

W&E Post
3-6-45

Vandenberg Accepts Invitation To Be U. S. Delegate at Frisco

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.), yesterday agreed to serve as a member of the United States delegation at the forthcoming United Nations conference at San Francisco, following assurances that his hands won't be tied. In a statement voicing "deep appreciation" for the President's invitation, he said Mr. Roosevelt in a "cordial and satisfactory" interchange of letters had clarified "my right of free action."

"I wish to do everything within my power to establish a practical system of collective security as a basis for effective peace," said the man who probably packs more foreign policy weight than any other Republican in the Senate.

Stassen to Speak Tomorrow

Commander Harold E. Stassen, who lost no time in accepting a similar invitation immediately on his return from the Pacific, meanwhile indicated he will disclose his views on the Dumbarton Oaks plan in a speech tomorrow night at the University of Minnesota (CBS network, 9:30 Central war time).

Stassen, who started canvassing the views of Republican Party leaders after his acceptance two weeks ago told the Associated Press in St. Paul that he will speak on "American World Policy for Peace and Progress." He said he had made a study of the "Oaks" proposals and will have a full report. **"An Excellent Start"**

Vandenberg in his statement said "an excellent start had been made." He said he believed a practical system for collective security is "indispensable in this scarred and fore-shortened world . . . indispensable in American self-interest."

"I am frank to say that my chief anxiety about the tentative Dumbarton Oaks formula is that, except in its brief World Court chapter, it does not once mention 'justice' as a guiding objective or a rule of conduct," he said.

"In my opinion, no permanent peace is possible without a constant, conscious mandate to seek and to maintain 'justice' as the basis of peace."

"I shall have concrete proposals to submit to my colleagues along these lines. It will be my prayer that the San Francisco conference may be successful in promoting dependable peace, with organized justice, in a free world of free men. Civilization cannot survive World War Number Three."

GOP Support Foreseen

While Vandenberg's acceptance involved no commitments on his Senate course of action following San Francisco, his general indorsement of the Dumbarton Oaks "start" was viewed as a favorable augury for Republican support of the San Francisco follow-up.

Since his pro-Yalta Senate speech, the Nazi disarmament theme of which was incorporated in the Crimea agreement, Vandenberg has been regarded as a bellwether on foreign policy among Republicans in the Senate, many of whom will be influenced by his views on the completed charter to be reached at San Francisco.

Republicans now hold 39 out of 96 seats in a Senate where 33 votes or even less can block ratification of a treaty. The President plainly wasn't overlooking this simple fact in inviting Vandenberg as a delegate to San Francisco.

U. S. AT WAR

THE PRESIDENCY

After the Inauguration

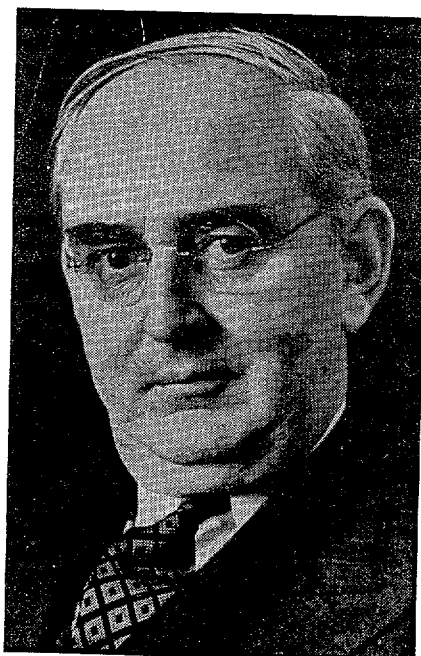
The formal event of the week was Franklin Roosevelt's fourth inauguration as President of the United States. But the big event, soon to follow, was his second meeting with Churchill and Stalin. The President let it be known that he hoped no one, especially no one in Congress, would say a word that might get the meeting off to an unfriendly start.

He had said as much in his twelfth annual speech on the state of the nation. He repeated it last week to the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, summoned to the White House to discuss foreign policy.

Almost certainly, Franklin Roosevelt's

high principles between Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. A reiteration of those principles, signed by Stalin too, could make the Charter strong. Would Stalin sign?

U.S. public opinion has expressed its discontent with the actions of Russia and Britain in Poland, Greece, the Balkans.



Eisenstaedt-Pix

SENATOR VANDENBERG

"Now we are getting somewhere!"

If these actions are to be reviewed by the world security organization after the war—in return for a guarantee of security, as Michigan's Vandenberg suggested—the agreement for review must be reached his time.

There were plenty of other grand items, notably a smoothing-out of worsening British-Russian relations, the preparation of Big Three agreements which would put powerful French Army back into the fight on the western front, where the Allies are up against their first direct combat manpower shortage since D-day.

To make his trip worth-while, Franklin Roosevelt would have to come home with some firm commitments, some firm promises on these and many other major issues. They were delicate enough to make any politician plead for silence, at least until the meeting had ended. After that, the word would be off, whether the President liked it or not.

THE CONGRESS

Force Without Recourse

In the great debate over U.S. internationalism, Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan crossed the aisle last week. In bold, constructive terms, the No. 1 Republican spokesman for foreign affairs, long an isolationist, told the U.S. Senate that it was time for the U.S. to stop talking about world collective security and do something to make it real.

If Arthur Vandenberg's speech did, as it might, set the U.S. off on a new and energetic course in foreign policy, it might well prove to be the most important speech made by an American in World War II.

Silent Partner. Senator Vandenberg began by recognizing a fact which has disturbed Americans for many months: a trend toward Allied disunity. His statesmanlike conclusion: the trend cannot be checked by U.S. silence. Said he:

"I do not know why we must be the only 'silent partner' in this Grand Alliance. There seems to be no fear of disunity, no hesitation in Moscow, when Moscow wants to assert unilateral war and peace aims which collide with ours. There seems to be no fear of disunity, no hesitation in London, when Mr. Churchill proceeds upon his unilateral way to make decisions often repugnant to our ideas and ideals."

What should the U.S. do?

"Honest candor," said the Senator, compels the U.S. first "to reassert in high places our American faith in [the principles] of the Atlantic Charter. . . . These basic pledges cannot now be dismissed as a mere nautical nimbus. They march with our armies. They sail with our fleets. . . . They sleep with our martyred dead. The first requisite of honest candor . . . is to relight this torch."

Together or Separately? Then the U.S. can ask its Allies to face the postwar alternatives of acting separately or together. "The first way is the old way which has twice taken us to Europe's interminable battlefields within a quarter-century. The second way is the new way in which our present fraternity of war becomes a new fraternity of peace. I do not believe that either we or our Allies can have it both ways. They serve to cancel out each other."

Senator Vandenberg cited Russia's political activity (e.g., in Poland and the Balkans) as one example of the "old way." Said he: "Russia's unilateral plan appears to contemplate the engulfment, directly or

Dc - 1 vs Del -

✓

DELEGATES STUDY PARLEY PROPOSALS

Stettinius Calls for Frequent Meetings in Effort to Clarify U. S. Policy at San Francisco

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 5—Secretary Stettinius has asked the members of the United States security delegation to sit in almost constant session from Monday until the conference opens in San Francisco April 25.

The delegation, together with some of their advisers, will meet at the State Department Monday and review the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which will form the basis of the conference discussions. They will also discuss the many amendments which have been proposed by individuals and other nations in an effort to clarify the policy to be followed by the United States at San Francisco.

The State Department has made tentative plans to divide the work into four commissions, which will probably operate at San Francisco. These are commissions on general problems, on the Security Council, on the General Assembly and on the International Court.

In addition, it has been proposed that there should be ten sub-commissions of the four groups, and it is expected that the former will do most of the active work of defining the central issues.

Commission Heads Suggested

Representative Eaton, Republican of New Jersey, has been suggested as the chief American delegate on the general commission; Senator Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, has been proposed as the head of the General Assembly commission; former Secretary Hull has been put down as head of the Security Council commission, and Senator Connally, Democratic of Texas, has been mentioned as head of the International Court commission.

There is nothing specific about these commissions at this time, but in the preliminary study sessions, while the delegates will undoubtedly work on all problems, each will be expected to make a special effort to concentrate on one particular commission in preparation for work on the final commissions when they are established by the conference.

At least two members of the American delegation, Mr. Hull and Comdr. Harold Stassen, will not take part in the State Department discussions. Mr. Hull has not regained his strength as fast as it had been hoped when he was appointed head of the American delegation, and it is doubtful whether he will make more than a routine appearance at the conference, if at all. Commander Stassen has returned to his Pacific post and will not join the delegation until a few days before the conference opens.

Dulles Is Named Adviser

John Foster Dulles, adviser on international affairs to Governor Dewey in the last Presidential campaign, was formally added to the list of advisers to the American delegation today.

Mr. Dulles' letter of acceptance of Secretary Stettinius' invitation was released at the State Department today by Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State.

"My Dear Mr. Secretary:

"You have told me that it is your desire, concurred in by the President, that I act as a general adviser to the United States delegation to the San Francisco conference.

"As you know, I have previously stated that it was my preference to have no official status at San Francisco but rather, in a private capacity, to seek to advance the great purpose of that conference. You asked me to discuss the matter with you, and after our discussion in Washington last Monday, you said that you still felt that I could best serve in an official capacity.

"After reflection, I am happy to advise you that I accept with appreciation your invitation to me to be an adviser to the United States delegation."

In The Nation

Our San Francisco Delegates Stand Committed

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 4—The earnest and sometimes dissident meetings of the American delegates to San Francisco which followed the revelation of the President's agreement at Yalta to support Soviet Russia's request for three seats in the Assembly of the projected World Security League have produced one important agreement. This is that the delegation as a whole stands committed to carry out the President's pledge to Marshal Stalin, "if" or "when" submitted, and will vote no split ballot in this instance.

Delegates who share the view of Senator Vandenberg that the Russian request breaks the Assembly concept and our reiterated official pledges to maintain it became convinced, after discussion, that they could follow no other course. An alternative was to make a minority demonstration of dissent in the conference proceedings with respect to a policy set by the President, to which he pledged this nation's support at San Francisco. After weighing this and other alternatives, all the delegates agreed that in this one matter the vote of the United States had been predetermined by Mr. Roosevelt, although he had placed no restriction on their freedom of action in any matter when he asked them to serve.

Delegates who oppose the Soviet request, and hope it will not be made, asked Administration authorities if they were obliged by the commitment to be silently recorded in favor of an action which they regarded as "stultifying." They asked also if they might expect news on some other Presidential pledge, further limiting their promised freedom of action, of which they were still unaware. The reply was (and this stands, unless there should be some other disunifying development) that any delegate who chooses can make a public record in opposition to a vote cast—as this one would be—against conviction, and that any delegate can go farther and give up his commission.

With this understanding all who were present (Commander Stassen was not) accepted the situation, described today by one of them as follows:

In the matter of the Russian request we found our action predetermined by a Presidential commitment; we inherited something of which some of us disapprove; but at least this seems to be the only thing on which we have unexpectedly been hamstrung.

The agreement—unless something new happens to upset it—eliminates the deplorable prospect of a split American delegation at San Francisco, with a minority declining to honor the President's pledge or with a majority expressly repudiating it. For some days after the final Yalta revelation this prospect was real. But calmer counsels prevailed, their effectiveness greatly aided by the President's decision not to press for three American Assembly votes if Russia were granted them, as the White House had announced he would do. Now, if Marshal Stalin backtracks also, or amicably accepts the denial of his request at San Francisco, a real threat to conference achievement will have been dissipated.

The acknowledgment of all the American delegates that they must permit their votes to be cast in bloc to redeem a Presidential commitment makes more meaningless the use of the word "representatives" in giving the source of the pledge at Yalta. The whole record shows it was made by the

and give up his commission.

With this understanding all who were present (Commander Stassen was not) accepted the situation, described today by one of them as follows:

In the matter of the Russian request we found our action predetermined by a Presidential commitment; we inherited something of which some of us disapprove, but at least this seems to be the only thing on which we have unexpectedly been hamstrung.

The agreement—unless something new happens to upset it—eliminates the deplorable prospect of a split American delegation at San Francisco, with a minority declining to honor the President's pledge or with a majority expressly repudiating it. For some days after the final Yalta revelation this prospect was real. But calmer counsels prevailed, their effectiveness greatly aided by the President's decision not to press for three American Assembly votes if Russia were granted them, as the White House had announced he would do. Now, if Marshal Stalin backtracks also, or amicably accepts the denial of his request at San Francisco, a real threat to conference achievement will have been dissipated.

The acknowledgment of all the American delegates that they must permit their votes to be cast in bloc to redeem a Presidential commitment makes more meaningless the use of the word "representatives" in giving the source of the pledge at Yalta. The whole record shows it was made by the President, alone and on his own authority. Why, then, the plural form?

Answering one of the many embarrassing questions addressed to him at his press conference yesterday, Secretary of State Stettinius explained that "representatives" meant "the President and certain members of his party, of which I was one." But in the political discussions at Yalta the United States had but one "representative," Mr. Roosevelt; his decisions were made and announced by himself, this particular one in a meeting where Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill and the interpreters were the only other persons present. Doubtless he conferred often with his "party" or entourage. But his conclusion was this nation's commitment, even though all others in that entourage had opposed it, and his was the only "vote" that was registered. How completely Mr. Roosevelt forms a majority all by himself in such matters has been proved, if proof were needed, by the decision of the San Francisco delegates that he inevitably bound them at Yalta if they are to remain on the delegation.

It cannot well be otherwise on points of major policy which the President feels necessary to establish in our dealings with other nations. This is why the stress on the word "representatives" in the State Department's paper yesterday was questioned, being obviously a euphemism. But if the present understanding of the delegates to San Francisco is borne out, we shall have "representatives," in the plural, there—free on every issue but one to vote and, speak their convictions and offer minority reports to the conference if they so elect.

The President made another single-handed decision related to Yalta, of which thus far only the result has been clear—the appointment of Isador Lubin as American member of the Reparations Commission established by the Big Three there. When he left the conference he was disposed to take his time with this most important appointment. But on his way home he yielded to the contrary counsels of Harry L. Hopkins and accepted Mr. Hopkins' candidate, Mr. Lubin. No plurality of "representatives" was concerned. It was the act of the "representative."

