volume include the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru, a boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru, and a Conference of Central American States at Guatemala City.

In 1934, the United States was very much aware that control of exchange by Latin American Governments was seriously hampering her efforts to develop trade with those countries chiefly through the reciprocal trade agreements program. To investigate foreign-exchange problems in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, the Department of State selected John H. Williams, economic adviser of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York City, whose report is printed in this volume. According to that report, neither the origin nor the solution of the exchange problem in those countries could be found in acts or circumstances under their control but, rather, were dependent upon world trade recovery and greater freedom of access to world markets. Those subjects, world trade revival and liberal commercial policies, came up in a discussion between Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the Argentine Ambassador over a possible trade agreement between their respective governments. The Secretary of State candidly admitted that the United States, along with other countries, "had practically gone wild in the practice of extreme economic nationalism and isolation." To correct the situation, time and patience were imperative on the part of all interested governments.

Copies of this volume (LXV, 640 pp.) may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$2.75 each.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 25, 1950, p. 1031.

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## Implementation of the New York Decisions on Germany

[Released to the press March 6]

*Following is a communiqué, two background statements, and exchanges of letters between the Allied High Commission and Chancellor Adenauer of the German Federal Republic in implementation of the decisions on Germany of the Foreign Ministers at their September 1950 meeting in New York City. The instrument of revision and other documents concerned with the implementation of the New York decisions were published on March 6, and entered into force on March 7, 1951.*

### HIGH COMMISSION COMMUNIQUÉ ON IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS

Important measures which arise from the decisions taken by the Foreign Ministers at their September 1950 meeting in New York are being published today. These measures mark an important step in the development of normal relations between the Governments of France, Great Britain and the United States and the Government of the Federal Republic. Further measures to this end should result from the decisions taken by the Foreign Ministers in Brussels in December 1950, to proceed in negotiations with representatives of the Federal Republic toward the establishment of contractual relations in connection with the association of Germany in the common defense effort of the West.

The following are the most important of the measures announced today:

In order to accelerate the integration of the Federal Republic in the community of free nations, the Allied High Commission has approved the immediate establishment of a Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has authorized the Federal Government to enter into direct diplomatic relations with friendly nations and to exchange diplomatic representatives with them. Foreign diplomatic and consular representatives on Federal territory will normally be accredited to the Federal Republic.

The High Commissioners have promulgated a first instrument of revision of the Occupation Statute in which certain reserved powers are given up or are reduced. For example, the powers of the High Commission in the field of internal action under paragraph 2H of the statute are giv-

en up, while powers in respect of foreign trade and exchange are considerably reduced. Furthermore, Federal and land legislation will no longer be subject to prior review by the Allied High Commission before coming into force.

In furtherance of the reestablishment of the German public and private credit in the world an agreement has been reached between the Federal Government and the Governments of the three occupation powers by which the former confirms its responsibility for the prewar external debts of the German Reich and acknowledges the debts arising out of the assistance furnished to Germans by the Allied Governments since 8 May 1945. This agreement will in due course be laid before the Bundestag for ratification. The three powers have in return indicated that the debt settlement will be a negotiated one in which the interested parties, debtors and creditors as well as the governments concerned, including the Federal Government, will take part. It is also agreed that in establishing the amount and manner of payment of the German external debts consideration will be given to the general situation of the Federal Republic, in particular its capacity to pay and its territorial limitations.

In order to make an essential contribution to international cooperation, the Federal Government has also given a written understanding to the Allied High Commission that it is prepared to cooperate in the equitable apportionment of materials, products and services which are in short supply or required for the common defense.

Finally the High Commissioners have announced their program for giving up Occupation Statute controls regarding respect for the constitutions, decartelization and deconcentration, and displaced persons and refugees, as soon as certain specified conditions have been fulfilled.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON REVISION OF OCCUPATION STATUTE

*Following should be read in conjunction with the communiqué by HICOM on revision of the Occupation Statute and associated documents also published today.*

## Implementation of New York Decisions

Following assurances from the Federal Government, an important group of occupation controls has been relaxed today. Assurances concern external indebtedness of former German Reich and responsibility for postwar economic assistance and Federal Government willingness to cooperate in equitable distribution of defense materials and services. Relaxation of occupation controls is embraced in the instrument of revision of the Occupation Statute and the decision relating to foreign affairs.

As soon as specific conditions have been fulfilled, further progressive transfers of authority to the Federal Republic will take place in the following fields:

- (i) Respect for federal and land constitutions;
- (ii) Decartelization and deconcentration;
- (iii) Responsibility for displaced persons and refugees.

In preparation for today's action, the Allied High Commissioners on October 23, 1950, addressed two letters to the Chancellor defining commitments which the Foreign Ministers considered that the Federal Government should undertake consonant with its new responsibilities.

### Financial Responsibilities of Federal Government

Letter to Chancellor states three Governments' view that, at time when Federal Government assumes responsibility for conduct of its foreign relations, status of its obligations toward other countries should be clarified. Federal Government was, therefore, asked:

- (i) To assume responsibility for the prewar debt of the Reich;
- (ii) To acknowledge the debt to the three occupation powers for postwar economic assistance and to affirm priority of these claims over other categories;
- (iii) To express the desire to resume payment of the German external debts, including interest payments and other charges falling due between March 1948 and May 1945 on securities of Government of Austria, and to cooperate in plan for settlement of public and private claims against Germany and German nationals.

Federal Government has given general assurance on these matters.

### Negotiation of International Agreements and on Status of Foreign Missions and Consulates

HICOM has also revised procedure for negotiation of international agreements and has made new arrangements concerning status of foreign missions and consulates in Federal Republic.

Until now, no negotiations of international agreements could be opened by federal or land

governments without prior approval of HICOM. This restriction is now abolished. HICOM will, in future, advise and assist German delegates only in respect of those matters which remain in reserved fields. Although final texts of international agreements will still be subject to a 21-day scrutiny by HICOM, they will now be disapproved only if they are prejudicial to a final peace settlement or are incompatible with existing allied legislation or commitments undertaken by occupation authorities on behalf of Germany.

Status of foreign missions and consulates in Federal Republic will henceforth normally be regulated on basis of accreditation to and recognition by Federal authorities instead of HICOM. At present time, there are missions from 21 countries and 90 consulates from 32 countries officially recognized in Federal Republic. Diplomatic and consular immunities and privileges will now be granted by Federal authorities. Missions and consulates will have access to HICOM on all matters within reserved fields.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON DEBT SETTLEMENT

At their meeting in September 1950, the Foreign Ministers decided progressively to integrate the Federal Republic into the community of free nations. This integration presupposes, in particular, restoration of Germany's credit and normalization of its economic and financial relationships with other nations, and it is mainly for that purpose that the Foreign Ministers requested that the question of German external debts be settled.

The letter sent to the Federal Chancellor on that subject on October 23, 1950, has given rise to negotiations which have finally culminated in an agreement based on an exchange of letters, copies of which are appended.

The main provisions of this agreement are as follows:

1. The Federal Republic confirms its responsibility for the external debt of the former Reich which, for the most part, is prior to the coming into power of the Nazis and admits, in principle, debts derived from postwar economic assistance.

It grants priority to reimbursing debts of the latter category inasmuch as that priority has not been already provided for by previous agreements.

2. The Federal Republic declares itself ready to resume the servicing of German debts, and, in that connection, it is envisaged that a general settlement plan shall be drafted as soon as possible. The conditions and the scope of the obligations of the Federal Republic and of its nationals shall be determined in the course of negotiations at which the various governments and interested parties, including the Federal Government, shall take part.

In the drafting of the plan of settlement of private and public debts, the general situation of the Federal Republic shall be taken into account, in particular, its reduced competence, its capacity for payment, as well as the state of its economy.

3. The results obtained in the course of negotiations shall be the basis of a general agreement, notwithstanding, however, the fact that particular agreements may be concluded within the framework of the general settlement plan, should such a necessity arise.

*Comments:* The agreement entered into, provided on the part of the Federal Republic recognition of external debts, with a view to furnishing a legal basis to enable the opening of negotiations and the assurance to take part in these negotiations with a willingness to resume actual payments. It should be stressed that the Federal Republic did not have to furnish any unilateral assurance.

With regard to the form in which the prewar debts were recognized, this is considered by the Governments of the three occupation powers as being in harmony with the legal position of the Federal Republic as defined by the three Foreign Ministers in New York.

It should be noted that the agreement does not deal with claims arising during the war since these are to be examined when a peace treaty is concluded or an agreement to take its place. Nevertheless, the High Commission is, at present, proceeding with the examination of certain claims of this type, the settlement of which is a matter of special urgency.

Moreover, the priority granted to claims arising from postwar economic assistance does not run counter to trade debts arising after May 8, 1945. The Governments of the three powers have, in addition, very clearly signified their intention to forego this priority when the time comes, to the extent necessary to insure the fair and methodical settlement of prewar claims.

It must not be overlooked that the negotiations will be relatively long and complicated in view of the large number of interested parties, the difference in the interests confronting one another, and the necessity of having to settle a number of legal problems before the nominal amount of the debts can be fixed with certainty.

For this reason, no final estimate of German debts has, as yet, been made. At the best, it can be stated that the capital amount of prewar securities yielding a fixed income, not yet redeemed and expressed in foreign currency, increased by the total of the stand-still credits, is in the nature of a billion dollars (money of account). Moreover, the expenditure incurred by the occupation powers under the heading of postwar assistance to Germany amounts to 3.5 billions of dollars (money of account, approximately).

In conclusion, it must not be expected that there will be a settlement either in the very near future or in its entirety of public and private German

debts, but the agreement reached, nevertheless, represents considerable progress since it bears witness to the willingness of the Federal Government to honor its commitments to the furthest possible extent and assures the claimants that the settlements will be made in accordance with an over-all plan dealing with the problem of German debts in an ordered and fair manner. In this connection, it should strengthen the external credit of the Federal Republic and enable it to follow the path of economic recovery.

## EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN HICOM AND FEDERAL REPUBLIC ON DEBT ASSURANCES

### *HICOM to Chancellor Adenauer*

MR. CHANCELLOR, I have the honour to refer to the communiqué issued by the Foreign Ministers in New York in which they indicated that the Federal Government would be expected to undertake certain commitments consonant with the new responsibilities which the Governments of the three Occupying Powers contemplated would be conferred upon the Federal Republic. The three Governments hold that, at the moment when the Federal Government assumes responsibility for the conduct of its foreign relations, the status of the obligations resting upon it in its relations with foreign countries should be clarified. The three Governments regard the Federal Government as the only German Government which can speak for Germany and represent the German people in international affairs pending the re-unification of Germany. They consider, therefore, that pending a final peace settlement, and without prejudice to its terms, the Federal Government is the only Government entitled to assume the rights and fulfil the obligations of the former German Reich.

The High Commission has communicated to the Federal Government separately the decisions which have been taken by the Foreign Ministers concerning the clarification of the status of treaties to which the German Reich was a party. The question of the obligations of the Reich also involves the external debt of the Reich. The three Governments consider that the Federal Government should in consonance with what has been said above, assume responsibility for the prewar external debt of the Reich. They recognize that, in the determination of the manner in which and the extent to which the Federal Government is to fulfil the obligations arising from this assumption, account must be taken of the general situation of the Federal Republic, including, in particular, the effect of the limitations on its territorial jurisdiction.

The determination of the financial responsibilities of the Federal Government necessarily also involves the obligations resulting from the economic assistance which has been furnished by the Occupying Powers to Germany. As the Federal Government is aware, the Occupying Powers have, at considerable cost to the peoples of their own countries, extended substantial economic assistance to Germany since the termination of hostilities, with a view to ensuring the well-being of the German people and assisting them in the rehabilitation of their economic life. In due course the Occupying Powers will call for a settlement of the obligations arising from this assistance. They will consider in the settlement of these obligations the ability of the Federal Government to pay and other relevant factors. Meanwhile, they consider that the Federal Government should acknowledge its debt in respect of the expenditures which they have incurred and that

it should recognize the prior status of these obligations over other claims.

It is the intention of the three Governments to proceed as promptly as possible with the development of a settlement plan which will assure fair and equitable treatment of the interests affected and remove as far as practicable obstacles to normal economic relations between the Federal Republic and other countries. These arrangements would necessarily be provisional and subject to revision when Germany is reunited and a final peace settlement becomes possible. The three Governments are agreed that the plan should provide for the orderly settlement of the claims against Germany, the total effect of which should not dislocate the German economy through undesirable effects on the internal financial situation, nor unduly drain existing or potential German foreign exchange resources. It should also avoid adding appreciably to the financial burden of any Occupying Power.

The three Governments have instructed the Intergovernmental Study Group on Germany in London to prepare a plan for handling claims in accordance with the above principles and to recommend arrangements for the appropriate participation of other interested Governments and the debtors and creditors, including the Federal Government. The Federal Government will in due course be informed of the results of these studies.

Although there are numerous problems to which it has not yet been possible to give consideration, the three Governments are in agreement that the settlement plan should include, in particular, those categories of claims whose settlement would best achieve the objective of normalising the economic and financial relations of the Federal Republic with other countries. In their view the plan must therefore necessarily deal with the prewar external debt as well as with the claims in respect of postwar economic assistance which enjoy a priority status over all other claims. The plan should also provide for the settlement of certain claims in connection with social insurance operations and with the conversion into Deutschemark of Reichsmark brought back from Germany by repatriated prisoners-of-war and deportees, if these claims have not been disposed of before the establishment of the plan.

In addition to the foregoing matters, other questions may arise in the detailed working out of the settlement arrangements. For example, it may be necessary to give consideration to certain prewar debts owed to the residents of foreign countries which may not be strictly classifiable as external in character.

The three Governments recognize that a settlement plan of the scope envisaged can be put into effect only through some modification of the priority of their claims in respect of post-war economic assistance. Accordingly, the three Governments have agreed that, provided a settlement plan is worked out in accordance with the principles outlined in the preceding paragraphs and provided further that agreed procedures and controls are established that will govern this settlement plan and all payments made under it, they will modify the priority of their claims in respect of post-war economic assistance to the extent necessary to permit the fulfilment of such an agreed plan. This qualified modification of the priority of claims in respect of post-war economic assistance will not preclude the continued fulfilment of the obligations which the Federal Government has already incurred under existing agreements concerning such claims.

The three Governments feel certain that the Federal Government shares their views as to the desirability of restoring Germany's credit and of providing for an orderly settlement of German debts which will ensure fair treatment to all concerned, taking full account of Germany's economic problems. They feel equally certain that the Federal Government will share their belief that such a settlement will contribute to the restoration of normal relations between Germany and other countries.

The three Governments would appreciate receiving a formal assurance from the Federal Government that it regards itself as responsible for the pre-war external debt of the German Reich and that it recognizes its debt with

respect to the expenditures incurred by the Occupying Powers for economic assistance to the Federal Republic and affirms the priority of the claims arising from such assistance over other claims against Germany. They would also appreciate receiving assurances of the cooperation of the Federal Government in working out and implementing a settlement plan.

In order to give formal effect to these undertakings and assurances and to the undertakings and assurances offered by the Governments of the three Occupying Powers, I have to propose that an agreement should be concluded by an exchange of notes between the Allied High Commission and the Federal Government. It is the intention of the High Commission to proceed with the modification of the controls in the Occupation Statute on the lines agreed by the three Foreign Ministers as soon as this exchange of notes is completed and the assurance in respect of cooperation in an equitable apportionment of materials and products in short supply required for common defense, on which a separate letter is today being sent to you, has been received. However, it is the understanding of the three Governments that the exchange of notes on debt obligations will be submitted to the Federal legislature for approval and I have to request you to confirm that this will be done at the appropriate time.

I beg your Excellency to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

IVONE KIRKPATRICK  
Chairman

October 23, 1950

*Chancellor Adenauer to HICOM*

March 6, 1951

In reply to your letter of 23 October 1950, I have the honor to inform you as follows:

I. The Federal Republic hereby confirms that it is liable for the pre-war external debt of the German Reich, including those debts of other corporate bodies subsequently to be declared liabilities of the Reich, as well as for interest and other charges on securities of the Government of Austria, to the extent that such interest and charges become due after 12 March 1938 and before 8 May 1945.

The Federal Government understands that in the determination of the manner in which and the extent to which the Federal Republic will fulfill this liability, account will be taken of the general situation of the Federal Republic including, in particular, the effects of the limitations on its territorial jurisdiction and its capacity to pay.

II. The Federal Government acknowledges hereby in principle the debt arising from the economic assistance furnished to Germany since 8 May 1945, to the extent to which liability for such debt has not previously been acknowledged in the agreement of economic cooperation concluded on 15 December 1949 between the Federal Republic and the U. S. of America, or for which the Federal Republic has not already taken over responsibility under Article 133 of the basic law. The Federal Government is ready to accord the obligations arising from the economic assistance priority over all other foreign claims against Germany or German nationals.

The Federal Government regards it as appropriate to regulate any questions connected with the recognition and settlement of these debts by bilateral agreements with the Governments of the countries which have rendered economic assistance, patterned on the agreement concluded with the U. S. of America on 15 December 1949. The Federal Government takes for granted that these agreements will contain an arbitration clause for cases of dispute. The Federal Government is prepared at once to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of such agreements with the Governments concerned.

The Federal Government hereby expresses its desire to resume payments on the German external debt. It understands that there is agreement between it and the

Governments of France, the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the U. S. of America on the following:

It is in the interest of the re-establishment of normal economic relations between the Federal Republic and other countries to work out as soon as possible a settlement plan which will govern the settlement of public and private claims against Germany and German nationals.

Interested Governments including the Federal Republic, creditors and debtors shall participate in working out this plan.

The settlement plan shall in particular deal with those claims, the settlement of which would achieve the objective of normalizing the economic and financial relations of the Federal Republic with other countries. It will take into account the general economic position of the Federal Republic, notably the increase of its burdens and the reduction in its economic wealth. The general effect of this plan shall neither dislocate the German economy through undesirable effects on the internal financial situation nor unduly drain existing or potential German foreign-exchange resources. It shall also not add appreciably to the financial burden of any occupation power.

The Governments concerned may obtain expert opinions on all questions (arising out of the negotiations of the settlement plan and on the capacity to pay).

The result of the negotiations shall be set forth in agreements. It is agreed that the plan will be provisional in nature and subject to revision as soon as Germany is reunited and a final peace settlement becomes possible.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

ADENAUER

*HICOM to Chancellor Adenauer*

*March 6, 1951*

In reply to your letter of 6 March, 1951, on the subject of German indebtedness we have the honor, on behalf of the Governments of France, the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the U.S. of America, to acknowledge the undertakings of the Federal Government in regard to the responsibility of the Federal Republic for the pre-war external debts of the German Reich and for the debt arising out of the economic assistance furnished to Germany by the three Governments since 8 May 1945.

With regard to the priority accorded to the obligations arising from the post-war economic assistance we are authorized to state that the three Governments would not propose to exercise this priority in such a way as to restrict settlement of foreign-held claims arising out of trade subsequent to 8 May 1945, essential to the economic recovery of the Federal Republic.

With regard to the question of an arbitration clause in agreements covering the debts for post-war economic assistance, the three Governments will be prepared, when negotiating such agreements, to consider whether it would be useful to include an arbitration clause to deal with any matters which might be appropriately settled by such a procedure.

We further have the honor on behalf of the three Governments to confirm the understandings of the Federal Government as set forth in the second paragraph of Article 1 and in Article 3 of Your Excellency's letter. They are now engaged in preparing proposals for the working out of settlement arrangements; these will provide for the participation of foreign creditors, German debtors, and interested governments including the Federal Government.

The proposals will be designed to arrive at an orderly over-all settlement of pre-war claims against Germany and German debtors and of the debt arising out of the post-war economic assistance, which would be fair and equitable to all the interests affected, including those of the Federal Government. It is the intention that the result-

ing settlement should be embodied in a multilateral agreement; any bilateral agreements that may be considered to be necessary would be concluded within the framework of the settlement plan. As soon as their proposals are ready the three Governments will communicate them to the Federal Government and to other interested governments and will discuss with them these proposals and the procedure to be adopted for dealing with the subject.

We have the honor to state that our three Governments regard Your Excellency's letter under reference and this letter as placing on record an agreement between the Governments of France, the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the U.S. of America, on the one hand and the Government of the Federal Republic on the other, concerning the questions of German indebtedness covered in these letters. These letters are prepared in English, French and German, each text being equally authentic.

*The Chairman*  
*Allied High Commission*  
(ANDRÉ FRANÇOIS-PONCET)

## **INSTRUMENT OF REVISION OF OCCUPATION STATUTE**

The Council of the Allied High Commission hereby promulgates the following modifications of the Occupation Statute<sup>1</sup> which except as modified by this Instrument continues in force:

I. In paragraph 2 (b), after the words "non-discrimination in trade matters," insert the following:

to the extent required for the purposes of paragraph (g) (2) below:

II. Paragraph 2 (c) is amended to read as follows:

(c) foreign affairs, including international agreements made by or on behalf of Germany; but the powers reserved in this field will be exercised so as to permit the Federal Republic to conduct relations with foreign countries to the full extent compatible with the requirements of security, other reserved powers, and obligations of the Occupying Powers relating to Germany.

III. Paragraph 2 (g) is amended to read as follows:

(g) control over foreign trade and exchange to the extent necessary:

(1) to meet the needs of security;

(2) to ensure the observance by the Federal Republic of the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, until the Federal Republic has become a party to the Agreement and assumed the obligations thereunder;

(3) to ensure the observance by the Federal Republic of the principles and practices of the International Monetary Fund Agreement and to control its exchange rate, until the Federal Republic has become a member of the Fund and assumed satisfactory obligations thereunder with respect to its exchange rate;

(4) to provide for orderly settlement of claims against Germany.

IV. Paragraph 2 (h) is deleted.

V. Paragraph 5 is amended to read as follows:

(a) Any amendment of the basic law will require the express approval of the occupation authorities before be-

<sup>1</sup> For text of Occupation Statute, see BULLETIN of Apr. 17, 1949, p. 500.

coming effective. Any agreement made between the Federal Republic and a foreign government will become effective 21 days after its official receipt by the occupation authorities unless previously disapproved by them, provisionally or finally. Land constitutions, amendments thereof, and all other federal or land legislation will be effective without review by the occupation authorities but will be subject to repeal or annulment by them.

(b) The occupation authorities will not disapprove any agreement between the Federal Republic and a friendly country or repeal or annul legislation unless in their opinion it is inconsistent with the provisions of the Occupation Statute as revised or with legislation or other measures of the occupation authorities, or constitutes a grave threat to the basic purposes of the Occupation.

VI. Paragraph 7 is amended to read as follows:

(a) Insofar as it is based upon reserved powers, occupation legislation will remain in force until repealed or amended by the occupation authorities.

(b) All other occupation legislation will remain in force until repealed by the occupation authorities at the request of the appropriate German authorities, or repealed or amended by the German authorities upon authorization by the occupation authorities.

VII. This Instrument shall become effective March 7, 1951.

#### **PROGRAM FOR THE REVISION OF OCCUPATION CONTROLS**

In implementation of the decisions taken by the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and France at their New York Meeting on 18 September, 1950, the Council of the Allied High Commission, having this day promulgated the "First Instrument of Revision of the Occupation Statute," has decided to adopt the following program for further relaxation of controls under the Occupation Statute:

1. The powers reserved by paragraph 2 (b) relating to deconcentration will be exercised only to ensure completion of allied programs relating to the steel, coal and motion picture industries, I. G. Farben and the Grossbanken and actions which, as of December 31, 1950, are called for under laws adopted by the Allied High Commission or have been initiated through legal process taken under existing laws. Upon completion of such programs and actions these powers will be relinquished.

2. (a) The powers reserved by paragraph 2 (b) relating to decartelization will be relinquished upon the enactment by the Federal Republic of legislation satisfactory to the occupation authorities, including provisions to prevent new concentrations of economic power.

(b) The powers reserved by paragraph 2 (d) relating to displaced persons and the admission of refugees will be relinquished as soon as commitments and other action satisfactory to the occupation authorities have been taken by the Federal Government with respect to the admission, care, and protection of displaced persons and refugees,

including safeguarding their civil rights, assuring the continued and effective operation of International and allied agencies established for their care and resettlement, and compensating victims of Nazi persecution.

(c) The powers reserved by paragraph 2 (f) relating to respect for the basic law and the land constitutions will be relinquished as soon as the Federal Republic has established a judicial authority deemed by the occupation authorities to be capable of effectively upholding the civil rights of the individual as defined in the basic law.

3. The occupation authorities will retain the powers necessary to ensure that the Federal Government carries out commitments undertaken and legislation enacted pursuant to paragraph 2 above and that the essential features of such legislation are maintained.

4. The Council of the Allied High Commission will issue further instruments of revision of the Occupation Statute from time to time as the conditions prescribed by this decision for the relinquishment of powers are fulfilled.

5. This decision shall become effective on March 7, 1951.

#### **COMPETENCE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

In exercise of the powers reserved by paragraph 2 (e) of the Occupation Statute as amended by the first instrument of revision, the Council of the Allied High Commission decides as follows:

##### *Article I*

The Federal Government is hereby authorized to establish a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and shall have exclusive responsibility for the choice of the personnel of its diplomatic, consular and trade missions.

##### *Article II*

The Federal Government may conduct relations with foreign countries subject to the provisions of this decision.

##### *Article III*

1. The establishment of diplomatic or consular relations or trade missions shall be subject to the prior approval of the Allied High Commission.

2. The Federal Government may, however, establish without such approval diplomatic missions in those countries, other than the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom, in which prior to the effective date of this decision it has been authorized to establish consular offices.

3. No prior approval will be required for the establishment of consular offices or trade missions in those countries with which the Federal Government has diplomatic or consular relations.

##### *Article IV*

The Federal Government is hereby authorized to appoint official agents in the capitals of the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom.

## Article V

The accreditation and status of foreign missions in the Territory of the Federal Republic will be governed by the following provisions.

(i) Diplomatic missions and consular offices established in the Territory of the Federal Republic will normally be accredited to and recognized by the Federal Republic. In exceptional circumstances they may be accredited to or recognized by the Allied High Commission. In no case will there be a dual accreditation of missions to the Allied High Commission and to the Federal Republic or the issue of exequaturs to consuls by both the Federal Government and the Allied High Commission.

(ii) The accreditation of foreign missions to the Federal Government shall be notified to the Allied High Commission and they will thereafter have access to it in all matters relating to the fields reserved to the occupation authorities.

## Article VI

The Federal and Land Governments shall keep the Allied High Commission informed of any international negotiations. The Allied High Commission may intervene in negotiations relating to the fields reserved to the occupation authorities.

## Article VII

The Federal Government shall furnish to the Allied High Commission all appropriate information regarding action taken pursuant to the provisions of this decision.

## Article VIII

This decision shall become effective on March 7, 1951.

## EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN HICOM AND FEDERAL REPUBLIC ON EQUITABLE APPORTIONMENT

### *HICOM to Chancellor Adenauer*

October 23, 1950

MR. CHANCELLOR, You will recall that the Foreign Ministers, in their Communiqué on Germany, issued in New York on September 19, 1950, after referring to their willingness to amend the Occupation Statute, stated that "the Federal Republic will be expected to undertake certain commitments and other actions consonant with its new responsibilities."

In view of the fact that the amendments to the occupation Statute now under active consideration will transfer to the Federal Government certain reserved powers, the exercise of which will become necessary in the interest of the defence effort of the Western Nations, the Allied High Commission hereby requests the Federal Government formally to give an assurance that it will cooperate with the Western Powers in the equitable apportionment of materials, products, and services which are or may be in short supply or required for the common defence.

At the present time it is not possible to determine in detail the areas where shortage can be expected, the Organisations which will be designated to cope with these shortages, or the specific measures which the Federal Government might find it necessary to take in the discharge of its obligations. It can be stated, however, that now and in the immediate future the Federal Government is expected to maintain conditions under which Western orders may be freely placed in Western Germany and under which deliveries against these orders will be made in the normal course of events, and not to increase unduly the internal consumption of these goods at the expense of exports. It can also be anticipated that, with the prospective increase in the defence effort of the Western

Powers, the Federal Government will be expected to lend support to industries producing critical items in short supply and to institute measures designed to assure, at fair prices, supplies of finished goods, raw materials and services for Western defence requirements in an equitable proportion to Western Germany's internal requirements for consumption and investment and in preference to the import demands of countries outside the Western defence effort.

I beg your Excellency to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

IVONE KIRKPATRICK  
Chairman

### *Chancellor Adenauer to HICOM*

March 6, 1951

I have received your letter of 23 October 1950, and as requested I hereby confirm that the Federal Government will cooperate in the equitable apportionment of materials, products and services which are or may be in short supply or required for the common defence.

In the spirit of this cooperation, the Federal Republic is in particular prepared:

(A) Not to impose export restrictions on western orders placed in the area of the Federal Republic for the above items, detrimental to the equitable apportionment of said items;

(B) To take measures to prevent internal consumption of said items from unduly increasing at the expense of exports of said items and to lend support to industries producing the above items;

(C) When the situation requires, to institute measures designed to ensure, at reasonable and non-discriminatory prices, supplies of the above items for western defense requirements in an equitable proportion to the internal requirements for consumption and investment within the area of the Federal Republic and with the appropriate degree of priority over the import demands of countries outside of the western defense effort.

## Ernest Bevin Resigns as British Foreign Minister

### *Statement by Acting Secretary Webb*

[Released to the press March 9]

I have learned with regret of the resignation of Mr. Bevin. While Foreign Minister, he has shown great courage, foresight, and skill in the handling of the British foreign affairs, and he has been a pillar of strength in the difficult world situation. He has suffered lately from poor health, and on his departure from office I know he has the sincere good wishes of his many friends and admirers in the United States. We all hope that in the performance of the less arduous duties of Lord Privy Seal he will enjoy the relaxation which he so richly deserves.

Mr. Morrison has our very best wishes in his new and difficult task. We look forward to working closely with him, as we have with his distinguished predecessor, in furthering the close cooperation between our two countries, which is of such importance to the free world.

## The Answer to Youth's Bewilderment

[Released to the press March 3]

*The Department of State today made public correspondence between Secretary Acheson and Clarence E. Moullette, Assistant to the Mayor of Camden, New Jersey. Mr. Moullette had asked Secretary Acheson to help him reply to a letter he had received from his son, Corp. John B. Moullette, USMCR, Camp Pendleton, California.*

### LETTER FROM SECRETARY ACHESON TO MR. MOULLETTE

*February 23, 1951*

I have thought a great deal about the letter from your son, which you sent me, and your problem in answering it wisely and helpfully. It brought back many memories to me of ten years ago when my own son was in college, before he went to the Pacific, and I used to sit with him and his friends and talk over their problems which loomed ahead of them—and all of us.

I thought then—and think now—that the real problem lies deeper than the questioning of particular decisions—even the important ones which distress your son. It lies in the fact—for which we may thank God—that these boys have been brought up in the fundamental decency and rightness of American life. They have lived in communities where they have breathed in with the air truth and tolerance of others' interests, generosity and good nature, hard work, honesty and fairness. To all of them opened the opportunity for happy and constructive lives, their own homes and families, work to do, a part to play in the community in a hundred ways. They saw no problems, here at home, that would not yield to effort, ingenuity, and the give-and-take of people who believed in the same right values.

Now, just at the moment when they were about to enter fully as grown men in this world, its promise is dashed. In its place, they find hardship, loneliness, uncertainty, danger. They are separated from family and friends. Even worse, they are denied the natural development of their lives. The fact that this happens to them because some distant and shadowy figures in the Kremlin, controlling millions of people far from them, are setting out to make impossible such lives as they

had every right and hope to have, does not help their frustration and bitterness.

This agony of spirit, so understandable and right, makes it hard to believe that so monstrous an evil can exist in a world based upon infinite mercy and justice.

But the fact is that it does exist. The fact is that it twists and tortures all our lives. And, I believe, to each of us in this case as in so many others, the great thing is not what happens to us but how we bear what happens to us.

For our country, and for most of us as individuals, the period which has passed since V-E and V-J Days has been one of cruel disappointment, slowly forming resolution, and, finally, great determination and effort. The high hopes, for which great sacrifices were made during the War, did not come to ready fruition. That did not mean that these hopes—for peace, and for a good life for all—were wrong, or that the principles of freedom and justice on which they were based were not worthy of these sacrifices.

What it did mean was that it was going to be a good deal harder to build the kind of world we wanted, than we thought it was going to be.

We started out, even before the War had ended, building the foundation of the structure of peace, of law and order in the world, in the United Nations. We hoped that all nations would work together in bringing this about.

We came very close to realizing this aspiration. An international organization has been started functioning, and in some cases, it has performed extremely successfully. The role of the United Nations in the disputes in Palestine and in Indonesia suggest that, far from being discouraged, we should be heartened by the progress that has been made.

However as it became clear that the rulers of the Soviet Union not only were not interested in cooperating with us, but were challenging the survival of our free institutions, and the independence of all nations, we have been obliged to build up our strength again, all of us.

In some ways, this is an ancient problem. Our forebears on this continent had it cruelly impressed

upon them that the liberty we enjoy is not won and preserved without unremitting effort, without sacrifice, without "eternal vigilance." But we had for so long enjoyed the blessings of freedom, that we had come to accept this condition as automatically assured. It has fallen to us—to your son's generation, and to ours—to take up again the defense of freedom against the challenge of tyranny.

In other ways, this is a new problem. Our country, which has risen to a position of unprecedented power and eminence in the world, is seeking to use that power in such a way as to help bring about a peaceful international order. This means that we have to be doing two things at once: while we move ahead in our efforts to build the kind of a world in which we can all live together peacefully and in common helpfulness, we are at the same time protecting ourselves from being overrun by the tyranny which is run from Moscow. I have sometimes compared this two-pronged effort as being like the way our ancestors had to have some men drilling and keeping watch from the blockhouses, while others went on, tilling the fields.

In a sense, we are standing with one foot in the world of our hopes for a future order among nations, and the other foot in the world of power. Both of these are part of the present reality. Unless we are strong enough—we and the other free nations—to prevent the Soviet rulers from extending their control over the entire world, then we shall never have the chance to help build the kind of a world we all want.

There are many terrible heartbreaks in this course of action, but there is no easier way to a peaceful world. Your son asks in his letter whether Korea proves anything. That he is heart-sick over the loss of life and the destruction in Korea is right and good, and reflects what must be the instinctively humane feelings of good men everywhere. But I hope he will come to see that Korea proves—has already proved—a great deal. In Korea, the men and the nations who love freedom and who believe in the United Nations have made it clear that they are willing to fight for these things. By standing firm against aggression in Korea, we are doing our best to prevent the world from following the road which led us, twice in recent times, to World War. The heroic sacrifices which are now being made in Korea may enable the world to pass through this time of hostility and tension without the catastrophe, the greater destruction and the immeasurably greater sacrifices of a world conflict.