DC-1

VS Del -

3

The Text of Senator Vandenberg's Oaks Memorandum

Special to The New York Times.
WASHINGTON, April 1.—The text of Senator Vandenberg's memorandum to the State Department, proposing eight amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, is understood to be as follows:

In this preliminary memorandum I wish to present certain specific amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks framework. I believe they are essential for three reasons:

(a) Permanent peace is impossible if the new League is a straight jacket, which attempts to freeze the status quo (as largely dictated by military expediency in the course of war) regardless of justice.

(b) The total lack of any reference to "justice" as a league criterion (except in the World Court Section) minimizes the moral authority of an enterprise which finally must depend far more upon moral authority than upon force.

(c) Senate ratification will be seriously jeopardized by our failure to disarm the critics who will magnify the flaws I seek to correct.

The art of peace is not to identify peace with a static condition. That assures war. Peace requires instrumentalities which, on the one hand, prevent violent and evil change while, on the other hand, they facilitate such changes as will effect a more just and equitable arrangement of the world. We must be practical.

We must avoid attempted miracles. But we need not go to the other extreme of setting up a League with a mandate to sustain, by force if need be, any status irrespective of judgment as to whether it is just or unjust.

That becomes particularly objectionable in the light of the veto power to be given the permanent members of the Council. The small States, the ones most greatly in need of protection, deserve to be reassured that our pursuit of "security" will have some regard for morality and

justice and not merely seek to make "secure" whatever it is that the great powers have acquired or may hereafter acquire at the possible expense of weaker nations. In a word, our League needs a "soul."

II.
The first amendment I propose is as follows: Amend Chapter I by adding a newly numbered paragraph (among defined objectives)—

"To establish justice and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

The first phase is taken from the preamble of our own Constitution. The second phrase is taken from Dumbarton Oaks itself in respect to the objectives of the Economic and Social Council. I see no reason why this Economic and Social Council should be the only branch of the League interested in "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being."

There is no assumption in this latter section that the world which will emerge from this war ought to be preserved "as is." Any such assumption elsewhere would be fatal.

I could support this thesis with many exhibits indicating the widespread wish for some such declaration as I propose. Merely as examples, I refer to the statement by the Inter-American Juridical Committee, sitting permanently at Rio De Janeiro, demanding that "the promotion of justice in international relations" should be thus recognized. I refer to the Pope's Christmas message of 1944:

"The peace settlement should not give different countenance to any injustice."

I refer to the statement of our own Federated Churches. I refer to the memorandum of suggestions from the Netherlands Government from which I quote:

"A statement, duly embodied in the proposals where its absence is very striking, to the effect that some standard of justice will always be observed, would go a long way toward dissipating anxieties, and it appears difficult to see why, if the thing is self-evident,

there could be any objection to making such a statement."

III.
The second amendment I propose is as follows: Strike out the following sentence from Chapter 5, Section B, Paragraph 1:

"The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council."

It seems to be quite in order to constitute the Security Council as the sole organ of action in the maintenance of peace and security, because "action" requires the prompt and continuous functioning of a relatively small body. But the broad base of the assembly qualifies it to be the conscience of mankind and that conscience should not be stifled at the behest of a council dominated by a few great powers. Here again the concept of justice is involved. So is the voice of justice.

At most the voice of the Assembly can do no more than recommend. The Security Council should not be permitted to still this voice of the Assembly at its own will and to oust it of all jurisdiction even to discuss the fate and destiny of which all the United Nations are a part.

IV.
The third amendment I propose is as follows: Amend Chapter 5, Section B, Paragraph 5 so as to read:

"The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, social economic and social fields; for establishing justice and for adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare, or to violate the principles of the United Nations as declared by them on Jan. 1, 1942. [This puts Atlantic Charter into the Dumbarton Oaks Charter. The italicized words are Senator Vandenberg's changes.]

Somewhere in this League there must be a free forum in which to discuss the States' as-

pirations and the ideals for which this war has been waged and the condition of their subsequent health. The General Assembly will be the "town meeting" of the world. It is the logical forum for these discussions.

To ignore or to repress these discussions would be to cynically deny the freedoms for which we fought. To authorize them by direct recognition is to practice what we preached in the Atlantic Charter. Unless we intend consciously to desert the principles of the United Nations we will thus implement them in a post-war world which was promised their benediction.

V.
The fifth amendment I propose is as follows: amend Chapter 5, Section C, Paragraph 2, by adding the word "justice" between "international" and "peace." This simply brings this broader concept of the authority of the assembly under the two-thirds voting rule. But it again emphasizes our devotion to justice as a primary element in the planning of a permanent peace.

VI.
The fifth amendment I propose is similar, but with reference to the Council. Amend Chapter 6, Section B, Paragraph 1, to insert the word "justice" between the words "international" and "peace."

VII.
The sixth amendment I propose is as follows: In Chapter 8, Section A, Paragraph 1 (which states that "the Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute * * *"), eliminate the words "be empowered to." This makes it obligatory upon the Council to "investigate any dispute" which threatens "international peace and security." It denies to the Council the easy expedient of ignoring a problem which it prefers not to face.

VIII.
The seventh amendment I propose is as follows: Add a new paragraph to Chapter 8, Section A. "If the Security Council finds that any situation which it shall investigate involves injustice to peoples concerned it shall recommend appropriate measures of adjustment which may include revision of treaties and of prior international decisions."

This is a direct escape clause from "injustice." It involves only the power to recommend. It may be implicit in the general powers already created but it should be spelled out to avoid all misunderstanding. Otherwise the league is a straight jacket. Otherwise there is no pacific hope ahead for any peoples who consider themselves aggrieved.

The door to progress is slammed shut for keeps—except by war. We would thus invite the very thing we seek to avoid. For example, it is one thing to accept a dictated boundary for Country X under the pressure of immediate expediency. It is quite a different thing to accept such a boundary as a permanent limitation, underwritten in the basis of world peace, never again to be changed except by international rebellion which we shall agree to help suppress.

With every emphasis at my com-

mand, I urge the indispensability of this amendment. Without it, we attempt to police a rigid world. Without it, we deny the progress of legitimate change except through the armed conflict which we pretend to strive to eliminate. Without it we fly in the face of all history and experience and tradition, including our own. Without it, we are at the mercy of critics who may use our error to destroy all our works.

IX.
The eighth amendment I propose is as follows: Add to Chapter 8, Section B, Paragraph 1, a new paragraph reading as follows:

"The Security Council shall not act, nor shall any member be called upon to act, to perpetuate a status which has been created in disregard of recommendations of the Security Council under Section A, or a status the adjustment of which has been recommended by the General Assembly or by the Security Council."

This might be more aptly phrased. The sole purpose is to assure that the military or economic might of the League and of its members will not be blindly put behind either (a) a post-war status which the General Assembly or the Security Council judge to be unjust, or (b) a new status which comes about through a permanent member of the Council vetoing measures of restraint against it.

Something of this nature seems to be required, particularly as a result of the new voting rule which permits one of the great powers to freeze a status which has been condemned but which the League is powerless to correct.

I am not presently prepared to offer an amendment dealing with "the aggressor problem," as it affects one of the major powers, each of which can immunize itself against sanctions, under the new voting proposal.

DC-1 - VS Del -

4

Visions of Elba

Banish Hitler to Lonely Isle, Dean Gildersleeve Proposes

Copyright by New York Tribune, Inc.

New York, Feb. 15.—Adolf Hitler should spend the rest of his days on a "remote island," and all Germany should suffer a hard type agreement" had prevailed at peace, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve of Barrard College, only Yalta, when President Roosevelt, woman delegate to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin arrived at many "great decision."

The world peace structure which "We Anglo-Saxons," she said, will be built at San Francisco, in "are used to that kind of give and Miss Gildersleeve's judgment, may take. I was glad to see compromise not be perfect, but it will be "a misdeed arrived at. We got something thousand times better than nothing out of that conference. It is," and so must command the was wonderful to see so many run-support of the American people. ning sores healed."

The Dumbarton Oaks plan, she believes, will provide a better basis for permanent peace than any great powers on world peace enforcement, Miss Gildersleeve declined to comment, saying she understood a "formula had been worked out." She added that she

interested in international peace organization.

In an interview at her Barnard office, Miss Gildersleeve discussed the prospects of a better world after the war, with Germany somehow shorn of its militaristic tendencies and the solid new "GIO"—General International Organization—to make doubly certain that no future Hitler shall threaten world peace. Asked what the fate she thought the Nazi leader should suffer, she said:

"I should like to see Hitler taken to a remote island and kept there while he lives—quite quietly. I should prefer that to having him executed, for I consider him a madman, and I do not like the idea of executing a madman. However, I should not feel too dreadfully if some other procedure should be adopted."

"This is the third time within the memory of persons now living that Germany has brought war to the civilized world, and now I am all for demilitarizing Germany. If that is a hard peace, I'm for it."

"I have no wish to destroy the German people—that is, I think they should have a reasonable chance to eat and to work. I assume that the armies of occupation will eliminate the most poisonous Nazis—somehow. Then I suppose the armies will control the schools, for a while at least. Democratic ideals cannot be imposed by force, of course, nor will alien teachers be successful in destroying Nazi ideas, but the armies can control what is taught."

"You and I know there used to be Germans of virtue and merit. But even these good Germans have got to learn to take responsibility for their government and to choose the right kind of people to rule over them. Yes, I knew such people. I had friends in Germany before the war. They may be dead now."

Asked about the Russian proposal for unanimity among the great powers on world peace enforcement, Miss Gildersleeve declined to comment, saying she understood a "formula had been worked out." She added that she felt it not quite proper to comment on details of the agenda which might come before the San Francisco conference.

She had prefaced her remarks with the admission that she had not yet received any formal notification or invitation from the State Department and that all she knew about her appointment was what she read in the papers.

As a former president of the International Association of University Women, she added that she had learned "how things are done" in gatherings of individuals from many nations.

She had no knowledge of how she came to be appointed to the conference, she said, except that her name is on the roster of qualified women selected by leaders of women's organizations last spring in anticipation of frequent international conferences. She assumed that the Washington office of the American Association of University Women had suggested her for this particular position.

DC-1 - US Def - 5

Stassen Accepts Invitation To United Nations Conference

Connally urges "rather wide authority" for U. S. delegate to world security council, Page 3

Comdr. Harold E. Stassen yesterday described the international security organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks as "a very small step in the right direction, but a very important step."

Announcing at a press conference that he would accept President Roosevelt's invitation to serve as a delegate to the April 25 United Nations conference at San Francisco, Stassen again urged the adoption of a "strong world policy" by the United States and the "gradual development of effective government on a higher world basis."

Considered one of the most advanced internationalists in the Republican Party, Stassen, a former Governor of Minnesota who is now on the staff of Admiral William F. Halsey, asserted that "my views have been strengthened and reemphasized by seeing what war means and by seeing how effectively the world can be policed with modern war equipment."

In answer to a question, Stassen who is regarded as a leading contender for the GOP 1948 Presidential nomination, acknowledged that the President's appointment to the San Francisco conference could be a political liability. He added, however, that he accepted the assignment without hesitation, explaining that he was equally prepared to "accept a duty assignment to work for a successful peace or to help win the war."

The conference at Frisco has the job of drafting a charter for the world organization visualized at Dumbarton Oaks.

Stassen who accompanied Halsey here from the Pacific for conferences with Admiral King plans to spend a few weeks' leave in Minnesota and then will return to duty with Halsey. Halsey, Stassen said, will see that he returns to the West Coast in time to attend the San Francisco Conference.

Stassen will attend the conference as a civilian, but will resume with Halsey as a commander when the conference is over, he said.

He said that he plans to confer with congressional leaders here because of my previous civilian and with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, a 1944 GOP standard bearer, and others prior to the conference. Before winding up his leave, he said he will make a radio speech outlining his views so that he can participate in the conference with the benefit of a public reaction to his views.

Among the Republican congressional leaders he plans to confer with, he said, are Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, Warren R. Austin of Vermont, Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota and Wallace H. White, jr., of Maine, and Representatives Joseph W. Martin, jr., of Massachusetts and Walter H. Judd of Minnesota.

Vandenberg was named by the President as a delegate to the San Francisco Conference, but has not yet indicated whether he will attend. Only other Republican in addition to Stassen on the eight-man delegation is Representative Charles A. Eaton of New Jersey who is expected to accept the bid.

Saying that the San Francisco conference should be "a definite beginning of a continuing United Nations organization after the war," Stassen declared:

"I hope San Francisco will mean to the world of tomorrow what

Constitution Hall in Philadelphia has meant to the United States. It is not a place where everything is settled or final answers may be found. It is a place to establish the framework in which to build the peace and progress of peoples."

Asked if he was proposing the development of an eventual world government, he replied affirmatively.

The tall, erect Minnesotan pointed out, however, that he expected to temper his views in the interest of securing a unanimous stand by the American delegation.

"I want to bring out something that the American people as a whole can support with unity and that Congress can accept," he added.

Asked if he thought that President Roosevelt selected him to serve as a spokesman for the servicemen at San Francisco, he replied:

"Obviously, the views I will present must come from all my experience. It is clear that the President appointed me, not because I am a commander in the Navy, but because of my previous civilian background as a Republican, a 1944 GOP standard bearer, and an active world leader."

Asked if he would be bound by actions taken by the American delegation, he said:

"I would be bound if I joined in them, but I would definitely have the right to dissent."

DC-1 - US 24 - 6

Under Mr. Connally
100 R. T.
2-21-45

Wide Powers Asked For Peace Delegate

Senator Connally Predicts Yalta Parley Differences Will Be Solved at 'Frisco Meeting

Chairman Tom Connally (D., Texas) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a radio speech last night urged "rather wide authority" for the United States delegate to the world security council.

Connally said the powers of the United States delegate will be "prescribed and delimited, if found necessary," in a statute following Senate ratification of the final Dumbarton Oaks agreement, but he personally believed our delegate should have broad authority.

"He will of course be a representative of the President, who will appoint him," he said. "He will in the nature of things be responsible to the sentiment in the Congress and in the country with relation to the matters with which he may deal.

"I cannot believe that such a representative, with constant contact with the President and constantly advised as to the sentiment of the people of the United States and the Congress, would go contrary to their wishes or their interests."

While the once hotly controversial question may come up at the April 25 conference at San Francisco, Connally said he felt it

should be settled "by the United States alone, by statute of the Congress."

He told newsmen he expected the perfected Dumbarton Oaks agreement to reach the Senate "sometime in June" and that the delegate powers statute would follow thereafter.

Connally in his speech reviewed high spots of the Yalta "Big Three" agreement but did not disclose the Yalta compromise on voting procedure.

The compromise reputedly gives any one of the major powers in effect the right to veto punitive action by the council against themselves, by a unanimous vote requirement in such cases. To consider a question involving action against an "aggressor," a 7 to 11 majority reportedly would be required.

Connally in his speech predicted any differences over "details" would be successfully resolved at San Francisco in a "great political document that shall give assurance to war-weary, peace-loving nations of all the earth that hereafter international settlements are not to be effectuated by the sword but by logic and reason and by the processes of peace."

D.C - 1 - US Del - 7

Text of Vandenberg Speech Calling for Allied Treaty Now

Detroit, Feb. 5 (AP).—The text of an address by Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) before a meeting of the Variety Club tonight:

With deepest gratitude, I thank you for your generosity to me upon this fine occasion. Under the pressure of the times in Washington, I rarely have an opportunity to get back to "home, sweet home" during these days and nights which try the souls of men and test the fate of nations. You may understand, therefore, why I so deeply appreciate your hospitality. I shall respond by gratefully taking advantage of the occasion to tell you what is in my heart regarding the dedications which must be closest to yours.

One: America must win this war as swiftly and conclusively as possible, and no interruptions to the supply lines which sustain our intrepid soldier-sons can be tolerated for a single, bloody instant. Two: America must seek a peace which justifies this sacrifice and martyrdom, which searches for justice as a substitute for force, and which plans a free world for free men.

In the time at my disposal I concentrate upon this latter aim. We have relative unity in this fraternity of battle. We sometimes drift dangerously away from a kindred but equally indispensable fraternity for peace. It is our responsibility to see to it that if this unity-for-peace disintegrates, it is not our America which shall be held at fault when the books of history are balanced. In my view, we cannot serve this solemn function by further silence in respect to our attitudes. That silence confuses our allies. It often provides them with the reason which they plead to justify unilateral decisions which collide with our ideals. It may dangerously invite the conclusion that our silence gives our own consent by default. It even confuses our own people who frequently cry out in anguish for the definition of our aims. It is time for us to say what we will do. It is time for us to say what we will not do.

And it is time to start the doing. That is my theme tonight.

Security 'Collective'

As a basis for our thinking, let me lay down a few fundamentals. The first is the recognition of a physical fact. Since Pearl Harbor, the ghastly countenance of war has become more sinister than ever before in the nightmares of the human race. The awful science of mass murder has made more progress—what a word!—in three cruel years than in all the centuries since time began. And this new science is only in its lethal infancy.

Contemplate the robot bomb in its maturity! Contemplate the refinements of "jet propulsion" when it still further reduces this foreshortened world to an intimate neighborhood! Contemplate a war of pushbuttons in which human flesh and blood are at the mercy of mechanized disaster! I need not labor the point. This war, God knows, is bad enough. But World War III will open new laboratories of death too horrible to contemplate. I propose to do everything within my power to keep those laboratories closed for keeps. I make this pledge in the name of humane common sense. But more than that, I make it in the name of American self-interest: Times have changed. The oceans are no longer moats around our ramparts. Once upon a time Detroit could wait for the enemy to get to Windsor. In the next world war, an enemy halfway around the globe will be just as close. No nation hereafter can immunize itself by its own exclusive action. Only collective security can stop the next great war before it starts. Therefore collective security is to our advantage: and we serve America if we can help to make it work.

But this brings me immediately to my second fundamental. We cannot make it work alone. Unshared idealism is not an asset: it is a liability. It takes something more than a "paper league" to keep the peace. An unjust peace will break out of any straitjacket the wit of man can devise. It ought to. Collective security will be no stronger than the merits of the cause it implements. Therefore it is to our own American self-interest also to keep this objective forever at our mast-head—peace with justice! Not because we want to meddle in the problems of other continents. But because there can be no peace without justice! Let me be specific. I am talking about the basic aspirations of the Atlantic Charter. It is not just a nautical collection of fragmentary notes. It is bone and sinew of our flaming forward march. I quote:

"No aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise!"

"No territorial changes which do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned!"

"The right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live!"

"Sovereign rights and self-government, restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them!" There will be differences of opinion in the grand alliance about the meaning of these precious things. I do not pretend to say that we, by dictation, can have

it all our own way. But I do presume to say that, by the same token, no other member of the grand alliance, by dictation, can have it all his own way either. I do not speak belligerently, I speak with deepest respect for the utterly magnificent contribution which each of our major allies is making to the coming victory. But I speak with equal respect for our own fabulous American contribution. I speak with a profound prayer that the friendly, helpful unity among us shall never fall apart. But I speak also in the belief that candor now will do more for this priceless unity than will disillusionment tomorrow.

This brings me to my third fundamental. The President has correctly said: "The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we become inevitably conscious of differences among the victors."

How do these dangerous differences disclose themselves? Usually by unilateral decisions in which one or another among the United Nations makes its own announcement—pronounces its own ultimatum—regarding its own present or postwar plans and purposes. It puts its own interpretation upon its own rights regardless of the fact that these rights, for all of us, flow from our common effort. I assert that all vital decisions should also flow from the same sort of a common effort. Let me illustrate what I mean. The army that gets to Berlin first does not win for its nation the right to settle Germany's future just because it got to Berlin first. No nation's army would have reached Berlin at all except for the heroic, common combat of all the other nations' armies. This is just another way of saying that unity—unity for an ultimate lasting peace—is a constant, day-to-day necessity which must be nourished by all of us through constant, coordinated consultation—in war and then in peace—and through a reasonable regard for mutual sensibilities.

Now let's put these three fundamentals together and—in the name of honest, helpful candor—see whether they do not plainly point to immediate plan on action. You will remember the fundamentals. First, the inexpressibly vital need to prevent World War III through collective security. Second: the paramount importance of a just peace if it is to be a permanent peace. Third: the hazard to these objectives if each of the United Nations starts going its own way even before we have clinched our total victory. Let's frankly face our American responsibilities in this connection.

It seems to me that the logic of the situation is fairly straight and simple.

Why do our Allies take these disunifying steps? What's the reason given for partitioning Poland? For planning satellite conquests for the Anglo-Soviet agreement of 1942, the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement of 1943, the France-Soviet treaty of 1944, and similar actions yet to come? What's the reason given for much of the resurgent movements toward alliances, and toward the old "power politics" which has been the world's prime curse? What's the reason?

Fear Rebirth of Axis

It's perfectly understandable reason. It is a perfectly human reason. It is the frankly expressed fear of reborn Axis aggression in the years to come. Twice within one generation our continental Allies have seen the German monster rise and overwhelm them. Twice within one generation they have been driven to the valley of the shadow by military aggression. They do not propose to be exposed again. Unless and until they know that they can depend upon America to join effectively in keeping Germany and Japan demilitarized, they will continue to go their own way. The truth of the matter is that it was the failure to keep Germany demilitarized after World War I which made possible World War II.

In the face of these circumstances, my fellow citizens, I ask you whether our immediate duty—our tremendously great, immediate opportunity—is not clear? America has the same self-interest in keeping Germany and Japan permanently and effectively demilitarized as have her closer victims. America has the keenest sort of self-interest in preventing the threat of reborn Axis aggression from driving the rest of the world into another era of separate alliances because that, too, is the road to another war. In other words, here is one, common danger—one, common objective—in which we have a complete and basic common interest.

Why not face it now? Why not act now? Regardless of any other peace plans, and regardless of whether we agree or disagree ourselves regarding them, here is one thing that must be done regardless of whether we do anything else at all. Here is one thing that must be done—namely, the permanent demilitarization of Germany and Japan—unless we are blinder than bats in respect to history, following World War I, and unless we are to be guilty of the colossal World War II.

It is in response to this irresistible logic of events that I have proposed and continue to propose—that America shall sign up now with all her major allies to join in a hard-and-fast treaty, solemnly ratified by the Senate of the United States, which pledges our constant armed cooperation, instantly and peremptorily available through the

President of the United States without further reference to the Congress, to keep Germany and Japan out of piracy for keeps. I propose that we say—beyond misunderstanding—that this fiendish thing shall not rise again. I propose that we shall practice what we preach. I propose that no other nation shall have any further chance to use our silence as an alibi for ulterior designs, if such there be. I propose action instead of words. I propose action now—before it is too late. I propose it for the sake of a better world. But I say, "again and again and again," that I propose it for our American self-interest.

Aside from the incalculable major advantage thus to be gained, there are at least two collateral advantages of scarcely secondary moment. I discuss them briefly.

When we have relieved our Allies of any legitimate fear of reborn Axis aggression, we also have relieved them of any legitimate need, each on his own unchecked account, to make unilateral decisions, from time to time, in the name of self-defense. We shall have earned the right to demand that whatever such decisions may have been in the process of war—and I concede that such decisions may sometimes be unavoidable—we shall have earned the right to demand that all such decisions shall be subject to review and correction in the postwar peace by whatever international organization we set up to perpetuate the solidarity of the United Nations.

In other words, and in plain terms, we shall have earned the right to demand peace with justice—the only kind of peace which can survive. A spoilsman's peace will not survive. Therefore peace itself is the issue at this point. Furthermore, one of the greatest arguments against early action on the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a postwar league will have been substantially removed because, otherwise, it can be persuasively urged that America is asked to sign a warrant to help sustain an unknown future which may be too repugnant to us to deserve or to get any such fidelity from justice-loving America.

This brings me to the second collateral, but dreadfully important, dividend from this program. It brings me to Dumbarton Oaks. If we first deal with our enemies through unequivocal postwar restraints upon them, we have remaining only our friends to consider in charting the organization of our postwar peace league. This immensely simplifies our problem. The only real controversy inside America respecting Dumbarton Oaks is whether the President shall have the power, without reference to Congress, to join our armed forces with those of the peace league to stop renewed military aggression. After we have given

in this unquestioned power in respect to our enemies, I think I can prove that the creation of such a power for use against our friends becomes almost an academic question from the standpoint of reality.

Peace Formula With "Friends"

Remember, we are now arranging a peace formula with our friends. We have taken care of our enemies. Remember that we are now talking only about the future use of force against one of our present allies who subsequently becomes a military aggressor to threaten the peace of the world. Obviously it can only be one of our present major allies. It will have to be a present major ally who has broken a solemn pledge to abandon force as an instrumentality of foreign policy. It will have to be a major ally who has successively defied all of the intervening machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes, contemplated by Dumbarton Oaks. This means full investigation and report; then conciliation; then mediation, then arbitration; probably the intervention of international law through the medium of a new world court; perhaps even economic sanctions. The new crisis will not be a blitz. It will not come upon the world like a thief in the night. It will finally reach the last recourse—namely armed force—only after the other United Nations (which is to say, the conscience of the world) has been put upon serial notice that one of our present, major allies has turned brute beast and proposes to assault civilization. Such a challenge would be of such gravity that no President in his right mind—whether he has the actual power or not—would think for an instant of committing America to such a war without knowing that he had his country and the Congress behind him. On the other hand, no Congress would hesitate for an instant to respond to such a challenge. We declared war on Japan in 13 minutes and on Germany in 5. That ought to be sufficiently expeditious. In other words, I repeat, it means nothing, in a practical sense, whether the President himself is given this final power or not, so far as the functioning of the peace league is concerned. But, in a practical sense, it may mean infinitely much in the decision of the American people as to whether they might reject the whole Dumbarton Oaks adventure, if they are asked to give the President this exclusive power against one of our present allies in the face of a plain constitutional injunction that only Congress can declare war.

Or but, you ask, if "only Congress can declare war" how can you give the President plenary power to use our armed forces to keep the Axis permanently demilitarized? The answer is that for 150 years the Constitution has per-

(MORE)

mitted the President to use this plenary power for "the national defense"—short of war—and it repeatedly has thus been used without question. The permanent demilitarization of the Axis, when once authorized by Congress

through the Senate's ratification of a treaty, would not involve a new "declaration of war." It would only be the lengthened shadow of the present war. It would clearly fall within the Presidential authority under the Constitution.

Now you probably ask: "Should the peace league have no force available, except against our erstwhile foes?" My answer is that the peace league certainly should maintain constant staff work in planning the ultimate mobilization of military force; it certainly should have peremptorily available, so far as we are concerned, such military force as is traditionally granted under the Constitution to the President for "national defense"; but remembering there is to be unlimited force for use against our present foes, it does not need the final war power which the Constitution of the United States commits exclusively to the Congress of the United States.

My further, and fundamental, answer is that the genius of Dumbarton Oaks, in correct perspective, is not the use of military force at all. The genius of Dumbarton Oaks is the exact opposite. It is the substitution of justice for force. It is the substitution of international law for piracy. It is the substitution of peace for war. Its genius lies in the organization of these pacific mechanisms which shall stop future frictions short of the necessity for force. Its genius lies in the mobilization of the vigilant moral and spiritual power of enlightened civilization against the dark and evil forces of recurrent savagery. If this power has been dormant and impotent it is because it has lacked a vigorous world instrument for organized expression. In my deep conviction, Dumbarton Oaks, in proper form, can supply this tremendous instrument.

All of these benedictions become possible just as soon as we have permanently quarantined the Axis lusts. Oh yes, I have oversimplified the problem. I have no illusions that this tough old world will suddenly quit its sins because a formula is born. I promise no millenium. I am not so naive as to believe that the earth can suddenly rid itself of national rivalries. But I respectfully submit

that here lies a way of hope. It, or something like it, will take us out of our foreign policy vacuum. It will untie our tongues and once more make us vocal in behalf of our ideals. It will save us from the dangerous misunderstandings which our continued silence might invite. It will certainly promise a better peace, and therefore a safer and a longer peace. And it is practical because it plainly conserves self-interest (unless "self-interest" involves ulterior and sinister designs) for all concerned in this great fraternity of allied war.

I do not object, my fellow citizens, to the vigilance of any nation in behalf of its own self-interest. That is what nations are for. I am frank to say that I want our intelligent, American self-interest just as vigorously protected by our spokesmen as British self-interest is always protected by Mr. Churchill and as the self-interests of the Soviets always are protected by Mr. Stalin. But I cannot escape the conviction that an insurance policy against world war number three is basic in the self-interest of every civilized nation in this distraught world, America emphatically included.