I know that these thoughts I have written to you will not answer all the questions which you have touched on in your thoughtful letter, or which your son has mentioned. These are hard and complicated problems, for which there are no easy answers, and which a short letter could not deal with adequately. What I am concerned about is not that your son should feel that I, or

the Administration, or the Government is right on any particular issue. It is good that he should question whether the steps we are taking are right or are wrong. But what is important is that he feel, and that all our young people feel, a strong faith in the validity and the reality of the ideals on which this country was founded and on which it now endeavors to guide its actions. So long as our young people are steadfast in this faith, we can be assured of the vitality of our society, and its ability to go on meeting the challenges of the future.

#### **LETTER FROM MR. MOULLETTE TO SECRETARY ACHESON**

*January 19th, 1951*

Enclosed, is a letter I received from my son this morning on my arrival at my office. I am sending it to you, since it is a letter which reflects the loose thinking on the part of many of our legislators and publishers—it is a letter filled with answerable questions, but questions which require much in knowledge, substantial qualifications which can and should be made understandable—since the American people as a whole are a provincial lot.

This lad of mine is 24 years old, a Corporal in the Marine Corps at Camp Pendleton, California. He served with the 1st Division from 1944 to August 1946. Last September, he was hoping to enter Cornell University to take his course in Hotel Management. Instead, he went back in the Marine Corps, a Reserve. He was then, and I suspect now, bitter about it all. It so happens, that in September 1949 I warned him not to put too much stock in his future, since I was positive we would be involved somewhere in the world before another year was out. He, my wife and many of my friends made life miserable for me, since they said I was warmongering, when I was only evaluating the news as it was brought to me by a world press.

This lad has been raised in the traditions which have been prevalent in this country since Colonial days—his schooling is that of the average public school pupil, and he has had the advantage of books, magazines, newspapers from all over the world—he has traveled widely for his age, working on tramp steamers and tankers, and the United States is as his back yard at home, he knows it from personal visits.

The tenor of his letter about "foreign policy" leaves me cold and my reply to him will be an explanation that foreign policy is always fluid, that it must be so and has been so since 1914 because of certain inescapable facts. I will explain that we are a gullible people, that we won (or helped win) two wars and lost both times the peace, because we regarded winning wars in the same manner we regard winning a football match. I will tell him something of the different mores of various people, of their hatreds, their jealousies.

I will tell him that the broad policies of our foreign policy is laid down in the Constitution of the United States, in the convictions of our people and their attitudes toward all peoples, all over the world.

I will send him a copy of an address of mine, which he said was too deep for him to understand when he read it in its formative stage. I will try to open his eyes to an understanding of the forces about him which are inimicable to the general good of our people—to the powers which can be wielded to destroy a man, no matter how sincere and true he has been. I will cite the case of Forrestal, of Hiss, of others who were earnest Americans of good understanding. I will indicate to him that the American people in their utter provincialism are tremendously jealous of their rights and prerogatives as free born Americans, that they want the fruits thereof, but detest its responsibilities—that there are many men to advance their own interests against the interests of the whole people, take advantage of the situations brought about by the general misunderstanding which have been fostered by a press which is venal.

What I am going to tell him of foreign policy will be my experiences in most of the countries of the world, where I have seen my own countrymen reflect the worst of their natures, since they were of the opinion that they were a race apart. I will tell him something of the spread of the Common Law throughout the world by the British, whom he had been taught by a venal press to despise, and it has been hard to offset his distrust of the British even though he has close blood relatives in England, and more of them in Denmark and France.

Mr. Secretary, I have written you a long letter about a letter, but, what actually was also a motivation was a telephone call I received this morning from one of the principals of one of our High Schools. He related to me that his teachers absolutely refused to take Civil Defense seriously, that it was a tempest in a tea pot and, anyhow it was the figment of the administration's imagination that caused all the furore—that we would never be bombed or otherwise attacked, note the remarks of various Senators and Congressmen, and anyway, what was it you read in the press.

I have had members of my own party discount the sincere efforts of the President of the United States, simply because they wished in that way to resist the necessity of facing up to a world that is becoming increasingly more atavistic and reprehensible.

Mr. Secretary, I have lived on every continent, worked in most of the countries of the world, or visited them and I have a working knowledge of ten languages, none of them taught to me academically but which I have learned because I needed them. I see about me so many things which are left undone, which should be done, and

I want more than anything else to wake my countrymen up to the necessity of realizing we are not living in a chocolate coated world, but one that is armed to the teeth against us by and through actual armor or armed against us in propagating the belief that we have only a nickel under our foot to motivate our activities.

I know of personal knowledge that most of the peoples of the world have a sneaking respect for us, that they like us fairly well for ourselves alone, that they fear us far more than we fear them, but all of whom could be turned against us simply because they are jealous of our way of life which we have earned for ourselves by hard work and ingenuity. I hope you will help me with this letter to my son.

#### LETTER FROM JOHNNIE MOULLETTE TO HIS FATHER

16 January, 1951—Tuesday

I just finished reading from the Los Angeles *Examiner* the impeachment resolution against Dean Acheson which was introduced into the California State Senate by State Senator Jack B. Tenney, Republican, from Los Angeles. I can't help but think that the American people, Democrat and Republican alike, are "fed up" with the Administration and its foreign policy.

The way Truman is appropriating money is outrageous. It is my belief that he is taking anyone's word for it and spending money uselessly and needlessly. At present he is asking Congress for 71.5 billion dollars which would cost each American \$468.00.

Don't you think that our "foreign policy" is fouled up a bit? What right have we to refuse Red China entree into the United Nations? I think she (Red China) has a right to voice her opinions about what is to take place in the Far East. After all, isn't she a country out there just as Venezuela or Brazil is in our hemisphere? I say, "Let Red China into the U. N. and let her voice her vote and her opinions on what is to take place in the Far East."

The needless waste of life in Korea, on both sides, is shameful to the human race. Fighting won't settle anything. The only thing that I can see is being proven in Korea is: "Might over what *may* be right." Red China being the "might." The problem of Red China vs. the world, or the best part of it, has to be settled at the round table and eventually it will be. Red China will be admitted to the U. N. So the U. N. will have lost the first round. We did better in the "Boxer Rebellion."

I thought that only Congress could declare war. Why doesn't Congress either declare war against Red China or stop Truman from sending American troops throughout the world? Why should we take the brunt of it all? If the other countries in the U. N. won't supply the needed men

and money then we should pull out of Korea and if need be, out of the U. N. and adopt something similar to what Hoover suggests.

The morale of the fighting man is very low. Mainly because the American people aren't behind him. Here at Pendleton most of these men know what war is or what its after-effects are and will be. Just last night at the "slopshute" (beer-hall) the men, not one or two, but the majority, were complaining about the way we were tricked into this. Everyone seems to have nothing but disfavorable thoughts, and remarks about the foreign policy. These men aren't afraid to fight, it's just that they have no cause to fight. If ordered to, we will but only because of the obligation we have to each other. I guess it's a form of "Brotherly Love."

Our only hope is that men our age throughout the world feel the same way and will state so to their leaders. By rebellion or other ways. After the loss of life, and property from the last war, everyone should want only peace. I believe that the people of our level want only peace but that the leaders (including Truman) are afraid to admit they are wrong and are ashamed to admit it for fear they will lose face. It looks that way, Dad!

I guess I've tired your eyes by now so I'll secure for now. Good luck in your defense job.

Love,

JOHNNIE

P.S. I may be a rebel but these are my own thoughts and convictions.

## U.S.S.R. Intimates Noncooperation on Japanese Treaty

[Released to the press March 5]

Yacov Malik, Soviet representative to the United Nations, with whom the United States, through John Foster Dulles, has been having conversations regarding a Japanese peace treaty, has issued a statement to the press which intimates that he will not resume negotiations.

This statement, apparently made under the instructions of the Soviet Government, contrasts with the propaganda professions of the Soviet Union as to peace and an over-all Japanese peace.

The United States will persist in seeking an over-all peace for Japan. But it concedes to no one the right to veto peace.

The Soviet Government has persistently sought such a veto position and that is what has already unduly delayed the Japanese peace settlement.

With reference to Mr. Malik's statement that: "I do not conduct any talks with Mr. Dulles on a Japanese peace treaty," the facts are these:

On October 16, 1950, Mr. Malik met Mr. Dulles at the latter's home office, 72 East 91st Street, New York City, for about 2 hours, at which time Mr. Dulles handed Mr. Malik the 7-point statement of principles which the United States believes should govern the terms of a Japanese peace treaty, and which were being similarly discussed with other interested Governments. Mr. Dulles discussed these points in detail with Mr. Malik.

On November 20, 1950, Mr. Malik again met with Mr. Dulles at the same place and gave Mr. Dulles an *aide memoire* setting forth certain inquiries and attitudes of the Soviet Government toward the United States statement of principles. This *aide memoire* was published the next day by the Soviet Government at Moscow.

On December 28, 1950, Mr. Dulles, through Ambassador Gross, furnished Mr. Malik with the response of the United States to the Soviet *aide memoire* above-referred to. This response was published by the Department of State on December 28, 1950.<sup>1</sup>

On January 13, 1951, Mr. Dulles, by prearrangement with Mr. Malik, called on Mr. Malik at the Soviet Mission in New York and informed Mr. Malik fully as to his forthcoming trip to Japan, and of his intention to confer further with Mr. Malik on the Japanese peace treaty upon his return. Mr. Malik, at that time, informed Mr. Dulles that he had not yet received from his Government any further observations on the reply of the United States to the Soviet *aide memoire* which he had earlier given to Mr. Dulles, but that as soon as these observations were reported, he would communicate them to Mr. Dulles. No such communication has been received.

With reference to Mr. Malik's statement that "the statement of Mr. Dulles at the press conference regarding his message to me on this matter as well as my willingness to resume negotiations on a Japanese peace treaty is absolutely groundless," the facts are these:

On February 26, 1951, immediately following Mr. Dulles' return from the Far East, Mr. Dulles asked Ambassador Gross to inform Mr. Malik of Mr. Dulles' return and of his desire, as previously stated to Mr. Malik, to continue discussions of the Japanese peace treaty. Ambassador Gross on February 27, 1951, conveyed this message to Mr. Malik and received the impression that Mr. Malik was prepared to continue the discussions.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1951, p. 65.

## U. S.-Chilean Problems of Economic Development

by Edward G. Miller, Jr.

*Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

It is most appropriate that the first session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council held in Latin America should take place in Chile, a country whose accomplishments in the field of economic development have been substantial. Last year, when steel ingots began rolling out of the Huachipato steel mill, Chile had definitely secured its place in the community of industrial nations. It had completed a significant phase in its economic development, during which it had amply demonstrated its capacity to mobilize economic resources, to plan economic development, and to implement these plans through international cooperation.

The possession of coal and iron ore is Chile's good fortune. Their exploitation at Huachipato, however, is something more. It is the result of skillfully bringing together human and material resources for the permanent strengthening of the national economy. Chile has developed the knowledge and understanding to do this in the process of planning and executing development programs in every sector of economic activity since the creation, in 1939, of the *Corporación de Fomento de la Producción*. In planning economic development, Chile has wisely aimed a well-rounded program. Promotion of industry has been balanced by plans for the development of agriculture. The effort to broaden the base of Chile's economy through expansion of manufacturing activities has included particularly greater food production. Chile's progress in agriculture is marked by vastly increased mechanization and a broad program of irrigation and land reclamation.

### U. S. Part in Chile's Economic Progress

The United States has watched with particular interest Chile's economic progress in the last dec-

<sup>1</sup>Excerpts from an address made to delegates to the twelfth session of Ecosoc at Santiago, Chile, on Mar. 6 and released to the press on the same date.

ade not only because it carries the promise of improved levels of living for the Chilean people but also because the United States has been able to play a part in this advance. In the years since 1940, my Government, through the Export-Import Bank, has advanced to Chile over 122 million dollars in credits and loans to improve her transportation facilities, expand her industry, irrigate her land and mechanize her farms.

Economic vitality and increased productivity is the reward of a working democracy. For the Chilean economy, as for others, it has meant a substantial gain. It has meant that Export-Import Bank funds and United States technicians could join forces with Chilean capital and manpower to bring the Huachipato steel mill into existence. The Export-Import Bank was also able to provide some 13 million dollars in credits for the purchase of equipment and material to maintain and improve Chile's railways.

In a number of other projects, such as the construction of a rayon and staple fiber factory, a tire factory, cement plants, and a copper wire plant, United States engineers, workers, and capital have worked side by side with their Chilean counterparts. The Export-Import Bank has provided credits for Chile to buy agricultural machinery and equipment and along with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has helped Chile finance the development of her hydroelectric resources, a project of fundamental importance to the future prosperity of Chile. The power plants constructed with this aid—Los Cipreses, Abanico, Sauzal, Pilmaiquen—have increased Chile's output of electric energy more than 127 percent since 1944.

The successes of recent years, impressive though they are, are merely the first great steps forward on the road of economic development. The Chilean people regard the development already achieved only as a point of departure. We can expect that Chile will expand its program of industrialization; that it will continue to increase productivity and output of agriculture; that it will carry to con-

clusion its plans for the utilization of water and power resources and for the creation of a transportation system adequate to the needs of an expanding economy. All of these will lead to greater social development and a higher standard of living for the Chilean people. Such are the goals of the Council's gracious host, a nation that may well personify the hopes and aspirations of all members of the community of free nations.

The Export-Import Bank has been able to give equally vital aid in other countries, having lent a total of 2.12 billion dollars to underdeveloped areas since 1940. These funds, and the material and technical assistance which they cover, were provided while the United Nations were engaged in a total war, while it was necessary to provide staggering quantities of war material, and later while the European Recovery Program was engaged in the task of helping to rebuild the defensive strength of the free world. Ability to assist in the economic development of underproductive areas was not stopped either by the totalitarianism which had destroyed world peace as the decade opened in 1940 or by the totalitarianism which menaced the peace as the decade closed.

The United States can be counted on to cooperate with the community of free nations in our mutual economic and social development, in the future as in the past, willingly and liberally, motivated only by the desire to help peoples to help themselves to attain a secure and prosperous economy, to preserve their national independence, and to insure the freedom and dignity of man. That is the basic principle of United States policy in the field of economic cooperation. It has not been invalidated by Communist aggression in Korea or by the resultant international tension.

### **U.S. Program of Preparedness**

In submitting his budget proposals to the Congress of the United States in January, President Truman reaffirmed the intentions of the United States. He said:

Our total program of economic assistance to non-European areas of the free world will make a major contribution to increasing productivity in agricultural, industrial and extractive industries. Part of the increased output must go directly to improving living standards and public services. Another part, including raw materials and particularly strategic materials needed for the mutual defense of the free world, can be traded with the more industrialized nations for capital goods needed for further economic development.

We have the will to move forward along the road of cooperation, we have the experience of fruitful association in facing and solving complex problems of economic development. We have been limited in our broad program of economic cooperation because of the necessity imposed upon the free nations to rearm. The free world must rearm. As has been reiterated so many times by delegations from free countries at this session of

the Council, we must do so in order to stand guard over our political, social, and economic integrity and in order to be able to put down wanton aggression, so bloodily exemplified at present in Korea. It has become clear from the bitter experience of the past 8 months that the program of preparedness upon which we have embarked must be pushed forward with vigor and determination.

The position of the United States on the issue of defense has been made clear by Secretary of State Acheson. As he stated on December 30th last, the United States will redouble its efforts to build situations of strength to meet trouble wherever it threatens. "We will continue our efforts to work for peace through the United Nations," Mr. Acheson said, "That is the kind of people we are—but we now, once again, must see to our arms."

The economic implications of the current world situation are equally clear and unequivocal. A considerable proportion of the productive capacity of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Western Europe, which comprise a large part of the industrial plant of the world, must be set aside for defense purposes. Capital goods and services, which a few months ago were freely available for economic development and immediate consumption, must now be channeled into production for defense. The problems which rearmament creates will make themselves felt throughout the free world in a variety of ways.

Clearly, consumption of goods manufactured from scarce commodities will have to be reduced. In the United States, as you know, the supply of tin, copper, rubber, zinc, and other metals for production of consumers goods has already been severely curtailed, and the use of iron and steel must be reduced. As a consequence of these restrictions, entire industries, such as our new and thriving television industry, have been forced to shut down or severely curtail their production. Further sacrifices of this kind are in prospect, but our people are disposed to face them steadfastly.

The problems of free world defense are not easy problems, but they are problems that must be solved if aggression, the common enemy of all the free peoples, is to be eliminated, if simply because a community of interests, hopes, and aspirations binds free men together.

We do not know how long the present state of emergency will last. The Soviet Union and the Governments which follow its command can end it any time they can, if they will, dissipate the free world's feeling of extreme danger—which has engulfed us all with renewed intensity since the Communist attack on the Republic of Korea—and dissipate it in a manner that is adequate to convince the free world that peace is secure.

The United States does not relish channeling its raw materials, its machinery, and its skills into the production of armament. It would much rather use its human and material resources and

its productive capacity to help advance economic and social development at home and abroad. But, the United States, like any nation which wants to preserve its integrity, must look to its defense.

We must face the fact that the Soviet bloc is virtually an armed camp now, that for many years the U.S.S.R. has been diverting to military uses a larger proportion of its national income than any other major power, and that a part of these Soviet military resources are being directed against the United Nations right now on the battlefields of Korea. For years, the U.S.S.R. has been pillaging and plundering its satellites, reducing the standards of living of its subject peoples to feed its insatiable military machine. This is the threat. It is real. It is, in the words of President Truman:

aimed at all peoples who strive to win or defend their own freedom and national independence.

### **Continuing Economic Cooperation**

The free world program of military preparedness, large though it is, will not weaken, even temporarily, the United States interest in cooperation for economic development. It should be recalled that the steel plant in Brazil at Volta Redonda was planned and initiated in a period of severe scarcities of raw materials, equipment, and manpower. By the end of World War II, nearly 40 million dollars of the 45 million lent to Brazil in 1940 for Volta Redonda had been disbursed in capital goods procurement. Similarly, the steel mill at Huachipato was projected long before the end of the war.

These are not isolated instances of economic cooperation despite critical times and heavy demands on our resources. Despite the tremendous pressure of a total war upon the democratic world, economic expansion in Latin America continued and, in many countries, was even accelerated. Chile's real national income, for example, increased from 15.6 billion pesos in 1940 to 18.7 billion pesos in 1945. Consumption measured in physical terms increased in Chile by about 22 percent between 1940 and 1949. Other countries registered similar gains.

The economic strength of the free world is now very substantially greater than it was 10 years ago. The economies of Latin America have become more diversified. They rest on a broader foundation. They are better prepared to make the readjustments which may be required in the present and coming emergency periods.

Western Europe is also making a substantial contribution to world economic stability and progress. Its present productive capacity and output is well above prewar levels. Thus, even in the present period, a continuing flow of producer and consumer goods may be expected from those European areas which, during World War II, became inaccessible as they were occupied by Axis powers

and which, for some time after the war, were forced to devote most of their resources to reconstruction. Moreover, if aggression does not force the free nations to defend with arms their independence and their institutions, the pressure on resources resulting from the rearmament effort may be expected to ease.

When the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics meet at Washington later this month to consider urgent measures for the Western Hemisphere share in the free world's effort to repel aggression, they will also consider measures for economic cooperation and development in the light of the present emergency. At that meeting, the United States will reassure its good neighbors that we recognize their desire for increased production, for improved use of their manpower, and for a strengthening of the basic productive factors. We can give that assurance, because economic cooperation, as well as military and political cooperation, has long been, and continues to be, a cardinal principle of our foreign policy.

On undertaking the immense task of strengthening our security, the primary emphasis must of course be military. That task, however, is not solely military. Communism thrives on economic and social misery, especially continued misery in the face of unused opportunities for greater human well-being. Hence, efforts for economic development and social progress must go hand-in-hand with military defense. But, because our first task is to become strong and remain strong until the Communist threat has passed, we cannot take the risk of endangering our safety and that of the rest of the free world through leaving ourselves open to conquest and seizure by attempting to concentrate too great a part of our resources on efforts to improve levels of living.

### **Proper Balance in Use of Resources**

What, in effect, is required is to find the proper balance between the use of resources for defense and for economic development and social progress.

Isador Lubin's recent speech before the Economic and Social Council stressed the falsity of any arbitrary distinctions between military and nonmilitary programs in setting priorities for the expanding security program. With that position, I heartily agree. Each particular proposal must be judged on its merits in the light of the over-all objective.

Some may believe that what I have just said is not reassuring with respect to economic cooperation with the underdeveloped countries in the period immediately ahead. This is far from true. What would not be reassuring would be a situation in which the United States could spare nothing above its strictly military requirements. And I should add that there will be many situations in which both immediate defense and long range economic objectives can be simultaneously served.

## U.S. Technical Cooperation Programs

The United States plans an active cooperative international role in the technical cooperation program during the coming period, based on our past record and experience. That record is a lengthy one in bilateral agreements, chiefly with the other American Republics, and, more recently, through the United Nations and its specialized agencies and through the Organization of American States.

As delegates to the Economic and Social Council know, the United States has given very active support to the technical cooperation programs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies. We have been in favor of all the safeguards which the United Nations has provided to protect the sovereignty of recipient countries. We have gladly opened our borders, our factories, our Government facilities, our farms, and our records, to fellowship holders who have come to the United States under the United Nations programs. We have just as readily provided technical experts to participate in United Nations and specialized agency missions, even though the defense effort makes a heavy demand on the supply of expert and skilled manpower. We are contributing 60 percent of the special account established last June to expand United Nations technical assistance. The Council is also familiar with the fact that the United States will contribute 70 percent of the budget for technical cooperation projects of the Organization of American States—projects which are designed to mesh effectively with the United Nations programs.

All of these technical aid efforts in which the United States and most other members of the United Nations have cooperated are familiar to you. However, you may not all be so familiar with the work of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, which is an agency of the United States Government. I may, therefore, be excused for referring to its achievements before I close. The Institute, since 1942, has been cooperating with other American governments on programs in agriculture, education, health, and sanitation. In its health and sanitation programs, alone, the Institute has affected the lives of millions of people in Latin America. The health and sanitation program in Chile, as in 17 other American Republics, has been carried out through the Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Salud Pública, organized by the Government of Chile as part of the Chilean National Public Health Service. The Servicio has launched national campaigns to stop typhoid, diphtheria, and other diseases that weaken the vitality of the nation. It has trained many of Chile's nurses, doctors, public health experts, and Santiago engineers. It has built community health centers, tuberculosis hospitals, sewerage systems. The most recent of the latter—the tenth completed by the Servicio—serves 90,000 people and eliminates pollution of irrigation canals watering 50,000 acres of agricultural lands.

All of the sewerage systems, like the Servicio projects in Chile, have been turned over to the responsible agencies of the Chilean Government or its municipalities.

The Institute recently made an agreement to cooperate with the Chilean Government in an agricultural program here, which will be closely integrated with the work in Chile of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization. Under an agricultural program in Peru, the Peruvian Government and the Institute have created an agricultural extension service, which now has 34 field offices, largely staffed by Peruvian technicians, to help the farmers of each community to grow more and better crops. More than 40,000 people make their way to those field offices every year for advice and help. Small farmers have available 18 machinery pools for the use of farm machinery. Throughout Peru, you can spot those machines, plowing, cultivating, and harvesting the fields for farm families. This program has helped to develop 35,000 Peruvian family gardens, to set up livestock demonstration farms on land that was deep jungle, to introduce hybrid-seed corn that produces 100 bushels per acre.

I have touched on only a few of the more than 3,000 projects in which the Institute of Inter-American Affairs has cooperated with the other American Republics. In all of them, their achievements and their benefits to the people on the scene are unmistakable. Only those who are fanatically determined to distort and falsify the facts can conclude otherwise.

Last January, the Institute held a meeting here at Santiago to discuss the expansion and improvement of its work. On that occasion, the president of the Institute and the Institute staff were denounced by the Communist press as "imperialistic exploiters," "spies," "saboteurs," bent on making a colony of the great Republic of Chile. I can assure you that the Chileans and the United States nationals who operate the Servicio will be more than happy to give you first-hand knowledge of their "imperialistic" program. At nearby Trudeau Hospital, they can be seen "sabotaging" tuberculosis. At health centers in Santiago, Valparaiso, and Antofagasta, they are "exploiting" thousands of families, by bringing children into the world and helping to keep them alive, by exerting every effort to build a community of able-bodied people who can make the maximum contribution to Chile.

As for what the United States has done here, our conscience is clear, our hands are clean, and our hearts are open. What Chile has accomplished through the Servicio and the Development Corporation is to extend Chilean control over Chilean destiny. What has been accomplished under the dynamic leadership of President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, and his predecessors, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Juan Antonio Ríos, is, above all, a tribute to the courageous energy of the people of this great Republic.

## Seventh Pan American Railway Congress

*Report by William T. Faricy*

*Chairman, U. S. Delegation and President, Association of American Railroads*

Pursuant to the Mexican Government's Resolution No. 1699, issued December 2, 1948, convoking the VII Pan American Railway Congress in Mexico City and the notice by the President of the Organizing Committee, the VII Pan American Railway Congress was held in Mexico, D. F., October 10-20, 1950.

### Organizing Committee Officers

*President:* Agustín García López, Secretary of Communications and Public Works

*Vice President:* Antonio Dovalí Jaime, Subsecretary of Communications and Public Works

*Secretary General:* José Merino Blázquez, Chief of Service of Department of Railroads in Development of the Secretariat of Communications, all of the Republic of Mexico

Approximately 150 government and railroad industry representatives and private individuals from 18 member countries<sup>1</sup> and Canada attended and participated in the proceedings of the Congress. The United States was represented by a delegation of ten persons, composed of the Chairman, four members, and the Executive Secretary of the United States National Commission, as well as the United States resident member on the permanent Commission of the Pan American Railway Congress Association at Buenos Aires, and a representative from the Department of State and

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States of America, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Guatemala, Haiti, and Nicaragua, also members of the Association, were not represented by official delegations.

two officials of the Association of American Railroads.<sup>2</sup> Several officers of the American Embassy at Mexico City assisted the United States delegation at the Congress. The United States Government has been a member of the Association since 1948, as authorized by Public Law 794, 80th Congress.

In addition, between 20 and 25 persons representing individual railroads, the railway supply industry, transportation publications, and transportation and educational institutions in the United States attended and took part in the various sessions.

### Agenda

The agenda of the Congress consisted chiefly of discussions of technical papers submitted by railroad and governmental authorities of numerous countries of the Western Hemisphere. The themes contributed were classified into six categories for study and action by the delegates. To accomplish this work, the Congress was divided into the following sections:

Section A—Ways and works.

Section B—Material and haulage, including material, motors and Railway material.

Section C—Exploitation, including circulation and traffic.

Section D—Accountancy, statistics, and tariffs.

Section E—Legislation, administration, and coordination.

Section F—Personnel and miscellaneous matters.

<sup>2</sup> For the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of Oct. 16, 1950, p. 634.

The Point 4 technical assistance program as related to railway development in Latin America and "coordination of transport" was given special consideration at roundtable sessions.

### Participation

The following member countries were represented by official delegations:

Country	No. of Delegates
Argentina.....	12
Bolivia.....	1
Brazil.....	6
Chile.....	3
Colombia.....	2
Costa Rica.....	2
Cuba.....	16
Dominican Republic.....	1
Ecuador.....	4
El Salvador.....	1
Honduras.....	3
Mexico.....	30
Panama.....	3
Paraguay.....	1
Peru.....	1
United States of America.....	10
Uruguay.....	4
Venezuela.....	2
Total, 18.....	102

An observer from Canada and sixteen representatives of the Compania S. K. F., Golfo y Caribe were present.

### Organization of the Congress

The Congress held seven general sessions of which four were plenary sessions. The six sections held 30 meetings, and three roundtable discussions took place. In addition, special committee meetings dealt with the revisions of the statutes of the Association and recommendation of a site for the next, or VIII Congress.

The very large number of technical papers (approximately 200)<sup>3</sup> was a complicating factor;

<sup>3</sup> Nine papers were contributed by various members of the United States National Commission, U.S. government officials and others on the following subjects: Safety of Railway Operations by William T. Faricy; Telegraphic and Safety Services by Association of American Railroads; Preparation of Freight and Passenger Tariffs by Association of American Railroads; Some Aspects of the Situation Regarding Motive Power and Rolling Stock on the U.S. Railways by James G. Lyne; Elimination of Lines or Secondary Branch Roads of Non-Paying Traffic by Other Means of Transportation—Practical and Economical Solutions by J. M. Hood; Historical Development of Transport Coordination and Integration in the United States by Interstate Commerce Commission; Observations on the Possible Role of the Pan American Railway Congress Association in the "Point 4" Technical Cooperation Program by the Department of State; Some Aspects of International Coordination of Rail Transportation by Herbert Ashton; and A Transportation Policy for an Expanding Economy by Julian S. Duncan.

however, the reporters for the individual sections performed well their difficult task of summarizing the many contributions received. A group of expert interpreters and translators provided by the Organizing Committee performed valuable assistance in the bilingual (Spanish and English) translation of the proceedings and discussions.

### Principal Decisions of the Congress

*Committee on Statutes*—The following resolution of the Committee on Statutes was adopted:

A. That the modification of the Statutes of the Association be postponed until the VIII Pan American Railway Congress.

B. That a committee be formed, composed of three member nations to elaborate the draft of the Association Statutes with the material furnished by the Permanent Commission through the National Commission.

C. That, once the draft is elaborated, it be presented, with all previous material, to the Permanent Commission for its consideration and presentation to the VIII Congress.

D. That the proposal presented by Brazil to this Congress, be sent by the Permanent Commission to each of the National Commissions.

E. That the countries designated to elaborate the draft be: Brazil, Uruguay and Chile.

F. That the draft be composed six months before the celebration of the VIII Pan American Railway Congress and communicated to all the National Commissions.

*Special roundtable on Point-4 program*—Following considerable discussion, the Congress unanimously approved a declaration that the Pan American Railway Congress (upon being informed of the United States Delegation report on the Point-4 technical assistance program)—

wishes to put on record the opinion of its members as to the great value which the attitude of the American nation, so clearly expressed in Point 4 of the Truman message, signifies for the peace and happiness of the community of nations. Consequently, the Pan American Railway Congress resolves:

a) to express its deep gratitude for the offer contained in the report submitted, and to have this gratitude expressed directly to President Truman.

b) at the same time, it recommends that the National Commissions give special attention to the assistance offered in Mr. Truman's Point 4, with the object of obtaining the benefits which may be derived therefrom.

A proposal of the Argentine delegation to have the national commissions channel information on their needs for technical or financial assistance through the Permanent Commission of the Congress Association at Buenos Aires, was withdrawn by that delegation after extended discussion.

*Roundtable on Coordination*—Following discussion by the delegates, the conclusions reached in roundtable discussion were approved by a majority vote of the Congress. These conclusions, in substance, were as follows:

that the VII Congress ratify in principle the recommendations on coordination of the IV, V, and VI Pan American Railway Congresses; that it be recommended to the governments of the American countries that they give appropriate

### Permanent Officers of Pan American Railway Congress Association

*President:* Pedro P. Martin  
*First Vice President:* Atilio Cappa  
*Second Vice President:* Col. José R. Zubieta  
*Secretary General:* Joaquín Núñez Brián  
*Treasurer:* Benigno F. Fernández

attention to enforcement of laws already on their statute books which promote coordination among the several agencies of transportation and that they give serious study to the development of such additional legislation as is needed to attain greater progress in coordination;

that it be recommended that, wherever the operations of private and contract carriers threaten to destroy or undermine the continued efficient service of common carriers, the operations of private and contract carriers be restricted, but only to the degree necessary to prevent impairment of the service of the common carriers;

that charges should be levied upon commercial motor carriers adequate to defray that part of the cost of constructing and maintaining highways which is fairly ascribable to such commercial use;

that coordination among the various types of common carriers is attainable only where the several types of transport agencies are subjected to substantially equal conditions of regulation and degree of self-support;

that the public be informed by adequate educational effort as to the steps necessary to attain over-all economy in transportation and the effective coordination of the services of the various agencies;

and that the attention of the governments be directed to the great importance, in the public interest, of adopting and enforcing weight limitations on trucks, to the extent necessary to prevent their putting upon the highways heavier loads than the highways can sustain without serious damage.

*Subcommittee on Statistics*—Submittal to the Permanent Commission of uniform statistics on seven major items of railway freight and passenger traffic in line with the uniform statistics developed by the United Nations was recommended to the member railroads.

*Sections*—Decision was made to print in the proceedings of the Congress the technical papers submitted to and considered by the six sections. It is expected that the official proceedings will be available some time during 1951.

*Committee on site of the VIII Congress*—The Congress voted unanimously to hold the VIII session in the United States, in June 1953, with sessions at Washington, D. C. and Atlantic City, New Jersey, the latter in connection with a proposed exhibition by the Railway Supply Manufacturers Association of the United States. Informal discussions indicated that the IX Congress will probably be held at Buenos Aires.

## Strengthening U.N. Collective Security System

*Statement by Harding F. Bancroft  
Deputy U.S. Representative on Collective Measures Committee<sup>1</sup>*

The essential task that has been given to this Committee under the united-for-peace resolution is to examine ways and means to strengthen the collective security system of the United Nations. I should like to outline briefly the views of my delegation as to the purpose and scope of our Committee's task.

The original concepts of the United Nations were developed during the last war by allied nations united against aggression. The Charter embodied the hopes of man that international troubles could be solved by peaceful means in accordance with law and justice.

<sup>1</sup>Made before the Collective Measures Committee on Mar. 5 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

A vital element in these concepts was that the collective strength of the international community—political, economic, and military—would be available for use if needed to prevent or suppress aggression. As early as September 1943, Secretary Hull said:

... To assure peace there must also be means for restraining aggressors and nations that seek to resort to force for the accomplishment of purposes of their own. The peacefully inclined nations must, in the interest of general peace and security, be willing to accept responsibility for this task in accordance with their respective capacities.

The Charter of the United Nations made provision for the procedures and mechanism through which united action to maintain peace would be carried out. Primary responsibility for the or-

ganization, planning, and actual operation of such action was vested in the Security Council.

Nevertheless, as we all know, the Security Council has not yet been able to vitalize the scheme of the Charter in this respect so as to make it into an effective system for collective security. Under such circumstances, the United Nations should utilize alternative methods to develop the potential of the Charter in order to carry out the determination of its founders to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Articles 10 and 11 of the Charter make it clear that the General Assembly has the power and authority to take the necessary action to create such a United Nations system. And, when it is created, the General Assembly can, by appropriate recommendation to members, translate it into United Nations action. The debate, last fall, left no doubt, as a constitutional matter, that, if the Security Council fails to act, the United Nations is not left impotent. By its overwhelming vote in favor of the united-for-peace resolution, the General Assembly has decided not to tolerate inertia and not to be deterred from developing and uniting our strength.

In adopting the uniting-for-peace resolution, the members of the United Nations were not departing from the ideals or the concepts of the Charter but were seeking ways to use its hitherto unused possibilities. The General Assembly has adopted at this session without dissent a resolution urging the Security Council to devise measures for the earliest application of the Charter plan regarding the placing of armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council and the effective functioning of the Military Staff Committee. For our part, we hope that this will be done, and we will continue to cooperate in efforts directed to this end. But, if the necessary steps cannot be taken by the Security Council, the United Nations must, nevertheless, proceed by other means within the framework of the Charter to muster its strength in adequate measure and in immediate readiness to meet aggression wherever and whenever it may occur. The United Nations is mustering its resources for peace.

That is the purpose of the resolution under which this Committee was created. It is the task of this Committee to consider the methods which can be used to accomplish this objective.

#### **Need for U.N. Forces Immediate**

The task, which the General Assembly has undertaken, is not an easy one. An effective collective security system cannot be built in a day or even in a year. The responsibilities of the United Nations for maintaining the peace, however, are immediate; they cannot be postponed. The United Nations is engaged in action against aggression at this time; none of us knows how soon it may again be called to take similar action. It is for that reason that the General Assembly not

only established this Committee to study methods which the United Nations could employ to maintain international peace but also called on member states to maintain elements in their national armed forces which could be made available for United Nations service.

#### **Interim Arrangements Possible**

In our view, the work of this Committee can be regarded as having two aspects. The first of these is to study and develop interim arrangements for the collective use of the forces which the uniting-for-peace resolution recommended to member states that they maintain for United Nations service. These arrangements should be capable of immediate application and should be formulated as promptly as possible so that, if the need for collective action were to arise in the near future, the improvising that was necessary in the Korean case would be substantially reduced. The prompt development of some plans for coordination, however rudimentary, will, in our view, create incentive to all states to set up United Nations units and plan for their participation in a universal system. The upward spiral will have begun.

We cannot build up a balanced and integrated collective security system in a brief time, but such progress as we are able to make will be reflected immediately in the progressively increasing capacity of the United Nations for joint action in the common purpose.

The Committee should also develop plans for the collective application of political, economic, and psychological measures to restrain aggression or to meet it if it occurs. Much work in those fields has been done in the past. But more consideration is needed. Such measures by themselves or in conjunction with military action can become an important element of our universal collective strength.

In addition to interim machinery for collective action, this Committee, in our view, must consider plans for a more comprehensive and complex system of coordination among member states. In this aspect, we will need more time for study and reflection. We will want to consider the plans that have been conceived of in the past. And we will want to look, for example, at the approach of chapter VII to see if and how it can be adapted to the constitutional responsibilities of the General Assembly.

#### **Availability of Armed Forces for U.N.**

One of the problems to which we must give consideration is the availability of forces to the United Nations. Pursuant to the resolution, member states will be maintaining United Nations units in their national armed forces. In our long-term planning, it would be well to consider the nature of the undertaking by member states not only in respect to armed forces but to other assis-

tance and facilities. We should consider what methods are practicable to govern the number and type of forces that member states will make available, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

#### **Relation to Regional Arrangements**

One of the most complex problems will be how regional and collective self-defense arrangements can be meshed into the universal collective security system. The Committee will want to give it much attention, and it may well be that it should request the Councils or appropriate bodies of such arrangements to give consideration to the problem at an appropriate time.

#### **U.N. Legion**

Another topic for consideration is the possibility of supplementing the national units and regional contingents by other forces recruited on a voluntary basis by the United Nations itself, which might become a United Nations Legion. The Secretary-General has already made this proposal in his 20-year program, and this Committee would appear to be the most appropriate place for its further consideration.

#### **How to Organize?**

A further matter with which we should concern ourselves is the nature of the mechanisms that are needed to coordinate the contribution of forces, assistance, and facilities made available by member states directly or through regional groups. Those are only a few of the questions that we will have to consider. There are many steps which can be taken by the United Nations for a world-wide security system. The protection of our security requires that all should be thoughtfully examined by this Committee.

We should not regard our task as one with a limited horizon. Until the arrangements envisioned in article 43 are put into operation, the United Nations has full scope within the Charter to plan for and carry forward the measures that are necessary for an effective collective security system. If in the future, articles 43, 45, and 47 of the Charter can be applied by the Security Council in accordance with their terms, anything that the United Nations will have achieved in the meantime in furtherance of the uniting-for-peace resolution will be available to be drawn upon in implementation of chapter VII of the Charter.

The plans that we develop now should be so

practical and workable, and so imbued with the purposes of the United Nations, that all members will wish to participate to the limit of their capacities. The work of this Committee, if it is well done, can inspire other nations to come forward resolved that this effort to achieve universal action by the international community will succeed. Our approach should kindle the enthusiasm of the free world for the prospects of the future and give pause to any who might contemplate the course of aggression.

#### **Bulwark Against Aggression**

There should be no doubt that the sources of strength which we have individually, if harnessed into a common venture, can create a bulwark against aggression. The work of this Committee can evoke the conviction that the national interest of all countries will be most effectively served by full participation in a universal collective security system under the United Nations and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

My Government is hopeful that, by next fall, this Committee will be able to report that a large number of members of the United Nations have organized and are maintaining elements within their national forces for United Nations service and that, through the work of our Committee with the aid of the Secretary-General and supplemented by the efforts of the panel of military experts to assist member States, substantial progress has been made toward effective arrangements for their coordinated use.

The question remains as to how we should organize our work. As a first step, I suggest that the Committee consider a plan of work and a system of priorities to be given to the many topics with which we shall have to deal. Doubtless, the staff of the Secretary-General will be able to help us in the preparation of papers and proposals for consideration in the Committee. It may be possible, too, to expedite our work by the use of subcommittees and working groups, once we have agreed upon our plan and the order in which the topics should be considered. We are required to report by September 1, 1951. That is only 6 months off. We have very little time for the important work before us.

#### **OAS Appointment**

John C. Dreier has been appointed U.S. Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, with the personal rank of Ambassador, effective January 7, 1951.

## Allegations Regarding Infringements of Trade Union Rights

*Statement by Walter M. Kotschnig  
Deputy U.S. Representative in ECOSOC<sup>1</sup>*

The basic fact about Soviet trade unions is that they are not trade unions at all. They are as little trade unions as what is called democracy in the U.S.S.R. is democracy as we understand it. In our world, trade unions are free associations of working people organized to further and maintain their rights and interests. Soviet trade unions are tools of the single party state, and their task is to further the ends of the single party state and its rulers.

There was a time when the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. tried to act as defenders of the workers' interests, when their leaders advanced the theory that even under the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat the unions must be free to use all economic means at their disposal to preserve the rights of the workers. Lenin himself leaned, at least temporarily, toward such an interpretation of the union's role. In March 1921, he told the Tenth Party Congress:

Ours is a workers' government with a bureaucratic twist. Our present government is such that the proletariat, organized to the last man, must protect itself against it. And we must use the workers' organizations for the protection of the workers against their government.

Lenin's suspicions were correct. After his death, nobody was any longer allowed to protect the workers against "their" government.

The principal champion of trade-union rights, Tomsky, though himself an old-time Bolshevik, was removed from the trade-union leadership in May 1929 and soon, thereafter, from the Politburo. His assistants and followers were purged. Then and there, ended Soviet trade unionism. Kaganovich, a man close to Stalin, defended the high-handed methods used against Tomsky 1 year later, in 1930, in a report to the Sixteenth Party Congress. Referring to the change in trade-union leadership, he declared:

It may be said that this was a violation of proletarian democracy, but comrades, it was apparent long ago that democracy is not a fetish for us Bolsheviks.

Tomsky himself, as you may recall, committed suicide to escape a worse fate.

### Gradual Control of Unions by the Party

The new role of Soviet "trade unions"—and the word trade unions should from here on only be used in quotation marks—was foreshadowed by a statement of Stalin made on October 14, 1925, on the relationship between Communist Party and trade unions. In the U.S.S.R., he said,

Trade unions were implanted and organized by the efforts of the (Communist) Party, under the guidance of the Party, with the help of the Party. This, incidentally, explains the fact that among the workers here, the authority of the Party stands much higher than the authority of the trade unions.

Fifteen years later, a Soviet writer, Denisov, in a work on Soviet public law, reiterated this idea in the following words:

Formally, the Soviet trade-unions are not a Party organization but, in fact, they are carrying out the directives of the Party. All leading organs of the trade-unions consist primarily of Communists who execute the Party line in the entire work of the trade-unions.

In other words, the Soviet trade unions serve as an agency, an instrument of the single party state, obligated to do the bidding of its leaders.

It is only in line with this policy that the majority of trade-union leaders comes from professional ranks rather than from the ranks of manual workers. In 1947, 54 percent of all central council chairmen consisted of engineers, teachers, physicians, economists, and statisticians. While some of these individuals with professional training have risen from the ranks of manual workers, it is still significant that more than half of the central council chairmanships were occupied by men who had not been at the workbench for any considerable period of time, if ever.

<sup>1</sup> Made in plenary session before the twelfth session of Ecosoc at Santiago, Chile, on Feb. 26 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to Ecosoc on the same date.

These central council chairmen, as all other trade-union officials, are supposedly elected by the union members or their delegates, but Soviet elections—well, there we have another of those words which have changed their meaning under Communist influence. The Soviet Union does not know free elections, and, in 1935, when the internal struggle for power was still in process, the Soviet press itself revealed that many trade-union officials were appointed rather than elected and that these officials often abused their power. The situation has not changed since then. The Soviet trade unions are not a democratic but a hierarchic organization; they are controlled entirely from above. The most striking example of their complete subservience to the party leadership was the failure to hold any All-Union Congress of Trade Unions between 1932 and 1949. In violation of the union rules which were then in force and which provided that the Congress should meet every 2 years, it was not held for a period of 17 years although during those many years major decisions were taken and executed without any direct reference to the membership's wishes. And when the Tenth Congress finally took place in April 1949, not a single member dared to complain about this violation of the rules. Nor was there any free debate about union policy; the speeches dwelt on the genius of Stalin, the achievements of the Soviet economy, the leadership of the Communist Party over the trade unions, the responsibility of the unions to increase production, and, again, the genius of Stalin.

### Functions of the Trade Unions

This 1949 Congress adopted new bylaws, and what these bylaws say about the functions of the so-called trade unions of the U.S.S.R. is very revealing.

Trade unions, first of all,

Organize socialist competition of workers and employees for fulfilling and overfulfilling state plans, increasing the productivity of labor, improving the quality and lowering the cost of production;

It is highly significant that this function of the so-called trade unions is placed first. Lenin once spoke of the trade unions as "transmission belts" between the governing party and the masses, but these unions do not transmit anything from the masses to the authoritarian single-party state; they only transmit the leaders' order for maximum production, for greater intensity of work, for overfulfillment of plan. And it is not the living standard of the workers themselves that is the goal of this production drive.

The second function of the transmission belts called trade unions is, according to the 1949 by-laws,

Participate in planning and regulating wages of workers and employers, in devising a system of wages guided by the socialist principle of pay according to amount

and quality of labor, strive to introduce new progressive output norms, keep track of the correct calculation of labor, and the application of piece-work and progressive bonus pay for labor.

Negotiation of wage rates are the most important functions of genuine trade unions. The Soviet "trade unions" have but a consultative voice in determining the general level of wages, and, from what we know about Soviet wage levels and living standards, we may infer that the transmission belt does not reject the power which drives it.

It is on the purely local level that union officials are called upon to help change the wage-payment system of particular enterprises, so as to strengthen its incentive value, to whip the workers into greater activity. To repeat: Soviet wages are set by the government that employs the workers. Wages are not and may not be disputed by the unions at the local level once they have been promulgated.

Point 3 of the trade-union functions is in line with the maximum production slogan of point 1 and needs no further comment in this context; it reads:

Help the workers and employees to raise their production and business qualifications; spread the work-experience of leading workers and employees, the innovators in production and science, and assist in introducing progressive techniques in industry;

The fourth function is quite interesting, because it sounds like the real thing. It mentions as a function of the trade unions to "conclude collective agreements with the administration of enterprises."

### Collective Agreements—Instruments for Production Increase

Let us examine the history and nature of Soviet "collective agreements." In the 1920's and early 1930's, collective agreements similar to their American counterpart had been concluded in the U.S.S.R. But then the Soviet leaders decided, as you will recall, not to make a "fetish" of democracy, trade unions, and collective agreements, and the collective agreements fell into disuse. Soviet writers explained this phenomenon in these terms:

Experience has shown that the restoration of the practice of concluding collective agreements is not expedient. The collective agreement as a special form of legal regulation of labor relations of workers and employees has outlived itself. Detailed regulation of all sides of these relations by normative acts of governmental power does not leave any room for any contractual agreement concerning one labor condition or another.

Then, suddenly, by decree of February 4, 1947, the collective agreements were revived. A collective contract drive was launched and pushed with the fanfare characteristic of major Soviet campaigns. In 1947, 25,000 collective agreements were signed covering 14 million workers. The number rose to 40,000 agreements and 17 million workers in 1948; in other words, at the end of that

year, about half of the nonagricultural labor force was covered by such agreements.

What are these agreements? Are they the result of genuine trade-union bargaining in the interest of the union members? These agreements contain commitments by management and unions on organizational and technical measures to increase output; the form of "socialist competition" to be undertaken in order to increase output and mutual undertakings regarding industrial training. The wage scales promulgated by the relevant industrial ministry are incorporated into the collective agreement and cannot be altered by the parties. As the before-mentioned Soviet commentator puts it, the contemporary collective agreement is concerned with—

making concrete the duties of management, the factory committee, the workers, the technical personnel, and the clerical employees toward fulfilling and exceeding the production plan, and with sharpening the responsibility of governmental bodies and the trade unions for improving the material conditions and cultural opportunities of the workers.

Item 5 of the 1949 bylaws enjoins the unions to—

carry out control over the condition of labor safeguards and safety techniques in enterprises and institutions; participate in settling labor disputes; conclude agreements with the management of enterprises regarding the method of expending resources on measures for safety techniques and labor safeguards.

This paragraph indicates that labor disputes do occur in the workers' paradise and have to be settled somehow. Strikes, of course, are virtually unknown as a weapon in the workers' interest. They are not legally prohibited, but only a few incidents resembling strikes have occurred during the past two decades. In fact, the last incident of this sort happened 5 years ago.

Item 6 says that the trade unions are to—

direct state social insurance, determine and issue relief payments to workers and employees for temporary disability, strive for better organization of medical aid for workers and for safeguarding the health of women and children, build sanatoriums and rest homes, organize mutual loan societies, participate in allocating living space in housing belonging to enterprises and institutions, exercise mass control over fulfillment of plans for housing and cultural construction, the work of restaurants, shops, municipal welfare enterprises, and municipal transport.

Up to 1933, social security and labor protection were functions of the Commissariat of Labor. The Commissariat, however, was abolished, and the trade unions have taken over its functions. In this respect, they have become a genuine governmental agency, an arm of the administration. Since the social insurance benefits of workers outside the unions are much inferior to those of union members, it is small wonder that all Soviet workers—except temporarily employed persons and the like—have joined the organization. Because of the substantial differentiation in social

insurance payments, the so-called trade unions have practically become a compulsory organization, even if there were no additional community and political pressures to join. Under such circumstances, it is easy for Soviet so-called trade unions to display the largest membership of any trade-union organization in the world, namely, more than 30 million people.

Item 7 enjoins the trade unions to—

help members of trade unions to raise their ideological-political and general educational standards, spread political and scientific knowledge, conduct widespread production-technical propaganda; form clubs, houses and palaces of culture, Red corners and libraries and develop among the workers and employees mass amateur art participation, physical culture, sports, and touring.

This, of course, is a very important function: the union officials act as a kind of clergy for the Communist state religion, spreading the orthodox doctrine in every corner, Red or otherwise.

Items 8 and 9 are in line with what I said before. They instruct the unions to—

draw women into state, industrial, and social life; help workers and employees in the Communist education of children;

and to—

appear in the name of workers and employees before state and social agencies on problems of labor, living conditions, and culture.

In my statement, I have copiously quoted from Soviet sources, in particular from Soviet trade-union bylaws and Soviet commentaries on laws; they speak for themselves. To sum up: As an agency for the state social insurance system, the so-called Soviet trade unions perform functions which necessarily benefit the workers, though complaints in the Soviet press itself testify that this work is frequently not performed well. But the Soviet trade unions are not organizations of the workers, for the workers, by the workers. They are instruments of the state to make the workers more productive and more docile in the interest of the state; they are practically compulsory organizations for speeding up production and for the indoctrination of the masses with the official political creed.

Mr. President, we have heard protestations and assertions that there are no violations of trade-union rights in the U.S.S.R. In a sense, this is true for the simple reason that there are evidently no trade unions in the U.S.S.R. which deserve that name. There is no collective bargaining, no real defense of interests of the workers but their own friendly chosen organizations and leaders.

These are facts which cannot be disproved. They will serve as a warning to all those who may still believe that the present day Communist rulers are the champions of the rights of the workers.

## FAO's Program for Raising Economic Levels Necessary for World Stability

### LETTER TO FAO FROM DEPARTMENT OF STATE

[Released to the press February 18]

*The Secretary of State released today the recommendations of the United States Government on the long-term activities of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. These recommendations were made at the request of the Director General, Norris E. Dodd. Secretary Acheson's letter of transmittal follows.*

*February 15, 1951*

SIR: I am transmitting herewith the official views of the United States Government on the questions you raised in your communication of November 24, 1950, concerning the long-term program of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. These views are contained in a paper prepared under the direction of the Under Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. McCormick, and transmitted by the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Brannan.

We think that the aim of the Organization to raise levels of nutrition and rural living standards can and must be achieved if we are to meet the aspirations of two-thirds of the world's human beings who now live in grinding poverty and hunger. We hope that member nations by working together in the Organization will be assisted in carrying out their programs of land reform for the benefit of their own people who work on the land. We hope that member nations will be assisted in bringing the benefits of modern agricultural and nutritional science into the hands of individual farmers and their families and in developing agricultural and food policies to meet the nutritional needs of their people.

The Government and people of the United States are proud that the Food and Agriculture Organization had its birth at the Hot Springs Conference in this country. At the same time, the debt the Organization owes to the League of Nations Committee on Nutrition, then headed by Lord Bruce of Melbourne, the present distinguished Chairman of the Council, is not forgotten. We are glad to contribute to the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization through the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance, and we believe that this aspect

of the Organization's activity will continue to expand as an essential complement to an increasingly strong basic program.

I assure you that, as the Organization leaves the United States for its new home in Italy, the good wishes and continued support of the American people and their Government go with it. The fact that the clouds of aggression hang over us today makes it all the more important for the Food and Agriculture Organization and other economic and social agencies of the United Nations to carry on their work with increased vigor and continued close association with each other. The objectives of the Food and Agriculture Organization must be the objectives of all of us, whether in war or in peace, for without their attainment we can have no real peace.

### LETTER FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE TO FAO

[Released to the press by the Department of Agriculture February 16]

*February 15, 1951*

DEAR MR. DODD: It is more than a conventional honor for me to reply to your letter of November 24 and send you the recommendations of the Government of the United States of America on the issues you have raised about the long-term activities of FAO. Our recommendations are the product of an intensive review by our National FAO Committee, which has drawn on the advice of a group of national nongovernmental organizations which have a devoted interest in FAO.

Our recommendations reflect our deep concern for the continued successful work of FAO in its new Rome headquarters. The measure of this concern is in part the combined effort and good will of the most competent people in and out of government that has gone into preparing these recommendations.

Most of our recommendations will be familiar to you, since they are essentially those for which we have pressed in the international forum of previous FAO Conferences. We have kept before us, in our review of FAO's activities, its great ob-

jectives as set forth in the preamble to its Constitution. We have concluded that the broad lines of work on which FAO is engaged—agriculture, nutrition, rural welfare, economics, statistics, distribution, fisheries, and forestry—are those to which its energies should properly be devoted and for the immediate future are substantially in the proper proportion of program funds as now allotted.

Within the broad program fields we stress again our major concern that FAO give highest priority to developing suitable means in each member country for getting knowledge of technical improvements to farmers themselves. We do not believe that the precise method is as important as getting the job done, so long as care is taken that the method used will protect and enhance the dignity and well-being of the individual farmer.

You will find other more or less familiar points stressed in our recommendations. I would like to emphasize the particular importance we place in the expanded technical assistance program. We feel that its long-range effect on FAO's work needs particularly close attention. It can be of great lasting benefit in achieving FAO's long-range goals.

I would like to mention two of FAO's activities in particular, since they will need more emphasis in the future than they have had in the past. They are those directed toward improving conditions of land tenure and utilization of water resources.

I know you will agree that one of the outstanding lessons of FAO's experience is that the relationship of the individual farmer to the land he works is probably the prime factor in getting increased production. Our experience has convinced us that production is greatest under conditions that promote the dignity and worth of the individual. We have found that in agriculture these conditions are best achieved when the individual can own the land he works, or has a security of tenure, when he can get the productive facilities he needs, and when he can market his products at a fair return to him. We realize that FAO is limited in this field, as in many fields, to advising and encouraging member governments to adopt such measures, but we believe that the importance of this work justifies every possible effort that can be made.

FAO's work in utilization of water resources will need additional emphasis in the future. In the international, regional and national spheres, problems of drainage, watershed development, irrigation and the relation of water to land use generally are increasingly coming to the fore as an inevitable part of FAO's concern with increased production. Its activities in this field will require coordination with other international agencies devoted to various aspects of water utilization.

It is our sincere hope that the direction of world events will not require redirection of FAO's programs away from its long range goals. We are still convinced, as we were at the time of the

founding of FAO, that its work is a solid and essential foundation for building the peaceful world that is our one goal. It is unfortunate that the world today is so different from what we and the founders of FAO had envisioned that it could be. We do not have, as we had hoped to have, a world of governments cooperating through international organizations to raise the standard of living of the people of the world. We have instead a group of nations controlled by a dictatorship seeking to bring the rest of the world under its control.

But though the conditions in the world are not what we had hoped they would be, the vitality of the idea of FAO is as strong as ever. We feel that the success of its work is if anything more essential today than at any time in the past five years. We will hope that, through our continued devotion to it, and our ever strengthening support of the Organization that is its living embodiment, we will yet see the idea become a reality in a world at peace.

## RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

### Introduction

The preamble to the Constitution of FAO lists six objectives that led to the establishment of the Organization, expressed substantially as follows:

- (1) Raising levels of nutrition of the peoples under the jurisdiction of member governments;
- (2) raising the standards of living of those peoples;
- (3) securing improvements in the efficiency of production of all food and agricultural products;
- (4) improving the efficiency of commodity distribution;
- (5) bettering the conditions of rural populations; and
- (6) contributing toward an expanding world economy.

The United States Government feels that these objectives still provide a sound basis for the activities of the Organization. In preparing our recommendations, we have used these objectives as criteria for judging the success of FAO's programs and determining the direction toward which the Organization should move.

We have also taken into account the two quite different ways in which FAO approaches its world problems. The first of these is to provide a discussion forum at which the representatives of the governments can consult with each other as to food and agricultural policies. The second function comprises the Director General's responsibilities and the activities of the staff.

### FAO as a Forum for Intergovernmental Consultation

Our concept of the purposes of the discussion forum are to enable member governments to obtain the views of each other in the formation of food and agricultural policy with the hope that consistent national policies will be developed by the members, and that in some cases, international

agreements on problems of mutual interests can be reached.

The discussion function referred to is carried out through general annual or biennial conferences, particularly in the deliberations of Commission I, and through regional and special meetings. The documents and deliberations of such meetings provide the factual background for national and international food policies and production adjustment programs.

The most important results that were envisioned by the founders of FAO were the opportunities of direct contact between the departments or ministries of agriculture in the different countries, so that the actions taken to improve nutrition levels and standards of living in regions that needed to be helped could be made consistent with the policies pursued by other regions producing oversupplies of some kinds of products. Much of the progress and prestige of FAO will, therefore, depend on how well member governments discharge their own responsibilities in the food and agriculture field.

Production adjustment constitutes one of the fields that needs further careful discussion by member governments. It is recommended that international consultations on these subjects be patiently continued in the hope of the gradual development of international agreement on programs involving production planning. A great deal remains to be done along these lines in national and international consultations aimed to get the most efficient and desirable fit between potential soil resources on the one hand and cropping, farming, management and distribution systems on the other. Nutritional needs must be taken into consideration. In order to make real progress toward production adjustment there must be some mutual understanding by member governments as to the potentialities and problems of other countries, and in many cases, gradual shifts in age-old customs.

### **FAO Staff Functions**

*Competence.*—The second form of FAO activity referred to earlier is the work of the professional staff and the Secretariat. International action and technical assistance programs can be undertaken only through the FAO staff.

The size of the staff is of less significance than its competence. The technical stature of each person appointed is of tremendous importance in furthering the relationship of FAO with technical institutions, technical societies, and other agencies that may contribute to the achievement of FAO's purpose. Strong budget support is necessary in order to make possible a staff of such stature and competency that it will inspire confidence, invite cooperation, and create the kind of leadership that inspires action.

Although member governments, acting through the conferences, have, in our opinion, been slow to

provide adequate support for the total regular budget of FAO in the light of the struggles of many peoples to obtain sufficient food, the situation has changed materially during the last year with the inauguration of the expanded technical assistance program. The regular technical assistance programs proceeding together will make it more possible than before for FAO to take leadership in helping to solve the food production problems of the world.

In order to provide this leadership, however, there must be a permanent staff of high caliber. Individual members of that staff must singly be responsible for very large technical fields. While much of the technical assistance program can be carried out by temporary appointments of highly competent specialists, the whole program depends on the considered guidance and good judgment of the permanent Secretariat.

*Fact-finding responsibilities.*—With respect to the functions of the technical staff, article I of the FAO Constitution distinguishes between the data-collecting responsibility of the Organization and the promotion of action programs. In the fact-finding field, a serious difficulty has arisen from the inadequacy of the sources of information within the member countries themselves. Under present conditions FAO needs not only to collect, assemble, and correlate the data supplied by such statistical services as member governments provide, but also to assist these Governments in improving the extent, accuracy, and adequacy of their own sources of information. The Governments themselves need this information about their own territory, but in many cases have not worked out competent methods for obtaining the data.

The fact-finding responsibility of FAO will need to be continued as a function of the regular Organization program, but technical assistance to aid member governments in improving their own organizations for obtaining accurate information within their own countries can well be undertaken through a series of appropriate technical assistance projects.

*Promoting international and national action relating to nutrition, food, and agriculture.*—Article I of the Constitution lists the following programs as those on which FAO should promote national and international action: (a) research; (b) education and public knowledge; (c) conservation of land and water resources and improved production methods; (d) marketing and distribution improvements; (e) adequate agricultural credit; (f) international commodity policies; and (g) technical assistance to member governments. Activities in all of these fields should be continued. We feel that special attention needs to be given to public education, land reform, and technical assistance.

The United States believes that FAO progress in public education on the solution of food and agriculture problems has not been as great as might have been expected and as it needed.

FAO has recognized from the beginning that there is a most urgent need to set up and develop agricultural advisory services equipped to assist farmers effectively and not merely to dispense theoretical advice. This is a job which FAO cannot and should not undertake directly by its own staff with the rural populations of the member countries themselves. Many countries however, either through lack of resources or through difficulties involved in their social structure, have no convenient way of reaching the farm workers with information on agricultural improvements. Governments need help in establishing ways of reaching such rural populations.

The FAO staff should continue its participation with the United Nations Secretariat in the study of ways of improving land reform policies in underdeveloped areas. Land reforms are difficult to achieve and may involve substantial investments that are hard to finance. However, in underprivileged countries where peasants now have a deep-rooted feeling that whatever they do they cannot prosper by their own efforts, land reform may prove the most productive of all improvement programs. Such reform promises to substitute incentive and hope for the despair that holds down the initiative of farm workers. FAO can well take the leadership in the agricultural phases of land reform improvement programs.

The family on the land is best motivated to adopt efficient farming practices when it owns the land or has equitable tenancy arrangements that offer fair returns for its labor and other productive investments. The aim should be to permit farm families to attain economic and social opportunities equal to those enjoyed by other members of society for the enhancement of the individual dignity of farm families. FAO should encourage and assist member governments in providing the services necessary to achieve this aim, such as research and educational services, credit, marketing aids, economic information, assistance in land ownership, equitable taxation, assurance of fair prices for their products, and other appropriate measures.

The United States commends FAO for its active development of the technical assistance program in cooperation with the United Nations Technical Assistance Board and national technical assistance programs. We feel that greater emphasis needs to be placed on informing the public about the progress of the program.

## **Contribution to Aid Programs for Korea and Palestine**

The United States has offered to consider increasing the amount of its tentative financial commitment for aid to Palestine refugees and, at the same time, has expressed the hope that Secretary-

General Trygve Lie will continue his appeals for contributions to the United Nations aid programs for both Palestine and Korea.

The United States representative before the United Nations Negotiating Committee on Contributions had informed the Committee earlier of an offer for the equivalent of \$162,500,000 for relief and rehabilitation of Korea and \$25,000,000 for relief and reintegration of Palestine refugees.

The text of Mr. Sandifer's letter follows:

I have the honor to refer to your note of February 1, 1951, requesting confirmation of the offers made by the United States representative before the Negotiating Committee on Contributions to Programs of Relief and Rehabilitation of the United Nations.

As was stated by the representative of the United States in making these offers, they must be considered as tentative until the United States Congress has completed its consideration of the necessary legislation under the constitutional processes of the United States Government. Appropriate action is now in process to request this legislation.

These offers were in amounts of the equivalent of one hundred and sixty-two million five hundred thousand dollars for the program of relief and rehabilitation of Korea, and twenty-five million dollars for the program of relief and reintegration of Palestine refugees. In extending these offers, it was assumed that the Negotiating Committee would be successful in obtaining sufficient voluntary contributions to substantially meet the predetermined total needs of both programs, i. e., the equivalent of \$250,000,000 for Korea, and \$50,000,000, for Palestine.

With a view to encouraging more widespread and substantial contributions from other Governments for the Palestine Program, my Government will consider increasing its initial offer of \$25,000,000 in order that the full \$50,000,000 required for this important program may be reached. Such an increase would be on the assumption that pledges may be made in response to your communication under reference, or to future appeals, which will make the realization of this \$50,000,000 goal possible.

As you are aware, United States military forces under the Unified Command in Korea have made, and are continuing to make, substantial contributions to civilian relief and rehabilitation. In the report of the Negotiating Committee these were estimated to approximate \$85,000,000 as of the close of the last calendar year. While this Government is satisfied with this acknowledgment of past contributions which were made outside of the context of the December, 1950, resolution of the General Assembly, it does desire that like contributions from United States sources made after the date of the beginning of active operations by the UNKRA Agent General should be credited against the pledge of the United States to the Korean Program. These contributions would consist of appropriate services and supplies rendered or furnished by United States military forces and Governmental Agencies, as well as materials desired by UNKRA from current or future procurement of the United States Army. At the appropriate time this Government will be prepared to negotiate an agreement with the Agent General to effect this crediting and reduction arrangement.

The United States Government shares your disappointment and concern that the pledges obtained as of this date do not approximate the total requirements established for either program. Permit me to express the hope of this Government that you will continue your appeals to the nations of the world to solidly and generously support these two most necessary and important programs. Particular attention in such appeals should be paid to those Governments which have not made a contribution commensurate with their ability to meet the balance of the requirements of both programs.

# Reports of U.N. Command Operations in Korea

## TWELFTH REPORT:

### FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 16-31, 1950<sup>1</sup>

U.N. doc. S/2021  
Dated Feb. 24, 1951

I herewith submit Report No. 12 of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for period 16 through 31 December inclusive. Korean releases 732 through 775 provide detailed accounts of these operations.

*Combined operations.*—Apart from the continuation of our Naval blockade and unremitting air interdiction of enemy troop and supply concentrations in North Korea, the period from 16-31 December was consumed by the United Nations Command with the readjustment of our ground positions along the Kaesong-Yongyong-Hwachon-Puypyeongni defense line made necessary by the entry of Communist China into the war and by the enemy in build-up operations preparatory to offensive action aimed at the conquest of all of Korea. These tactical readjustments have been conducted with great skill by local commanders and unparalleled coordination among the several areas. My communique No. 15 of 26 December publicly reporting on these operations is repeated here for the record of the United Nations Command:

The amphibious movement of the 10 Corps from the Hungnam sector to a juncture with the 8th Army has been successfully completed with but light casualties and no matériel loss. This operation has been conducted with great skill and coordination by Army, Navy and Air Commanders concerned and exemplary courage and marked efficiency have characterized the conduct of all personnel. It has completed the readjustment of our positions made necessary by the entry of Communist China into the war. The real test of the United Nations Command was when it was suddenly and without the customary notice of belligerency confronted by this new power in overwhelming force and yet survived without marked diminution of its strength and resources or loss of its fluidity of movement and maneuver. This it has done and has come through well.

With the successful close of this phase of our operations, I believe it pertinent to review briefly the military

<sup>1</sup> Transmitted to the Security Council by Ambassador Warren R. Austin, U.S. representative in the Security Council on Feb. 23. For texts of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh reports to the Security Council on U.N. command operations in Korea, see BULLETIN, of Aug. 7, 1950, p. 203; Aug. 28, 1950, p. 323; and Sept. 11, 1950, p. 403; Oct. 2, 1950, p. 534; Oct. 16, 1950, p. 603; Nov. 6, 1950, p. 729; Nov. 13, 1950, p. 759; Jan. 8, 1951, p. 43, and Feb. 19, 1951, p. 304, respectively. The reports which have been published separately as Department of State publications 3395, 3955, 3962, 3978, 3986, 4006, 4015, and 4108 respectively, will appear hereafter only in the BULLETIN.

events of the recent past. In the latter days of October our forces were advancing from the south and northeast in columns of pursuit to destroy the North Korea remnants and complete the prescribed mission of restoring order and unification to all of Korea. The end of the campaign was clearly in sight, when some of our units met with surprise assault by Chinese Communist elements of unknown organization and strength. In the face of this new force the Eighth Army was withdrawn to a closely integrated front, to there await the logistical build-up which would permit resumption of our advance in attack formation. Meanwhile, every effort was made to assess enemy strength and intentions in light of this new reinforcement repeatedly and publicly declared by Chinese Communist authorities to be only on an individual volunteer basis. Political intelligence failed to penetrate the iron curtain and provided no substantial information of intent. Field intelligence was handicapped by the severest limitations. Aerial reconnaissance beyond the border, which was the normal source of field intelligence, was forbidden. Avenues of advance from border sanctuary to battle area, only a night's march, provided maximum natural concealment. No intelligence service in the world could have surmounted such handicaps to determine to any substantial degree enemy strength, movements and intentions. This left ground reconnaissance in force as the proper, indeed the sole, expedient. Not until 24 November did our logistical position permit resumption of forward operations. We hoped that the Army would be opposed by no more than token Chinese force to support previous commitments but short of a full Chinese commitment to major operations.