Certainly that is an expression of American self-interest. We give up nothing except the inevitable curse of another involvement in another war if it ever comes. We do not sacrifice our independence. We join no world state. We do not desert the Constitution. We leave the Stars and Stripes in all their pride and glory on the domes of Washington. We simply join ourselves, in continued united fraternity with our battle comrades, in a great cooperative adventure for a better earth. We do it for the sake of free men in a free world. We do it in the name of justice. We do not do it if justice is denied. If we can start it now, our allied unity will have new vigor. The end of all our present wars will respond more quickly to our prayers. We shall vindicate our soldier-sons. We shall keep the word of promise to our hopes. We shall save our children's children. We shall have earned the right to beseech God's blessing on our dreams.

De - vs Dal -

FB

Connally Urges Free Hand For U.S. Delegate on Council

*Use of Force Without Reference to Congress
'Absolutely Necessary,' Senator Says,
Indicating Law Will Be Sought*

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 11—Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said today that it was "absolutely necessary" that the United States representative on the proposed World Security Council should have authority to vote to use American troops against a future aggressor without seeking the permission of Congress in each case.

In a speech before the Washington Rotary Club, Mr. Connally, who will be the Administration's chief spokesman during Senate debate on the new League of Nations, also indicated that the Administration would not ask for this authority in a treaty requiring the support of two-thirds of the members of the Senate present, but in a statute that could be passed by a majority in both houses of Congress.

The question of whether the American delegate on the World

Security Council should be authorized to vote for the use of American forces and facilities without reference to Congress is regarded on Capitol Hill as the most controversial national question raised by the Dumbarton Oaks formula.

Administration leaders concede that this question will cause them the most trouble when they seek ratification of the Dumbarton Oaks charter, and it has been reported that they were planning to submit it not in treaty form but as a statute. Mr. Connally, departing from his prepared text today, seemed to support this plan.

"Upon the question of empowering the United States' representative upon the Executive Council to vote without reference to Congress," his prepared text said, "there cannot, in my opinion, be any alternative. It is absolutely essential that our representative

Continued on Page 13, Column 2

DELEGATE FREEDOM ON COUNCIL URGED

Continued From Page 1

have power to act in all cases of emergency.

"We have learned that aggressor powers can and do act promptly, and unless the council is able to act promptly, there would be little use in acting at all.

Says Power Can Be Defined

"The United States Congress will no doubt enact legislation providing for the selection of a United States representative on the council. In that act his authority can be defined and limited, if necessary. No representative of the United States on the council would dare to defy the opinion of the President of the United States or of the Congress."

In departing from his text to elaborate this point, however, Mr. Connally went further than his reference to "Congress"—as distinguished from the Senate—enacting legislation to select the United States representative on the council.

"Congress" could create the office by "statute," he asserted, and the President could then appoint the official with the advice and consent of the "Senate."

Stresses Differences in Treaties

"It must be borne in mind," the Senator said, "that the use of force under the conditions contemplated is not an act of war. It is an act to prevent war. It is essentially a peace measure. The history of international law is full of examples of the use or the display of force for the protection of the rights of nations and the defense property and to repel aggression on the high seas which did not actually result in war."

Mr. Connally also emphasized the difference between the definitive peace treaty and the treaty which would establish the international security organization (but not define the salary, duties, and authority of the American delegate). "In the treaty of peace," he said, "it will be provided as agreed upon at Yalta, that our enemies, Germany and Japan, shall be thoroughly disarmed and their factories and plants for the manu-

facture of war munitions and equipment shall be dismantled.

"No doubt it will also be provided that enemy countries shall be occupied by armed forces for a considerable period of time in order to give assurance to the United Nations and to all liberty-loving peoples that they shall not again be attacked.

"These provisions, however, alone are not enough. The great number of issues growing out of the war must be settled by the treaty of peace, but we shall not wait until the final peace treaty is signed before undertaking the establishment of an international organization for peace and security."

It was his earnest hope, Mr. Connally concluded, that the San Francisco conference would consider, modify if necessary, and approve the "preliminary work" done at Dumbarton Oaks, but in any event, he added, the treaty agreed on at that conference would have his support when the question of ratification came up in the Senate.

Mr. Connally and the other members of the American Security delegation, who also attended the luncheon, held another meeting today, and the United Nations Committee of Jurists also made progress in their consideration of the World Court statute. The jurists went over Articles 23 to 33 of the statute and decided that they had now made sufficient progress to begin to hear and discuss subcommittee reports on suggested revisions.

DC -1
VS Del -

4 Widely Different Men To Represent Congress In World Treaty Talks

By Robert C. Albright

FOUR men as unlike in appearance, politics and human nature as you are ever likely to find on a common mission one month from today will shake hands around the Capitol and hop trains or planes for San Francisco.

This Capitol foursome, first ever to represent Congress in treaty talks on a world scale, will make up just one half of the entire United States delegation to the United Nations conference. That's a mighty big voice in anybody's table talk. They were not picked at random,



VANDENBERG CONNALLY



BLOOM EATON

...one thing in common
turnstile Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he is key man to the Senate's last word. Dangerous in debate, with a flair for good-humored swashbuckling, Connally has been described as the Senator looking most like a Senator. He is 67 and his long, carefully groomed mane is graying. The years have not mellowed his rapier tongue, but disciplined service has helped him control it. Treading gently for all his six feet, 200 pounds, he has eased the Administration over many a rough spot. He is a pioneer for world organization backed by force. The Senate peace resolution bearing his name was worded more cautiously than he would have liked. He it was who worked out arrangements for the eight-man Senate liaison group, forging ever closer relations between the Senate and State Department, intimate of former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Connally has on his desk a token of esteem from Hull's successor, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.—a silver-girded gavel engraved with a greeting.

but because Congress, and not San Francisco, will write the final chapter on Dumbarton Oaks. The Senate's last word: Ratification of the Golden Gate treaty. The House echo: Action on the statute defining powers of the delegates to the world security council. Everyone of the bipartisan four has indorsed the Dumbarton Oaks cornerstone of the coming world organization. Though one has asserted his "right of free action," early signs point to every member's playing the Ed Stettinius brand of big league baseball for the American team.

Here are the four, so dissimilar in individual qualities and yet, as a group, so indelibly representative of a cross-section of the American Congress in the year 1945:

1. Tom (christened Thomas Terry) Connally, of Marlin, Tex., son of a well to do farmer and a good country lawyer before he came to Congress to round out a

quarter of a century in the House and Senate. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he is key man to the Senate's last word. Dangerous in debate, with a flair for good-humored swashbuckling, Connally has been described as the Senator looking most like a Senator. He is 67 and his long, carefully groomed mane is graying. The years have not mellowed his rapier tongue, but disciplined service has helped him control it. Treading gently for all his six feet, 200 pounds, he has eased the Administration over many a rough spot. He is a pioneer for world organization backed by force. The Senate peace resolution bearing his name was worded more cautiously than he would have liked. He it was who worked out arrangements for the eight-man Senate liaison group, forging ever closer relations between the Senate and State Department, intimate of former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Connally has on his desk a token of esteem from Hull's successor, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.—a silver-girded gavel engraved with a greeting.

Second Senator Wields Power—With Real Purpose

2. Republican Senate delegate is Arthur H. (for Hendrick) Vandenberg of Grand Rapids, Mich., son of a Dutch harness maker. Mainstay of his family from the age of nine, Vandenberg worked his way up from selling papers, reporting to editor and publisher of the Grand Rapids Herald. The facile editorial pen he wielded also was to write fluent Senate speeches for 17 years, blossoming out in his now famous pre-Yalta speech advocating permanent disarmament of the Axis. Symbolizing the shift of thought within his own Republican Party, helping point that trend, Vandenberg traveled the long, hard road back from the Borah type of isolationism (he called it insulation) to full indorsement of a world league for peace with teeth. For Vandenberg, the road back started in June 1941 when he called for aid to England and France "to the utmost of our capabilities," short of war. When the Republican party stepped forward for world collaboration in its Mackinac charter, he helped chart the change. In Chicago last summer his pen was evident in the GOP platform declaration for United States participation in a world organization. His inclusion in the Congressional foursome will mean powerful support for the treaty in the Senate if he subscribes to the final charter. For across the Senate aisle, where Republicans hold 39 seats, he is swing man. He alone of the four Capitol delegates delayed accepting the San Francisco invitation until the President assured him his hands won't be tied. Taller than Connally, weighing about 190, his brown eyes peering through rimless spectacles, his lofty brow topped by a silvering thatch, Vandenberg at 61 is an impressive figure. Another "Senator's Senator", colleagues listen when he speaks. GOP Presidential possibility before 1940, he now is figuring in 1948 talk.

Twenty Years' Work Brings Results—and Recognition

3. Sol Bloom of New York City, started life as showman, salesman and gag man for "Little Egypt"; came to Congress via Tammany. Twenty years in the House carried him to the top of the Foreign Affairs Committee, whence the President called him as a delegate to San Francisco. Bloom first plunged into foreign affairs duties with all of the zeal he once displayed in making a name for himself (and George Washington) as director general of the Washington Bicentennial celebration. Jealous of the Senate monopoly on foreign relations, Bloom launched a personal campaign for recognition of the House in international matters, demanding equal consultation by the State Department, introducing Constitutional amendment after amendment to have treaties ratified by a majority of both Houses. He sometimes got in the hair of the late Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Key Pittman and Tom Connally inherited the feud. But Bloom's tireless campaign is beginning to bear fruit, as the House mission in San Francisco and recent assignment of House "advisers" to Mexico City attests. All out for the Administration's foreign policy, Bloom managed at least one foreign relations "scoop" on the Senate. It was his committee that first moved to the floor and passed a "lasting peace" resolution. Bloom gladly played second fiddle to Representative J. William Fulbright (now Senator) to put that one across. Bloom is 75 now (you would take him for 65) and his slickly-parted sandy hair is beginning to gray. Those who knew him when he managed theaters and sold everything from sheet music to real estate say he has lost none of his zest for life. He never went to school a day in his life, "but that doesn't

Continued on Page 3 Column 3

Four Men May Differ, But Not Aim

Continued from Page 1

mean I didn't get an education."

4. Most unassuming of the four congressional delegates is tall, white-haired Charles A. Eaton, New Jersey, ranking Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Now 76, Eaton was convalescing from an illness when he received the President's invitation. He sat down immediately and wrote, "I accept with a profound sense of responsibility the invitation with which you honor me to serve as a delegate of the United States to the United Nations conference because, as you know, I am in complete accord with your statement before Congress that there can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict." A Republican of the old school on many a domestic issue, Eaton never wavered an instant in support of the Administration's foreign policy in the dark days before Pearl Harbor. Then and since he has been summoned many times to the White House, and State Department on world affairs when other party members were overlooked.

Now Study Roles

An ordained Baptist minister, Eaton had the late John D. Rockefeller, sr., as a member of his congregation in Cleveland. As pastor of Madison Avenue Baptist Church in New York for 10 years, he was the highest paid clergyman in his church. In World War I he left his clerical duties to become head of the National Service section of the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation. Assigned to help step up production, he addressed more than a million men in a year, moving around the country with a staff of wounded war veterans. Elected to Congress in 1924, he chose foreign affairs as his field, and his hand, as well as Vandenberg's, shows in his party's first, broad Mackinac stride forward.

These, then, are the men who will speak for Congress at San Francisco. Just now they are poring over the contents of a leather-bound portfolio handed them by Secretary Stettinius at their first meeting as a delegation last week. In it is a wealth of background on Malta and Dumbarton Oaks prepared by State Department researchers.

In Focal Position

Of the four, the country will watch closest the Senator from Michigan—not alone because of his focal position on the Republican side of the treaty-making Senate, but because of his written request to the President that he have a free hand and not necessarily be bound by commitments.

Aside from this request, freely granted by the President, Vandenberg has shown every desire to work with the team. Publicly he has raised only one point he wishes to press home at San Francisco—his belief that a "conscious mandate to seek and to maintain justice" as the basis for peace should be written into the Oaks plan as a guiding objective. Friends say he will fight for still another "clarification"—definite stipulation that the world organization have specific authority to review political agreements reached between United Nations powers prior to creation of the new world agency for peace.

7c -1 - us del -

10

WBE Post 4-2-48

Parley Date Stands, Says Connally

'Minor Differences'
Won't Delay Opening
At San Francisco,
Senator Asserts

New Light on Yalta

STETTINIUS reported kept in dark about Yalta vote agreement. Page 2.

Wherry Assails Reds

By Robert C. Albright

The San Francisco international conference will open on schedule April 25, regardless of minor differences which may arise from time to time, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Tom Connally (D., Tex.), said yesterday.

Connally discounted rumors that the conference may be postponed following a talk at the Capitol with Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

"It is my further view that the conference will be a success and from it will emerge an international organization for peace that will be acceptable to the United States Senate and the American people," he said.

"Differences" Listed

Connally's "minor differences" referred in part to the secret multi-voting agreement reached at Yalta, Russian demands that the Moscow-sponsored Warsaw government be invited to the conference (vetoes by the United States and Britain), and the Soviet decision to send Ambassador Gromyko instead of Foreign Minister Molotov.

Each of these "differences" figured in earlier reports that the conference might be postponed.

Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley told newsmen he agreed with Connally that no questions had arisen that need delay the conference getting under way.

"Certainly we are in better shape to go ahead than we are likely to find ourselves in if we call off present plans and set a later date," said Barkley.

State Department Denial

In San Francisco, making arrangements for the meeting, John Peurifoy, special assistant to the director of the State Department's Office of Public Affairs, also said there is absolutely nothing to the rumors.

Other developments as the American delegation arranged to meet again today for the last of the

See SECURITY, Page 2, Column 1

From Page 1

Informal discussions preliminary to intensive daily sessions starting April 9:

1. Senate Minority Whip Kenneth S. Wherry (R., Neb.) sent a list of five questions to Secretary Stettinius, leading off with: "Why must we refuse an invitation to Poland to the San Francisco conference?" Wherry referred to the Polish government in exile as "the only legal Polish government in existence" and asked: "Is Russia truly intent on rebuilding a peaceful world? If so, why does she stand in the path of Poland's participation in the San Francisco conference?"

2. Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), it was learned, also addressed a letter to Stettinius, asking that the American representative on the Yalta Commission now meeting in Moscow to set up a new Polish provisional government be instructed to insist on representation of all Polish interests.

3. Representatives of the five major United Nations, American sources said, may meet in advance of the San Francisco conference to work out an agreement on mandated territories under the League of Nations and international "trustships" that will result from this war.