Political reassurances that the United Nations Command would not violate the international border were universally believed to have failed to convince the Chinese authorities. The free world wanted the integrity of our purpose fully understood and accordingly renewed assurances were publicly given by me as military commander upon the resumption of our advance that the Eighth Army would be returned to its home station in Japan just as soon as the Korean border area had been cleared of hostile elements. This but expressed our hopes—indeed the hopes of all men of good will—through reemphasis of our military objectives. Unfortunately in some quarters it has been otherwise interpreted and my intent misrepresented. Our advance was the final test of Chinese intentions. Events subsequently have had the slightest influence upon the momentous decision underlying Red China's commitment of her forces to war.

The Eighth Army and affiliated United Nations units met powerful enemy resistance along the entire line—resistance which unmasked the fiction of "volunteer" participation and disclosed the massive deployment of the Fourth Chinese Field Army, an important segment of the entire Chinese Communist military strength, in a formation of nine corps abreast in columns of divisions to an aggregate of 27 divisions, with elements of the Third Field Army discovered in initial deployment immediately to the rear. Despite their initial valiant resistance, some of the ROK (Republic of Korea) forces were overwhelmed by this massive array. This exposed the Eighth Army's right flank and required its withdrawal. These withdrawal operations, made in accordance with plans previously prepared against any such eventuality, were skillfully conducted without loss of cohesion and with all units remaining intact. The gallant Second Infantry

Division and the equally gallant Turkish Brigade being directly exposed by the gap torn through ROK forces took the heaviest attendant pressure, but the enemy, caught off balance in the midst of build-up operations, had not yet developed the strength to enable exploitation of the break-through which would have imperiled the Eighth Army. Fortunate presence of the 10 Corps on the enemy's flank forced him to divide his forces and thus further weaken his offensive capabilities achieved at that time of his build-up operations against the Eighth Army.

In its broad implications I consider that these operations, initiated on 24 November and carried through to this redeployment, have served a very significant purpose—possibly in general result the most significant and fortunate of any conducted during the course of the Korean campaign. The might of a major military nation was suddenly and without warning thrown against this relatively small United Nations Command but without attaining a decision. Due to intervening circumstances beyond our power to control or even to detect we did not achieve the United Nations objective. But at a casualty cost less than that experienced in a comparable period of defensive fighting on the Pusan perimeter, we exposed before too late secret political and military decisions of enormous scope and threw off balance enemy military preparations aimed at surreptitiously massing the power capable of destroying our forces with one mighty extended blow.

No command ever fought more gallantly or efficiently under unparalleled conditions of restraint and handicap, and no command could have acquitted itself to better advantage under prescribed missions and delimitations involving unprecedented risk and jeopardy.

Possibly of greatest political significance throughout these tactical displacement operations has been the avidity with which North Korean citizens have sought sanctuary behind the United Nations lines. There is little doubt but that given the opportunity practically the entire North Korean population would have migrated south in search of such sanctuary. Without the slightest hesitancy they have made clear their complete aversion to Communist rule and their fervent desire at whatever hazard for refuge within the protection of the United Nations. They welcomed our forces as liberators when we went in and sought to withdraw with us when we withdrew. Historically, this exemplifies the popular dread of Communist tyranny—the reason such rule may only survive in a totalitarian police state.

### **THIRTEENTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1-15, 1951**

Contained in U.N. doc. S/2021  
Dated Feb. 24, 1951

I herewith submit report number 13 of the United Nations Command Operations in Korea for the period 1-15 January, inclusive. Korean releases numbers 776 through 801 provide detailed accounts of these operations.

Following a series of probing attacks against United Nations Forces deployed along the 38th parallel, the enemy, on 1 January, initiated a general offensive, directing his main effort due South toward Seoul and Kapyong in the West, and toward Yonju in the center. Employing his main

force of 20 Chinese Communist infantry divisions, the enemy delivered heavy attacks against United Nations Forces to the North and Northeast of Seoul, and achieved deep penetrations of ten to twelve miles, which, in conjunction with similar successes by the enveloping force in the Chunchon area, forced a general United Nations withdrawal. By 4 January the enemy had occupied Seoul, and the United Nations Forces had displaced to a line South of the Han River. However, continued enemy success in the Wonju salient made this position untenable. On 7 January new United Nations defensive positions were established along a line extending from Pyongtaek Northeast to Wonju. Thereafter, the enemy maintained only light patrol contact, and began deploying his assault forces along a parallel line about ten miles to the North through Osan and Yoju.

An enemy force of eleven North Korean divisions and elements of an unidentified Chinese Communist corps undertook the main effort down the center of the peninsula, driving along and to the East of the Chunchon-Wonju-Chechon axis, which constitutes the principal North-South line of communications in this area. Taking advantage of superior numbers, strong guerrilla forces, and difficult terrain, the enemy has maintained a deep twenty to thirty mile penetrations of the thinly held United Nations lines East of the Chunchon-Chechon axis. This penetration has enabled the enemy forces to drive repeatedly against the right flank of the main body of the United Nations Forces deployed to meet the large Communist Forces concentrated to the West, and to impede the withdrawal of United Nations units to Wonju by assuming blocking positions in their immediate rear. From 8 January the enemy has made strong efforts to drive United Nations Forces out of Wonju area, but has met stubborn resistance in the form of United Nations counterattacks and has suffered extremely high casualties.

The enemy has been relatively inactive in the East coastal sector, but Communist guerrilla forces have been very active South of Yongwol, and particularly around Tanyang, a principal rail and road communications junction about twenty miles to the South. The 8,000-odd guerrilla troops in this general area are apparently working in close coordination with enemy troops on the front, and presently constitute the most formidable element of the enemy guerrilla forces, which now total not less than 25,000.

Front lines at the close of the period ran generally from the West coast at Pyongtaek Northeast to Wonju, Southeast to Chechon, East to Yongwol, Northeast to Chongson, and thence to Samchoek on the East Coast.

United Nations Naval Forces, by means of constant patrol and daily aerial reconnaissance operations, continued to deny movement of enemy surface units or shipping in any of the waters surrounding Korea. Surface vessels executed gunfire

missions in close support of troops and inshore bombardments. Ships operating in the Yalu Gulf area were hampered by thick, broken ice.

United Nations Ground Forces have been provided intensive and uninterrupted close air support. Completing 200 consecutive days of operations, and their 100,000 sorties, air units of the United States Far East Forces, in conjunction with Naval and United States Marine air elements, the Union of South Africa, Australia, Greece, and the Republic of Korea, mounted the heaviest attacks of the Korean conflict during this period. Troops, tanks, and artillery were the primary targets of aircraft on close support, armed reconnaissance, and North intruder missions. North of the battle area, communications targets and airfields continued under attack.

There has been a small increase in the number of ground attacks made by hostile planes, though air battles between the two forces are fewer than in other recent periods. Cargo aircraft continue their valuable support in resupply, evacuation, and in occasional small-scale air-drop operations.

Since the submission of my last report, the problem of handling refugees who have sought sanctuary within the area controlled by the United Nations Forces has increased daily. It is estimated that upward of a million refugees have migrated southward seeking protection within the area now under the control of the United Nations Forces. These refugees fill the roads and impede and delay the movement of United Nations troops and supplies. Enemy agents are able to enter our lines disguised as refugees. In addition, enemy troops can approach our positions concealed in these masses of refugees, immune from air attack. Shelter, food and clothing continue to be the most critical supply items in alleviating the suffering of refugees in Korea. The limited shelter available is definitely inadequate to provide minimum housing requirements to the refugees within that area. Every effort is being made by the United Nations Command, within the limits of the tactical situation, to alleviate suffering and prevent disease and unrest among refugees and the local population.

It is interesting to note that there has been no outbreak of communicable diseases of epidemic proportions in the areas under the control of the United Nations Forces. The contributions by member nations of food, medicine and clothing, et cetera, have been of immeasurable assistance in the control of disease and providing relief to the people of Korea.

Civilian relief requirements continue to change day by day and are being continuously reviewed and re-evaluated. This information is being forwarded through established channels in order that supplies required may be secured and given timely distribution in Korea to alleviate the suffering of the indigenous population of that war-ravaged country.

Daily air drops of United Nations leaflets are being made over enemy troop concentrations, both Chinese and North Korean. More than 184 million leaflets have now been disseminated in Korea. Loudspeaker broadcasts and leaflets are being used to control the movement of civilian refugees fleeing from Communist terror. Radio broadcasts, both from United Nations Command Headquarters in Japan and Korea, are bringing the Korean people on both sides of the fighting lines an accurate daily report of events, with reassurance of continuing United Nations determination to work for the establishment of a free and united Korea.

In order to avoid the premature publication of any information which might be helpful to the enemy, censorship has been established in Korea.

As United Nations Forces withdraw, Communist forces extend their supply lines farther and farther to the South, thereby increasing the difficulties of supplying their forces as these lines are under repeated air attack.

The most significant event during the period was the enemy's carrying his attack below the 38th parallel.

#### **FOURTEENTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 16-31, 1951**

Contained in U.N. doc. S/2021  
Dated Feb. 24, 1951

I herewith submit report number 14 of the United Nations Command Operations in Korea for the period 16-31 January, inclusive.

Having been unable to continue his general offensive, the enemy during the period of this report has been, in the main, on the defensive. Aggressive United Nations reconnaissance in force on the western part of the front during the period 16-31 January met only light to moderate resistance as far north as Suwon and Kumyangjang, and indicated that the enemy has apparently abandoned Ichon. At the same time, air sightings and other reports indicated numerous small scale displacements on enemy forces northward in the area south of the Han River. The pattern of enemy resistance became slightly more uniform by 27 January as the United Nations offensive advanced to a general line three to five miles north of Suwon, Kumyangjang, and Ichon.

North Korean forces continued to defend stubbornly in the Wonju area until 24 January; however, United Nations patrols advanced ten miles northward into Hoengsong and, by 28 January the enemy had withdrawn to positions about three miles north of that town. North Korean force also offered only moderate resistance in the East Coast sector, as United Nations forces advanced eight to ten miles in the Yongwol and Samcho area.

In the deep re-entrant on the Yongwol-Adong Uisong axis, the North Korean troops withdrew

from positions to which they had earlier infiltrated, leaving about one Division in the mountainous area east of Tanyang, and another astride the road between Andong and Yongju. These two divisions, materially augmented a force of about 5,000 guerrillas who were operating in the area east of Uisong. These two enemy regular units and the guerrilla forces were relatively active throughout the period, but broke contact and dispersed whenever they met superior United Nations forces. The guerrilla elements south and east of Uisong, on one occasion, extended their activities to the Yongdok area on the East Coast, and some elements displaced southward into the Pohyan-San Mountain area, about 20 miles northwest to Pohang.

Front lines ran generally eastward from Suwon, near the West Coast, to Yaju, thence northeast to Hoengsong, southeast to Yongwol, and north-east to Nakpong on the East Coast.

Constant patrol and daily reconnaissance operations by United Nations Naval forces continued to deny Korean waters to enemy warships and shipping. Surface units provided gunfire support to United Nations ground force units along the East Coast of Korea and in the Ichon area. Check minesweeping operations were continued along the Korean East Coast, particularly in those areas in which gunfire support ships operated. The sighting and destruction of drifting mines continued to be commonplace during this period. United Nations Naval forces continue to cover and protect the constant stream of shipping employed in moving personnel and material to United Nations forces in Korea.

United Nations aircraft continued highly effective operations against the ground elements of the Chinese Communist and north Korean forces. On days of favorable flying weather, a toll of thousands of casualties has been inflicted upon the enemy. The limited objective attacks and reconnaissances in strength of United Nations ground forces have served to flush into the open the concealed enemy, who has then been subjected to paralyzing attacks from the air. The smooth coordinations in these efforts between United Nations ground and air elements has been noteworthy.

Numerous aerial engagements have taken place in the air over north Korea just south of the Manchurian border. In one of these about sixty planes were involved. The superiority of United Nations planes, tactics, and pilots over those of the enemy has been repeatedly proven in these encounters and the number of hostile aircraft destroyed mounts slowly but steadily.

There are a few indications of enemy intentions to use airfields in Korea but the fields in Manchuria are their major bases. As many as eighty-five aircraft have been observed at one time on Antung Airfield just north of the Yalu River boundary.

The Communists have increased the number of single plane attacks on United Nations ground forces, but have inflicted only negligible damage.

Civilian relief and care of refugees continue to be a major task of the United Nations Command in Korea.

Although the mass migratory movement of refugees has subsided, the unparalleled problem of providing food, clothing, shelter, and medical assistance to upwards of a million refugees remains most acute. United Nations Command Civil Assistance teams working closely with Republic of Korea officials have exerted every effort to relieve the suffering of the war ravaged peoples of Korea.

Housing and shelter for refugees within the area remain most critical. To date, the absorption of refugees has been accomplished by billeting with friends or relatives, in government prefabricated houses, and makeshift lodgings.

Commodity prices are steady throughout the area. This steadiness in prices reflects the progress of the Republic of Korea Government food collection program which is increasing the flow of food supplies. The collection program is estimated to be fifty per cent complete as of the submission of this report.

May I assure you that the peoples of Korea are most appreciative of the contributions made by member nations and relief societies throughout the world. Such humane actions are truly representative of the democratic way of life. The refugees impose a terrific burden upon the economy of Korea and necessitate a continuous review and re-evaluation of civil assistance requirements. I shall continue to forward these requirements through established channels in order that relief supplies may be secured and given timely distribution in Korea.

Over 205 million United Nations leaflets have now been disseminated in Korea, the great majority being directed at the Chinese and North Korean armed forces. Continuing daily air drops of leaflets are being made in an effort to show every enemy soldier in the line that there is an alternative to the heavily mounting loss of life. Thousands of Communist soldiers suffering from frostbite in the severe Korean winter are being urged to lay down their arms and obtain prompt and effective medical treatment from the United Nations forces. A network of seven Korean radio stations has been activated to originate and to relay broadcasts to the Korean people, whether presently under Communist subjugation or in free Korea. These broadcasts complement those originating in United Nations Command Headquarters, and materially increase the volume of factual news available to the Korean people to offset the torrent of false and inflammatory propaganda being directed toward them by Communist radio stations in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China.

Reports have been received that typhus has hit at least part of the Chinese armies in Korea. The cold weather has added its toll of losses through frostbite, trench foot, and freezing. In addition to losses from weather and disease, the enemy has suffered extremely heavy casualties due to United Nations combat action. United Nations forces continue to retain their strength, firm resolve, and high morale.

## International Materials Conference

### Composition of Copper, Zinc, and Lead Committee

The International Materials Conference announced on February 26 that the initial working meeting of the Conference began on that date with the convening of the first of the six committees dealing with essential and scarce materials. The committee was concerned with copper, zinc, and lead. Twelve nations were represented. Composition of the Committee is as follows:

#### AUSTRALIA

*Representative:* F. A. Meere, First Assistant Comptroller General of the Department of Trade and Customs  
*Alternate:* Dr. H. G. Raggatt, Director of Bureau of Mineral Resources in the Ministry of National Development

#### BELGIUM (Representing BENELUX: Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg)

*Representative:* Pierre E. Jaspar, Economic Counselor  
*Alternate:* Dr. A. H. Philipse, Minister Plenipotentiary, Embassy of the Netherlands

#### CANADA

*Representative:* S. V. Allen  
*Alternate:* M. P. Carson, Assistant Commercial Secretary, Embassy of Canada

#### CHILE

*Representative:* Roberto Vergara, General Manager, Compagnia de Acero del Pacifico  
*Alternate:* Not yet designated

#### FRANCE

*Representative:* Jean Faye, Engineer des Mines  
*Alternate:* Jean-Yves Gantier, Engineer Electro-chimiste et metallurgiste

#### GERMANY

*Representative:* Rudolf Afflerbach  
*Alternate:* Clemens Schuller

#### ITALY

*Representative:* Prof. Ernesto Cianci  
*Acting Representative Pending Arrival of Professor Cianci:* Egidio Ortona, Counselor, Acting Chief of the Italian Technical Delegation, Embassy of Italy  
*Alternate:* Dr. Gino Cecchi, Italian Technical Delegation

#### MEXICO

*Representative:* Alfonso Cortina, Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs, Embassy of Mexico  
*Alternate:* Agustin Ochoa, Economic Attaché, Embassy of Mexico

#### NORWAY

*Representative:* Gunnar Kjolstad, Economic Counselor, Embassy of Norway  
*Alternate:* Thoralf Svendsen, Commercial Counselor, Embassy of Norway

#### PERU

*Representative:* Alberto Brassini  
*Acting Representative Pending Arrival of Alberto Brassini:* Carlos Donayre, Commercial Counselor  
*Alternate:* Not yet designated

#### UNITED KINGDOM

*Representative:* V. P. Harries, Under Secretary, Ministry of Supply, British Embassy  
*Alternates:* W. E. Berry, Principal, Ministry of Supply, British Embassy  
C. A. James, Chief, Ministry of Supply

#### UNITED STATES

*Representative:* Frank H. Hayes, Acting Director of Copper Division; NPA, Department of Commerce  
*Alternate:* John Evans, Chief, Economic Resources Security Staff, Department of State

### Composition of Sulphur Committee

On March 1 the International Materials Conference announced that the second of the six committees dealing with essential and scarce materials met for the first time on that date. This committee will be concerned with sulphur. Ten nations were represented. Composition of the Committee is as follows:

#### AUSTRALIA

*Representative:* F. A. Meere  
*Alternate:* Dr. H. G. Raggatt

#### BELGIUM (Representing BENELUX: Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg)

*Representative:* Pierre E. Jaspar  
*Alternates:* Dr. A. H. Philipse  
Johan Kaufmann (Netherlands)

#### BRAZIL

*Representative:* Col. Pedro Geraldo de Almeida  
*Alternate:* Col. Aleyr d'Avila Mello

#### CANADA

*Representative:* S. V. Allen  
*Alternate:* M. P. Carson

#### FRANCE

*Representative:* Felix Bourdilliat  
*Alternate:* Not yet designated

## ITALY

*Representative:* Luigi Berdella  
*Acting Representative Pending Arrival of Mr. Luigi Berdella:* Edoardo Lombardi

## NEW ZEALAND

*Representative:* D. W. Woodward  
*Alternate:* V. Armstrong

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

*Representative:* William A. Horrocks  
*Alternate:* J. H. Schutte

## UNITED KINGDOM

*Representative:* C. B. Fennelly  
*Alternates:* G. E. M. McDougall  
Miss N. K. Fisher

## UNITED STATES

*Representative:* Theodore L. Sweet  
*Alternate:* Not yet designated

# United States Delegations to International Conferences

## World Meteorological Organization

On March 7, the Department of State announced that the President has designated Francis W. Reichelderfer, Chief, Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce, as principal delegate to the First Congress of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). The First Congress will convene at Paris immediately following an extraordinary and final session of the Conference of Directors of the International Meteorological Organization (IMO), commencing on March 15, 1951, at which arrangements will be made for the transfer of the assets, activities, functions, and obligations of the IMO to the WMO.

Delbert M. Little, Assistant Chief for Operations, Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce, and John M. Cates, Jr., Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, have been designated by the President to serve as delegates. Other members of the United States delegation are:

### *Advisers*

Robert W. Craig, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce  
Maj. Murel M. Goodmanson, USAF, Air Weather Service, Department of the Air Force  
Norman R. Hagen, meteorological attaché, American Embassy, London  
Norman A. Matson, Synoptic Reports Division, Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce  
Capt. J. C. S. McKillip, USN, Navy Weather Control, Department of the Navy  
Clayton F. Van Thullenar, regional director, Weather Bureau, Fidelity Building, 911 Walnut Street, Kansas City 6, Mo.

### *Secretary*

Henry F. Nichol, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

**March 19, 1951**

The WMO, which is expected to become one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, came technically into being on March 23, 1950. Its basic objective will be to coordinate, standardize, and improve world meteorological activities, observations, and techniques and to encourage the exchange among its members of information relating to weather, meteorology, and scientific developments.

The First Congress will be primarily concerned with the numerous administrative and organizational matters which must be settled in order to insure the effective operation of the newly created organization. Among the items on the provisional agenda for the Congress, are the election of officers of the Organization; the establishment of general regulations, rules of procedure, regional associations, and technical commissions; the organization and location of the secretariat; the appointment of a Secretary General; and the approval of a budget and program, including a plan for providing underdeveloped countries with technical assistance in the field of meteorology.

The IMO, which is to be replaced by the WMO, has existed and functioned for approximately 75 years as an informal, nongovernmental technical organization rather than as an organization established by intergovernmental agreement. It has been composed of the directors of meteorological services of sovereign states and territories, with a membership of 88, and has had an impressive record of rendering uninterrupted international service. In the period following the end of the war and the formation of the United Nations with its specialized agencies, a strong movement developed for the reestablishment of the organization on an intergovernmental basis and on an equal level with other specialized agencies of the United Nations in the field of transport and communications. Recognition of this movement, and of the advantages which would follow not only from placing the organization on a treaty basis but also from its having a relationship to the United Nations, resulted in the formulation and adoption of the convention of the World Meteorological Organization at the Twelfth Conference of Directors of the International Meteorological Organization, which was held at Washington from September 22 to October 11, 1947. The convention was opened for signature at Washington on October 11, 1947, for a period of 120 days and was signed during that period by representatives of the United States and 41 other states. It subsequently entered into force on March 23, 1950, after the deposit of instruments of ratification or accession on behalf of 30 states, including the United States. By February 15, 1951, a total of 44 states had deposited instruments of ratification or accession.

## Social Security

The Department of State announced on March 9 that Arthur J. Altmeyer, Commissioner, Social Se-

curity Administration, Federal Security Agency, will serve as chairman of the United States delegation to the Third Inter-American Conference on Social Security which will convene at Buenos Aires, Argentina, on March 12, 1951. Other members of the delegation are:

Clara M. Boyer, Associate Director, Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor  
Wilbur J. Cohen, Technical Adviser to the Commissioner for Social Security, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency  
William J. Kennedy, Chairman, U.S. Railroad Retirement Board, Chicago, Illinois  
Edwin E. Vallon, Attaché (Labor), United States Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina

The Inter-American Conference on Social Security was established in September 1942 for the purpose of facilitating and developing the cooperation of social security administrations and institutions of the American states. The last session of the Conference took place at Rio de Janeiro, November 10-21, 1947.

Agenda items for the Third Conference are: (1) guidance for the development of social security in the Americas; (2) methods of control, inspection systems, and means for collecting assessments; and (3) coordination of loans in connection with sickness and disability insurance.

In conjunction with the Conference, there will be a meeting of the Permanent Inter-American Committee on Social Security, which is generally responsible for effectuating the decisions of the Conference. The Committee will discuss the future organization and budget of the Conference and the Committee. Mr. Altmeyer has been chairman of the Permanent Committee since its establishment.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### General Business Committee To Assist Advisory Commission

[Released to the press March 7]

The Department of State announced today the formation of a consultative committee of 11 business executives with wide international experience to help formulate and execute the United States information program throughout the world.

The group, headed by Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, constitutes a new General Business Committee of the United States Advisory Commission on Information established by Congress in 1948 when the Department's Information and Educational

Exchange programs were formally established by law.

The other members of the new committee, in addition to Mr. Reed, are:

James A. Farley, chairman of the board, Coca Cola Export Corporation  
Ralph T. Reed, president, American Express Company  
W. Randolph Burgess, chairman of the executive committee, National City Bank of New York  
Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx  
Sigurd S. Larmon, president, Young and Rubicam, Inc. (advertising)  
William M. Robbins, vice president for overseas operations, General Foods Corporation  
David A. Shepard, executive assistant, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey  
J. F. Spang, Jr., president, Gillette Safety Razor Company  
Dr. Claude Robinson, president, Opinion Research Corporation  
Warren Lee Pierson, chairman of the board, Transcontinental and Western Air, Inc.

The Committee will meet at frequent intervals for panel discussions of specific agenda. Its individual members will be continuously in touch with each other and with State Department officials having charge of the information program which is conducted under the supervision of Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Similar panels are in process of formation to deal with the individual fields of labor, radio, motion pictures, and press, and publication.

The new General Business Committee has already held one meeting, and another is scheduled in the near future. Describing its functions, Chairman Reed told the group that, in addition to other duties:

We will consider ways and means whereby American private business as distinguished from Government, can complement and augment the Government's program in this great and vital undertaking to win the confidence and understanding of people in other lands.

Avenues for cooperation of private business organizations in the program were pointed out in detail at the meeting by Assistant Secretary Barrett; Charles M. Hulten, general manager of the Department's International Information and Educational Exchange program; and Bartow Underhill, deputy director of the Department's private enterprise cooperation staff.

The Advisory Commission, which embraces the new General Business Committee, is headed by Erwin Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* and former president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and includes Justin Miller, president, National Association of Broadcasters; Prof. Mark May, director of the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University, and Mr. Reed.

Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, was named by President Truman last week to fill a vacancy created by the recent resignation of Mark F. Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville (Ky.) *Courier-Journal* and *Times*, and the nomination is now awaiting Senate confirmation.

## Stuart W. Rockwell Assists Secretary Finletter

Effective January 4, 1951, Stuart W. Rockwell was detailed to the Department of the Air Force at the request of the Secretary of the Air Force. He has been designated a Special Assistant to the Secretary and will advise him on the political aspects of the international problems being dealt with by the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force. He will also interpret and set forth to Secretary Finletter the views and policy of the Department of State in this field; he will, in particular, be concerned with matters under consideration in the National Security Council.

## Appointment of Officers

Russel B. Adams as Special Assistant to the Secretary, specializing in multilateral negotiations, effective January 15, 1951.

Francis Adams Truslow as Consultant on Brazilian economic relations to the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American affairs, effective February 14, 1951.

Harold Boies Hoskins as Consultant to the Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, specializing in economic and cultural affairs in the Near East and Africa, effective February 27, 1951.

Harold F. Linder as Deputy Assistant Secretary to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, effective February 15, 1951.

William D. Pawley as Special Assistant to the Secretary, with the personal rank of Ambassador, effective February 19; Mr. Pawley will advise the Secretary on important foreign policy matters and will participate in the review and appraisal of various Departmental programs.

John M. Begg as Director, Private Enterprise Cooperation; and Bartow H. Underhill, Deputy Director, in the International Information and Education Exchange Program, effective February 27, 1951.

## PUBLICATIONS

## Recent Releases

*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.*

**United States Treaty Developments.** Pub. 2851. Fifth release. 904 pp. \$2.75 a copy.

A loose-leaf volume of annotations on the status of treaties and agreements to which the United States is a party, to be kept current by the periodic issuance of new pages for insertion.

**Air Transport Services.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2106. Pub. 3975. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and France amending agreement of March 27, 1946—Exchange of notes dated at Paris June 23 and July 11, 1950; entered into force July 11, 1950.

March 19, 1951

**Passport Visa Fees.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2113. Pub. 3990. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Portugal amending agreement of February 24, 1950—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Lisbon July 24 and August 4, 1950; entered into force September 1, 1950.

**United States Educational Foundation in Pakistan.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2116. Pub. 3995. 9 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Pakistan—Signed at Karachi September 23, 1950; entered into force September 23, 1950 and memorandum of implementation.

**Education: Cooperative Program in Peru.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2117. Pub. 4001. 13 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Peru further extending and modifying agreement of April 4, 1944—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Lima August 26 and September 1, 1949; entered into force September 1, 1949, operative retroactively July 1, 1949.

**Mutual Aid Settlement: Maritime Claims.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2119. Pub. 4003. 9 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and the Netherlands interpreting and implementing agreement of May 28, 1947—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington June 1 and 8, 1950; entered into force June 8, 1950.

**Health and Sanitation: Cooperative Program in Mexico.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2120. Pub. 4004. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Mexico extending and modifying agreement of June 30 and July 1, 1943, as extended and amended—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Mexico October 7 and 14, 1949; entered into force October 27, 1949, operative retroactively from June 30, 1949.

**Exchange of Official Publications.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2122. Pub. 4008. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Indonesia—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Djakarta May 17 and June 7, 1950; entered into force June 7, 1950.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

## Robert Butler Resigns as Ambassador to Cuba

On January 29, 1951, President Truman accepted the resignation of Robert Butler as American Ambassador to Cuba. For the text of Mr. Butler's letter of resignation and the President's reply, see White House press release of that date.

## John Carter Vincent Assigned to Tangier

On March 2, the Department of State announced the appointment of John Carter Vincent as Chief of the United States Mission at Tangier.

## The United States in the United Nations

March 8-15, 1951

### General Assembly

*Collective Measures Committee.*—At its second meeting, March 12, the Committee agreed to the proposal made by the United States deputy representative, Harding F. Bancroft, that the Secretariat draft a list of topics and proposals for a plan of work for consideration by the Committee.

In the general debate that followed, various members stressed the need for developing an effective collective security system that would enable the United Nations to act promptly against aggression.

### Economic and Social Council

The Council completed general debate on several related agenda items—world economic situation, financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries, and reports on the United Nations program of technical assistance.

The United States representative, Isador Lubin, in the course of several statements, explained this Government's domestic economic program and the international aspects of these economic policies and stressed that the balanced economic development of Latin America "has been and continues to be an essential objective of American foreign policy."

Mr. Lubin stated that the United States is determined to "play its part in relieving those millions who live under conditions of poverty, insecurity, ill health, and illiteracy." He pointed out that in 1950 the Export-Import Bank made loans to underdeveloped countries of Latin America and Asia in the amount of 531 million dollars of which 340 million dollars went to Latin America. Funds also have been made available through the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) for special assistance in China, Korea, Philippines, and various countries of Southeast Asia as outright emergency grants. In addition to this public financing of economic development, there was a billion-dollar investment of private capital from the United States to Canada, Latin America, Europe, and Asia in 1950.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar (India) and Javier Labbe (Chile) refuted charges of the U.S.S.R. and Polish delegates that the United States Point 4 Program of technical cooperation has military and political strings attached and that it was "imperialistic and contrary to the United Nations Charter." Sir Mudaliar declared that only last December 28 India and the United States signed

a 1.5 million-dollar Point 4 agreement, "and I don't think it is necessary to tell this Council that there could possibly be any military or political considerations involved."

Mr. Labbe (Chile) stated that the Point 4 Program was financing 55 percent of the United Nations expanded program and that 11 million dollars of Point 4 funds have been utilized by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, which in Chile "has had nothing to do with monopolistic deals or usury and has given rise to gratitude by the Chilean people."

The Economic Committee approved a draft resolution (15-0 with 3 abstentions) to consider further at the next Council session the world economic situation and particularly sections of the Secretary-General's report pertaining to conditions in the Middle East and Africa.

On March 13, the Polish delegate introduced a draft resolution which called for reduction of 30 to 50 percent in the armaments budgets of all member nations for 1951 and 1952. G. T. Corley Smith (U.K.) stated that the Soviet Union maintains the largest army in the world and declared, "If the U.S.S.R. representative would tell us that his Government is ready to reduce its armament budget by 50 percent, we could ask our Governments for instructions in light of this amazing change in Soviet policy. Because the Soviet Union has refused to disarm, we are in a position of having to rearm." Mr. Lubin (U.S.) asked whether it was really expected that anyone would take the resolution seriously. He said that the three Governments backing the resolution "are the ones which have refused to make known to the world their financial conditions, size of their armies, and refuse to be parties to any agreement for inspection inside their borders." The resolution was rejected by vote of 15-3 (Soviet bloc).

On March 14, discussion began on a United Kingdom-United States draft resolution calling for a searching study by an impartial committee of United Nations and International Labor Organization (ILO) experts to investigate forced labor conditions all over the world. The Soviet delegate, P. M. Chernyshev, opened the discussion with a long dissertation on "slave labor" in the United States and the mistreatment of Mexican workers employed in the United States. He made it clear that the U.S.S.R. would not accept any inquiry behind the iron curtain.

The Mexican delegate, Gilberto Loyo, took strong exception to the Soviet statement, stating "my Government cannot permit such inaccuracies." He said that thousands of Mexican workers

migrated to the United States "to contribute to the victory of the democracies" and were fully protected by agreements between the two Governments. The United States deputy representative, Walter Kotschnig, told the Soviet representative, "Anyone who knows anything about the United States can understand the absurdity of all this." He charged the Soviet leaders with maintaining in the Soviet Union and satellite countries "an inhuman system of forced labor" which has become an essential part of their economy. "These are grave charges to be leveled against any member of the United Nations, and we are fully conscious of our responsibility in making them."

The Council this week adopted the following proposals: (1) resolution (15-0-3) taking note of the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations program for technical assistance; (2) resolution (14-0-3) on conservation and utilization of resources; (3) resolution (15-3) requesting the Secretary-General to take into consideration the entire field of water control and utilization as it related to problems of arid zones; (4) United States proposal (10-5-3) to postpone until the next Session the meeting of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, because it lacked sufficient material for serious study at the present time, and (5) the United States resolution (12-4, Soviet bloc, India, 1-2) requesting the United Nations Secretary-General to consult with the specialized agencies about arrangements for emergency action to assist in the maintenance of peace and international security. The Council approved applications for membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) of the German Federal Republic, Japan, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The United States voted in favor of all applications; the Soviet bloc voted against them.

*Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).*—The Commission concluded its seventh session at Lahore, Pakistan, March 7, after adopting a number of resolutions calling attention to the needs of underdeveloped countries in the region and relating to future work of ECAFE. A resolution was adopted commenting on the valuable work of the Commission in economic reconstruction and development and recommending to the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) that the Commission be continued indefinitely, subject to periodic review of its activities.