4. United Press dispatches from London said official sources there hinted Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Deputy Premier Clement Attlee may cut short their trip to the San Francisco conference.

In one informed Capitol quarter meanwhile it was said that absence of Molotov or even of Eden need not handicap the conference, since regardless of who headed the re-

State Department Denial

In San Francisco, making arrangements for the meeting, John Beunifoy, special assistant to the director of the State Department's Office of Public Affairs, also said there is absolutely nothing to the rumors.

Other developments: as the American delegation arranged to meet again today for the last of the

See SECURITY, Page 2, Column 1

From Page 1

Informal discussions preliminary to intensive daily sessions starting April 9:

1. Senate Minority Whip Kenneth S. Wherry (R., Nebr.) sent a list of five questions to Secretary Stettinius, leading off with: "Why must we refuse an invitation to Poland to the San Francisco conference?" Wherry referred to the Polish government-in-exile as "the only legal Polish government in existence" and asked: "Is Russia truly intent on rebuilding a peaceful world? If so, why does she stand in the path of Poland's participation in the San Francisco conference?"

2. Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), it was learned, also addressed a letter to Stettinius, asking that the American representative on the Yalta Commission now meeting in Moscow to set up a new Polish provisional government be instructed to insist on representation of all Polish interests.

3. Representatives of the five major United Nations, American sources said, may meet in advance of the San Francisco conference to work out an agreement on mandated territories under the League of Nations and international "trustships" that will result from this war.

4. United Press dispatches from London said official sources there hinted Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Deputy Premier Clement Attlee may cut short their trip to the San Francisco conference.

In one informed Capitol quarter meanwhile it was said that absence of Molotov or even of Eden need not handicap the conference, since regardless of who headed the respective delegations to San Francisco they would undoubtedly keep in touch with their home government.

Barring of Neutrals Hit

Specifically demanding that "the truth and the whole truth" be told about the Polish situation, Wherry in his letter to Stettinius said he also considered it "an ill omen that such truly peace-loving nations as Eire, Iceland, Sweden and Switzerland are deliberately excluded from this conference."

"But . . . even were I to grant the necessity for such arbitrary action on the part of the great victor powers toward small neutral nations," continued Wherry, "I would still find it impossible to be reconciled to Poland's exclusion. What of Poland, Mr. Secretary? Why is Poland not invited?"

Wherry said Russia is the only nation that does not recognize Poland in New York City. The colonel, the prince and the ke waited patiently for the royal Dr. The princess Fir

PRINCESS, Page 2, Column 6 Ge

POWER IN THE COUNCIL

Senator Connally of Texas, who will be one of the American delegates at San Francisco, has made an address in Washington, urging that the United States representative on the proposed Security Council of the new league of nations be given power to vote to use American troops against a future aggressor without seeking the authority of Congress in each instance. He believes this to be "absolutely essential" to the success of the new peace plan. "We have learned that aggressor Powers can and do act promptly, and unless the Council is able to act promptly there would be little use in acting at all."

It will be recalled that this point was raised during the last Presidential campaign, and that general agreement on it was then expressed by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey. As Mr. Roosevelt stated the case: "If the world organization is to have any reality at all, our American representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by constitutional means through their representatives in Congress, with authority to act." A few days later Governor Dewey said at Minneapolis that American membership in the new league "must not be subject to a reservation that would require our representative to return to Congress for authority every time he had to make a decision."

This was as much discussion as the proposal received during the campaign, and there has been little discussion of it subsequently. One interesting proposal, however, has been put forward tentatively by Herbert Hoover. This is that the power to make decisions should be given not to our delegate on the Security Council but to the President himself, "and the President should be required to secure the majority vote of the joint Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the House on whether the issues should be submitted to the full Congress." Thus Congress, through its committees, would have a voice in determining both the urgency and the dimensions of the problem. As Mr. Hoover sees it: "In minor and urgent undertakings there would be need of no full Congressional action. If action means war with a great Power, the approval of the whole Congress is essential." Here it may be noted incidentally that the Yalta plan of permitting the great Powers to veto joint action against themselves largely eliminates the possibility that the United States would become involved in war with another great Power as a result of any decision made in the Security Council.

The question of the authority to be exercised by the American representative on the Council is an important one, and we may be sure that it will receive in Congress and in public discussion the attention it deserves. But so far as the immediate future is concerned it should be noted that this question is wholly independent of the matters to be considered at San Francisco. There is nothing in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, which will be the agenda of the San Francisco Conference, that specifies how each country represented on the Council shall reach and affirm its decisions. In our own case this is a problem for the United

States itself to decide in the light of its own interest in creating the conditions of a stable peace.

Only Service Voice at Parley To Be Stassen's

WBC Post 4-3-45
Apparently implying that no other serviceman or veteran will be added to the American delegation to the United Nations Security Conference at San Francisco. Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew has declared that Comdr. Harold Stassen "will fully represent the point of view of men who have been serving overseas."

Grew's announcement came in a letter to Joseph Leib, vice commander of the Costello American Legion Post here, who had written Secretary of State Stettinius urging that a combat soldier be given a place at the peace table. Leib presented the proposal to his post last June and the national convention of the legion adopted it in September. His letter from the Undersecretary, dated March 30, apparently gave Commander Stassen official designation as the conference spokesman for the men in uniform.

Commander Stassen, who resigned as Governor of Minnesota to take a Navy commission, has been flag officer to Admiral William F. Halsey and recently returned to the Pacific for a few weeks additional duty before attending the San Francisco parley, which is scheduled to open April 25.

DC-1

US D-1-

11

NYT 23 Mar 41

MISS GILDERSLEEVE ANALYZES PARLEY

Cautions Against Expecting
Millennium to Follow the
San Francisco Meeting

A warning not to expect the millennium immediately from the forthcoming conference of the United Nations at San Francisco was voiced last night by Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve of Barnard College, an American delegate to the conference, at a dinner given in her honor at the Hotel Commodore.

"The conference," she said, "can only lay the foundations and design the machinery for future co-operation between nations."

The only woman member of the American delegation, Miss Gildersleeve spoke of "that wide and deep tide of interest and determination and hope that runs throughout our country as our people look toward San Francisco" and stressed the determination of the American people "to help create a world organization and to be one of its loyal members." At the same time, however, she thought it necessary to keep in mind the "limited scope and purposes of the conferences and the difficult tasks it will be called upon to deal with."

The dinner was attended by 1,000 persons who came in response to invitations of the sponsor organizations, which included the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, American Association of University Women, Associate Alumnae of Barnard College, National League of Women Voters, Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace, and American Association for the United Nations.

The gathering of so many persons under such auspices, Miss Gildersleeve declared, symbolized the determination and hope of the American people in their desire to make their contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks set before the San Francisco Conference.

"Right Atmosphere" Stressed

Miss Gildersleeve appealed to the American press, radio commentators and the general public "to help create the right atmosphere for receiving the delegates from abroad and convince them of our sincerity and good intentions."

"Let us try to persuade them to emphasize the common aims rather than the differences between the United Nations; not to play up excitedly incidental snags and nasty rumors; not to indulge in disagreeable 'wisecracks,' however clever," she said. "Let us especially beg the headline writers to remember these things and to emphasize constructive achievements rather than minor difficulties. Newspaper headlines matter a lot in creating atmosphere, and our visitors may take them even more seriously than we do."

Miss Gildersleeve thought that the American delegates to the conference felt greatly strengthened by the lifting of the world organ-

HONORED AT LUNCHEON



Dean Virginia Gildersleeve
The New York Times, 1937

ization, which the conference will seek to establish, above party politics; by the agreement of the two main political parties on the general idea and on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as a good foundation.

Miss Gildersleeve considered it important to make people understand that the conference will not be a peace conference in the old sense but will be called upon to draw a charter or constitution for the new world organization, the United Nations.

"It will not deal with boundaries, or the immediate treatment of the defeated enemy countries, or similar subjects," she stressed. "Those will be handled, as I understand, by a series of separate treaties or agreements winding up this war; or some of them may be dealt with later by appropriate agencies and procedures of the new world organization after it begins to function. At San Francisco we are to try to set up the framework for this new order. That will be a sufficiently large and difficult task. At San Francisco we shall be concerned first of all with security. It is primarily a security conference, designed to set up machinery to avoid war."

Dwells on Women's Interest

Miss Gildersleeve stressed also the peculiar interest of women in the task of the conference and the specific contribution they can make to the realization of its aim.

She expressed the belief that "the inevitable limitations upon our country's freedom of action required by any effective world organization."

"Perhaps at some moment in the long process of achieving security women's profound instinct for conserving and developing life may markedly influence the course of history," Miss Gildersleeve added.

"As through the months and years the United Nations develop their helpful cooperation in solving international economic, social and

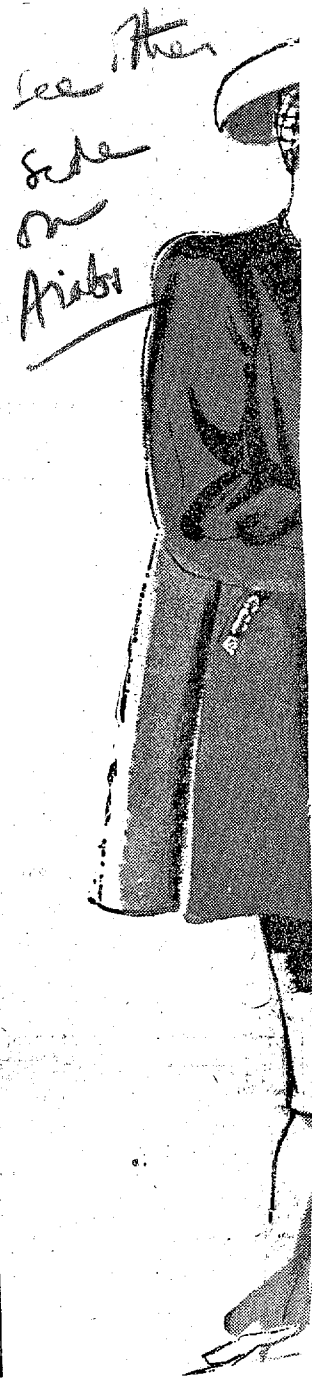
other humanitarian problems all women will certainly follow them with a very special interest, and many women will, I am sure, play an active part in the work."

Miss Gildersleeve also spoke of the intense interest being exhibited by the student youth of the land in the problems of international relations and the task of averting war, and expressed the hope that "something of the generosity of youth, its confidence in tackling the apparently impossible, its faith in the vision of a better world" would find expression at the conference.

Speakers who paid tribute to Dean Gildersleeve and voiced approval of her appointment as a delegate to represent the sentiments and hopes of the American nation, particularly of its women, included William Allan Neilson, president emeritus of Smith College; Prof. James T. Shotwell, chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick of the editorial board of THE NEW YORK TIMES, and Sabra Follett, president of the Class of 1945 of Barnard who spoke in the name of the student body.

A message from Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University was read.

Helen C. White, president of the American Association of University Women, presided.



FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1945.

CHARTER ADOPTED BY ARAB LEAGUE

Palestinian Delegate Barred
From Signing—Yemenite
on Way to Cairo

By SAM POPE BREWER

By Wire to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, March 22—The Arab League conference here adopted the final draft of its constitution with its signature here tonight by six of the member States.

The seventh, Yemen, was not represented at this meeting, but a delegate is en route and is expected to sign the charter also. The plan to have the Palestinian Arab delegate, Moussa el Alami, sign the constitution was dropped at the eleventh hour. No official statement of reasons was issued, but unofficially it is explained that his signature would be invalid and might invalidate the whole document, since Mr. el Alami does not represent any government. He will be treated, however, as a full and equal member of the council under Article XXI of the charter and will have one vote in the council's decisions.

This is the final step in establishing the Arab League and it lacks only the formal approval of the Governments concerned to become fully operative. The States that signed today are Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Trans-Jordan. The league's first meeting is expected within a fortnight in order to complete preparations for a united Arab front in San Francisco.

The Arab League's constitution, it is understood, consists of twenty-one articles. It states that the League's aim is to promote cooperation among members states, particularly in matters of culture, trade and communications, and to settle questions of passports and nationality among its members.

Membership open to all independent Arab states signing the charter. Others are eligible as they achieve their independence. The League's council is to meet regularly in March and October of each year in Cairo and may be summoned whenever any member wishes consultation.

The charter provides for consultation in case of aggression against any member and provides that, if members accept arbitration of dispute, the League's decision must be final and binding. It forbids the use of force to settle disputes.

The members of the League are free to conclude such treaties or alliances as they wish but they are to deposit copies with the League's council. They are free to withdraw at any time and may be expelled by the unanimous vote of the other members.

The Constitution is modeled in general on the Alexandria protocol

signed last October. The chief changes are the addition of an article providing for the Palestinian delegate and of another permitting members to secede at will. The latter was presumably due to Lebanon's fears that she might find herself submerged as the only Christian State in the League. She had previously asked the inclusion of such an escape clause.

The excitement over the exclusion of Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan from the San Francisco Conference apparently died down today after a conference by Arab leaders with the British Ambassador to Egypt, Lord Liliverd, and the American Minister, S. Pinckney Tuck, yesterday and an assurance from the French that they did not oppose the invitation of those countries. It is now generally believed that those three countries will be invited after all, though no official assurance has yet been received.

WAR ON JAPAN IS URGED

Chilean Cabinet Proposes Action
Because of Ship Sinkings

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 22—It is believed that Chile will declare war on Japan within a few days if, as expected, Congress, which will begin special sessions April 2, approves a bill adopted at

GUATEMALA FRICTION WITH BRITAIN REVIVED

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GUATEMALA, March 20 (Delayed)—The British Government has protested against the article in the new Guatemalan Constitution that includes British Honduras as part of Guatemala's territory. The disputed article reads: "Guatemala declares that Belize [British Honduras] is part of its territory and considers of national interest the steps taken for its reincorporation in the Republic."

The British Foreign Office declares that the inclusion of that section in the Constitution is unjustifiable and says that Belize is British territory. It warns that if the offensive article remains in the Constitution it will prejudice friendly relations between the two countries.

The Foreign Office of Guatemala has rejected the British protest considering it unfounded and offensive to its rights. It also pointed out that Guatemala had attempted to obtain arbitration of the question since 1868 despite Great Britain's systematic rejections.

Britain accepted arbitration in principle in 1937 but delayed acceptance of an arbitrator until 1940.

Since 1940 Guatemala has voluntarily agreed to suspend discussion on the question until the end of the war, and it now points out that this does not indicate any renouncement of its rights. Guatemala's claim to the territory is based on the alleged failure of Britain to carry out the terms of the original treaty recognizing British interests.

Elizabeth Flier Lost in Bomber
VINEYARD HAVEN, Mass., March 22 (AP)—Lieut. (j. g.) Gene Louis Hintgen, whose wife, Mrs. Patricia Hintgen, lives at 128 Dehart Place, Elizabeth, N. J., was one of five fliers lost in two separate plane crashes off the island of Martha's Vineyard Monday night, the Navy said last night. Both planes, torpedo bombers, were on night operational flights and were returning to their bases.

URGE BIBLE STUDY PERIOD

Byrd, Capper Would Set It From
Thanksgiving to Christmas

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

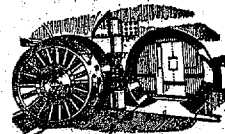
WASHINGTON, March 22—The period from Thanksgiving Day to Christmas every year would be especially designated for Bible reading, under a joint resolution introduced in the Senate today by Senators Byrd, Democrat, of Virginia, and Capper, Republican, of Kansas.

Behind the proposal lies the conviction that reading the Bible will make the motto, "In God We Trust," have a new and vital meaning for every American.

The resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Waste paper carries bombs and shells to the enemy. Give yours to the salvage collection.

**PROTECTION
FOR YOUR
VALUABLES
24 hours a day**

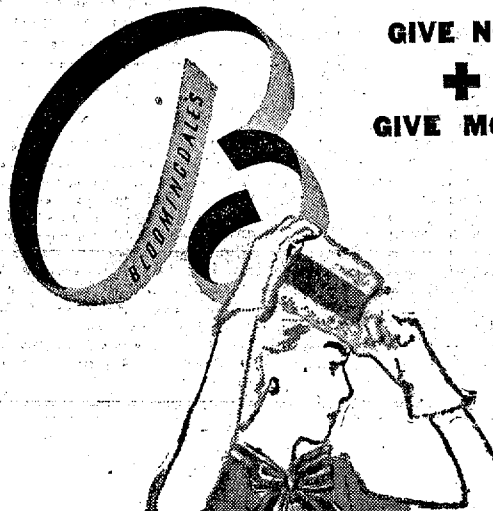


The Manufacturers Safe Deposit Company offers a wide selection of Safe Deposit Boxes at low rentals for the protection of Jewelry, Securities, War Bonds and other valuables.

See our nearest office today

**MANUFACTURERS SAFE
DEPOSIT COMPANY**

AFFILIATE OF
MANUFACTURERS TRUST COMPANY
68 Offices in Greater New York



**GIVE NOW
+
GIVE MORE!**

12

- JRC SN

1-20

U

Dean Gildersleeve Popular Choice

By Agnes E. Meyer

WHEN President Roosevelt appointed Virginia C. Gildersleeve, dean of Barnard College, as a delegate to the San Francisco Conference on the adoption of a charter for the United Nations, he conferred upon her the highest public honor ever bestowed upon an American woman.

It is significant that at a recent meeting of representative women from every part of the country nothing but approbation was expressed of the President's choice. "Now that Miss Gildersleeve has been appointed," said one labor union leader, "she seems the obvious choice. At any rate it is difficult to think of any woman who would have been better."

This consensus of approval among other women rests upon the fact that Dean Gildersleeve was one of the founders of the International Federation of University Women and, as president of that organization for two terms, proved herself one of its most expert administrators.

Acts on Convictions

"She was particularly successful," said another member of the IFUW who was present at this gathering, "at handling the representatives of the smaller nations and making them feel that they had a fair hearing. She was also adept in translating ideas into sound constitutional action, which always is the most difficult aspect of international planning. She has, therefore, had experience in a small way in exactly the kind of problems which she now faces on a large scale."

Another of the dean's characteristics which struck these women, is that she can be called neither a conservative nor a radical. "The curious thing is that she is completely devoid of an ideology," said a former Barnard student who is now a well-known psychologist. "She is an out and out pragmatist who confronts every situation on its merits, weighs the pros and cons judiciously and after she has thought them through, takes her position and follows her convictions frankly and fearlessly. As a result, she is not inhibited or afraid to advocate new ideas, just because they seem too new to some people."

When I asked Miss Gildersleeve about this point, she replied:

"I admit I hate labels. We Amer-



DEAN GILDERSLEEVE
... San Francisco delegate

icans are too prone to use such terms as radical, progressive and reactionary in a loose manner. Labels are a cheap way of avoiding thought. I think our country is sometimes imperiled by putting labels on people and things and then stopping at that point. It gets us into the habit of hurling epithets at each other instead of arguing things out. What I try to do is to think out each problem by itself and, if I were forced to describe my attitude, I should say that I try to be a patriotic citizen."

"What do you mean by that?" seemed to this interviewer a fair question.

"By patriotism I mean three things," she replied without hesitation. "First, it implies a deep love of country because it is your own, much the way your family is your own; secondly, a profound desire for the well-being of all the people in the country; third, an ardent wish that your country should play a noble part as a citizen of the world."

Understanding Needed

"The concept of the nation cannot be ruled out. It is neither practical nor desirable. The international world of the future has to be built upon separate nations and upon an atmosphere of understanding between nations if some sort of international machinery is going to be workable. Since 1918, when I made my first speech called 'The Relationship of Nations,' at the University of Chicago before the Congress of the National Security League, I have been interested in the problem of collective security and have specialized in attempting to create this atmosphere of mutual understanding which seems to me its essential basis."

As Dean Gildersleeve does not believe in holding ideas without doing something about them, she joined forces immediately after World War I with Prof. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon of London University to form the Federation of University Women, which held its first conference in London in the summer of 1920. In order to unify American representation, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae joined with the Southern Association of College Women to form the American Association of University Women. Other national federations were formed and admitted until more than 30 were on the roll of the international organization.

"The rise of fascism began to reduce our membership and World War II drew a veil over many of our sister federations," continued Miss Gildersleeve, "but we now know that behind this veil they have survived and that some of them, notably the French group, performed heroic services in occupied France for the British women and children in northern concentration camps and for university women refugees in the south. Through the Swiss and Swedish federations, relief funds gathered first in Britain then in America, were distributed to European

scholars, teachers and other refugees. Polish university women made their way through Russia with incredible hardship and in Persia gathered the names of more than 200 Polish university women scattered about the Near East. With the help of the London branch and our own, these Polish women are being brought back to health and should be able to make a valuable contribution to the restoration of Poland when they can return once more to their country as teachers."

No Feminist Thinker

"That is just one of many stories of international solidarity and friendship that has resulted from the years of cooperative action in our federation. The continuation of our cooperation and friendship in times of great stress makes me hopeful that our Association of University Women, with its many branches and its disciplined and intelligent membership, can make an incalculable contribution to the restoration of the homes, schools and community life of the European nations."

As Miss Gildersleeve does not think in feminist terms, I hated to ask her whether she felt that she represented "the woman's point of view" at the San Francisco conference, but it could not be avoided.

"I feel I was appointed because American women made a drive for representation and my name was on the roster they compiled. Therefore I do represent our women, but I hope I also represent my fellow citizens as a whole. Women the world over are determined to prevent another war, though we must not talk as if fathers minded less than women when their sons are killed in battle."

"I take it that what women want is peace and security for the home. Although war springs from remote causes it reaches every family. It is my job to help translate into definite political machinery this ardent desire of women for peace and security."

"If there is one difference between the sexes, it is that women have a deep instinct for the conservation of life and are less belligerent than men."

Would Sacrifice More

"The one thing I have always emphasized since the last war, is that we must pay the price if we want peace. In the past there were many honest but misguided people in our country who opposed an international organization because they were unwilling to have our Nation give up one iota of its liberty of action or to submit vital matters to an international tribunal. Yet, unless some concessions are made, some sacrifice of freedom of action, an orderly government of the world is impossible. That is the price we have to pay to avoid war and women will be more willing to pay it. I think they probably would be willing to pay a higher price than men. In getting this idea over—that we cannot have peace with sacrifices—women can be very influential because of their roles as mothers and teachers."

Obligation Important

"But all of us who belong to the teaching profession have an important obligation in this movement for world peace, for the possibility of a world federation such as we dream of depends on the education of public opinion. The people as a whole must be convinced of the wisdom of such planning. As the children of the country are taught in schools and colleges today, so will the minds of the citizens of tomorrow be inclined."

"On the basis of the recent conferences, we have a much better start than at the close of the first World War. Even before the end of the fighting, we now have a good blueprint of a world organization to keep peace. And we

Continued on Page 3, Column 7

Dean Good Delegate With Her Experience In Internationalism

Continued From Page One

have a far better informed people to back up the new world order, for more of that atmosphere of understanding and approval, without which even the best political machinery or organization will fail."

For the past 30 years Dean Gildersleeve has emphasized that only upon what she calls a "favorable climate of public opinion" can sound internationalism be based. She helped establish the International Federation of University Women, partly so that the teachers of different lands would agree to such an educational influence upon the youth of their countries. "It is especially our duty to scrutinize history textbooks used in our schools," she said as far back as 1918, "and make sure that they are conveying no hatreds, no bitterness, but a sane, truthful and helpful conception of our attitude toward other nations. Our children must be taught that the greatness of a nation lies in the welfare and ideals of its own people and in its helpfulness in international affairs."

But Miss Gildersleeve did not rely merely upon the power of public opinion when she first began fighting for an international organization. After the last war she insisted that "the peace conference must not adjourn without establishment of some ordered system of international government, backed by power enough to give authority to its decrees." She denounced as "impractical idealists" internationalists who objected to sanctioning the use of force.

No New Role

At Barnard throughout the intervening years, the dean stimulated the spirit of international friendliness by encouraging foreign students and visiting professors to study and teach at the college. She was a founder and, after 25 years, is still a member, of the Board of the Institute of International Education, which gives scholarships for the international exchange of students, graduate scholars and lecturers. At present, in spite of transportation and other unavoidable curtailments, there are 56 foreign students at Barnard representing 12 different countries.

To sit upon an important national or international board as the only woman representative will cause Virginia Gildersleeve no embarrassment as she spent the greater part of her life in similar situations. Aside from many university boards, one of the most important of such assignments was membership as one of two lay members on the "Judicial Council of the State of New York," which has the authority to keep records of the administration of justice in the courts and to make recommendations for new legislation to improve the administration of justice.

This honor may have been conferred upon her because she is the daughter of the distinguished Judge Henry A. Gildersleeve.

Those of us who followed closely after Dean Gildersleeve at Barnard were in awe of this brilliant, hard-working scholar who seemed so many years more mature than the rest of us. We were particularly aggrieved because she had perfected a brief on what was to us an incredibly dull subject: "Should the Army Canteen be Abolished?" which in our sophomore year was held up before members of a required brief course as a perfect example of close reasoning, brevity and triumphant logic. At 25 she

became an assistant in English at Barnard and in 1911, at the early age of 33, the deanship of Barnard was entrusted to her, a position in which she has made an administrative success second to no other woman dean in the country.

The fact that so many honors and responsibilities came to Dean Gildersleeve at an early age has made her life a very serious one, filled with hard work and too little play. But, like many people who were old in their youth, she now seems to grow younger every day, not only mentally and physically, but in full enjoyment of life. What seemed to some of her young contemporaries to be austerity now is recognized to have been an almost invincible shyness and reserve. The affection and loyalty she has won from many Barnard graduates over the years is based not so much upon her distinguished achievements in many different fields as upon the deeply human qualities of a mind and a character that have always been and still are in process of growth and expansion.

No Fixed Ideas

Her success as dean is similarly due to the fact that Miss Gildersleeve has never had a fixed idea of education but has allowed it to expand in response to new needs and new concepts of woman's function in American life and has relied upon her administrative skill to translate these needs through the college curriculum.

"To me administration is an art and as such it fascinates me," said Miss Gildersleeve, when I commented on her long experience. "It is the administrator's function to help human beings get together and act cooperatively to achieve a commonly desired purpose. The administrator works with the ideas and ideals of human beings as his material much the way a painter works with canvas and brush. And yet there is the added difficulty that in genuinely democratic co-operation the individual human being must be left free to express himself. The ideas and ideals of other people have to be interpreted into practical programs of action."

That is exactly the role for which Virginia Gildersleeve is now cast with the ideas and ideals of the whole world to challenge her capacities. Her hopes as to what she, herself, can accomplish are very modest. "I have attended too many international conferences to have any illusions as to what one person can contribute. I can only say that I realize the responsibilities and shall carry them out to the best of my abilities."

But her faith in the outcome of the San Francisco Conference is strong.

"It is a very difficult task to draw up a constitution for a world organization," she said. "It was a difficult task, long ago, to draw up a Constitution for these United States. The document that resulted from that Convention was the product of compromises. George Washington, in a letter to Patrick Henry, apologized for it as the best that could be secured under the circumstances and pointed out that it could be improved as time went on. This document turned out to be our long-revered Constitution of the United States, for 156 years the bulwark of our strength and our liberties. Let us remember this experience when we face the even more difficult task of drawing up a constitution for the world and let us go ahead with courage and confidence."

DC-1

VS Def -

13

which the secretary described as "routine."

Differences in Statements

The official statement telling of Mr. Roosevelt's decision to be satisfied with only one vote in the proposed assembly changed last Thursday's announcement in two respects. The White House said last week that the American and British representatives at the Crimea Conference were requested by the Soviet representatives to support the proposal to give assembly votes to White Russia and the Ukraine "when submitted" at San Francisco.

This announcement also stated that if the conference agreed to the Russian proposal, "the United States would ask for three votes also."

Today's statement by Mr. Stettinius said, however, "The President has decided that at the San Francisco conference the United States will not request additional votes for the Government of the United States in the general assembly," adding that this country would support the Russian request for three votes "if made."

The President's commitment to the Russians on this question is clear, but some members of the American delegation are under the impression that they can decide what the United States' position is going to be at San Francisco. Others say that the President alone must take final responsibility for the American position, and the personal commitment of Mr. Roosevelt on the three Russian votes has tended to fortify their position.

Republics' Resistance Lauded

Mr. Stettinius' statement indicated that the Russians pressed hard at Yalta for the extra votes for the Ukraine and White Russia. The United States, the statement said, has "the utmost respect for the heroic part played by the people of these republics in their unyielding resistance to the common enemy," but added that while Mr. Roosevelt agreed to support the Russian requests for Ukrainian and White Russian votes in the assembly, "if made," no agreement was reached "at Yalta on the participation of these republics in the San Francisco Conference."