The United States delegate, Merrill Gay, told the conference that his Government is in full sympathy with the Asian people's nationalistic desires and wants to see them take a full share in the functions of the international community. The United States, he said, stands ready to "lend a helping hand" toward economic development in Asia and the Far East. In answer to charges by the Soviet delegate that United States technical aid in Asia was nothing but economic "imperial-

ism," delegates of seven Asian countries replied that if this was "imperialism" they wanted more of it, because the United States technical aid had been a great help to them. Mr. Gay remarked that the Soviet propaganda attack meant that Russia was "clearly undertaking to torpedo" constructive economic assistance in Asia and to hide Russia's own "miserable failure to provide any economic aid to these nations so direly needing it."

### **Trusteeship Council**

The Council adopted, March 9, the Iraqi-United States draft resolution on the Ewe problem by vote of 9-0-3 (France, U.K., U.S.S.R.). The resolution draws the attention of the administering authorities to the necessity of seeking a solution with the utmost expedition; invites them to continue efforts to solve the problem in the spirit of the Council's resolution of July 14, 1950, urges the Ewe unification parties to cooperate with the administering authorities, and recommends, whether or not the composition of the Consultative Commission is completed, that the administering authorities formulate as soon as possible substantive proposals for a practicable solution of the question and inform the Council accordingly no later than July 1, 1951.

The Council considered on March 12 the report of the Drafting Committee on Conditions in the United States-administered trust territory of the Pacific Islands covering the year ending June 30, 1950. The eight draft observations and conclusions in the report, which reflected the opinion of the Council as a whole, were considered separately and adopted in each case by a vote of 10 in favor, with the U.S.S.R. either voting against or abstaining, and the United States abstaining on all recommendations. In the general section of the report the Council noted "with approval the progress made in the political, economic, social and educational fields during the period under review."

*Committee on Rural Economic Development.*—The Committee completed its 2-day session, March 13-14, and determined in general the kinds of information it should have regarding territorial land problems. It was decided that the Secretariat would prepare documentation on existing land legislation in the various trust territories and that a letter would be sent to the administering authorities requesting them to submit information on their land policies and practices, including legislative measures being contemplated, land use customs and policies, and economic trends regarding land and land tenure.

### **Security Council**

The Council held one meeting this week and heard further statements by Sir Benegal N. Rau (India) and Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) on the Kashmir question.

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The Department of State

# bulletin

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## Strategy for the Pacific

by Ambassador John Foster Dulles<sup>1</sup>

Our policy for Asia can be put in one word—peace. It has been slow going, because another great power talks peace and promotes war.

I give you a recent example drawn from our effort to conclude peace with Japan. Russia should be the first to go along with a Japanese peace, for it already has all the Japanese loot and territory it could possibly expect. It is not an occupying nation in Japan, as it is in Germany and Austria, so that, in the case of Japan, peace would not require it to surrender any position of power. We hoped that perhaps there could be an agreement about Japan which would begin a relaxing of tensions throughout the world.

### Talk Of Peace

With that in mind, we have been scrupulous to keep in touch with the representatives of the Soviet Union, as with the other allies principally concerned, and, for some months, the Soviet Government, through Yakov Malik, carried on discussions with us. Before going to Japan last January, I explained to Mr. Malik the exploratory nature of our mission: that no decisions would be taken and that we would discuss the situation with him when we returned. In accordance with that promise, immediately upon our return, we sought to see him to report the good prospects ahead and to exchange views about future procedure. Thereupon, Mr. Malik, presumably under instructions, announced that he would not "resume negotiation on a Japanese peace treaty." "I do not conduct any discussions with Mr. Dulles on a Japanese peace treaty," he said.

*Izvestia*, the official Soviet Government paper, printed this statement along side of an editorial bitterly attacking the United States for seeking a "separate" peace treaty with Japan.

The incident is fantastic, also it is revealing.

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* Forum at Philadelphia, Penn., on Mar. 14 and released to the press on the same date.

But the revelation should not surprise us.

When peace is distant, the military despots speak lovingly of peace. But when peace presses close, then the despots would murder peace.

### Policies Of U.S.S.R.

The Soviet antipeace strategy for Asia was laid down over 25 years ago. Stalin then said that the road to victory over the West lay through revolution in the East. "To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully," he said, "means that one has either gone out of one's mind and lost normal human understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the Proletarian revolution."

The Bolshevik leaders saw that Chinese manpower would be good fuel for the furnace of violence they sought. So they concentrated on getting control of that. In the early 1920's, they developed a Chinese branch of the Bolshevik Party. It waged civil war for many years, but it did not prevail until, in 1945, there began a series of decisive events.

As part of the Yalta arrangements, Stalin agreed "to conclude with the National Government of China"—that is, the anti-Communist government—"a pact of friendship and alliance."

Six months later the Soviet Union did make a series of agreements with the National Government of China. China surrendered to Russia effective control of Manchuria, Port Arthur, and Dairen. In return, Russia solemnly promised that for 20 years, it would "render to China moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources, such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government as the central government of China."

A few days later, the Japanese surrender having been concluded, the Russians moved into Manchuria, Port Arthur, Dairen, North Korea, South Sakhalin, and the Kurile and Habomai Islands, thus cashing in on a formal belligerency that had lasted 6 days. In Manchuria, they acquired not

only Japanese industrial investments valued at 1.8 billion dollars but vast amounts of Japanese armament and ammunition dumps. These latter they turned over to the Chinese Red armies, in direct violation of the explicit agreement, they had just made, to give military supplies only to the National Government.

The Red Armies of China, thus immensely strengthened, then began to win victories over the National Government and in October 1949, in another direct violation of its twenty-year treaty of 1945, the Soviet Government withdrew its recognition of the National Government and recognized the Red regime of Mao-Tse-tung as the government of all China.

In February 1950, Mao-Tse-tung, returning from nearly 3 months of consultation in Moscow, broadcast a call to the peoples of Asia to rise up in "armed struggle . . . on the side of . . . the Soviet Union."

### **Conflicts In Asia**

Then the armed attack on the Republic of Korea was prepared. Korean-speaking soldiers, who had long served as combat units in the Chinese Red armies, were sent from China to North Korea to build up the Communist forces there which were being equipped with Russian arms, tanks, and planes. They invaded the Republic of Korea in June.

Then the fighting in Indochina became intensified. It was led by Ho Chi Minh, a product of Moscow training.

The Communist fighting in Malaya flared up. The Communist Huk bandits in the Philippines became bolder.

In November, the Chinese Communists openly intervened in Korea. Then came the Chinese war against Tibet.

Economic life in the entire Pacific area was periodically disrupted by economic warfare made possible by the Communist stranglehold on maritime unions.

It is all part of a single pattern, the pattern of violence planned and plotted for 25 years and finally brought to a consummation of fighting and disorder in the whole vast area extending from Korea down through China into Indochina, Malaya, the Philippines, and west into Tibet and the borders of Burma, India, and Pakistan.

This is supposed to promote what Stalin calls the "amalgamating" of all these peoples into the Soviet power.

### **Contrasting Soviet Position With Free World**

Russia's now announced unwillingness to resume discussion of the Japanese peace treaty is no doubt designed to spread anxiety into an area protected against direct aggression by the presence of forces representing the free world. It is

part and parcel of the Soviet's consistent anti-peace policy in Asia.

As against this, let us contrast the free world policy in Asia. It has been a policy of peaceful change, designed to liquidate the old colonial system and to substitute a new relationship of equality and fellowship between the East and the West. Political independence has been won, and won peacefully, by India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, and the Philippines. In China, unequal treaties and extraterritorial rights were abolished and China was promoted to a great power status.

These changes have affected about 1 billion people, or nearly half the entire population of the world. Never before, in all history, have changes of such magnitude come about without major war. There were, of course, pressures, natural pressures, from the people themselves who sought political freedom and independence. But the West was responsive to those pressures, and the result was an amazing demonstration of how the status quo can be changed by peaceful means.

Today, as part of our policy of peace for Asia, we seek for Japan a peace of trust and opportunity, which will restore Japan as an equal in the community of nations, remove the moral scars of war, and encourage in her people a spirit of good neighborliness.

On the part of the free world, the policies are those of peaceful evolution. On the part of the Communist world, the design is violent revolution, to immerse Asia in a bath of blood.

Both policies have had successes. But we can be confident that the successes of peace will be enduring, and the successes of violence are but passing.

In Korea, Communist aggressors are paying a frightful price for their aggression. Already, the total losses of the North Korean and Chinese Communists in terms of killed, wounded, and disabled are approaching the total of 1 million. We are pulverizing the myth, sought to be spread in Asia, that Communist land power sweeps all before it. How long can the Chinese be compelled to pour their youth into this ghastly foreign adventure, merely that communism may gain control of a strategic area coveted by Russia since the days of the czars?

In Indochina, Malaya, and the Philippines, the forces of law and order grow stronger every day. We shall persist in our effort to achieve an over-all peace for Japan. If we never relax the pressure for peace, some day, some where, there will be a break in favor of peace.

The struggle for peace, freedom, and liberation is being greatly aided by the immense effort which the United States is now making. The peoples within Russia's reach have, in the past, been terrorized because only the Soviet Union has maintained a great military establishment. But, today, the free world, with the United States in the lead, is creating a force-in-being sufficient to hearten those everywhere who love freedom.

## Sacrifices For Peace

I have often said that there would never be lasting peace until nations made the winning of peace serious business, worthy of sacrifices such as, in war, nations make to win victory.

For the first time in all history, that is happening and we can hope that it is not happening too late.

No free nation has ever made sacrifices such as the United States is now making, except in a desperate war for survival. Out of those sacrifices will come a power so vast that no despot, in his senses, will challenge it.

That power is not being created to serve selfish ambitions. The purpose is to deter aggression in the only way in which aggression can be deterred, that is, by creating effective collective resistance to aggression.

No nation, however strong, including the United States, can be safe in a world where aggressors can conquer other nations one by one. So, our power

will protect ourselves by also protecting others.

The free world is in a good way to achieve the great ideal of the United Nations that there shall be effective collective force to deter aggression and that force shall not be used save in the common interest. That great fact is being sensed abroad and our mission found, in every quarter, a reviving of hope and confidence.

The peoples of the world long passionately for peace. They do not respond gladly to the lash of Communist demands for fighting everywhere. They know, for they have seen, that change and reform can come peacefully. They kill only under the compulsion of terrorism and fraudulent propaganda.

The power of fraud is waning as truth spreads even behind the iron curtain. The power of terrorism wanes as the free world develops its power to defend freedom. We can face the future with confidence. If we persist and do not falter, peace can be won.

## Formulation of a Japanese Peace Settlement

[Released to the press March 8]

*Following is an exchange of letters between Ambassador John Foster Dulles and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur at Tokyo. The exchange was made during the mission of Mr. Dulles to Japan in connection with the formulation of a Japanese peace settlement.*

TOKYO, JAPAN  
February 9, 1951

As our peace mission leaves Japan, I wish to express my profound appreciation for the assistance you have rendered us. If we have made progress along the road to peace—as I think we have—it has been due to the foundation you have laid and the wise counsel you have given.

Your policies as Supreme Commander have so combined justice and mercy as to bring our late enemies to perceive and desire to share the ideals which animate our free world. That makes it possible for us reasonably to plan on a future era of peace, trust and opportunity to be shared by Japan. Without that foundation our present task would have been hopeless.

During the course of our current conversations with Japanese leaders, official and unofficial, you have given us broad counsel in the interest of all of the Allies who genuinely seek peace.

Our Mission has drawn its inspiration from your conception that early peace is now deserved by Japan and has become important to the welfare of us all. We shall expect to carry on in that spirit in the hope of contributing to the structure

of just and lasting peace which has been your constant goal.

10 February 1951

My thanks and deepest appreciation for your note of the 9th. I feel it does me too much credit.

I am confident that the influence of the peace formula we seek for Japan will extend far beyond the immediate problem it seeks to solve. For a peace based upon such high concepts of justice and right, designed to erase the scars of war and restore the vanquished to a position of dignity and equality among nations, presents a new spiritual idea to mankind and evokes new standards of morality in international relations.

That you and the other distinguished members of your mission have so patiently sought and considered the views of the Japanese people and their leaders as a check upon the wisdom of our own thinking cannot fail to strengthen the Japanese faith in the integrity of our country and its representatives.

Under your able presentation you have given Japan a new appreciation of the great moral stature of the United States which I am sure will find a stirring response in the hearts of all of the peoples of Asia, both those who are still free and those who, prostrate under the sword of tyranny, yet covet the opportunity to be free. Yours has indeed been a high order of universal service.

## Position on Objectives of Communist "Crusade for Peace" Explained

*Statement by Francis H. Russell  
Director, Office of Public Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

A number of groups are calling at the Department today to present the main objectives of the so-called Crusade for Peace. These objectives have previously been set forth as follows:

1. That the United States withdraw its troops from Korea.
2. That the United States "negotiate a peace with China."
3. That the United States end the "emergency" mobilization.
4. That the United States negotiate differences with the Soviet Union in atomic arms control and in seeking mutual disarmament.
5. That the United States seek a "fundamental American-Soviet settlement."
6. That there be no rearmament of Germany or Japan.
7. That the United States refuse to send American troops to Europe.

The Department's position on these points is presented in the order listed.

1. Following the unprovoked and naked aggression of the puppet North Korean regime upon the Republic of Korea, the United Nations, in fulfillment of its obligation, called upon member nations to come to the assistance of the Republic of Korea and to restore peace and security to the area. The United States, along with other members of the United Nations, dispatched troops, planes, and ships to Korea to resist the aggressors and to restore security to the area. As that objective neared completion, the Chinese Communist regime joined in the aggression. Until the United Nations objectives are achieved, there is no thought of withdrawing United States troops from Korea and abandoning 20 million gallant South Koreans to the Communist imperialists nor of appeasing the killers of American boys and those of our allies. The main attack of communism may be averted if the United Nations can show that it has both the will and the ability to defend the free world.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the delegations of the American Peace Crusade at Washington on Mar. 15 and released to the press on the same date.

Its attitude in this situation may easily determine the course of the world for years to come.

2. It is assumed that by "negotiate a peace with China" is meant a settlement of the Korean issue since Communist China, together with the North Korean puppets, both materially aided by arms and equipment from the Soviet Union, are the ones disturbing the peace there. Yet, the Communist aggressors have themselves frustrated every United Nations effort to restore peace to Korea. The United Nations has made repeated attempts, both formal and informal, to attain a cease-fire in Korea. Each of those attempts met with disdainful rejection by the Peiping regime. Even now, the Good Offices Committee, created under the latest United Nations resolution, has made and is making attempts to reach a just settlement of the Korean issue. To date, their attempts have not even been officially acknowledged at Peiping. Pending a change of heart on the part of those in authority at Peiping, the United States and other United Nations forces will continue to exact as heavy a price as possible from those who, with little regard to their own true interests, seek in behalf of others to make aggression profitable.

3. At a time when the efforts of the free nations to seek conditions of lasting peace have met with continued obstruction by the Soviet Union, we cannot overlook the intolerable imbalance of military forces between the free world and the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, the attempts at subversion and internal revolt fostered by the U.S.S.R. and the recourse by the Communists to open warfare in Korea. If the Soviet Union and those who slavishly follow its aggressive designs obstruct all attempts to lessen or eliminate the present world tensions, we must be prepared, if necessary, to meet force with force.

4. Let me recall that it was the United States, under no compulsion whatsoever except in its desire to share with other nations the peaceful utilization of atomic energy discoveries, which first presented a plan for the international control

of atomic energy. That plan met with the overwhelming endorsement of members of the United Nations. That plan would be in effect today, and the fears which naturally arise over the possible use of the atomic bomb would be banished, were it not for the obstructive tactics of the Soviet Union. Similarly, with plans for the control and reduction of conventional armaments. Despite these disheartening setbacks, this Government has made it clear that it is at all times willing to consider any plan which would be an improvement of the plans which today have the support of virtually all the free world. This Government will, however, have no part of plans which spring from propaganda motives and which would in practical effect provide no sure means of inspection and enforcement.

5. From the time of the drafting of the United Nations Charter at Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco, when both the United States and the U.S.S.R. solemnly undertook to live at peace with each other, and, in harmonious cooperation with other nations, to seek the peaceful settlement of all disputes, this country has sincerely tried to reach a fundamental settlement with the Soviet Union. It has attempted bilaterally to reach solutions of outstanding differences in strictly U.S.-U.S.S.R. issues, but it will not negotiate bilaterally with the U.S.S.R. on issues of direct concern to other countries. There are numerous and adequate methods of discussion of such multilateral problems. Today, the United States is participating in a meeting at Paris in an effort to determine whether it is possible to hold a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and France to eradicate the causes of tensions in Europe. The United States has entered these discussions with a sincere willingness to seek solutions to these problems. It is up to the Soviet Union to determine whether the meeting will accomplish that purpose or whether the U.S.S.R. will seek merely to make this a forum for another propaganda campaign.

6. It is the policy of the United States, and of all the nations which have signed the North Atlantic Treaty, that the Federal Republic of Germany should be allowed to contribute manpower and material resources to the joint arrangements for Western defense. This policy was accepted at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council at Brussels on December 19, 1950. It will not result in the creation of a German national military machine but in the development of a German share in the general defense effort.

The policy will not be put into action without the full and free consent of the German Govern-

ment. There are various political and technical questions which must be examined before the Germans will be in a position to decide whether to enter the common defense arrangements or not. These questions are now being explored by representatives of the three Allied Powers and the German government.

There can be no question of the right of free peoples to defend their freedom. The members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have only one reason for building a common defense and for wishing the Germans to cooperate with them in that defense. This reason is the danger caused by the aggressive pressure which is constantly exerted by the Soviet Union and its puppets upon Western Europe. It is this pressure alone which has caused the free nations of the world to combine together for their own protection.

7. The United States is concerned not only with protecting our territories, our rights, and our privileges but also with the defense of our way of life. Today, we are faced by an aggressive Communist imperialism that has more than once announced its implacable hostility to free government and has, in Eastern Europe and in Korea, used subversion and force to implement this hostility. We must, therefore, strive to erect a shield of security for the protection of the free world, and we must maintain this shield until Communist imperialism dies of its own inherent evils.

The defense of our way of life demands the defense of Europe—and our participation in that defense. If Western Europe should be overrun by communism, other economically dependent areas in Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia would be affected, with disastrous effects upon the United States.

In this defense, the United States must participate if we are to live up to our own heritage and the responsibilities of leadership that rest upon us.

In a letter of February 20, 1951, in reply to a query from Representative Carnahan concerning today's Crusade, Secretary Acheson said:

From the membership of the group, and the general tenor of its pronouncements, it is obvious that this "American Peace Crusade" is merely a continuation or regrouping of the spurious Partisans of Peace movement, which, as you know, has been the most concentrated and far flung propaganda effort of the International Communist movement in the postwar period. . . . There is no doubt that this Crusade for Peace will try to use the standard weapons of the Partisans of Peace—divide and conquer, infiltrate and confuse.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 5, 1951, p. 368.

## The Spirit of Carl Schurz and Germany Today

by Benjamin J. Bottenwieser  
Assistant U. S. High Commissioner for Policy<sup>1</sup>

It is a pleasure and a privilege to speak before your organization, which bears the honored name of Carl Schurz, and which is, therefore, dedicated to the principles and causes which he espoused. He is almost unique in the annals of German and American history, for, so far as I am aware, no one of German birth made so immediate an imprint on the American scene as did this distinguished immigrant from your shores. Certainly, I need not dwell at any length in portraying to this audience the character, courage, idealism, and yet, the practicality of this great liberal.

It is a pleasure for anyone to reminisce in the mental atmosphere that is created by any discussion related to Carl Schurz. For an American, it is a privilege to be afforded the opportunity to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which the United States owes for the most valuable import which it ever received from Germany, namely, the transfer of those invaluable human attributes of idealism, integrity, courage, enlightenment, and energy which were so signally epitomized in the life of Carl Schurz.

### Carl Schurz in America

He was born here in Germany in 1829; but, by 1848, he already found that the dynamic forces within him necessitated his very hasty exit from the land of his birth. After short sojourns in France and England, he arrived in the United States in the autumn of 1852. Few men in all our history—let alone an immigrant of foreign tongue—made their presence so quickly and constructively felt among their contemporaries as did this young, resolute, brilliant, and fearless newcomer. The scope and pace of his activities can best be attested by the fact that by spring of 1859—short of 7 years after setting foot on our shores—he had already gained national prominence. On that memorable occasion, April 18, 1859, on the eve of Patriot's Day, in that cradle of liberty of our country, Faneuil Hall, in Boston, he

delivered an oration that was figuratively heard and literally read throughout the length and breadth of our land. Here, at the age of 30, this immigrant youth was afforded the rostrum from which he pronounced his creed of the true Americanism. Permit me to quote one of its many significant passages:

Yes, for me the word Americanism, true Americanism, comprehends the noblest ideas which ever swelled a human heart with noble pride . . . Ideals are like stars; you will not succeed in touching them with your hands. But, like the seafaring man on the desert of waters, you choose them as your guides, and following them, you will reach your destiny.

Carl Schurz was unswerving in his devotion to his ideals; and his unflinching pursuit of what he considered compelling in life yielded for him the highest elective honor which the United States can accord to any of its foreign-born citizens. In 1869, when only 40 years old, he was elected to the United States Senate, being the first of German birth to enter that august body. Obviously, no one except a person of his uniquely rare qualities could have achieved such high and prompt recognition in the land of his adoption. Equally, however, there are few, if any, countries, other than the United States, where even his peerless talents could have led to such rapid and high advancement.

In 1848, even as now, the United States was referred to as the Land of Opportunity. If you will pardon justifiable pride, we are proud to acknowledge that accolade. To it, as came Carl Schurz, so came thousands of similar young idealists, seeking newer and more fertile fields in which to sow the seeds of their ambition. They came from various ethnological backgrounds, of different creeds and religions, and from practically every walk and cast of life.

Similarly, it has been called the Melting Pot. I think that simile represents confused thinking in

<sup>1</sup> Address made on Mar. 5 before the Carl Schurz Society at Bremen, Germany, and released to the press by Hicoq on the same date.

depicting the merging and the interplay of the various elements which went into the building of the American Nation. The Melting Pot connotes a process whereby a variety of basic components is so fused that, though the end product contains practically all the original ingredients, their individuality has been destroyed to a point where none of their initial qualities is recognizable, useful, and durable though the composite product may be. I do not detect in this Melting Pot operation any similarity with the process whereby the American Nation grew great.

It would seem that the more valid parallel of the development of our nation would be the weaving of tapestry. There, many individual strands, of varied types and even dissimilar characteristics, are woven together to form the strong, effective, worth-while end product. The best qualities of each strand are blended to contribute to the common pattern and effect; yet none of them is destroyed and each is readily discernible. This process, I submit, simulates the development of the United States. Many and varied types of people have migrated to our country, as did Carl Schurz. They brought with them their individual talents, strengths, traits, and backgrounds. Each contributed much to the great pattern and united strength which constitute the American way of life.

### Reexamining Democracy in Germany

Germany, today, has the similar opportunity to weave into her pattern of life the strength and characteristics of the millions of new arrivals who seek the opportunity to build their lives anew in an atmosphere of freedom and hospitality. The standards which Germany seeks and achieves in developing her way of life will be determinative of the place she establishes for herself in the community of world democracy.

Germany, as I interpret what I hear from her leaders and read in her newspapers, clamors for equality among nations. It is obvious that after the diabolic occurrences of Germany's Nazi regime, equality in the society of nations is not a status to be automatically accorded to her. It is a standing which she must win in the forum of nations by regaining it in the minds and hearts of the freedom and peace-loving peoples of the world. This can only be achieved if there has been a real and sincere inner purging of the convictions of the German people themselves. It can best be attained through genuine manifestations on Germany's part of forthright appreciation of and devotion to the genuinely democratic way of life. Translated into the present and the specific, it must be apparent that Germany's domestic acts, as well as her approach to international affairs and her reaction to allied activities within her boundaries, are major gages that will be used in measuring her right to this equality.

Let us attempt to analyze what Germany has

really done since May 8, 1945, to win back that equality. The answer to just a few questions, rhetorical if you will, can well furnish the basis for any such evaluation. Has the new Republic been diligent and devoted in her efforts to implement an actually democratic way of life? Has she revised certain of her somewhat archaic views on the relationship between government and those governed to fit the very thesis which Carl Schurz so aptly postulated that "self-government cannot be learned but by practicing it?" Has she instituted true and constructive reforms in the important fields of education, civil service, and relationship and fair division of gains as between employer and employee? Has she really modernized her concepts on freedom to engage in trade (*Gewerbefreiheit*)? Successfully meeting these and many other fundamental tests of national advancement since the nightmare of totalitarian nazism, will constitute Germany's valid passport to equality of status with other democratic nations.

No one can or should gainsay Germany's right and duty to endeavor to protect her own best interests. However, if international cooperation from proper quarters and on a proper basis is offered to her, it would make for better understanding and prompter receptivity by her well-wishers, if Germany reacted to such offers wholeheartedly. Coquetry and playing hard to get do not usually win popularity contests. Similarly, they are not methods of national behavior which enhance a country's popularity. Germany, of course, has her public opinion with which to contend. Equally, though, her leaders should sense that public opinion in other nations is an important factor with which to reckon in Germany's reacceptance in the family of nations.

The ability, integrity, and courage of a nation's leaders play a vital role in insuring any country's progress. This is particularly true at so critical a juncture in a nation's history as this very day and hour represent in the annals of the new German Republic. German leaders today could well profit from the inspiring example of Carl Schurz' approach to the problems which beset our country in his day—problems which were deep-seated and far-reaching and whose solution could only be found through a political doctrine which abhorred, as did Carl Schurz, "the general propensity of political parties and public men to act on a policy of mere expediency and to sacrifice principle to local and temporary success."

From a material standpoint, Germany has made gratifying strides in her recovery from the catastrophe of war. Her industrial production is at the rate of about 130 percent of her 1936 production. Similarly, she has made a commendable recovery in foreign trade, in rebuilding housing, public utilities, industrial plants, public installations, and the like. These are indisputably of utmost importance. However, of equal or possibly even more far-reaching significance is recov-

ery in the nonmaterial realm of ethical concepts and spiritual values. Germany is being given a God-given opportunity to rehabilitate herself in that sphere as well. Not only is she being afforded this opportunity, unshackled or untrammelled by any spirit of revenge on the part of those she but recently chose to attack, but wholeheartedly the hand of friendship is being extended, and the clarion call of encouragement is being sounded from the West. Not alone has material aid, of proportions unmatched in the annals of history, been generously accorded to the new Republic but an honorable place in the family of nations is being made ready for her. It would indeed be a tragic catastrophe, and one from which there might be no subsequent recovery, if Germany should fail to keep this rendezvous with her destiny.

What may this destiny be? With integrity, forthrightness, hard work, and devotion to truly democratic principles, it could well be that this is Germany's greatest hour. She has today an opportunity for real leadership that she has seldom, if ever, had. On various occasions in the past—in the very 1848 liberal movement with which Carl Schurz was identified—the forces of progress and democracy asserted themselves in Germany. They were frustrated because too great a sector of Germans was blind to the potentialities for the better life which such liberal movements offered. Now, today, though Germany has barely recovered from her terrifying experience of war and though she stands in the center of Europe between two great forces and ideologies, she can be a decisive factor in the future of Europe and the world. However, to wield that influence she must be cohesively in the very forefront of democracy. She must identify herself with the type of dynamic democracy in which an individual protects not alone his own rights but is equally solicitous of and ready to champion the rights of others.

This is a juncture in Germany's history which permits no philosophy of despair or divisiveness. Rather, as I see it, if Germany by dedication and idealism and action can mold herself into a truly liberal, democratic nation, she can influence the future as it has been given to few nations in the past so to do. This is the lofty ideal and the constructive role to which Germany should devote herself unflinchingly, fortified by the knowledge that all other real democracies stand ready to aid her in this effort. And she should be heartened in this endeavor by the certainty that it will redound to her own and the world's everlasting advantage.

#### **Germany's Silence Creates Doubt**

Now a word as to a recent—a very recent—occurrence here in Germany. I allude to it because I think it demonstrates a certain unfortunate lack

<sup>2</sup> See BULLETIN of Mar. 5, 1951, p. 365 and Mar. 12, 1951, p. 412.

of understanding on the part of all too many Germans of the honest, sincere efforts which are being made from the Allied side to settle the problems and situations remaining as the aftermath of the war. I refer to the reaction of a certain important sector of German leadership to the discharge by Mr. McCloy and General Handy of their unbelievably difficult and harrowingly trying duty of passing on the so-called Landsberg cases. I feel I can discuss this with the frankness born of first-hand knowledge. I know from personal observation the literal days and nights of careful study and soul-searching consideration which they accorded to their decisions. I venture to suggest that most Germans, especially those of high rank, both in civil affairs and in the clergy, were well aware of the care with which the decisions of these two men of integrity and good will were reached.

Great clemency was extended as the record of these cases clearly establishes. Twenty-one out of 28 death sentences were commuted. In many foreign countries, including our own, there was widespread criticism from even well-informed and intelligent quarters, that both Mr. McCloy and General Handy had gone much too far with their clemency, especially in commuting so many death sentences. Such criticism was particularly outspoken, and often caustic, in the light of the unspeakable crimes of which all of the doomed had been found guilty. Even in the face of such criticism, Mr. McCloy and General Handy had the courage of their convictions. They followed the dictates of their minds and their consciences. They resolved every reasonable doubt and availed themselves of every possible ground for clemency in commuting 21 death sentences.<sup>2</sup>

Despite all this, not one German Cabinet officer and no important church dignitary in Germany extended a single word of endorsement to the courageous, just, and generous spirit and understanding with which these cases were handled. I want to hasten to add that a commendable sector of the press and a few political leaders in high places in Germany did have the grace, or, if you prefer, the courage to give public acknowledgment of their concurrence in the decisions. It is regrettable and far from reassuring to the outside world that so small a sector of German leaders set a compelling example by publicly disowning and disassociating themselves from such diabolic ties with the nightmare of Nazi terror by publicly acclaiming the just fate that finally caught up with these seven mass murderers. This ominous silence of key figures, when they had this opportunity to disavow this black spot on German history, is causing wonder and disappointment abroad, especially in the United States.

I venture the hope—and actually think—that this does not necessarily indicate that either a majority of Germans or their leaders deem these condemned to be innocent or even dissent from the ultimate decisions. In fact, many have pri-

vately confirmed their agreement. However, it is highly regrettable, and damaging to democracy in Germany and to her cause among democracies abroad, that so few German leaders had the courage to marshal public opinion and express their own on the side of true justice in practice. Instead of the resoluteness of articulateness, they chose the false haven of silence.

Reverting again to Carl Schurz, I am certain he would have been a leader with the courage to rise up and be counted. He would have identified himself with the justice and magnanimity of these decisions. The reviews to which they were subjected and the ready availability to the condemned of every avenue of appeal since their trial—quite the antithesis of their bestially predatory scourges—represented democracy and justice in its highest form. Carl Schurz would surely have recognized and applauded this working of true democracy. As applicable and stirring would have been his words today, as almost a century earlier in 1859, when he so eloquently and fervently declared:

There is a wonderful vitality in the democracy founded upon the equality of rights. There is an inexhaustible power of resistance in that system of government which makes the protection of individual rights a matter of common interest. If preserved in its purity, there is no warfare of opinions which can endanger it—there is no conspiracy of despotic aspirations that can destroy it. But if not preserved in its purity, there are dangers which only blindness cannot see, and which only stubborn party prejudice will not see.

These challenging words, quoted from one of Germany's own, might well be the credo for the guidance of leaders in all countries. They are especially apt in the Germany of today, facing, as she inevitably must, the deep-seated and difficult problems which all the world faces in these parlous times but which are naturally fraught with even greater difficulty and danger for this newly emerging Republic. I can but repeat: the nations of the West are ever and constantly ready to help in the solution of these problems; but, equally, must I reiterate that honest conviction and good will toward their solution must be born in the hearts, minds, and consciences of all Germans. An honorable and constructive future and a role of outstanding leadership await Germany, if her people have but the integrity, ability, courage, and cooperativeness to earn it.

At a certain juncture in England's history, one of her greatest poets, Wordsworth, intoned of an immortal champion of liberty:

Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour:  
England hath need of thee.

Paraphrased to apply to that great German-American champion of liberty, whose revered name this society bears, and to fit the Germany of today, these words might well be transformed into:

Carl Schurz! thou shouldst be living at this hour:  
Germany hath need of thee.

## German Federal Republic's Monthly Economic Review <sup>1</sup>

New highs in economic recovery were reached in the Federal Republic of Germany in late 1950. Seasonal factors and shortages would reduce activity during the months following, but for November, at least, payrolls, employment, industrial production, exports and, for most Germans, real income were at the highest level in the postwar period.

### Industrial Production

Stimulated by a record backlog of orders, the industrial production rate increased substantially in November despite the threat of coal, power and raw material shortages. The Federal German index of industrial production (excluding buildings, stimulants, and food processing) rose four points to a record of 134 percent of the 1936 level—as

against an eight point rise in August, a 10 point jump in September, and a five point gain in October. Postwar records were set in 25 of the 32 groups.

Production has expanded by one-fourth (27 index points) since last July when demands brought on by the Korean war launched the current boom. Since currency reform in June 1948 output has risen more than 160 percent. Only iron, steel and leather production, steel construction and shipbuilding are below the 1936 level. Total output is now more than 10 percent above the 1938 level.

The largest increases in November were flat glass (17 percent), ceramics (8 percent), coal mining (8 percent), oil refinery products (8 percent), electrical equipment (7 percent), iron ore mining (7 percent), miscellaneous metal goods (7 percent), ferrous castings (6 percent), electricity (6 percent), shoes (5 percent) and machinery (5 percent). Decreases occurred in stones and earths (8 percent), chemicals (4 percent) and coal by-products (3 percent).

Per-capita production has now exceeded the

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the February issue of the *Information Bulletin*; prepared by the Analytical Reports Branch of the Program Review Division of the Office of Economic Affairs, Hrcog.

**PRODUCTION OF MAJOR COMMODITIES**

COMMODITY	Unit of Measure <i>1/</i>	Sept. <i>r/</i>	Oct. <i>r/</i>	Nov. <i>p/</i>
Hard coal (gross mined) . . . . .	thous. t	9,216	9,499	10,022
Crude petroleum . . . . .	t	95,265	100,350	97,741
Cement . . . . .	t	1,147,216	1,189,495	1,018,210
Bricks (total) . . . . .	1000	463,785	454,341	412,368
Pig iron . . . . .	t	875,912	918,959	864,296
Steel ingots . . . . .	t	1,050,176	1,104,822	1,080,868
Rolled steel finished products . . . . .	t	761,841	783,008	789,254
Farm tractors (total) <i>2/</i> . . . . .	pieces	9,486	9,116	8,860
Typewriters <i>3/</i> . . . . .	pieces	19,961	21,698	22,563
Passenger cars (incl. chassis) . . . . .	pieces	21,026	23,219	23,557
Cameras (total) . . . . .	pieces	174,987	190,311	202,037
Sulphuric acid (incl. oleum) . . . . .	t-SO <sub>2</sub>	102,740	108,451	107,175
Calcium carbide . . . . .	t	60,691	45,921	40,026
Soap (total) . . . . .	t	17,755	14,778	9,050
Newsprint . . . . .	t	13,987	14,527	14,563
Auto and truck tires . . . . .	pieces	319,250	330,729	329,137
Shoes (total) . . . . .	1000 pairs	8,379	9,214	9,376

*1/* = All tons are metric tons.  
*2/* = Excluding accessories, parts and spare parts.  
*3/* = Standard, long-carriage and portable typewriters.  
*r/* = Revised.  
*p/* = Preliminary.

1936 level by about 7 percent. The principal groups which lay below this level are the consumer goods industries, coal and gas, and the metal industries. However, consumer goods, which have increased by more than one-third since last July, are almost up to the prewar per-capita level, and in fact textiles and ceramics passed this level in November. On the other hand, shoes and leather production are still far below prewar per-capita output.

Demand for most industrial products has remained high. Orders received by manufacturers in October 1950, while about 10 percent less than the peak rate reached in September, were still more than 50 percent higher than the level last May (shortly before the outbreak of war in Korea), and almost double the 1949 average. In spite of expanding production and sales, backlogs of orders continued to increase in most industries during October. Although industrial sales reached a postwar peak of more than DM 8,000,000,000 (\$1,904,000,000) in October, new orders received during the month were estimated to exceed sales by more than one-fourth.

Output per man hour in industry has increased by almost one-fifth since a year ago and is now virtually at the 1936 level. While increased investment in industrial plants, new machinery and workers' housing have all played a role in the higher productivity, a large part of the gain is due to the economies stemming from fuller and more rational utilization of capacity within individual plants and in the economy as a whole.

**Steel**

In December the daily rate of steel production declined by more than 10 percent from the postwar record set in November 1950. Total December production of crude steel—959,000 metric tons—fell below the 1,000,000-ton mark for the first time since May 1950. While absenteeism and plant shutdowns for the Christmas holidays affected production, most of the decline was due to the coal shortage and not to any weakening of demand.

The steel supply became increasingly critical in December with a backlog of orders for hot rolled steel products extending to 9 months. November exports of hot rolled steel products—148,000 tons—amounted to about one-fifth of November production.

**Coal and Power Shortage**

The present tight fuel and power supply in the German Republic stems from the fact that industry as a whole has expanded much faster during the past year than coal and electric-power production. Because of substantial gains in the efficiency of coal and power utilization by industry the impact of these shortages is considerably less than would otherwise have been the case. Between October 1949 and October 1950 industry boosted total production by 40 percent while consuming only 30 percent more power and 16 percent more coal. However, in the same period, production of electric power went up only 20 percent and production of coal only 7 percent.

In December hard coal production declined to 9,578,000 metric tons, 444,000 tons below the postwar record set in November 1950 (but 453,000 tons above December 1949). The decline was due primarily to the fact that Sunday and holiday production was lower in December than in November. Average daily hard coal output (excluding Sunday and holiday production) was 380,100 metric tons in December—down slightly from the high of 382,800 in November 1950, but up 6 percent from the daily average of 359,900 in December 1949.

Although the production rate expanded in most industries during November, the coal shortage in December began to affect many segments of industry seriously. For example, the pulp and paper industry was allocated 50 percent of November consumption of coal for December, newsprint manufacturers about 55 percent and the rayon industry 60 percent.

Power consumption has continued to increase. The November 1950 consumption was 17 percent above that for November 1949 while available capacity increased by only 14 percent over the same period. Insufficient generating capacity together with the shortage of coal has necessitated the application of power restrictions to the heavy chemical and aluminum industry in the southern area of the Federal Republic. An unusually favorable

**INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION**  
1936=100

	1950		
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
TOTAL ALL INDUSTRIES			
(incl. electricity and gas) <i>1/</i> . . . . .	125	r130	134
(excl. electricity and gas) <i>1/</i> . . . . .	123	r127	131
Investment goods (total) . . . . .	124	r130	134
Raw materials . . . . .	103	r105	106
Finished production goods . . . . .	138	r145	152
General production goods			
(incl. electricity and gas) . . . . .	137	r138	141
(excl. electricity and gas) . . . . .	131	129	131
Consumer goods . . . . .	112	r120	124

*1/* = Excl. food processing, stimulants and building.  
*r* = Revised.

supply of hydroelectric power permitted the restriction to be held at a lower level than was anticipated at the beginning of the critical season.

Coal difficulties continued to affect the gas industry. Gas consumption by large industries connected to the gas grid systems was severely restricted. Coal allocations to the gas works are low, and so relief from this shortage may not be expected for some time. Gas consumption is averaging about 25 percent above that for 1949.

### Commodity Foreign Trade

Exports from western Germany (including the west sectors of Berlin) rose by \$18,000,000 (8 percent) in November to a postwar record of \$232,000,000—almost three times the \$88,000,000 exported in November 1949. The rise was almost wholly in finished goods. The most substantial gains by area were in exports to Latin America (24 percent to a postwar high of \$27,000,000) and to OEEC countries (6 percent to a high of \$153,000,000). Exports to the United States rose 5 percent, reaching \$17,000,000—more than triple the value a year ago.

Imports declined by \$26,000,000 (8 percent) to \$287,000,000—the second highest monthly mark in the postwar period. The decline (mainly seasonal) was almost entirely in food and agricultural products. Foreign-aid imports dropped by \$11,000,000 to \$38,000,000—14 percent of total imports; nonforeign-aid imports dropped to

### WEST GERMAN FOREIGN COMMODITY TRADE

November 1950  
(Thousand Dollars)

CATEGORIES	Imports	Exports
Food and Agriculture . . . . .	113,703	8,639
Industry . . . . .	172,940	223,377
Raw materials . . . . .	84,395	26,870
Semi-finished goods . . . . .	48,013	36,111
Finished goods . . . . .	40,532	160,396
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>286,643</b>	<b>232,016</b>
<b>AREA</b>		
Total Non-participating Countries . . . . .	105,226	78,862
USA . . . . .	32,859	17,102
Canada . . . . .	1,588	1,369
Latin America . . . . .	23,371	26,825
Non-participating Sterling Countries . . . . .	21,582	12,651
Eastern Europe . . . . .	10,710	10,253
Other Countries . . . . .	15,116	10,662
Participating Countries . . . . .	181,417	152,601
Non-Sterling . . . . .	149,327	135,178
Sterling . . . . .	32,090	17,423
Unspecified . . . . .		553
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>286,643</b>	<b>232,016</b>
IMPORT SURPLUS: November \$54,627,000.		

\$229,000,000—\$14,000,000 less than the postwar high reached in October. Imports from eastern Europe fell off 28 percent, from the United States 23 percent and from Marshall Plan countries 10 percent.

The trade deficit—\$55,000,000—was the lowest since August 1950, when both exports and imports were considerably less. The trade deficit, excluding foreign-aid imports, dropped to \$17,000,000, as against \$49,000,000 in October and \$44,000,000 in September and as against a slight surplus in the May-August period.

### Foreign Payments Position

The deficit with the European Payments Union rose by \$33,000,000 in December—the smallest increase since last July—bringing the cumulative total to more than \$357,000,000 (\$37,000,000 above the original EPU quota assigned to the Federal Republic of Germany). The slower rate of increase in the deficit during November and December was partly due to tightened controls on imports. Since western Germany's original quota has been exhausted, the European Payments Union in December extended a special credit line to the Federal Republic to cover a further \$180,000,000 in deficits which may occur up to the end of April 1951.

### Labor

In spite of sustained employment in the manufacturing industries, unemployment in December shot upward seasonally by 28 percent to 1,690,000 at the end of the month—131,500 higher than at the end of December 1949.

The unemployed constituted 10.7 percent of the wage and salary-earning labor force (10.3 percent in December 1949) and 7.5 percent of the estimated total labor force.

The number of employees working short-time (less than 40 hours a week) rose substantially as a result of coal and raw material shortages, especially in Bavaria and other southern states. Some plants, notably the Volkswagen Automobile Works, closed down for the holidays from December 23 to January 2 since stocks of fuel and materials were too low. This fact is not reflected in unemployment or employment figures, however, because employees affected were not stricken from the payrolls.

Labor offices warned that employment in the manufacturing industries may decline in the next few months because of coal and sheet metal shortages in particular, unless an improvement in production and distribution takes place.

So far wintry weather and other purely seasonal factors rather than fuel and material shortages have been responsible for the rise in unemployment. Two heavy snowfalls and temperatures as low as plus 5 degrees Fahrenheit caused more numerous layoffs in building and construction as well as in some building materials industries than in the previous mild December of 1949.

It is estimated that 60 percent of the increase in unemployment was due to decline in employment in the building trades, 10 percent to employment declines in those branches of the metalworking and woodworking trades concerned with the manufacturing of Christmas specialities (toys, jewelry, trinkets, musical instruments) 5 percent in agriculture, 5 percent in transport and communications, and the remainder in retail trade, food processing, except sugar refining, and other seasonal industries. The number of employed building

workers at the end of December 1950 was about 15 percent lower than in September 1950, whereas in 1949 the December-September decline was only 6 percent.

The estimated number of gainfully occupied persons declined by almost 200,000 in December to 20,900,000, of whom the quarterly census showed 14,160,000 employed as wage and salary earners, the lowest since August 1950. The number of dependently employed probably went down about 100,000 during December. Due to the holidays some states counted employed persons shortly before Christmas and the unemployed on December 28 or later. The double counting involved may account in part for the abnormally large increase during the fourth quarter of 1950 of 344,000 in the total labor force (283,000 in the wage and salary earning labor force).

### Labor Relations

Industrial relations further deteriorated at the top levels over the issue of "co-determination," evidenced in acrimonious verbal exchanges between trade union leaders, the manufacturers' association and the government.

The annual delegates' convention of the Mine Workers Union, December 1, following the lead of the steel workers, instructed the union executive committee to prepare a referendum on the question whether the miners are prepared to strike to enforce in the contemplated decartelization of the coal industry the same degree of worker participation in management as now exists in the steel industry. The referendum was to be held January 17.

The Steel Workers' Union, bowing to Chancellor Adenauer's threat that a strike for co-determination would be unconstitutional, has requested the steel workers individually to resign effective February 1, unless the government pledges to retain existing rights and privileges of the union and of the workers in the management of the industry when it leaves Allied control and becomes a German responsibility.

### Wages

Many small collective agreements were signed during December either for straight wage increases of from 10 to 20 percent of cost of living supplements. Primarily affected were office workers in public and private employ and manual workers in food processing industries.

### Prices

All three major price indexes (now calculated by the Federal Statistical Office) increased in November—consumer prices by one point, industrial producer prices by two points and basic material prices by four points. Since the Korean war began last June basic material prices have jumped 13 percent and are at a postwar high; industrial

producer prices have gone up 6 percent and are at the highest level since February 1949; the consumer price index which had dipped slightly (to a postwar low) during the summer, is back to the June level.

Increases in domestic coal prices were announced effective December 1 and averaged DM 4.50 (about \$1.07) per ton. The Bundestag has accepted a government proposal to increase steel prices DM 28.50 (about \$6.78) per ton with details to be announced later.

The Federal German government has approved tariff increases for the Bundesbahn (federal railroad system) which will correspond to the railroad salary and wage increase of Oct. 1, 1950, and to the increased costs of materials, particularly coal. Freight rates were to be increased effective Jan. 1, 1951 by an average of 15 percent and commutation fares by 50 percent (except students' tickets). Exceptional freight tariffs below the level of operating costs (subsidy tariffs) have been raised.

### CONSUMER PRICE INDEX—BIZONAL AREA <sup>1/</sup>

(1938=100)

(Wage/salary earner's family of four, with one child under 14)

	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
TOTAL . . . . .	149	150	151
Food . . . . .	150	152	155
Stimulants . . . . .	275	275	275
Clothing . . . . .	187	189	192
Rent . . . . .	103	103	103
Heat and light . . . . .	118	119	119
Cleaning and hygiene . . . . .	148	148	149
Education and entertainment . . . . .	141	142	142
Household goods . . . . .	161	163	165
Traveling . . . . .	133	133	133

<sup>1/</sup>—The Consumer Price Index is not yet available on a trizonal basis.

### Money and Credit

Short-term credit increased by only DM 217,000,000 (\$51,646,000) during November to a total of DM 13,372,000,000 (\$3,182,336,000) as compared to increases of DM 592,000,000 (\$138,920,000) and DM 613,000,000 (\$145,894,000) (both revised) during September and October respectively. The volume of money (currency plus deposits) increased DM 309,000,000 (\$73,542,000) in November, reaching DM 26,245,000,000 (\$6,247,000,000), as compared to an October increase of DM 637,000,000 (\$151,606,000) (revised). Excess reserves as a proportion of minimum reserves continued to decrease to 2.3 percent at the end of November from 2.9 percent at the end of October and 5.5 percent at the end of September.

To all appearances, the rate of monetary expansion seems to have been retarded. Preliminary reports for December, based on samples, indicate a slightly accelerated rate of expansion, probably attributable to pre-Christmas retail activity.

### Food and Agriculture

The original program to ship some 30,000 metric tons of flour from the Federal Republic to Yugoslavia<sup>2</sup> was expanded in December to a total of

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1951, p. 104.

approximately 67,000 tons. In return for the flour shipped to Yugoslavia western Germany will receive from the United States an equivalent amount of wheat, in addition to an estimated 28,500 tons of wheat and 4,250 tons of mill products as compensation for millings, labor, transportation and other Deutschemark costs.

Immediate delivery to Yugoslavia has been essential to permit distribution before heavy snows curtail operations. As a result of exceptional cooperation among various Federal Republic agencies, 10,000 tons were shipped in November, 37,000 tons in December, and the balance of 20,000 tons was to be delivered by mid-January. Yugoslavian representatives in western Germany have expressed complete satisfaction with the quality of flour received and with the speed of delivery.

The program, developed on short notice, has been handled with ease by the German railroads—illustrating the great improvement in their operation. Only 2 years ago extraordinary efforts were required to accomplish similar programs. The achievement of the railroads was accomplished with no more freight cars than 2 years ago and approximately 70,000 fewer employees.

#### Feeds

Because of excellent growing conditions during the spring and summer and despite a sharp reduction in area, hay production in 1950 reached 22,000,000 metric tons dry weight equivalent, about 2 percent higher than in 1949. In addition, substantial increases have occurred in the production of fodder roots (about 4,000,000 metric tons to more than 25,000,000 tons), intermediate field fodder and other fodder plants. Furthermore, the increased production of beets of all kinds has provided more fodder from beet tops.

Approximately 12,500,000 metric tons of the total potato harvest of 28,000,000 metric tons are expected to be fed animals during 1950-51—some 6,000,000 metric tons more than fed last year—and enough for more than 1 ton of potatoes per hog estimated to be on farms during 1950-51. Feed grain production during 1950 has been about 150,000 metric tons, or 3.5 percent more than in 1949. Feed grain imports during 1950-51 planned by the Federal Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Forestry will approach those of the previous year.

As a result of the sharp rise in world market sugar prices, the price of sugar-beet molasses to be exchanged with the United States, at the ratio of 3 to 1, has been increased to \$40 per metric ton f.o.b. German ports, from the \$35 originally agreed. The Federal Republic has to date made firm commitments for the delivery of 15,000 metric tons molasses during March 1951.

#### Berlin

Industrial production (as estimated from the value of sales by manufacturers) reached a post-

war record of 43 percent of the 1936 level in November 1950—10 percent (four points) above the October level and almost 60 percent above the level a year ago. This sharp rise in production since a year ago has been accomplished mainly through a lengthening of the average work day and higher output per manhour. Industrial employment has gone up by only about 14 percent.

Unemployment rose seasonally by approximately 9,000 in December 1950, reaching 286,500—20,000 less than the high point reached in February 1950.

## Visit of the French President

On March 15, the Department of State announced that the President of the French Republic, Vincent Auriol, and his party will arrive at Washington on March 28. President and Mrs. Truman will meet President Auriol's party at Union Station. On that evening, President and Mrs. Truman will give a dinner in honor of President and Madame Auriol.

On March 29, President Auriol will lay a wreath at the statue of Lafayette in Lafayette Park; and, on that evening, the Secretary of State and Mrs. Acheson will give a dinner in honor of President and Madame Auriol.

On March 30, the President and party will leave Washington for Annapolis where they will visit the Naval Academy and review a parade of midshipmen. On that evening, President and Madame Auriol will give a dinner in honor of President and Mrs. Truman at the French Embassy.

The party will go to Mount Vernon on March 31 where the President will lay a wreath on the tomb of Washington and will also visit Arlington National Cemetery where the President will lay a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

On April 2, the President will address the Congress, and, later, the party will depart for New York City.

On April 3, the President and his party will be received at City Hall by the Mayor of New York, and Columbia University will bestow an honorary degree on the President.

The President and party will visit Hyde Park on April 4 and will depart for Montreal that night enroute to Ottawa.

Included in President Auriol's party are the following persons:

*Robert Schuman, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Henri Bonnet, Ambassador of the French Republic, and Madame Bonnet; Gen. Paul Grossin, Military Secretary General to the President; Jacques Dumaine, Chief of Protocol; Paul Auriol, Assistant Secretary General to the President; Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, Director of the Office of the President; Bernard Bock, Counselor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; David K. E. Bruce, American Ambassador to France; John F. Simmons, Chief of Protocol; and Maj. Gen. William E. Hall, USAF, Aide to the President.*

## Facts Relating to Roosevelt Letter Purportedly Written to National Council of Young Israel

[Released to the press March 12]

The only reference to a letter dated February 20, 1943, purportedly written by President Roosevelt to a representative of the National Council of Young Israel, in the files of the Department prior to the recent reports from Embassy Paris was that contained in Despatch No. 694, May 26, 1950, from Embassy Madrid. The subject of that despatch was *Espana tenía razón*, 1939-1945 (Madrid, 1949, 1950), a justification of Spain's conduct during the past war, by José María Doussinague, former Political Director of the Spanish Foreign Ministry and presently Spanish Ambassador to Chile. The pertinent statement referred to a "letter allegedly written by President Roosevelt to a Zionist, Zabronsky."

The alleged letter is not cut out of whole cloth but ingeniously fashioned from fact, half truth, rumor, and inaccuracy. The illusion of authenticity is created but fades under scrutiny. This is especially true of the final paragraph.

A. The facts bearing upon an award of the Council to President Roosevelt and the celebration of its thirty-first anniversary are as follows:

1. In a letter of November 22, 1938, Jacob O. Zabronsky, President of the National Council of Young Israel, informed President Roosevelt that constituent branches of the Council had unanimously voted to present him with its second annual award and "a copy of Israel's greatest treasure, the Scroll of the Torah."<sup>1</sup> He requested the President to designate the time and place most convenient for him to accept the award.

2. President Roosevelt's acceptance of the award was communicated to Zabronsky by Col. Marvin H. McIntyre, Secretary to the President. McIntyre's letter was dated December 12, 1938. Arrangements for the formal presentation were to be made at a later date.

3. On December 14, 1938, Zabronsky again wrote to the President. Gratefully acknowledging the President's willingness to accept the award, he sought a statement from Mr. Roosevelt, a statement to be included in a publication which would be issued at the dinner on January 29, 1939, commemorating the twenty-seventh anniversary of the National Council of Young Israel.

4. Subsequently, an appropriate message from the President, dated December 20, 1938, was sent to Zabronsky. Despite the changes that might occur in the process of several translations, there is a very striking similarity between the first three sentences of the December 20, 1938, document and the final paragraph of the alleged February 20, 1943, letter. (For a comparison, see "C.")

5. Jacob O. Zabronsky as President of the Council of Young Israel presented the second annual award and the scroll of the Torah to President Roosevelt at the White House, March 14, 1939.

6. The thirty-first anniversary dinner of the Council was held on March 28, 1943, Hotel Waldorf Astoria, New York. The presiding officer was President J. David Delman, not Zabronsky. On that occasion, Zabronsky dedicated a service flag in honor of young Israelites in the armed forces and recited a prayer "for President Roosevelt, for all constituted officers of the United States, and for servicemen."<sup>2</sup>

7. Writing to President Roosevelt on November 1, 1944, Zabronsky expressed his "heartfelt wishes for a double Victory—the first at the polls on November 7th, and the second on the battlefields of the world in the very near future." He recalled their meeting at the White House on March 14, 1939, and indicated that he had not seen the President since that date.

B. Other portions of the alleged letter suffer likewise under examination.

1. *Visit of Timoshenko to the United States.*—A check of qualified sources in State and Defense

<sup>1</sup> Photostatic copies of correspondence between the White House and Zabronsky were made available by Herman Kahn, Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y. There are 53 pieces in the series, the first dated February 10, 1938, and the last November 8, 1944, none for 1943. These are all of a more or less ceremonial or routine nature. The report from the Roosevelt Library stated that the material there failed to reveal any such letter as that of February 20 or any indication of such a letter ever having been written.

<sup>2</sup> *The Young Israel Viewpoint* (April 1943) pp. 8-9; *New York Times*, Mar. 29, 1943, p. 6.

Departments and CIA failed to uncover any evidence that Marshal Timoshenko ever visited the United States before, during, or after the war. In February 1943, however, rumors of a pending visit by Timoshenko to the United States had appeared in press and radio reports from North Africa, London, and New York. In his press conference of February 16, 1943, President Roosevelt simply laughed off the question. Tass News Agency denied all reports.<sup>3</sup>

It is known that, in January 1943, Marshal Timoshenko was in active command of Soviet forces in the North between Staraya Russa and Leningrad. He was credited with victories at Demyansk and in the Lake Ilmen region from February to June 1943.

2. *Councils of Europe and Asia.*—It is a matter of published record that, in the spring and fall of 1943, President Roosevelt was emphatically opposed to the United States being a member of an independent regional group such as a Council of Europe. He indicated this position to British Foreign Secretary Eden in a meeting at Washington, March 27, 1943; and again to Josef Stalin at the Tehran Conference, November 1943.<sup>4</sup>

All the United Nations, in the President's opinion, should be members of a world organization, under which there might be regional councils also exercising only advisory powers. The real decisions would be made by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. This "Four Policemen" idea ties in with the "World Tetrarchy" phrase of the alleged letter. In the latter, however, there is no mention of China. At the Tehran Conference, Stalin was reported to be doubtful as to the power of China when the war ended and to feel that the small nations of Europe would take an unfavorable view of the "Four Policemen" concept especially with China as one of them.<sup>5</sup>

3. *Absorption of Baltic States by the Soviet Union.*—As late as March 14, 1943, when he discussed postwar geographical problems with Eden, President Roosevelt was averse to yielding unreservedly to any future Soviet demand for absorption of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. He felt that the United States would require

<sup>3</sup> New York Times, Feb. 14, 1943, p. 36; *ibid.*, Feb. 15, p. 6; *ibid.*, Feb. 22, p. 9; *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. XII (*The Tide Turns*), p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins; An Intimate History*, pp. 717, 786. Prime Minister Churchill did discuss with President Inonu of Turkey at Adana, Jan. 30, 1943, the idea of a postwar organization such as Councils of Europe and of Asia. He publicized the scheme in a speech of Mar. 21, 1943. (Winston S. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, pp. 711f.; *Onwards to Victory; War Speeches of the Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, C. H., M. P.*, 1943, pp. 36f.; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 700.)

<sup>5</sup> Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 786.

another plebiscite as the 1939 was probably a fake. He agreed that, pending a decision, close economic and military relations between those states and the Soviet Union were essential.<sup>6</sup>

4. *Role of France in the postwar era.*—No evidence has been found as to what the President thought, in the spring of 1943, should be the role of France in the postwar period and world organization.

C. Similarity between certain portions of December 20, 1938, message from President Roosevelt to Zabronsky and of alleged February 20, 1943, document.

#### 1. December 20, 1938:

I am deeply touched by the action of the National Council of Young Israel in presenting to me the second annual award of that organization. And I appreciate from the bottom of my heart the generous terms of your letter conveying to me your decision to present me with a copy of Israel's greatest treasure, the scroll of the Torah.

Will you, therefore, please convey my thanks to the National Council on the happy occasion of the banquet marking its twenty-seventh anniversary.

#### 2. February 20, 1943:

I noted with the greatest pleasure, as I said to you at the time, the generous terms of the document advising me of your decision, and the desire which you expressed of presenting to me, on behalf of the National Council, a copy of that treasure which is the finest of Israel, the Roll of the Torah. This letter is your proof of my acceptance; to the loyalty I respond with the greatest of confidence. Be good enough, I beg you, to convey my gratitude to the distinguished body over which you preside, recalling the happy occasion of the banquet on your thirty-first anniversary.

### TEXT OF ALLEGED LETTER OF FEBRUARY 20, 1943

[Translation]

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, February 20, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. ZABROUSKY: As I had the pleasure of stating orally to you and to Mr. Weis, I am profoundly moved by the fact that the National Council of Young Israel has had the great kindness to offer itself to me as a mediator with our mutual friend Stalin in these very difficult moments in which every danger of friction within the Union of Nations—achieved at the cost of so many concessions—would bring fatal consequences to all, but principally to the Soviet Union itself.

It is, then, to their interest and ours to smooth off the edges, something which now is and in future is going to be difficult in dealing with Litvinov, whom I have found it necessary to warn, much to my regret, that "those who meddle with Uncle Sam may come out the worse", and that applies to domestic as well as foreign affairs. For his pretensions with respect to Communist activities in the United States of America have already become quite intolerable.

Timoshenko showed himself to be more reasonable in his brief but fruitful visit, and to desire, furthermore, that a new interview with the Marshal might be a rapid means toward an exchange of impressions directly with Stalin, something which I consider to be of constantly increasing urgency, above all when I recall how much good came from the Stalin-Churchill tête à tête.

<sup>6</sup> Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 709, 715.

The United States and Great Britain are ready—with no mental reservations whatever—to give absolute equality and vote to the U.S.S.R. in the future post-war reorganization of the world. In that reorganization it will form part—as the British Prime Minister had informed it since Adana, on the occasion of sending it the well-known draft—of the directing group within the Council of Europe and the Council of Asia, its right to that place being derived not only from the extensive intercontinental location of the U.S.S.R. but principally from its magnificent and to all eyes admirable struggle against Nazism, which will deserve all the congratulations of History and of Civilization.

It is our intention—and I speak on behalf of my great country and the powerful British Empire—that these Continental Councils shall be composed of all of their respective independent States, although with equitable proportional representation.

And you, my dear Mr. Zbrousky, may assure Stalin that the U.S.S.R. will be, for such purpose and with equality of power, a member of the governing body of the said Councils (Europe and Asia), and will also be a member, on a par with England and the United States, of the High Court that will have to be created to solve differences among the various nations, and it will likewise identically take part in the selection and preparation of the international forces, and in the arming and command of those forces which, on the orders of the Continental Council, will operate within each State, in order that the very wise postulates for the maintenance of peace, in the spirit of the esteemed League of Nations, may not again come to naught, but that these interstate bodies and their joint armies may be able to impose their decisions and cause them to be obeyed.

Now, this high directing post in the World Tetrarchy—we are planning to give the Secretaryship to France, although with voice but without vote, as a reward for its present resistance and a penalty for its former weakness—should satisfy Stalin to the point of not renewing pretensions that create insoluble problems for us. Thus, the American Continent will remain outside all Soviet influence and under the exclusive influence of the United States, as we have promised our continental countries. In Europe France will again revolve in the British orbit—with broad self-determination and with the right to the aforementioned Secretaryship in the Tetrarchy—and under the protection of England, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece would also be developed toward a modern definitive civilization that would bring them out of their historic collapse; aside from granting to the Soviet Union an outlet to the Mediterranean, we would also yield to their desires in Finland and in the Baltic in general, and we would require from Poland a sensible attitude of understanding and settlement, leaving a broad field for expansion, furthermore, to Stalin, in the undeveloped small countries of Eastern Europe—taking due account, however, of the rights of Yugoslav and Czechoslovak loyalty—aside from total recovery of the territories which have temporarily been taken from Great Russia.

And above all, elimination of the German danger which, with the Third Reich divided and its pieces jumbled together with other territories in new nationalities opposed to the German, will definitively disappear as a danger to the U.S.S.R. and to Europe and to the whole world.

As for Turkey, why discuss it further! This has to be understood, and Churchill, in both our names, has given the necessary assurances to Inonu. The passage to the Mediterranean which is obtained for Stalin should satisfy him.

As for Asia, according to its postulates, except in case of later complications. With respect to Africa, why more about that! Because something will have to be returned to France and it will even have to be compensated for the matter of Asia, and it will also be necessary to add to Egypt, as was promised to the Wafdists; with regard to Spain and Portugal, for the sake of better universal

equilibrium, they also will have to be compensated for the necessary renunciations. The United States also enters into that part, by right of conquest, and will necessarily claim some vital point for its zone. This is just! And it is necessary to allow Brazil the small colonial expansion offered.

Convince Stalin, my dear Mr. Zbrousky, that, for the good of all and for the rapid annihilation of the Reich (though all this is nothing more than general lines presented for study), he must give in with respect to colonizing in Africa and, with respect to America, he must withdraw his propaganda and intervention in labor centers. Convince him also of my absolute understanding and of my full sympathy and desire to facilitate solutions, for which the interview I propose would be most desirable.

And this is the question, in full.

I noted with the greatest pleasure, as I said to you at the time, the generous terms of the document advising me of your decision, and the desire which you expressed of presenting to me, on behalf of the National Council, a copy of that treasure which is the finest of Israel, the Roll of the Torah. This letter is your proof of my acceptance; to the loyalty I respond with the greatest of confidence. Be good enough, I beg of you, to convey my gratitude to the distinguished body over which you preside, recalling the happy occasion of the banquet on your thirty-first anniversary.

I wish you the best of success in your work of interpretation.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

## Agreement With Belgium on Indemnification for War Damage

*[Released to the press March 13]*

By an exchange of notes on March 12, 1951, between the American Ambassador in Brussels, Robert D. Murphy, and the Belgian Foreign Minister, Paul G. van Zeeland, an agreement for the granting of reciprocal treatment to the nationals of the two nations for indemnification of war damage to private property went into effect.

Reciprocal national treatment is given for indemnification of war damage sustained by American nationals in Belgium and by Belgian nationals within the territorial limits of the United States, including Hawaii and Alaska. In order to receive Belgian national treatment, the interested persons must qualify as American nationals, both on the date of the war damage and on March 12, 1951. The benefits are extended also to persons who have the status of American nationals only on one of the above-mentioned dates and that of a national either of Belgium or one of the other countries with which Belgium has concluded a reciprocal agreement concerning war damage on the other date.

War damage to ships and boats is not covered by this agreement, but this limitation applies only to the vessels themselves, their equipment, apparatus, and accessories necessary to navigation.

Belgian law provides that an inventory and an estimate of the value of the property of those suffering war damage drawn up as of October 9, 1944, must be filed with the competent Belgian authorities.

All claims for indemnification must be filed within 3 months of the publication of the agreement.

Americans seeking indemnification for war damage sustained in Belgium may file their claims with any Belgian consulate in the United States or with the Ministry of Reconstruction, 46 rue de la Loi, Brussels, Belgium. Appropriate forms for filing a claim may be obtained at any Belgian consulate or the Ministry of Reconstruction. Belgian consulates are located at New York, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Dallas, Texas. Persons who already have war damage claims on file with the Belgian authorities are not required to make new applications at this time.

The Department of State previously urged American nationals on March 27, 1946, August 5, 1946, and February 3, 1948, to file their declarations of war damage with the Belgian Ministry of Reconstruction in anticipation of the agreement which has now been concluded.<sup>1</sup>

## U. S. Delegation to Guatemalan Inaugural Ceremonies

[Released to the press March 5]

The President has approved the following delegation to represent the United States at the inauguration of Lt. Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman as President of the Republic of Guatemala on March 15:

Capus M. Waynick, Personal Representative of the President and Special Ambassador, head of delegation; U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua

Other members of the delegation will be:

Thomas C. Mann, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs  
 Lt. Gen. William H. H. Morris, Jr., Commander in Chief, Caribbean Command  
 Milton K. Wells, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., U.S. Embassy in Guatemala  
 Col. Samuel P. Walker, Jr., Military Attaché, U.S. Embassy in Guatemala  
 Col. Charles H. Deerwester, Air Attaché, U.S. Embassy in Guatemala  
 Capt. Alvard John Greenacre, Naval Attaché, U.S. Embassy in Guatemala  
 Andrew B. Wardlaw, Second Secretary of U.S. Embassy in Guatemala

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Apr. 14, 1946, p. 634; Aug. 18, 1946, p. 336; and Feb. 29, 1948, p. 278.

## Recent Releases

*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.*

**Restitution of Property: Monetary Gold Looted by Germany.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2123. Pub. 4009. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Spain—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Madrid April 30 and May 3, 1948; entered into force May 3, 1948.

**Weather Stations: Cooperative Program in Cuba.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2125. Pub. 4016. 7 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Cuba—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Habana June 30, 1950; entered into force July 1, 1950.

**Economic Cooperation With the Netherlands Under Public Law 472, 80th Congress, as Amended.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2126. Pub. 4019. 9 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and the Netherlands amending agreement of July 2, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at The Hague, January 16 and February 2, 1950; entered into force February 2, 1950.

**Air Service: Facilities in Italy.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2127. Pub. 4020. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Italy—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Rome June 9, 1947; entered into force June 9, 1947.

**Industrial Mobilization for Defense.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2136. Pub. 4037. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington October 26, 1950; entered into force October 26, 1950.

**Passport Visas.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2134. Pub. 4039. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Panama—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Panamá March 16 and June 14, 1949; entered into force June 14, 1949.

**Termination of Reciprocal Trade Agreement of March 11, 1936.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2133. Pub. 4040. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Nicaragua—Signed at Managua February 28, 1950; entered into force February 28, 1950.

**Technical Cooperation: Rural Improvement.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2139. Pub. 4045. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Iran—Signed at Teheran October 19, 1950; entered into force October 19, 1950.

**United Nations Action in Korea Under Unified Command.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 66 Pub. 4108. 7 pp. 5¢.

Eleventh Report to the Security Council, January 31, 1951.