Under sharp questioning by reporters, Mr. Stettinius clarified this point by emphasizing that the San Francisco Conference was a gathering of the United Nations, and that the Ukraine and White Russia, at the present time, were not individual United Nations.

What happens to the Russian request for the extra votes will be determined by the delegates at San Francisco, Mr. Stettinius' statement made clear.

"It is for the conference to decide whether any proposal affecting voting in the General Assembly of the proposed United Nations Organization impairs the principle of sovereign equality," he said.

In view of this announcement and the American decision not to seek three votes in the Assembly, observers believe the Russian request for three votes would be rejected by the conference.

Explains Delay in Announcement

Mr. Stettinius explained the delay in announcing the agreement among Mr. Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill on the three Russian votes by saying that the President wanted first to advise the American delegation of the agreement and to decide what the American policy would be about it.

Consequently, he said, the delegation was advised, but when some of the information leaked out, the decision was made to announce the agreement before a final decision was reached on whether the United States should be satisfied with one vote.

The only other decisions reached at the Crimea Conference and not made public in the official communiqué outside of security matters, Mr. Stettinius said, concerned "territorial trusteeship."

The Big Three, he explained, agreed to consult with France and China to formulate proposals "for a trusteeship structure" to be part of the general international organization. Representatives of the Big Five will probably get together before the San Francisco conference, he said, to discuss this question.

They will not decide what specific territories shall be put under the control of the new security organization, he added, but merely attempt to reach decisions on a branch of the new league that would deal with whatever mandated and enemy territories the definitive peace conference decided to place under the new league's jurisdiction.

Other points made by the secretary in answer to reporters' questions were as follows:

Mr. Roosevelt himself made the decision not to ask for three votes for the United States, but the sec-

retary would not say when the decision was reached.

Mr. Stettinius was informed about the Big Three voting agreement in Yalta, but declined to answer whether or not he had passed this information on to the other foreign secretaries at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City.

The San Francisco Conference itself would decide on its rules of procedure, but would probably follow the lead of the other international conferences where the decisions were taken by a majority vote.

U. S. WILL NOT SEEK 3 ASSEMBLY VOTES; INSISTS ON PARLEY

Stettinius Says This Country
Will Back Triple Ballot Pro-
posal of Russia 'If Made'

CONFERENCE WILL DECIDE

No Government Has Indicated
Belief the Meeting Should Be
Postponed, Secretary Asserts

Secretary Stettinius' state-
ment is on Page 15.

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, April 3—The United States will neither support any move for postponement of the San Francisco conference nor ask that parley to grant more than one vote to this country in the assembly of the proposed world security organization, Secretary Stettinius announced today.

In two statements which he read to reporters, Mr. Stettinius, said that the Administration believed that the rapid tempo of military and political developments, far from requiring delay of the conference, made "it increasingly necessary" that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals be carried out promptly.

The United States has "received no indication that any government believes that the conference should be postponed," the Secretary said.

While he did not refer directly to reports that Russia was not overly enthusiastic about the meeting, he left the impression with reporters that this Government would go forward with the parley despite any difficulties that might exist with the Russians and probably without any detailed preliminary meetings of the sponsor nations to discuss general conference problems.

Will Support Soviet Proposal

The impression that Washington was going to adopt a simple straight forward policy in dealing with the complex conference problems was supported by the Secretary's announcement that while the United States would continue to back Russia's request for votes in the proposed assembly for White Russia and the Ukraine, this country would ask for only one vote.

Mr. Stettinius said that he assumed that President Roosevelt was in constant touch with Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill on recent developments in the relations among the Big Three. He added that he "hoped" some agreement could be reached soon on "broadening" the Polish Government so that Poland could be represented at San Francisco.

The Secretary's press conference was preceded by a meeting of the American delegates together with members of the new "advisers" to the delegation whose names were announced today. Stettinius, Mr. Stettinius later spoke with the British, Russian and Chinese Ambassadors to discuss matters which the Secretary described as "routine."

Differences in Statements

The official statement telling of Mr. Roosevelt's decision to be satisfied with only one vote in the proposed assembly changed last Thurs-

Mr. Stettinius later met with the British, Russian and Chinese Ambassadors to discuss matters, which the Secretary described as "routine."

Differences in Statements

The official statement telling of Mr. Roosevelt's decision to be satisfied with only one vote in the proposed assembly changed last Thursday's announcement in two respects. The White House said last week that the American and British representatives at the Crimea Conference were requested by the Soviet representatives to support the proposal to give assembly votes to White Russia and the Ukraine "when submitted" at San Francisco.

This announcement also stated that if the conference agreed to the Russian proposal, "the United States would ask for three votes also."

Today's statement by Mr. Stettinius said, however, "The President has decided that at the San Francisco conference the United States will not request additional votes for the Government of the United States in the general assembly," adding that this country would support the Russian request for three votes "if made."

The President's commitment to the Russians on this question is clear, but some members of the American delegation are under the impression that they can decide what the United States' position is going to be at San Francisco. Others say that the President alone must take final responsibility for the American position, and the personal commitment of Mr. Roosevelt on the three Russian votes has tended to fortify their position.

Republics' Resistance Lauded

Mr. Stettinius' statement indicated that the Russians pressed hard at Yalta for the extra votes for the Ukraine and White Russia. The United States, the statement said, has "the utmost respect for the heroic part played by the people of these republics in their unyielding resistance to the common enemy," but added that while Mr. Roosevelt agreed to support the Russian requests for Ukrainian and White Russian votes in the assembly, "if made," no agreement was reached "at Yalta on the participation of these republics in the San Francisco Conference."

Under sharp questioning by reporters, Mr. Stettinius clarified this point by emphasizing that the San Francisco Conference was a gathering of the United Nations, and that the Ukraine and White Russia, at the present time, were not individual United Nations.

What happens to the Russian request for the extra votes will be determined by the delegates at San Francisco, Mr. Stettinius' statement made clear.

"It is for the conference to decide whether any proposal affecting voting in the General Assembly of the proposed United Nations Organization impairs the principle of sovereign equality," he said.

In view of this announcement and the American decision not to seek three votes in the Assembly, observers believe the Russian request for three votes would be rejected by the conference.

Explains Delay in Announcement

Mr. Stettinius explained the delay in announcing the agreement among Mr. Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill on the three Russian votes by saying that the President wanted first to advise the American delegation of the agreement and to decide what the American policy would be about it.

Consequently, he said, the delegation was advised, but when some of the information leaked out, the decision was made to announce the agreement before a final decision was reached on whether the United States should be satisfied with one vote.

The only other decisions reached at the Crimea Conference and not made public in the official communiqué outside of security matters, Mr. Stettinius said, concerned "territorial trusteeship."

The Big Three, he explained, agreed to consult with France and China to formulate proposals "for a trusteeship structure" to be part of the general international organization. Representatives of the Big Five will probably get together before the San Francisco conference, he said, to discuss this question.

They will not decide what specific territories shall be put under the control of the new security organization, he added, but merely attempt to reach decisions on a

retary would not say when the decision was reached.

Mr. Stettinius was informed about the Big Three voting agreement in Yalta, but declined to answer whether or not he had passed this information on to the other foreign secretaries at their Inter-American Conference in Mexico City.

The San Francisco Conference itself would decide on its rules of procedure, but would probably follow the lead of the other international conferences where the decisions were taken by a majority vote.

Russian requests for Ukrainian and White Russian votes in the assembly, "if made," no agreement was reached "at Yalta on the participation of these republics in the San Francisco Conference."

Under sharp questioning by reporters, Mr. Stettinius clarified this point by emphasizing that the San Francisco Conference was a gathering of the United Nations, and that the Ukraine and White Russia, at the present time, were not individual United Nations.

What happens to the Russian request for the extra votes will be determined by the delegates at San Francisco, Mr. Stettinius' statement made clear.

"It is for the conference to decide whether any proposal affecting voting in the General Assembly of the proposed United Nations Organization impairs the principle of sovereign equality," he said.

In view of this announcement and the American decision not to seek three votes in the Assembly, observers believe the Russian request for three votes would be rejected by the conference.

Explains Delay in Announcement

Mr. Stettinius explained the delay in announcing the agreement among Mr. Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill on the three Russian votes by saying that the President wanted first to advise the American delegation of the agreement and to decide what the American policy would be about it.

Consequently, he said, the delegation was advised, but when some of the information leaked out, the decision was made to announce the agreement before a final decision was reached on whether the United States should be satisfied with one vote.

The only other decisions reached at the Crimea Conference and not made public in the official communiqué outside of security matters, Mr. Stettinius said, concerned "territorial trusteeship."

The Big Three, he explained, agreed to consult with France and China to formulate proposals "for a trusteeship structure" to be part of the general international organization. Representatives of the Big Five will probably get together before the San Francisco conference, he said, to discuss this question.

They will not decide what specific territories shall be put under the control of the new security organization, he added, but merely attempt to reach decisions on a branch of the new league that would deal with whatever mandated and enemy territories the definitive peace conference decided to place under the new league's jurisdiction.

Other points made by the secretary in answer to reporters' questions were as follows:

Mr. Roosevelt himself made the decision not to ask for three votes for the United States, but the sec-

retary would not say when the decision was reached.

Mr. Stettinius was informed about the Big Three voting agreement in Yalta, but declined to answer whether or not he had passed this information on to the other foreign secretaries at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City.

The San Francisco Conference itself would decide on its rules of procedure, but would probably follow the lead of the other international conferences where the decisions were taken by a majority vote.

STASSEN WILL HAVE 2 VETERAN AIDES

Says at Pearl Harbor He Seeks
Discharged Marine, Soldier
as Parley Assistants

By Telephone to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
PEARL HARBOR, April 10—
Comdr. Harold Stassen, on the eve
of his departure for Washington,
preliminary to his attendance at
the United Nations Conference on
International Organization, said
today that war of "any conse-
quence" for the next 100 years
could be prevented by a success-
ful meeting at San Francisco.

The former Governor of Minne-
sota, asserted at a press confer-
ence that he expected the Golden
Gate meeting to be a success, and
that he fully realized the difficul-
ties facing the delegates. He also
disclosed that the voice of the
servicemen would be heard, for he
is trying to have as two assist-
ants a discharged marine and a
soldier.

"There is an overwhelming opin-
ion throughout the world to settle
differences by means other than
war," he said. "We are going to
insist on some form of organiza-
tion. The exact form is not im-
portant. But we have got to make
a start."

"The least that will come out of
the conference is some form of or-
ganization of those of the United
Nations who will agree to work to-
gether. The maximum that would
develop is an effective organiza-
tion representing all the peoples of
the world."

The commander said that with-
out Great Britain, Russia and the
United States working together
not even "the least" could come
out of the conference, but he
added that these countries were in
agreement at Dumbarton Oaks.

Four Bodies Are Listed

"The major powers must agree
to work along together for an or-
ganization to be effective," he con-
tinued. "The charter for such an
organization must provide for four
basic organs—a security council, a
court, an assembly and a social-
economic council. With the major
powers and a majority of other
nations agreeing to that basis, we
can go on from there. If the major
powers fall out we will have no
organization and no peace."

Commander Stassen said that
he believed that the people of the
major countries were fully con-
vinced that war was not a desirable
means to gain an end and that he
did not feel the representatives of
any country at San Francisco
would walk out on the possibility
of an organization to prevent fu-
ture conflicts.

The commander said that he be-
lieved that the voting question
had been over-emphasized, and
that he was not disturbed by Rus-
sia's failure to send her top diplo-
matic officers to the conference.

Doesn't Fear Ideology Clash

Asked about the question of pos-
sible conflict of political ideologies
in a world organization, Com-
mander Stassen said:

"We intend to follow our system
of democracy, capitalism and in-
dividual enterprise. We shall leave
it up to each country to decide
what it wants. We shall make it
clear that we will not countenance
any other government undermin-
ing us. We will let our people
learn and study and decide for
themselves. Sure there will be dif-
ferences but they will not be in-
surmountable."

This country's role in the pro-
posed security council, the com-
mander asserted, calls for a strong
Navy, and an alert air force and a
modern Army as well as posses-
sion of the islands we have cap-
tured from the Japanese, adding
that "we obviously must have
bases for world security and for
ourselves."

"We must safeguard our posi-
tion in the world and a police force
to back it up," he said. "We will
have a heavy responsibility. We
will be using them (the Army,
Navy and Air Force) in keeping
with our decisions."

Commander Stassen disclosed
that his conferences with Governor
Dewey were to ascertain the lat-
ter's views, since he had not seen
him for two years, and that Mr.
Dewey's views "won't be controll-
ing on mine, but I wanted to know
before I took my position."

He emphasized that he was not
representing any special group at
the conference, but he acknowl-
edged that his position as flag sec-
retary to Admiral Halsey naturally
had some effect on his thinking
and what the men in the service
think about a post-war world.

It was for these reasons, he ad-
ded, that he was trying to select
two discharged service men, pref-
erably two who were now seeking
an education and had an interest
in Government affairs.

STETTINIUS VOICES TRIBUTE TO BLOOM

New York Member of Congress
Honored as a Delegate to
the San Francisco Parley

The active role to be taken by members of Congress in the forthcoming San Francisco security conference represents a "good omen" of cooperation between the legislative and executive branches of the Government, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. declared last night at a dinner honoring Representative Sol Bloom, Democrat, of New York, who is a member of the United States delegation. The dinner was at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West Seventy-third Street, under the auspices of the American Labor party.

Secretary Stettinius said Representative Bloom was one of a number of legislators whose views were of invaluable assistance to the State Department in the conduct of foreign relations and in gauging public opinion and in bringing to Congress an understanding of the executive branch's problems.

Others Also Pay Tribute

Others paying tribute to the New York Representative's long efforts in behalf of world peace were Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin, Republican, New York; Representative Vito Marcantonio, ALP, New York, and Benjamin Fielding, State executive secretary of the ALP. Eugene Connolly, secretary of the New York County Committee of the ALP, presided.

Discussing the participation by members of Congress in American peace efforts, Secretary Stettinius said:

"I have found them deeply conscious of the great responsibilities which the United States carries in the shaping of an orderly and peaceful world. And I know, too, that from the members of Congress Americans in all sections of the country obtain much of their information on the issues of the day."