## Point 4 Agreements Signed

### ISRAEL

[Released to the press February 26]

The Technical Cooperation Administration today announced the conclusion of a Point 4 general agreement between the Governments of the United States and Israel. The pact was signed at Hakiryia by Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett and United States Ambassador Monnett B. Davis. It was the first official act of the newly appointed Ambassador since presenting his credentials to the Government of Israel. He recently assumed his new post after having served since February 1948 as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Panama.

Mr. Davis and Foreign Minister Sharett welcomed the new agreement as a further example of friendly cooperation between the two nations since the creation of the state of Israel.

The agreement sets forth conditions of cooperation prescribed by the Act for International Development of 1950, which authorized the Point 4 Program. Within the framework of this "umbrella agreement," specific projects will assist Israel by sending experts from the United States and by bringing trainees to the United States to enlarge their knowledge and experience in their specialized fields.

The Government of Israel already has suggested that American experts would be useful and welcome in connection with road construction, railways, irrigation methods, organization of public health services, technical training, and citrus fruit production. Areas in which Israel would like to have its own personnel trained in the United States include deep-sea fishing, railways, the ceramic industry, and ship repairing. All of these projects are related to the broad program of economic development projected in Israel's 4-year plan and are designed to aid Israel's efforts to develop its resources and improve working and living conditions.

### JORDAN

[Released to the press March 2]

The Technical Cooperation Administration announced the signing of a general agreement for technical cooperation between the United States

and the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan. The agreement was signed at Amman by Samir Pasha Rifai, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jordan and A. David Fritzlan, Chargé d'Affaires of the American Legation, and became effective as of February 27, 1951.

The agreement paves the way for cooperative action to develop Jordan's resources and improve the living standard of its people.

### LEBANON

[Released to the press February 27]

The Governments of the United States and Lebanon have agreed to a Point 4 project for development of the Litani River. The project calls for a technical mission of 12 specialists from the Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of Interior, to cooperate with the Government of Lebanon in making a survey for the power and irrigation development of the Litani River. A fund of \$66,400 has been set up to begin this work during the current fiscal year.

A United Nations Economic Survey Mission headed by Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the TVA Board, visited Lebanon in 1949 and recommended the development of the Litani River as one of the major means of increasing both industrial and agricultural output. Hydroelectric power and irrigation have been placed at the head of a list of economic development projects proposed by Lebanon as part of a plan for raising the country's living standards.

Lebanon, with a land area of 4,000 square miles is approximately the size of Connecticut. The population is estimated at 1,200,000, making Lebanon one of the most densely settled of the Near East countries.

Two-thirds of Lebanon's inhabitants live in the rural areas, agriculture being the principal support of the country. Much of the land under cultivation is given over to the production of fruit and garden vegetables. A serious deficiency in the production of cereal crops now makes it necessary for Lebanon to import large quantities of wheat, barley, and corn.

## BOLIVIA

[Released to the press March 14]

Bolivia today concluded a Point 4 general agreement with the United States. The signing took place at La Paz with Foreign Minister Pedro Zilveti Arce representing Bolivia and Ambassador Irving Florman representing the United States. On a recent visit to Bolivia, Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett conferred with President Mamerto Urriolagoitia on the scope of the proposed Point 4 Program.

Bolivia's development program will include cooperative efforts in the fields of agriculture, health, education, and transportation. Increased food supply for Bolivia's people has high priority in the Point 4 technical assistance program. At present, Bolivia must import foodstuffs which constitute a heavy drain on the foreign exchange received from the exports of minerals. It is planned to expand the work of the Servicio Agrícola Inter-Americano in which the United States Department of Agriculture has cooperated since 1944.

Since 1942, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, through a cooperative servicio, has assisted in extensive health and sanitation programs in Bolivia. This Servicio has constructed health centers, carried out health education, supervised the building of sewer and water systems, and built small hospitals in isolated regions where the people previously had little or no medical care. At present, there are nine Americans working with 357 Bolivians on this project. Paul S. Fox, of Santa Fe, New Mexico, is chief of the Institute's Health and Sanitation Field Party.

In 1944, an education Servicio was established by local Bolivian Government departments and agencies in cooperation with the Institute. Some 200 rural elementary schools and two rural normal schools have been established under this education program.

The new Point 4 agreement makes possible also the continuation of child-welfare projects, the further development of Bolivia's transportation system through the construction of new airports, and the improvement of existing air transport practices through air traffic controls and air navigation facilities.

## COLOMBIA

[Released to the press March 9]

The Technical Cooperation Administration announced today the conclusion of a Point 4 general agreement between the United States and Colombia. Representing their Governments at the signing at Bogotá were United States Ambassador Willard L. Beaulac and Colombian Foreign Minister Gonzalo Restrepo Jaramillo.

The conclusion of this general agreement paves the way for the negotiation of special project agreements designed to help Colombia carry out her economic development plans.

Since 1942, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs has been operating a health and sanitation servicio at Bogotá, headed by Dr. Jean F. Rogier of Mason City, Iowa, which has been working with the Colombian Government on problems in preventive medicine and sanitation. Most of the funds for the project have come from Colombia.

Anthony Arriza of the Civil Aeronautics Authority is serving as adviser and consultant to the Colombian Government on matters of air communications and traffic control.

The Department of Agriculture is represented in Colombia by three American technical experts: Victor R. Gardner of East Lansing, Michigan, former director of the Michigan State Agricultural Experiment Station, who is working with the Colombian Ministry of Agriculture and the National Coffee Federation; Dr. Richard F. Schultes of Massachusetts and Raymond E. Stadelman of Kentucky, who are engaged in rubber development work.

A mining engineer from the Interior Department, Thomas Fraser of Whitehall, Illinois, went to Colombia last November on a Point 4 project to assist the Government in developing high grade coals. His headquarters are in the Cali Valley mining area.

The Technical Cooperation Administration has approved a Colombian request for a highway engineer and a highway economist to help reorganize the Ministry of Public Works.

Daniel Chaves, a specialist in animal husbandry from New Mexico, is teaching at the Medellin Agricultural College under the U.S. Educational Exchange program. A Colombian, Miss Angela Hernandez Arango, is in the United States under similar arrangement, receiving training in the U.S. Department of Agriculture library which she expects to use in her work at the college library in Medellin.

## URUGUAY

[Released to the press March 14]

The Governments of the United States and Uruguay today concluded a General Point 4 agreement which will put into operation a project to increase the food supply of Uruguay. American Ambassador Christian M. Ravndal and Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs Alberto Dominguez Campora negotiated the agreement which took the form of an exchange of notes.

The Technical Cooperation Administration announced that the Institute of Inter-American Affairs will be Point 4's agent in carrying out the food supply project according to the Servicio plan.

Of Point 4 funds, \$83,000 have been allocated to the project. Uruguay will match this financial commitment and, in addition, will supply the greater share of personnel.

Since 1943, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs has been cooperating with the Government of Uruguay in a health and sanitation Servicio, which has accented the training of professional people and the operation of health centers.

The new food supply Servicio will emphasize agricultural extension activities, research in livestock diseases, and the pooling of farm machinery.

## PANAMA

*[Released to the press March 1]*

The Republic of Panama and the United States have entered into an agreement, as a part of the Point 4 Program of technical cooperation, providing specifically for joint development of a health and sanitation project. Dr. Carlos N. Brin, Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed for Panama; and Murray M. Wise, Chargé d'Affaires, signed on behalf of the United States.

Activities under the health and sanitation agreement will be governed by the terms and conditions of the Point 4 general agreement for technical cooperation signed in Panamá on December 30, 1950.

Under the new agreement, specific projects may include the operation and development of health centers, the use and administration of preventive medicine, disease control, development of safe water supply, sewage disposal and environment sanitation, insect control, health education, development of nursing, and the training in Panama, in the United States, and elsewhere of local personnel in the field of health and sanitation.

An administrative agency, to be known as the Servicio Cooperativo Inter-Americano de Salud Publica will be established by the Government of Panama within the Ministry of Labor, Social Welfare, and Public Health to carry out the health and sanitation program. The Institute of Inter-American Affairs will cooperate in carrying out the program as the agent of the Technical Cooperation Administration. The United States will contribute \$50,000 to cover activities to June 30, 1951. These funds will be deposited to the credit of the Servicio together with an equal sum from Panama. In addition, the United States will make funds available to pay the salaries and other expenses of American experts who will go to Panama.

The agreement provides that Panama and the United States may agree later, subject to the availability of funds, to continue the health and sanitation program in Panama until June 30, 1955, the termination date of the agreement.

## U. S.-Chile Sign

### Air Force Mission Agreement

There were signed on February 15 by Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, and Félix Nieto del Río, Ambassador of Chile to the United States, two agreements providing for the detail of officers and enlisted men of the United States Navy and of the United States Air Force, respectively, as advisory missions to serve in Chile. The agreements are to continue in force for 3 years from the date of signature and may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of Chile.

## VOA Expands Broadcast Programs

The Voice of America will step up its international broadcasting operations on Thursday, March 15, under the Campaign of Truth program authorized by Congress last fall, the Department of State disclosed on March 9.

The expansion will include the inauguration of programs in Portuguese to Portugal and in the Swatow dialect to China, as well as increases in present transmission schedules to France, Hungary, Austria, Turkey, Italy, and in English to Europe.

Thursday's additions will increase the output of the Voice of America to 37 hours and 55 minutes daily in 29 languages and dialects, as compared with 28 hours and 55 minutes daily in 24 languages at the start of the current fiscal year on July 1, 1950.

The new Portuguese program will be 15 minutes daily and will be broadcast at 3:15 p.m., e.s.t. (8:15 p.m. Portuguese time), and relayed over BBC facilities.

The new Swatow program will be 30 minutes daily starting at 6 a.m., e.s.t. (7 p.m., China time), with relays over facilities at Honolulu and Manila. The Voice of America already broadcasts to China in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Amoy, and the Swatow broadcast will increase the daily output to China to 5½ hours daily.

The revised schedule will include "breakfast" programs in French (7:45-8 a.m., French time), Hungarian (7-7:15 a.m., Hungarian time), German to Austria (6:45-7 a.m., Austrian time), Italian (7:15-7:30 a.m., Italian time), and English to Europe.

A present Hungarian program of 15 minutes daily will be increased to 30 minutes (9:45-10:15 p.m., Hungarian time), expanding the Hungarian output to 1 hour and 15 minutes daily, and a new 15-minute Turkish broadcast will be added (10-10:15 p.m., Turkish time).

The new French, Hungarian, Italian, and English programs will be relayed by facilities at Munich; the Turkish program by facilities at Tangier; and the Austrian program by the Red-White-Red network in Austria.

### Water Control and Utilization Discussed as a World Problem

by Isador Lubin

U.S. Representative to ECOSOC<sup>1</sup>

In discussing item 10 of the agenda, namely, International Cooperation on Water Control and Utilization, we are considering a tool that, if properly used, can be a significant factor in attaining world peace. The intelligent use of the world's water supplies can bring economic and social advantages heretofore unknown to many parts of the world.

A nation which is divided in purpose may again reunite. A nation which has lost its liberty may again attain it. But a nation which squanders its resources can rarely recover them. And a nation which fails to develop its resources can never grow intrinsically strong.

These are not hollow words. Evidence of their truth is written in the ancient and abandoned fields and vanished civilizations of north Central Africa and in the worn lands of many unhappy sections of the world.

A nation of land without water is an economic, if not an actual desert. Given water, that same land may be converted into a productive source of income and economic stability. Any nation which wastes its water, limits its chance of growth, for only by an adequately balanced development of water and land can any nation prosper in agriculture, in industry, in commerce, or in a matured and inspiring culture.

Civilizations and peoples have always followed water. Water has not only sustained life, and the vegetation upon which life is dependent for nourishment and livelihood but water has always served as one of the important arteries of com-

merce. Of the 10 largest cities in the United States, for example, every one is located upon navigable waters. In fact, you will be interested to realize that two-thirds of the capital cities of the United Nations nations are located either on navigable waters or significantly important lakes or streams in their respective countries. Further, I am sure that if you will examine your own countries in your mind's eye, you will find this to be equally true of your largest cities, whether or not they are your national capitals.

Water routes for commerce are still of vital importance in all countries, however extensively those countries may have developed other means of transportation, and they will remain important for that purpose for the foreseeable future.

The bare fact is that no matter whatever other uses there have been in the past there is no substitute for water for modern domestic and industrial purposes. It is obvious that no city of any significance can survive at all, without a supply of water. Nor can any city expand or prosper in terms of commerce or industry without using ever larger and larger quantities of water of the proper qualities. Nor can any city dependent on a surrounding agricultural economy prosper unless there is provided, by nature or by man, an adequate supply of water, properly distributed, to support that agriculture on an assured and continuing basis.

Our individual and our collective prosperity depends upon the manner and the degree in which we use and control our water resources. The safeguarding and improvement of our water heritage is basic to increasing our productivity, sustaining an expanding economy, and creating new wealth in terms of food, clothing, the products of industry, and the satisfaction of the soul that

<sup>1</sup>Excerpts from a statement made on Feb. 22 in the Economic Committee of the Economic and Social Council, meeting at Santiago, Chile, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to Ecosoc on the same date.

comes from economic stability and growth. In these terms, water resource development projects are directly related to the peace of the world.

The appreciation of the significance and the value of water has matured rapidly with the growth of the industrial age. Today, it is realized that shortage of water for industrial purposes—just as surely as a shortage of manpower or raw materials or of capital—can defeat the hopes of any nation for future growth.

The different purposes that water development can serve vary in terms of need of possibility from area to area. Each separate plan must be tailor-made. A simplified discussion of the nine most common purposes and their possibilities for interrelation may, therefore, bring into focus both the prospects which each has in our own individual countries and their relationship to world prosperity.

### **Municipal and Industrial Water Supplies**

The vital importance of municipal and industrial water supplies in maintaining the populations of cities and villages alike, and to permit the processes of industry, are obvious. The per capita use of waters for these purposes is increasing annually. For example, in the United States not too many decades ago, the average city used less than 50 gallons of water per day per person for domestic purposes. Now, it uses 2 or 3 times that much. In the last 10 years alone, industry has increased its uses of water by an average of 36 percent, over 3½ percent per year.

It is amazing how few public, as well as private persons, realize the direct relationship between industrial production and the necessity for a reliable water supply!

To illustrate:

For the manufacture of roofing felt, from 7,000 to 14,000 gallons of water is required per ton of finished felt.

The amount of water required to produce a single ton of rayon yarn, varies from 250,000 to 400,000 gallons, depending upon the process.

It requires from 12 to 23 gallons of water to produce a dozen pairs of shoes, not including water for the leather tanning process.

Several tons of water are required to manufacture 1 ton of steel.

Hence, a full understanding of our potential water supply is as essential as a knowledge of available raw materials when we plan any type of industrial expansion.

Many cities throughout the world, including some in my own country, have grown to the place where they can no longer guarantee certain types of industries an adequate water supply. Some industries are, therefore, constructing their new plants in the countryside where water is available in greater quantity. Decentralization of industry is not simply a matter of defense. It is, in many

cases, a matter of water shortage. That even the most far-seeing and largest cities are subject to disruptions when something happens to their water supply is best illustrated by the inconvenience some of you suffered in New York City last year when an unexpectedly long dry period failed to keep the city's intricate reservoir system adequately replenished with restrictions on water use and laying off of workers. Los Angeles and San Diego have fully utilized their locally available water supplies and now convey supplemental supplies for hundreds of miles, outdistancing the famous Roman aqueducts. Such cities are increasing the lengths of their tentacle facilities regularly as populations increase. A workable solution that shows promise for many areas, not only in the Panhandle of Texas where it has recently been used but elsewhere in the United States and in many other countries, is a program of collaboration among cities and municipalities, acting collectively, to construct a reservoir and interconnected pipelines to serve them all. Such facilities would be beyond the financial ability of any one of the cities, but together they can undertake the program on a share-the-cost basis, assisted by Federal loans.

### **Irrigation**

Irrigation has been practiced with various degrees of success throughout all arid and semiarid parts of the world since before the beginning of recorded history. Today, mankind is struggling to see if he can produce food as fast as he reproduces himself. Many countries on several continents are turning toward irrigation as the road to survival.

Every hour 2,500 persons are added to the already bulging world population, a rate of increase unparalleled heretofore in the history of man. Thus, each new year finds over 20 million more people in the world to be fed. We anticipate in the United States, alone, an increase of nearly 40 million people in the next 25 years. As Sir John Orr, first President of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization said,

In the race between population and food, population is winning.

Although our earliest known irrigation developments in the United States date back some 400 years, nowhere near as far back as in certain parts of Latin America, modern irrigation is only a century old.

China, India, and Pakistan lead all nations in irrigated areas, each with 30 to 50 million acres of irrigation. The United States, with more than 23 million acres, ranks fourth. The Soviet Union, Japan, France, Mexico, Italy, Iraq, and a dozen more other countries have substantial areas under irrigation. Right here in Chile there are over 3 million acres under irrigation, and, in the

neighboring countries of Argentina and Brazil together, there are an additional 4 million acres.

A recent examination of the financial policies of 22 countries shows that an evolution is taking place in national recognition of the need for financing irrigation projects by national governments. In large measure, this trend is the outgrowth of recognizing the fact that new national wealth is created by irrigation and that the nation, which has need for irrigation and supports it, is repaid many times over through the contributions which irrigation projects make to the expansion and stabilization of the national economy. In Siam, for example, the Government apparently considers it to be sound business completely to subsidize irrigation works, thus increasing national production. Excise taxes levied on exports produced as a result of irrigation have yielded a return to the Government equal to the original project investment, and even more. The converse of this financial practice applies generally in countries which are younger in terms of irrigation practice. There, the irrigator himself is required to repay directly a substantial part, or all, of the project costs. New frontiers and expanding frontiers can be developed within almost every country if a realistic national approach is adopted and if that approach is compatible with the political philosophy of the country.

#### **Hydroelectric Power**

It is hardly necessary to state in this Council that hydroelectric power is one of the most important aspects of water resource development. But one must point out, however, that all too frequently there is a tendency to forget the fact that hydroelectric power can be most easily and most economically created in combination with the storage of water for municipal and industrial purposes, for the improvement of navigation, for the provision of irrigation water supplies, or for the control of floods.

The generation and distribution of hydroelectric power has been instrumental in bringing mechanization and industry to entire nations, such as Sweden, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland. Since its energy is derived from a renewable resource, water, it assists in the conservation of irreplaceable fuels, such as coal, oil, or gas, or reduces the national cost of transportation of those commodities. Vast though our known reserves of irreplaceable sources of energy are throughout the world, the world must remember that at present it is gambling on its continued ability to indefinitely find new oil pools, new coal beds, and new gas fields, or make synthetic fuels which can replace them economically. We may look forward to the day when solar or atomic energy may be utilized economically for the betterment of mankind, but as yet we are unable to foresee, in anything like positive terms, that solar or atomic energy will be able economically to replace the

advantages of hydroelectric power generation. Hydroelectric power is conducive also to development of the extractive industries such as mining, timber products, and to basic industries which require large blocks of energy, such as in the reduction of bauxite into aluminum.

#### **Flood Control**

For hundreds of years, efforts have been made everywhere to control the devastating effects of floods for the protection of life and property. Early efforts were almost solely limited to plans to protect a given, and usually small, but important area. Gradually flood control was enlarged to include the protection of agricultural lands. The control of floods has made possible the cultivation of enormous areas of rich bottom lands along the Mississippi River, in the Central Valley of California, and in numerous parts of Europe and Africa. Such works can be equally important to the future welfare of China, where the water of the Yangtze, the Yellow, and other rivers too often run amuck.

In the arid portions of the world, reservoirs to capture and make useful the water supplies for irrigation and power purposes can often be used also to control floods. In those parts of the world particularly, water must be conserved—to capture the flood water of a stream and store it for later release for irrigation purposes is similar to putting money in the bank. Like other types of water resource development projects, the control of floods protects and permits the expansion of industry, minimizes or eliminates disruptions to rail and road transportation which so characteristically parallels river banks, and makes unnecessary the tragic and costly migrations of populations from flood invaded lands.

#### **Multiple-purpose and Basin-wide Plans**

. . . In certain parts of the world, the days of the single-purpose project are passing. For some years, now, the multiple-purpose project has been becoming the more common practice. As experience has expanded, and as developments have increased in number and complexity, we have learned the interrelationship and the interdependence of one project in a river basin with another project in that same basin, and basin-wide plans have been developed so that all of the individual projects in any one river basin will fit together for the best composite whole.

River basin development is considered so vital to the future prosperity of the United States that the President of the United States last year created a Water Resources Policy Commission to evolve and bring up to date a uniform national water policy. That Commission has recently completed its task and has submitted to the President a water policy for the American people. That policy rec-

ognizes and commends the use of basin-wide plans for the purposes I have just been discussing. Hence, the multiple-purpose project now becomes a part of the over-all basin plan, and, in certain areas, we are already working not only on inter-basin but also on interregional and international plans.

In our discussion of item 9—the Secretary-General's report on conservation and utilization of natural resources—many references were made to the problem of conserving our resources. I believe that I cannot be accused of exaggeration when I say that in virtually every conservation program, water—its use and its control—is fundamental.

The responsibility for the development of water resources and for their inherent improvement does not rest with any one country by itself. To be sure, leadership is needed within each country so that its particular needs can best be met according to its own devices and yardsticks. But leadership is also needed among the nations for dealing with international streams, such as the Danube, the Nile, the Rio Grande, the Columbia, and many others. Afghanistan and Iran are now settling, by amicable conference based upon sound technical judgment, the problem on the Helmand River. The problem, there, is of the type which, too few years ago, might have led to international strife. I am sure that all of us here are looking for an equally constructive approach to the solution of problems of the same kind that exist in other parts of the world.

International agreements between the Republic of Mexico and the United States on the waters of the Colorado River, the Rio Grande, and Tia Juana Rivers have been negotiated and approved to the mutual benefit and satisfaction of both countries. Agreements with Canada on the St. Lawrence and other international streams are under way. There is every good reason to believe and hope that nations everywhere can and will get together and solve their claims to international streams and, thereby, bring mutually advantageous multiple-purpose and basin-wide development into being. Water is no respecter of political boundaries.

Water has unique characteristics. Time does not change it. It is the same today as it was ten thousand years ago. Water is active and affects the existence or nonexistence of all other things. Our respective desires and the opportunities to create those other things depend in substantial part on how we make use of our water supply. Prudent use of water contributes to the economic uplifting of all nations and, by such economic advancement, to the peace and economic stability of the world.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the importance of developing international consultation and action in the field of water control and utilization and in

view of the need for effective international machinery in this field, it is the opinion of the United States delegation that steps should be taken to establish a coordinated program on water control and utilization within the United Nations itself. The objective should be to stimulate and help improve national programs and policies relating to water control and utilization, through the exchange of information, and through the coordination of technical assistance programs in this field.

In Resolution A/1524(d), the General Assembly has already taken a first step toward dealing with a program on water control and utilization. It has requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report for the consideration of this Council on studies now being undertaken and on technical assistance activities now under way with reference to arid zones in the various interested organizations. The United States delegation proposes that we go beyond the step taken by the General Assembly in Resolution A/1524(d).

The United States delegation considers that effective national action in the water control and utilization field is of basic importance in economic development programs and that further international consultation and cooperation in these fields are needed with a view to joint and separate action.

We, therefore, propose that there be developed within the existing United Nations system, that is the United Nations Secretariat and the specialized agencies, facilities to

1. Stimulate new research, where necessary, and promote the exchange and coordination of research findings and practical experience on all aspects of water control and utilization, using not only public but private institutions.

2. Assist in arranging technical assistance projects of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in such a way that the multiple-purpose approach to water control and utilization problems is furthered wherever possible.

3. Formulate proposals for cooperative international action to assist national action in these fields.

We recommend that these facilities be developed by stages, that is, through action by all of the interested United Nations agencies over a period of years, as may be necessary.

It is with these purposes in mind, Mr. Chairman, that the United States delegation proposes, for the consideration of the Council, the draft resolution annexed to Document E/1894, which requests the Secretary-General, in preparing his report upon the General Assembly Resolution A/1524(d), to take into consideration the entire field of water control and utilization rather than the field of arid zones alone and, at the same time, to cover the work being done by all the international organizations in the field, whether governmental, semigovernmental, or nongovernmental.

## UNESCO and the Cultivation of Human Rights

by *Richard H. Heindel*  
*Deputy Director, Unesco Relations Staff*<sup>1</sup>

UNESCO can be viewed as a revolution. If the title of this session—"UNESCO as a World Force in the Establishment of Human Rights"—is taken seriously, UNESCO is certainly much more than an academy.

No one declaration, no one program, no one agency can comprehend the establishment of human rights and the staggering responsibilities which always accompany such rights. But I like to think that everything UNESCO touches, and everything that men and women of talents and good will do for it, alone or collectively, in any part of the world, advances the cause of human rights.

Examine a few of the related, major UNESCO activities which are "directed toward the peace and prosperity of mankind" at a time when "human solidarity is under trial and when human rights are in peril." You may conclude that UNESCO can be interpreted as an agent of brain power and leadership—to guide the present revolutions against oppression and poverty into more democratic channels and to inject a leaven of universalism into the stirring nationalism of many areas of the world.

I am certain that UNESCO's dynamic role does not frighten us. Even Karl Marx once said:

In the eighteenth century, the American war of independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle-class . . . in the nineteenth century, the American civil war sounded it for the European working-class.

Recently, Justice William O. Douglas suggested that the United States—

direct the revolutions of the world into democratic channels; if we do we will at once enlist the support and enthusiasm of the peoples.

Time and time again, American scholars, educators, and intellectuals have tried to do something about the situation described by the Director Gen-

eral of UNESCO when he spoke at Cleveland, April 1949—

. . . The most dangerous division in the world is the one between education and ignorance, between the culturally privileged and the culturally underprivileged, between the intellectual "haves" and the intellectual "have-nots."

I am saying these things because I believe the fundamental objectives and priority directions of UNESCO coincide with United States foreign policies generally, and with the basic motivations of American scholarly and creative workers. I am saying this, too, because forces hostile to UNESCO and to us have been debauching the integrity of education, science, and culture, they have stolen and perverted our most cherished words and values, and they have generally fouled international semantics and the channels of communication.

### **Purpose of the UNESCO Program**

In my reading of American history, of American education, I find a democratic, dynamic, political, and social heritage; a population of many nationalities, creeds, and races; the willingness to share ideas and experience through education and by mass media; a concern for civic responsibility and individual dignity; technological skills for a world that is being rapidly changed by the impact of science; and broad, as well as specialized, accomplishments in many fields of knowledge and creation. I do not find, in sum, a dreary record of reaction, warmongering, incurious provincialism, obscurantism, dilettantism, or cultural imperialism.

I believe this analysis explains in part why the United States takes, and ought to take, such a deep interest in helping UNESCO find its vital role in the present world situation. Besides, there are many advantages, for ourselves and for the rest of the world, in testing and sharing American

<sup>1</sup>Address made before the American Association of School Administrators at Atlantic City, N.J., on Feb. 22.

strengths and ideas through a multilateral agency of many nations and cultures.

1. In waging peace, in establishing the bedrock of human rights—the widest of the central themes running through the UNESCO program—UNESCO has begun to concentrate some of its efforts on fundamental education, within its regular program and possibly in a special project which would apply 20 million dollars over a period of 12 years for various areas such as Equatorial Africa, Latin America, the Far East, India, and the Middle East.

The masses want education and give it a higher priority than we might imagine under the present circumstances. Projects aimed at preparing the illiterate, the unfranchised, and the young for useful national and international participation require zeal, patience, diplomacy, and skills. Here is a task which may very well involve the competences and contributions of all the scholarly and creative fields presently identified with UNESCO. Of course, this is a long-term process. But immediate, vigorous, and proper execution now will yield immediate values and results which are urgently needed.

I am confident that American education has much to contribute in know-how, personnel, and spirit to this priority, to this revolution if you like. And you can work on it at home or in the foreign fields.

2. Economic well-being is an aspiration for all people throughout the world. UNESCO has got under way its share of the world's work in technical assistance and has agreements with 13 countries. Basically, this also includes the encouragement of improved training for tomorrow's leaders in education and science. Possibly, if one looks at the timetables, at the urgencies, secondary education may need as much invigoration as a program for universal literacy.

Here, again, all the disciplines and specialties can participate, perhaps not so much to elaborate as to share the world's store of knowledge. Yes, UNESCO is as revolutionary as the spirit behind our great elementary and secondary school system, and behind the act of our land-grant colleges and universities.

But this is not enough. And, fortunately, UNESCO does not think so either.

3. It is heartening to hear the Director General of UNESCO declare that "UNESCO is first and foremost an organ of education for peace under the law." This must certainly mean a vigorous and effective support for the United Nation's system, human rights, collective security, and the development of a sense of loyalty to international cooperation.

The programs of Education for International Understanding and of Teaching about the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, one may surmise, will enable influential leaders and major public opinion groups to play a more effective, intelligent part in influencing the course of inter-

national affairs toward peace and security. A positive educational program in support of the kind of international life the United Nations stands for is necessary on a world-wide basis. This seems to me political education of the highest order—political literacy is added to literacy. A "thinking citizenry" cannot but be an appropriate concept for UNESCO.

It appears to me, to adapt the words of the Executive Board's resolution about Korea last August, that these programs will help to reinforce "in the minds of men the intellectual and moral defences of peace through law." This is important, even though we must admit that only free minds have alternatives from which to choose.

This work will help to correlate intellectual enlightenment and the maintenance of peace and justice. Once more, this activity helps us to achieve a synoptic view; it is not just what UNESCO can do for particular educational, scientific, or cultural activities, it is also what education, science, and culture can do for UNESCO.

So much for these three priorities.

There are other projects and instrumentalities which are related to today's theme and also to what you are doing and can do in your own community.

#### **Aim To Achieve World Cultural Interdependence**

You are a contributor to and beneficiary of whatever helps to carry out the demonstration of world cultural interdependence. Certain of you, for example, have been trying hard to broaden and deepen foreign area studies in your school systems. A sincere recognition of the achievements of other cultures helps to promote solidarity among diverse peoples. UNESCO, through activities in the field of book and gift coupons, translations, the interchange of persons, and the removal of barriers, has aimed at widening and improving the sharing and interchange of essential scholarly and cultural data.

There is little doubt that UNESCO has to solve a communication problem in the relatively new field of intercultural relations and cultural diplomacy. This is not easy because in many countries the intellectuals have not solved communication among themselves or with the masses of their own country. The way is wide open for social inventions, workable devices, and the testing of traditional methods in the field of international cultural relations. UNESCO has also to recognize and digest the growing knowledge about social action and the roots of social behavior. It will have to identify basic predispositions and motivations, and it will have to find the best ways for UNESCO to influence and modify attitudes and behavior.

UNESCO cannot be designed merely as an arena for genteel discussion on seemingly irrelevant topics or for neutral aloofness when confronted by the poisoning of minds, the stifling of the sciences, the imposition of canons of taste in art, and the subversive attacks on the cultural values of

peoples and on the orderly improvement of disadvantaged countries. UNESCO and its National Commissions can and should develop the prestige which would help to achieve balance and perspective in a troubled world and which would help to maintain the unity and morale of the UNESCO world. UNESCO, as many of us here may view it, has a particular responsibility to protect the integrity of education, science, and culture against the inroads of tyranny, totalitarianism, and—darkness.

Yes, the cultivation of human rights is a plodding, searching, arduous task which is only occasionally lighted with drama. It is good that UNESCO is an ally in that task.

## Solution of Ewe Question Sought

*Statement by Francis B. Sayre<sup>1</sup>*

The United States delegation is glad to be associated with the representative of Iraq in introducing the draft resolution which stands jointly in our names. In view of the fact that both were represented on the visiting mission to West Africa last year, our two delegations have felt a special sense of responsibility for helping to find a solution of the now long-standing Ewe question. You will recall that Mr. Khalidy was chairman of the visiting mission and Mr. Gerig of the United States delegation was a member.<sup>2</sup>

The essential difference between our proposed resolution and the one introduced by the two administering authorities rests primarily on the question of urgency in finding a solution for the Ewe problem. The visiting mission, it will be recalled, after an analysis of the question which both administering authorities agreed was fair and objective, came to the conclusion that the question was one which required an urgent solution. This thought is clearly reflected in the terms and the tone of the draft resolution which we have laid before you. I am confident that the two administering authorities are also eager to find a sound long-term solution and will fully agree with our emphasis on this point.

A second fundamental difference in the two drafts is that, in the view of the Iraqi and United States delegations, it is surely time to move toward a substantive solution of the problem rather than to concentrate our efforts upon completing the Consultative Commission. My delegation, of course, is desirous that the principal sections of the populations of the two Togolands will all be represented in a completed Consultative Commission. The proposal of the two administering authorities offers one method for achieving this end. We be-

lieve, however, that other methods might also be found to complete it to the satisfaction of all elements concerned. We do not enumerate or attempt to indicate what such methods might be. Those, we believe, could well be left to the two administering authorities. However, as is indicated in the last paragraph of our resolution, the delegations of Iraq and the United States believe that, however successful or unsuccessful may be the result of the effort to complete the Consultative Commission, our main task from now on, and one of the highest importance, is to press forward urgently toward the finding and effectuation of a substantive solution. In spite of the inherent difficulties and complexities of the problem, we believe that this is both necessary and possible. We also believe that the various points of view of the peoples of the two territories are now fairly well-known and that nearly all the elements of the question have become manifest. Now seems the time, therefore, to move toward a real solution of the problem.

Finally, our proposal recommends that the two administering authorities inform the Council during its next session of the progress which has been achieved in this direction.

We believe that the majority of the members of the Trusteeship Council will agree with us that our proposal indicates the next steps to be taken.

### *Text of Resolution*

U.N. doc. T/864  
Adopted Mar. 9, 1951

#### The Trusteeship Council

HAVING CONSIDERED General Assembly resolution 441 (V) of 2 December 1950 on the Ewe problem,

NOTING the statements made by the Administering Authorities regarding the electoral methods adopted for elections to the enlarged Consultative Commission for the Trust Territories of Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration,

CONSIDERING that these methods represented an effort to enable the sections of the population concerned to express their opinions,

NOTING that certain groups in the two Trust Territories did not find it possible to take part either in certain stages of the elections or in the proceedings of the enlarged Consultative Commission,

1. *Notes* that the Administering Authorities propose to take steps in order to encourage these groups to take part hereafter in the work of the Commission;

2. *Urges* these groups to co-operate with the Administering Authorities in their efforts to seek a solution of the problem;

3. *Regrets* that a satisfactory solution of the problem has not yet been reached notwithstanding the delays involved;

4. *Draws the attention* of the Administering Authorities to the necessity of seeking a solution with the utmost expedition;

5. *Invites* the two Administering Authorities to continue their efforts to solve the problem in the spirit of the Resolution of the Trusteeship Council of 14 July 1950;

6. *Recommends*, whether or not the composition of the Consultative Commission is completed, that the Administering Authorities formulate as soon as possible substantive proposals for a practicable solution of the question and inform the Council accordingly not later than 1 July 1951.

<sup>1</sup> Made in the Trusteeship Council on Mar. 8 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N.

<sup>2</sup> For an article on the Ewe problem, see BULLETIN of Jan. 22, 1951, p. 128.

## International Materials Conference

[Released to the press March 16]

### Wool Committee Established

The Central Group of the International Materials Conference which is in session at Washington, D.C., has announced that the following countries have accepted the invitation to participate in the work of the Wool Committee: Australia, Belgium (for Benelux), France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay. The Wool Committee is scheduled to convene at 2:30 p.m., April 2, 1951.

The Wool Committee is the sixth committee established to review the supply position for essential materials in short supply, or in danger of becoming so, and to recommend measures for increasing the production and insuring the effective distribution and use of such materials. The number of Governments participating in one or more of the six committees totals 23.

### Central Group Expanded

The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France announced today the expansion of the Central Group of the International Materials Conference. The expanded Central Group will include, in addition to the United States, United Kingdom, and France, the Governments of Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, and Italy and representatives from the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the Organization of American States. The permanent Central Group will hold its first meeting in the near future.

Previous announcements by the three Governments which initiated the establishment of international commodity committees pointed out that the Central Group formed by them was temporary and that there would be consultations with Governments and appropriate organizations concerning the future composition of a permanent group to initiate and facilitate the work of committees on individual commodities. The acceptance by the new members of invitations to participate now makes it possible for the temporary group to turn over its functions to the enlarged body.

In its enlarged form, the Central Group will consist of eight of the largest producing and consuming countries of the world as well as two organizations representing states on a regional basis in the Americas and Europe. The five new countries represented are nations in the South Pacific area, Latin America, North America, Asia, and Europe, respectively.

### Cotton and Cotton Linters Committee (IMC)

The International Materials Conference announced on March 5 that the first meeting of the

Cotton and Cotton Linters Committee of the International Materials Conference met. Eleven countries were represented. Composition of the Cotton and Cotton Linters Committee is as follows:

**BELOIUM** (Representing **BENELUX**: Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg)

*Representative:* Pierre E. Jaspar, Economic Counselor  
Belgian Embassy

*Alternates:* J. Teppema, Commercial Secretary  
Netherlands Embassy  
A. Bastin Dr. A. H. Philipse  
A. D. Jacxsens M. H. Moerel  
R. Blum

#### **BRAZIL**

*Representative:* A. B. M. Cadaxa, Second Secretary, Brazilian Embassy

*Alternate:* Raul H. C. S. de Vincenzi, Second Secretary, Brazilian Embassy

#### **CANADA**

*Representative:* S. V. Allen, Special Deputy to Deputy Minister, Department of Trade and Commerce

*Alternate:* M. P. Carson, Assistant Commercial Secretary, Canadian Embassy

#### **FRANCE**

*Representative:* Jean Edouard Senn, President, Research Institute for Cotton and Textile

*Alternate:* Not yet designated

#### **GERMANY**

*Representative:* Hans C. Podeyn, Chief, German Mission to Economic Cooperation Administration, Washington, D. C.

*Alternate:* Kurt Hoernig, Programing Official, German Mission to ECA, Washington

#### **INDIA**

*Representative:* B. K. Nehru, Financial Counselor, Indian Embassy

*Alternate:* P. Vaidyanathan, Economic Attaché, Indian Embassy

#### **ITALY**

*Representative:* Giorgio Casoni

*Alternate:* Enrico Pavia, Consultant to Fink and Young of New York City, Counsel to Italian Embassy and Italian Cotton Association

#### **MEXICO**

*Representative:* Alfonso Cortina, Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs, Mexican Embassy

*Alternate:* Agustín Ochoa, Commercial Attaché, Mexican Embassy

#### **PERU**

*Representative:* Fernando Berckemeyer, Ambassador to the United States

*Alternate:* Germán Fernández Coneha, Minister Commercial Counselor, Peruvian Embassy

#### **UNITED KINGDOM**

*Representative:* H. W. Morris, Assistant Secretary Board of Trade

*Alternates:* G. E. M. McDougall, Counselor, British Embassy  
J. M. Cook  
E. Atherton

#### **UNITED STATES**

*Representative:* John H. Dean, Deputy Assistant Administrator for Commodity Operations Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

*Alternate:* Marion F. Rhodes, Director, Office of Requirements and Allocations, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

## U. S. Delegation to International Meetings

### Social Commission (ECOSOC)

On March 12, the Department of State announced that the seventh session of the Social Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council will convene at Geneva, on March 19, 1951. Since Arthur J. Altmeyer, United States representative on the Social Commission, will be unable to attend the forthcoming session, the President has appointed Jane M. Hoey, director of the Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, to serve as alternate United States representative. The following advisers have been designated to assist her:

Herbert Beaser, Principal Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, Federal Security Agency  
Roger W. Grant, Jr., Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State  
Dorothy Lally, Technical Assistant to the Commissioner for Social Security, Federal Security Agency.

Established in June 1946, the Social Commission is one of the nine permanent functional commissions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Eighteen governments, elected by the Council for 3-year terms, comprise the membership of this Commission. It advises the Council on all matters in the social field not covered by specialized intergovernmental agencies; on practical measures, including coordination of activities, that may be needed in the social field; and other related items. The last session of the Social Commission was held at Lake Success from April 3-May 5, 1950.

Among the items on the provisional agenda for the seventh session are social defense; migration; planning, organization, and administration for social welfare; housing, town, and country planning; community, family, and child welfare; evaluation of the accomplishments of the Advisory Social Welfare Services program in relation to other aspects of the United Nations work program and the expanded technical assistance activities; and study of various reports including those compiled by the National Working Groups, experts on tropical housing, and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

### Transport and Communications (ECOSOC)

The Department of State announced on March 16 that the fifth session of the Transport and Communications Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council will convene at Lake Success on March 19, 1951. George P. Baker will attend this session in his capacity as

United States representative on the Commission. He will be assisted by the following advisers:

Herbert Ashton, Transport and Communications Division, Office of Transportation, Department of Commerce  
Edmund Kellogg, officer in charge, United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State  
H. H. Kelly, chief, Inland Transport Policy Staff, Department of State  
Jerome Sachs, chief of Insurance Staff, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

The Transport and Communications Commission, which is one of the nine permanent functional commissions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, assists the Council in matters concerned with transport and communications problems, and advises on the formation of any new international agencies in these fields and on coordination of the activities of specialized agencies. Fifteen Governments, elected by the Council, comprise the membership of this Commission. The last session was held at Lake Success from March 27 to April 4, 1950.

Among the items on the provisional agenda for the fifth session are consideration of the progress report of experts on a uniform system of road signs and signals; transport of dangerous goods; coordination of inland transport; passports and frontier formalities; pollution of sea water; application of certain nongovernmental organizations for consultative status; various communications by the Secretariat; and adoption of a report to the Economic and Social Council.

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### Under Secretary Webb and Thomas D. Cabot To Consult With MDAP and NATO Officials

[Released to the press March 16]

The Department of State announced today that Under Secretary James E. Webb and Thomas D. Cabot, Director of International Security Affairs, are leaving Washington on March 19 for a brief visit to London and Paris. They plan to spend a few days at each city. They will return to Washington on March 26. The purpose of the visit is to consult with United States officials concerned with the administration of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Mr. Cabot, who is directly responsible for work in connection with the United States participation in the two programs, was appointed to his post 2 months ago. This is the first opportunity either of the two officials has had to observe these operations abroad.

## The United States in the United Nations

[March 16-22, 1951]

### General Assembly

*Site of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly.*—In a plenary meeting, March 20, the Assembly adopted by a roll-call vote of 24-17 (U.S.)-12 a resolution introduced by President Entezam (Iran) to accept the French Government's invitation to hold the next regular session in Paris beginning November 6. The resolution also authorized the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements with France in line with the amount provided in the 1951 budget, \$2,350,400, plus such additional amounts as may be transferred from other sections of the budget with the approval of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

United States Ambassador Ernest A. Gross explained that the United States would have to vote against the proposal after hearing the Secretary-General confirm that the proposed late starting date would probably affect the work of the other United Nations organs and the specialized agencies, as well as incur additional expenditures.

*Peace Observation Commission.*—The 14-member Peace Observation Commission held its first meeting on March 16. The Commission's function is to "observe and report on the situation in any area where there exists international tension the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

United States Ambassador Ernest A. Gross noted that "Because the Commission's function is preventive, its use would not necessarily imply any belief on the part of the members of the United Nations that aggression was imminent. The mere presence of United Nations observers can in itself help to make aggression unlikely. This Commission, we believe, should therefore be prepared to provide promptly for the dispatch of such observers at any time of need." He emphasized that the Commission is not aimed at any single country or group of countries, but is "a part of a universal collective security system."

The Soviet delegate, on a point of order, proposed that the representative of the Chinese Nationalist Government be replaced by a representative of the Chinese Communist regime. Mr. Gross stated that, as this Commission was created by the General Assembly, debate on the Soviet motion should be postponed until the Assembly had reached a decision. This was adopted by a vote of 9-2 (Soviet bloc)-3 (Israel, India, Sweden).

After adoption of the agenda, Sir Gladwyn Jebb's (U.K.) proposal to appoint a chairman for a 1-year term was adopted 11-2-1 (India), and Ambassador Francisco Urrutia Holguin (Colombia) was elected chairman.

### Economic and Social Council

The Council plenary ended several days' debate on the subject of forced labor, March 19, and adopted the revised United Kingdom-United States resolution by vote of 15-3 (Soviet bloc). This resolution establishes a United Nations-International Labor Organization *ad hoc* committee to "study the nature and extent of the problem raised by the existence in the world of systems of forced or corrective labor which are employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, and which are on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a given country."

An overwhelming volume of evidence on slave labor practices within the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries was presented by the United States Deputy representative, Walter Kotschnig, other Council delegates, and the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

With the exception of the Soviet bloc, approval was given to a French-United Kingdom resolution praising the principles of the Secretary-General's *Twenty-Year Program for Achieving Peace Through the United Nations* and referring to the attention of the proper subsidiary bodies those sections of his 10-point program which come within the scope of the Council. These include an effective program of technical assistance for economic development, vigorous use of all member governments of the specialized agencies to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress, and wider observance and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

The Council approved two proposals of the Economic Committee: 1. (13-0-4 (Soviet bloc, Mexico)), calling on all members to take special measures to bring about adequate production and equitable international distribution of capital goods, essential consumers goods, and raw materials especially needed for maintenance of peace, preservation of standards of living, and the furthering of economic development; 2. (14-0-4 (So-

viet bloc, U.K.)), providing that the Economic Committee meet the week before the opening of the thirteenth session to consider practical methods and policies for achieving a steadier flow of foreign capital to meet the financial needs of underdeveloped countries.

Approval was also given to two Social Committee resolutions: 1. (15-3 (Soviet bloc)), taking note of two reports on progress achieved by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF); 2. (15-0-3 (Soviet bloc)), asking the German authorities to consider the fullest possible reparation to persons who suffered injuries in so-called scientific experiments in Nazi concentration camps and inviting the International Refugee Organization and voluntary agencies to give financial aid to the survivors of such experiments and to assist in the health aspects of the problem.

The Council approved (15-0-3 (Soviet bloc)) a United Kingdom resolution detailing new suffering of refugees from Communist aggression in Korea and asking all member nations to take part in the relief and rehabilitation of Korea. Isador Lubin, United States representative, stated, "The plight of these poor people, victims of cruel aggression, is known to all of us. We cannot permit this situation to continue. The armed forces of the United Nations are meeting with increasing success in driving back the enemies of Korea and of the United Nations. We must be equally effective in providing relief for the men, women, and child victims of this unprovoked and cruel war." He pointed out that only 18 countries have pledged financial aid to the United Nations Korean Relief Agency (UNKRA).

Upon adjournment of its twelfth session, March 21, Mr. Lubin said the Soviet bloc had failed in efforts "to sabotage the progress" of the Council. He gave much credit for this failure to the free press of Latin America, particularly in Chile. The President of the Council, Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile) reviewed its work and expressed confidence that the members would continue their progressive tasks "with a growing faith in their utility and in full consciousness that what they are doing is of vital importance to the progress of humanity and the maintenance of peace."

*United Nations Social Commission.*—The 18-member Social Commission began its seventh session at Geneva on March 19. L. Van Schalkwijk (Union of South Africa) was elected chairman. President Truman appointed Jane M. Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, as United States representative.

The Soviet motion to seat a representative of the Chinese Communist regime was defeated by a vote of 11-3 (Soviet bloc)-1. The provisional agenda items include social defense, assistance to indigent aliens, housing needs, community, family and child welfare, rehabilitation of the physically handi-

capped, migration, and advisory social welfare services.

### Security Council

On March 21, a revised United Kingdom-United States draft resolution on Kashmir was presented to the Security Council. The main modifications effected by this resolution are: (1) directs the United Nations representative to effect the demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the two United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) resolutions, eliminating all reference to other possible solutions and to formulating a specific plebiscite plan; (2) omits former paragraph 4 referring to use of neutral forces, certain boundary adjustments, and varying plebiscite supervision in different areas; (3) requests the United Nations representative to report back to the Security Council within 3 months from the date of his arrival at the sub-continent instead of 3 months from the date of his appointment; (4) changes the United Nations representative's task to that of effecting either demilitarization or, at least, obtaining agreement to a demilitarization plan within this 3-month period; (5) requests the respective parties to accept arbitration on all unresolved points of difference as formulated by the United Nations representative and states that the arbitrator, or arbitrators, are to be appointed by the President of the International Court of Justice after consultation with the respective parties.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb explained the considerations the cosponsors had in mind in making the various changes in the resolution. He stated that the United Kingdom and the United States felt that there could be no objection by India to arbitration in the form proposed. He hoped, should disagreement on demilitarization continue, that India would waive objections and agree to replacement of the military forces by some suitable neutral forces. Also, in view of the differences between the statements made by Sir Bengal N. Rau and those of Indian and Abdullah Government officials on the right of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly to make decisions on accession, he urged India to reaffirm unequivocally that the settlement of accession would be by a plebiscite under United Nations auspices.

Ambassador Ernest A. Gross reemphasized the points brought out by Sir Gladwyn and described the amended text as the "irreducible minimum in this case" if the Council was to provide machinery which would aid the parties to settle the dispute. He noted that the disposition of Kashmir was an international affair and, therefore, as India had control of the Abdullah Government's external affairs, the Security Council was entitled to assume that India would prevent the Kashmir State Government from taking any action which would interfere with the Security Council's responsibility.

## The Paradox of Arming for Peace

### HOPE FOR PEACE EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO SENATOR FLANDERS

[Released to the press by the White House March 14]

*The President today sent the following letter to Ralph E. Flanders, United States Senate.*

US NAVAL STATION,  
KEY WEST, FLORIDA,  
March 14, 1951

DEAR SENATOR FLANDERS: I appreciate very much the letter of February 26, 1951, signed by you and a number of other Senators and Representatives, in which you urge that we follow up the plea for peace through disarmament, made in my address before the United Nations General Assembly last October.

This expression of your views will give added strength to the efforts of the free nations to establish a just and lasting peace in the world. While we must continue to build up vigorously our military strength as long as world conditions make such a course essential, we must, at the same time, keep on working toward the control and reduction of armaments and armed forces. We must work toward the time when material and human resources, rather than being used for armaments, can be used to advance the well-being of mankind. That is and must remain our goal.

We have been working toward this end in the United Nations. As you know, the Charter of the United Nations gives to the General Assembly and the Security Council responsibility to work out principles and plans for disarmament by the member nations.

At the time the Charter was adopted, it was hoped that this great objective of the United Nations would be carried out speedily and without international friction.

This has not proved to be the case. The laborious effort of five years has been thwarted by the constant opposition of one of the great powers.

To keep the record straight, I think it would be well to review briefly the history of these events.

At its first meeting in January 1946, the General Assembly established a United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and gave it the task of developing a plan for the control of atomic energy,

under effective safeguards, to insure its use for peaceful purposes only, and to bring about the complete prohibition of atomic weapons.

This Commission labored long and diligently. It came up with a comprehensive plan which the General Assembly approved, in November 1948, by an overwhelming majority.

However, the Soviet Union refused to approve the plan adopted by the General Assembly. As a consequence, the plan could not be put into effect, since no agreement for the control of atomic weapons can be effective if any one of the great nations refuses to cooperate.

Meanwhile, the United Nations had set up a second Commission to consider the control and reduction of the ordinary weapons and instrumentalities of war. This was the Commission for Conventional Armaments. In general, it had the task of developing a plan to regulate armed forces and armaments other than those falling within the atomic category. As one of its first projects, this Commission worked out a plan for taking a census or inventory of the nonatomic armaments and of the armed forces of all principal nations, subject to supervision and verification by a body of international inspectors. The purpose of this plan was to obtain the verified information necessary for the development of an intelligent system of armament reduction and control.

This plan made sense and was swiftly accepted by the majority of the United Nations in December 1949. But here again a majority was not enough. The Soviet Union, one of the major military powers, refused to accept this proposal. And, as in the case of the plan for controlling atomic energy, this refusal made it impossible to put the program into operation.

At the same time that the Soviet Union has been following a course of obstruction in the United Nations toward all concrete disarmament proposals, it has been building up its own armaments as a central feature of its expansionist foreign policy.

At the end of World War II, the United States hastily demobilized and reduced the size of its armed forces. So did other free nations. But the Soviet Union continued to maintain armed forces at a high level—far higher than necessary for purely defensive purposes. Furthermore, it encouraged a ruthless program of rearmament on the part of the nations which have fallen under its control and influence.

The great disparity between the armaments of the Soviet Union and its satellites on the one hand, and the free nations on the other, is one of the basic reasons for the defensive alliances and defense programs which are now being jointly pursued by the nations of the free world. Since the Soviet Union has failed to cooperate in any genuine plan for the international limitation of armament, we have been compelled to look to our defenses.

It is essential to our national security that we build up our defenses as quickly and vigorously as possible. We do not know what further aggressive plans may be in the making by the adversaries of the free world. But by rearming, the free world may attain benefits above and beyond preparedness against attack. Our defense program, if carried through, will have the effect of discouraging aggression, and may eventually lead to a change in the tactics of the Soviet Union and of its current satellites, which would ease the present international tension. That is our great hope.

Our present armament program, therefore, has a double purpose. It is above all an effort to prevent a world conflict, while at the same time it is an effort to prepare our defenses to meet such a conflict if it is forced upon us. What we are striving for is peace and international order.

In the field of disarmament, the free nations have been unable to make any progress while their own military forces have been inferior to those of the Soviet Union. But paradoxical as it may seem, when the free nations have built up their forces, they may be able to convince potential aggressors that the control and reduction of armaments is a desirable policy.

In the face of the plans of the free world for increased defense forces, Soviet propaganda is beginning to take notice of the belief of the free nations that Soviet armed strength is excessive. We can expect great propaganda efforts by the Soviet system to deflect the free nations from their defense plans. We must not be deflected. But as we continue to increase our defenses, we must press, by every possible means, for a real change in the attitude of the Soviet Union.

My address on October 24 suggested a new procedural approach to the question, in the hope that it might offer a way out of the existing deadlock. I suggested the possibility of combining the work of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission on Conventional Arma-

ments in a new and consolidated disarmament commission.

The General Assembly, on December 13, 1950, established a committee of twelve to study the proposal. This committee is directed to work on the "ways and means whereby the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission on Conventional Armaments may be coordinated and on the advisability of their functions being merged and placed under a new and consolidated disarmament commission." This committee has had two meetings, the second of which was held on March 2. The United States representatives at the United Nations have been actively pushing the work of this committee. We hope that it will be able to make recommendations which will revitalize the efforts of the United Nations for international disarmament.

Before we can enter into any concrete program to reduce armaments we must be sure that the principles which I outlined in my address on October 24 are adhered to. A program of disarmament must include all kinds of weapons, must have unanimous agreement of all the nations having substantial armaments and armed forces, and must be so thoroughly and continuously policed as to be fool-proof. These are the principles on which we stand and which we continue to offer to other nations as the basis for any plan for armaments reduction and control.

Such a program is difficult to achieve even when there is a reasonable degree of trust and confidence between nations. It is almost impossible unless there is free and open interchange of information across national borders.

As you indicated in your letter, increased freedom of communication is, therefore, a necessary step in an effective program of disarmament.

The need for authentic information has been pointed up by recent Soviet assertions concerning the size of its own armed forces in relation to those of the free nations. The United States would welcome a thorough exploration of this subject. On March 2, 1951, our Deputy Representative on the United Nations Commission on Conventional Armaments reasserted the position of this country and invited a census, under United Nations auspices, of armed forces of the member nations.

Continuing emphasis on disarmament is a necessary and vital part of our foreign policy. We must always be seeking for new approaches to this problem and we must take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself to work toward genuine disarmament proposals.

I am very happy indeed that this major element in our foreign policy has your support and that of your colleagues in both Houses of Congress. I want to have your continued counsel and advice in these matters. I hope that when I return to Washington I will have an early opportunity to discuss these questions further with you and your colleagues as you suggested in your letter.

*Following is the text of the letter to the President*

We, the undersigned, urge that your plea for peace through disarmament, made before the United Nations Assembly on October 14 last, be now followed up by definite proposals to be made by our representative on the United Nations Council.

In your address you set forth principles which we abbreviate as follows:

First, the plan must include all kinds of weapons. Outlawing any particular kind of weapon is not enough. . . .

Second, the plan must be based on unanimous agreement. . . .

Third, the plan must be foolproof. Paper promises are not enough. Disarmament must be based on safeguards which will insure the compliance of all nations. . . .

Supporting these principles as we do, we suggest:

That the first step proposed be the lifting of the iron curtain and the resumption of at least that degree of freedom of communication between all the peoples of the earth which existed between the nations of Western Europe and the American continents prior to the Second World War; that the proposal be for complete disarmament of all nations under the direction and surveillance of the United Nations; that a United Nations Commission be set up to effect disarmament in an orderly, complete and rapid way; that a United Nations Police Force be established in accordance with the original intention of the Charter which shall be superior in size and armament to any forces available to the member nations for the maintenance of civil order; and finally, that the proposal be permanently in effect and repeatedly offered until it is accepted.

If the other nations refuse our proposal, we lose nothing; but if they accept, the whole world wins.

There are many indications that action of this sort would find an immediately favorable response from the American people. We ourselves ask that we may have an early opportunity to discuss this question with you in detail. We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH E. FLANDERS  
BROOKS HAYS  
LESTER C. HUNT  
LAURIE BATTLE  
H. ALEXANDER SMITH  
A. S. J. CARNAHAN  
WALTER F. GEORGE  
ESTES KEFAUVER

MARGARET CHASE SMITH  
ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON  
CHARLES W. TOBEY  
LISTER HILL  
MIKE MONRONEY  
EDWARD J. THYE  
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON  
JOHN C. STENNIS

(Authorized signatures)

JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS  
FRANCES P. BOLTON  
WALTER H. JUDD

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER  
ROBERT HALE  
JOHN W. HESLTON.

## THE CONGRESS

### Legislation

Use of Privately Owned and Operated American Vessels by the Armed Services. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Maritime Affairs of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, second session on H. R. 8964—a bill to require the Armed Services to use privately owned and operated American-flag vessels for the overseas transportation of commodities and personnel, July 11, 1950. (Department of State, p. 3.) 40 pp.

Study of Monopoly Power. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, second session. Containing the proceedings of April 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, May 3, 5, 9, and 11. Serial no. 14, Part 4A; Steel. 1011 pp.

Stockpiling of Strategic and Critical Materials. Hearings before the special subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, second session. 231 pp.

Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. Hearings before subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, second session, on Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. Commerce Department, District of Columbia, Independent Offices, Interior Department, Justice Department, Labor-Federal Security, State Department, Treasury Department. 509 pp.

Budgetary Practices Reorganization Act of 1950. Hearings before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, second session on H. R. 8054—a bill to supplement the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 by providing for a balanced budget in an expanding economy, long-range budget estimates, a presidential-item veto, a consolidated cash budget, an investment budget, and four-year appropriations for major investment programs, June 8 and July 18, 1950. 125 pp.

Nomination of John Hallowell Obly, To be Deputy Director, Mutual Defense Assistance And Miscellaneous Bills. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services United States Senate, 81st Cong., 2d sess., February 2 1950, 22 pp.

Miscellaneous Bills. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services United States Senate, 81st Cong., 2d sess. February 9, 1950, 17 pp.

Puerto Rico Constitution. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs United States Senate, 81st Cong., 2d sess. on S. 3336. A bill to provide for the organization of a constitutional government by the people of Puerto Rico. May 17, 1950. 66 pp.

Griffiss Air Force Base (Watson Laboratories) Authorizing Certain NACA Functions Central Intelligence Act of 1949 Amendment. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services United States Senate, 81st Cong., 2d sess. on S. 3875, a bill to amend section 9 of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, July 6, 1950, 15 pp.

Highway Convention With the Republic of Panama. S. Doc. Executive W, 81st Cong., 2d sess., Message from The President of the United States transmitting the Highway Convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, signed at Panama on September 14, 1950. 9 pp.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Chiefs of U.S. Missions

#### Discuss South Asian Problems

*Released to the press at Colombo, Ceylon, March 4 and at Washington, March 5]*

The South Asian regional conference of United States diplomatic and consular representatives and officials from various Washington departments in Nuwara Eleya, Ceylon, concluded yesterday.

The conference discussed the problems of the conference area as well as the political, economic, cultural, and administrative questions of interest to the United States Government with respect to the conduct of its foreign relations with the countries in the area. Those attending included representatives from the Department of State and other departments in Washington and the chiefs of mission and other representatives from Colombo, Kabul, Karachi, Katmandu, and New Delhi, and representatives from the American Embassies in Bangkok, Djakarta, London, Manila, Rangoon, and Tehran, and the American Legation in Saigon. George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, presided over the conference.

The conference recalled that one of the basic objectives of the United States foreign policy was the development of sound, enduring, and friendly relations between the United States and the various countries of the region. It noted the existence of many problems affecting these relations and explored ways and means of solving them. The conference noted with particular concern the existence of certain conflicts and tensions within the area. The conference was pleased, in this connection, to learn of the conclusion on February 25 of the trade agreement between India and Pakistan and the settlement of the question of the exchange value of the Pakistani rupee. The conference also noted that the Security Council is considering the question of Kashmir and hoped that a solution acceptable to both India and Pakistan would be achieved. The conference also hoped that Afghanistan and Pakistan would be able to settle outstanding differences. It was the feeling of the conference that the present world situation should urge upon states of South Asia the necessity for solving or minimizing their differences.

The conference reviewed the action by the United Nations with respect to aggression in Korea and noted that South Asian countries are becoming increasingly conscious of the menace of Communist imperialism to their own independence. Unfortunately, however, there still exist strong elements in South Asia which either fail

to recognize this threat or to face up to it. The conference felt that this threat is the paramount problem in Asia and hoped that all free Asian countries would meet it by strengthening their determination and capacity to oppose aggression.

The conference emphasized that security considerations should not obscure the basic need of the people of the area for economic progress. The conference discussed the Colombo Plan and desired to clarify questions which have arisen with respect to United States support of the plan. It confirmed that the United States should continue full participation in the Consultative Committee and coordinate its assistance activities with those of the countries concerned.

It noted that should the United States provide the 2 million tons of wheat which the President of the United States has recommended to the Congress as a gift to India this would constitute a significant illustration of American assistance contributing to the fulfillment of the Colombo Plan. The counterpart funds derived from the sale of any grain which might be provided would be available for use in projects for Indian economic development.

Although recognizing the large commitment of resources required for United States defense and for economic assistance in other areas, the conference noted that the Department of State has indicated that further economic assistance would be requested from the Congress for Asian Countries. Further comment on such assistance cannot be given, pending action by the Congress.

Since the Colombo Plan is a composite of the programs of the participating countries, any United States assistance to these countries in accordance with their programs would constitute support for the Colombo Plan. It was hoped that the countries of South Asia and the United States would consult with each other on an even more intimate and friendly basis regarding those problems in which they are both interested.

The conference recalled past efforts which have been made by the United States and the countries of the region to increase mutual knowledge and understanding. It noted that much progress in this direction has been achieved and urged that these efforts be intensified.

#### Foreign Service Examinations in September Announced

*[Released to the press March 12]*

The Department of State announced today that the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service will hold on September 10-13, 1951, a written examination for appointment as Foreign Service officer, Class 6.

The examination will be held at American diplomatic posts and consulates and at Civil Service examination centers in the following cities: At-

lanta, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Dallas, Denver, Honolulu, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, St. Paul, San Francisco, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

Application blanks may be obtained from the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. All applications must be received by the Board of Examiners no later than the close of business June 29, 1951. Applicants must be at least 21 and under 31 years of age as of July 1, 1951, and must have been citizens of the United States for at least 10 years before July 1, 1951. If married, they must be married to American citizens.

Appointments as Foreign Service officer, Class 6, are made at salary levels ranging initially from \$3630 to \$4730 per annum according to the age, experience, and qualifications of the several candidates. The United States has Foreign Service representatives in almost every country in the world, and, consequently, officers have the opportunity to serve in many posts during their careers.

The duties of Foreign Service officers include: negotiation with foreign officials; political reporting; economic reporting in such fields as labor, finance, transportation, and communications; commercial reporting and trade promotion; agricultural reporting; issuance of visas and passports; assistance to American shipping; protection of American citizens and property; and development of cultural and informational programs.

The written examination consists of four general examinations and three special examinations. The four general examinations measure ability to read English with comprehension and reasonable speed; breadth and accuracy of vocabulary; ability to interpret statistical tables and graphs, to comprehend simple numerical relationships, and to make simple mathematical deductions; range and accuracy of factual information; and ability to write English. One special examination is an examination in modern languages. The candidate may select any one or two of the following languages: French, German, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish. One special examination is an examination in the principles of economics. One special examination is an examination in government and in world history since 1776, so constructed that a candidate may, if he wishes, select questions dealing with American history and government only.

Candidates who pass the written examination are admitted to oral and physical examinations which they must pass before they become eligible for appointment as Foreign Service officers.

It is the intention to appoint all candidates who are successful in this examination as soon as they become eligible for appointment.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Radio Advisory Committee Named

[Released to the press March 13]

The Department of State announced today the creation of a consultative group of radio executives to work with the United States Advisory Commission on Information on broadcasting aspects of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Program's new Campaign of Truth.

The group, officially designated as the Radio Advisory Committee of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, is headed by Justin Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Members of the group are:

- William S. Paley, chairman of the Board, Columbia Broadcasting System
- Theodore C. Streibert, chairman of the Board, Mutual Broadcasting System
- Charles Denny, executive vice president, National Broadcasting Company
- Wesley I. Dumm, president, Associated Broadcasters, Inc. San Francisco, Calif.
- Donley F. Feddersen, president, University Association for Professional Radio Education, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Jack W. Harris, general manager, Station KPRC, Houston, Tex.
- Henry P. Johnston, general manager, Station WSGN Birmingham, Ala.
- Edward Noble, chairman of the Board, American Broadcasting Company
- John F. Patt, president, Station WGAR, Cleveland, Ohio
- Mefford R. Runyon, executive vice president, American Cancer Society
- G. Richard Shafto, general manager, Station WIS Columbia, S. C.
- Hugh B. Terry, vice president and general manager, Station KLZ, Denver, Colo.

The Committee will function as a panel of experts and will meet at frequent intervals with officials of the program to review problems of policy and technique and to offer ways and means for dealing with them. It will help to explore additional ways in which private radio can aid the Government's efforts to tell America's story abroad.

The Radio Committee will also consult with the Department on how better to acquaint the American public with the aims, scope, and effectiveness of the information program.

The establishment of a radio panel follows closely on the formation of a new General Business Committee of the Advisory Commission which was announced through the Department on March 8. The business group is headed by Philip D. Reed, Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company.

Similar panels are being formed to deal with the fields of labor, motion pictures, and press and publications.

Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* and former president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, is chairman of the parent Advisory Commission on Information, created by Congress in 1948.

The Department's Information and Educational Exchange Program is conducted under the supervision of Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

### Thurman L. Barnard Named Advertising Consultant

The Department of State announced on March 11 the appointment of Thurman L. Barnard, executive vice president of Compton Advertising, Inc., as a consultant on special projects in connection with the Campaign of Truth now being conducted through the United States Information and Educational Exchange Programs.

In order that he may devote his full time to work in connection with the current expansion of the Department's information program, Mr. Barnard has been granted a 6-month leave of absence. In his new post, Mr. Barnard will serve as a member of the staff of Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

### Office of Science Adviser Established<sup>1</sup>

1. Effective immediately, there is established, under the direction of the Under Secretary of State, the Office of the Science Adviser (U/SA). The Office of the Consultant to the Secretary of State on international science matters provided for in Departmental Announcement 201, November 1, 1949, is hereby abolished and its personnel and functions, as redefined below, are transferred to the Office of the Science Adviser.

2. The Office of the Science Adviser shall function as an integral component of the Department, utilizing the Department's staff services and facilities, and shall conduct its activities pursuant to its own terms of reference and those of other components of the Department as prescribed below and in the Manual of Regulations and Procedures, Volume II, Organization.

3. The Science Adviser, as a principal staff officer of the Department, except in the field of atomic energy matters, has been assigned the following responsibilities:

- a. Participates in the formulation of foreign policy from the standpoint of science and technology.
- b. Provides that, in the administration of international programs and policies, proper consideration is given to scientific and technological aspects.
- c. Serves as a central point of liaison with the National Science Foundation, the National Research Council, the National Academy of Sciences, and other public and private organizations interested in the formulation and administration of policy relating to science and technology.
- d. Coordinates the activities of the Department in the international exchange of basic scientific information.

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Announcement 31, Feb. 6, 1951.

### Orientation Course on Point 4

The Department of State announced on March 13 that ten technicians are completing an orientation course at the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State before joining Point 4 missions in Liberia, Iran, Lebanon, Chile, Peru, and Mexico. The present 3-week course puts emphasis on the customs, languages, and cultures of the people in the countries to which the specialists are going. The Foreign Service Institute has also opened the course to wives of technicians who are going to the field with their husbands.

The group includes technicians in public health nursing, sanitary engineering, metallurgy, preventive medicine, irrigation, reclamation, epidemiology, industrial hygiene, and marine fishery biology.

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