Through this process, Mr. Stettinius declared, and by cooperation with the executive branch, the members of Congress are helping to accomplish "the great task of laying the foundation so ardently desired by all our people."

Baldwin Urges "People's Peace"

Noting that he, a Republican, was paying tribute to a Democrat at an American Labor party dinner, Representative Baldwin emphasized that "foreign policy must be national, not partisan; that this is a people's, not a party's war, and that we must have a people's, not a party's peace."

Representative Baldwin also made the suggestion that future American delegates to the world assembly and the World Security Council be elected nationally on somewhat the same basis that members of Congress are elected, and said he intended to introduce a bill in Congress to achieve this end.

Mr. Fielding said the ALP endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks' proposals and urged their adoption "without crippling reservations at the San Francisco conference."

14

-

US D-29

20-1

CONNALLY DEFENDS LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Senator Tells League of Women Voters It May Serve as Basis of New Security Set-Up

Senator Tom Connally of Texas defended the League of Nations last night as an organization which, while not a complete success, had served a "useful purpose" and declared that it "may form the basis and the central concept" around which the new United Nations' world security organization is formed.

The Texas Senator also asserted, in an analysis of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal, that there was an excellent chance of resolving the differences over veto powers between the major nations at the forthcoming San Francisco conference, and, in any event, he insisted, perfection should not be expected at the new organization's inception.

Senator Connally, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and a member of the United States delegation to the April 23 conference, spoke, along with Senator Harold Burton, Republican, of Ohio, at a meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the League of Women Voters.

The contributions of the women's group to the cause of world peace in terms of the past, the present and the future were noted in remarks by Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, a member of the first board of the League of Women Voters; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, national president of the League, and Mrs. Robert Young, a member. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was honorary chairman of the anniversary committee.

"It is sometimes said," Senator Connally declared, "that the League of Nations was a failure. That is an unjust charge. It may be admitted that it was not a complete success. It did, however, serve a useful purpose."

"Out of its experiments have emerged suggestions for improvement and modification. Even its weaknesses and its failures have contributed to the public thought and the attitude of nations and of statesmen. It has demonstrated where the pitfalls may lie and where any international organization for peace must be strengthened and buttressed."

"It was an experiment in a virgin field. It could not be expected to attain perfection. It supplied the foundation, however, for further and more complete exertions for the future. The history of the league will light the pathway along which nations will travel in the years to come."

"I may now say that it may form the basis and the central concept around which the instrumentality which we seek to establish may be constructed."

He observed that the failure of the old League was largely attrib-

utable to the nonparticipation of the United States and said the new organization requires the participation of all nations, great and small, to guarantee its success.

In predicting the possible settlement of the issue of unanimity of veto power between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, Senator Connally remarked:

"Meanwhile it should not be overlooked in this country that possession of a veto power by each of the permanent members of the council is the strongest guarantee that force will not be used in any international quarrel except with the acquiescence of the representatives of the United States."

U. S. RETAINS RIGHT TO ALTER OAKS PLAN

Stettinius Says Any Other Country Can Offer Amendments at San Francisco

By JAMES B. RESTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 6—The United States will support the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as a "basis for discussion" at the United Nations Security Conference in San Francisco, but will reserve the right to offer any amendments to those proposals that it chooses, Secretary Stettinius asserted today. This country will support the same right for other nations, he said.

The Secretary's statement on the American position, made to reporters soon after the White House announced that President Roosevelt had appointed him temporary president of the conference, was not unexpected here, for Mr. Stettinius had stressed at Dumbarton Oaks that whatever was decided on at that meeting would be "preliminary and exploratory."

Some Russian writers, whose freedom is not wholly unrestricted, have suggested, however, that Russia expects the United States, Britain and China to oppose any substantial amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

"These proposals (Dumbarton Oaks) virtually amount to an agreement among the four Governments represented at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference," M. Nikolayev wrote in a recent issue of War and the Working Class, adding:

"If each of the initiators of the preliminary negotiations reserved for himself freedom of action and the right to move at the general conference (in San Francisco) amendments or addenda to the decisions jointly arrived at, the labor expended on these negotiations would be wasted and the success of the conference jeopardized."

Will Not Violate Obligations

It is precisely this right to offer amendments at San Francisco to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals that Mr. Stettinius now claims for the United States, but it should be emphasized that this does not mean that the United States does not intend to stand by the basic structure arranged at Dumbarton Oaks or to violate its obligations to the Soviet Union.

The official position of this government is that it has a dual responsibility: first, to support the basic structure and conception agreed on with Russia, Britain and China, and second to support or introduce any amendments which it believes will improve the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

It may be taken as a truism that the United States is not likely to support any change in the voting procedure in the Security Council or anything else, for that matter, which might bring about some minor improvement of the structure at the expense of losing the support of the Soviet Union.

The American delegates are aware that such a course would not improve the success of the new charter very much if they were to lose the support of one of the big powers merely to gain a slight improvement in the organization.

But always within this framework, they will reserve the right to offer amendments and support the amending right of other countries that were not invited to Dumbarton Oaks and will be expressing their views formally at San Francisco for the first time.

Preliminary Plans Explained

At Mr. Stettinius' press conference, Dean Acheson, an assistant secretary, explained some of the preliminary plans of procedure for the conference. He said that committees on nominations of principal officers, on credentials, on rules and on the agenda would be ap-

the United States is not likely to support any change in the voting procedure in the Security Council or anything else, for that matter, which might bring about some minor improvement of the structure at the expense of losing the support of the Soviet Union.

The American delegates are aware that such a course would not improve the success of the new charter very much if they were to lose the support of one of the big powers merely to gain a slight improvement in the organization.

But always within this framework, they will reserve the right to offer amendments and support the amending right of other countries that were not invited to Dumbarton Oaks and will be expressing their views formally at San Francisco for the first time.

Preliminary Plans Explained

At Mr. Stettinius' press conference, Dean Acheson, an assistant secretary, explained some of the preliminary plans of procedure for the conference. He said that committees on nominations of principal officers, on credentials, on rules and on the agenda would be appointed after the first session.

He then indicated that various commissions and subcommissions would be appointed to deal with the principal conference problems. These groups are understood to be commissions on general problems, on the security council, on the general assembly and on the international court of justice.

Because of the amount of work to be done in drafting either a new protocol for the international court of justice or bringing the protocol of the old world court into line for the new league of nations, a committee of Jurists will start meeting here Monday. They will not attempt to decide whether the new organization should have a new protocol or adopt the old one, but will merely get both ready for consideration at San Francisco.

The chances are that the old world court protocol will be revised slightly and adopted, but this will not be up to the Committee of Jurists.

Twenty-nine countries have indicated their desire to participate in the preliminary jurists' meeting. They are Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Russia and Uruguay.

The White House also announced the appointment of Alger Hiss as secretary general of the San Francisco conference. He is the 40-year-old director of the State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs and went to Yalta as an adviser to Mr. Stettinius on world organization questions.

DC-1- vs Def-

15

WOB:BST
3-28-45

Connally Again Urges 'Interim' Peace Council

New York, March 27.—Senator Tom Connally (D., Tex.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a delegate to the coming United Nations conference tonight renewed his recommendation for an "interim council" of major Allied powers to function until a world organization is established.

Addressing the League of Women Voters at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Connally said such an interim setup "could make certain that immediate problems are handled to the joint satisfaction of the great powers and small powers and establish joint responsibility for what is done."

"Individual powers would, thereby, be relieved of the necessity of taking individual action, and the suspicions that have been generated by criticism of unilateral action might be avoided or allayed," he said.

Connally told the group he had "great hope" that the world organization charter to be worked out in San Francisco will be approved by the Senate. He said there is already "general agreement" between the President, the Senate and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on "the kind of international organization America wants."

"Of one thing I am most certain," he said. "Without our membership, it must fail."

For himself, Connally said he would support the treaty draft agreed on at San Francisco: "It will be the only practicable plan before the world. Its rejection would plunge us again into uncertainties and disaster . . ."

Dean Gildersleeve Studies Task Of the San Francisco Conference

Barnard Head Believes Meeting Will Seek to Lay Broad Peace Foundations, and Not Seek to Cope With Details

Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve of Barnard College, recently appointed as one of the delegates to the San Francisco conference, gave her views on the forthcoming meeting at a press conference yesterday at the college.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals for political and economic machinery and the security problems of a possible world organization may be the topics to be discussed at the conference, Dean Gildersleeve said. It will be the broader and more general framework involved in securing a permanent peace, rather than the details of any specific interest, such as financial or agricultural, that will concern the delegates, in the opinion of Dean Gildersleeve.

Asked to contrast the present prospects for a durable peace with those after the last war, Dean Gildersleeve said:

"We have a much better start now. The idea was new then, while today it has spread so that I believe the American people want an organization to enforce peace."

The actual machinery already established toward the formation of such an organization, together with a public opinion which she

feels is more informed, interested, and more favorable than before, form the basis of her belief.

"We'd better hope for a lasting peace and work for it," she continued. "It will be a very difficult task, but any efforts made toward the goal are a thousand times better than none at all. It is extremely important that whatever is accomplished at San Francisco should have the American people behind it, pushing."

Asked about the problem of Germany after the war, Dean Gildersleeve declared that Germany must somehow be made harmless from a military standpoint and disarmed for a long time.

"After all," she continued, "this is the third time that Germany has behaved like this. It isn't all Hitler. The German people must take some responsibility for their leaders. It may be that ultimately Germany may be admitted into the family of nations, as Dumbarton Oaks stated that any peace-loving nation may enter the group."

She warned, however, that it would be impossible to force democracy, as taught by alien teachers, down the throats of the Germans, because "democracy cannot be imposed by force."

THE NE

ARCH
IN D

London
Distribu
Re

By J
By W
LON

Tomas
script t
rejection
resolving
land an
future
At p
British
profital
hal Soc
exiled
Govern
why th
been r
down t
ernme
lieve t
signs
with t
torial
It n
ticism
suppo
There
Polski
while
accep
larati
disast
ern t
Russi

ECONOMIC GROUP NAMED FOR PARLEY

WASHINGTON, April 3.—William L. Clayton, assistant Secretary of State, in charge of economic matters, and a staff of economic advisers from his own and other Federal departments, will attend the San Francisco conference to assist in setting up the United Nations Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks Agreement.

Mr. Clayton would be present at the opening of the conference on April 25 but for the fact that his presence will be required here in connection with testimony before Congressional committees in behalf of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, the extension of which is now before Congress.

A full list of advisers is as follows:

State Department—Assistant Secretary Dunn, Green H. Hackworth, legal adviser, Leo Pasvolosky,

Isaac Bowman, Hamilton Fish, Armstrong, Charles W. Taussig, Charles P. Taft and John D. Hick-

State Department—Assistant Secretary McCloy, Lieut. Gen. Stanley D. Embick, Maj. Gen. Muir S. Fairchild and Brig. Gen. Kenner F. Cliftford.

Navy Department—Assistant Secretary Gates, Admiral A. J. Hepburn, chairman of the general board; Vice Admiral Russell R. Willson and Rear Admiral Harold C. Train.

Treasury Department—Assistant Secretary White.

Interior Department—Under-Secretary Charles F. Brannan.

Commerce Department—Frank A. Wauing, special assistant to the Secretary of Commerce.

FEA—Oscar Cox, legal counsel.

Advisers from the Justice and Labor Department are to be appointed later.

DC-1 - VS Del -

16

MAJORITY TO RULE OUR PARLEY GROUP

Continued From Page 1

whatever the delegation decided would be supported by the Administration at San Francisco and this is apparently the interpretation of the delegates who have discussed their authority with the Secretary of State.

The delegation has been advised, however, that its freedom of action is restricted on two points.

In accordance with the decisions taken by the Big Three at the Yalta Conference, the delegation is definitely obligated to support Soviet Russia's claim that the Ukraine and White Russia should be original members of the security organization with separate votes in the General Assembly and it is similarly committed to support the "limited veto" Security Council voting procedure proposed by President Roosevelt at Yalta and accepted by Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill.

A third commitment, to support the substance of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals—as distinguished from supporting them as they stand against any amendments—is, of course, implicit in the fact that the United States is sponsoring the conference and that it is putting forward the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as the "basis" for conference discussion.

The Administration is giving to the American delegation more freedom to decide policy at San Francisco than most of the other delegates are likely to have.

Vandenberg View Accepted

Already, on more than one occasion, State Department officials have argued that amendments under discussion were unnecessary because they were implicit in the language of the Dumbarton Oaks draft charter. Members of the delegation have, however, argued that if a point is implicit in the language of the Dumbarton Oaks charter there should be no valid objection to spelling it out in concrete language.

That is what happened in the delegation's discussion of the first amendment proposed by Senator Vandenberg. This amendment would add a paragraph to the list of objectives of the Security organization, stating that one of the purposes was "to establish justice and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

A State Department official argued that this point was implicit in the draft charter as it stood, but the delegation, with the Secretary of State sharing in the decision, voted otherwise and, while the wording was changed slightly, the amendment was approved.

Similarly, the State Department has accepted the principle that the new security organization should have as much flexibility as possible and that it should be able to recommend the removal of unjust situations that threaten international peace and security. It can be expected that this principle will have the support of the American

'Missing' Officer of Navy Reported Killed in Action



Lieut. Orrin K. Boice

Lieut. Orrin Kendall Boice, USNR, previously reported missing, lost his life on Jan. 8 in the Asiatic area as a result of enemy action, the Navy Department has notified his widow, Mrs. Sheila Crimmins Boice of 176 East Seventy-second Street.

Lieutenant Boice, who was born in South Orange, N. J., was the son of Hugh Kendall Boice of Annandale, N. J., vice president in charge of sales for radio station WQXR. The officer prepared for college at Choate School and was graduated in 1938 from Princeton University, where he was a member of the Colonial Club. He entered the first Navy V-7 training class and was commissioned an ensign in November, 1940. In civilian life he was with Cannon Mills, 70 Worth Street.

Surviving in addition to his wife and father are a brother, Hugh K. Boice Jr. of Peoria, Ill., and a sister, Mrs. E. B. Simpson of Hoosick, N. Y.

delegation when it is discussed at San Francisco.

Commander Stassen has put forward special suggestions which have been under discussion in the delegation meetings, although he

is back at his naval post in the Pacific, pending the time for him to return to San Francisco.

The most important of these suggestions has been accepted in principle by the delegation. It is that, while it may be necessary for the conference to accept an imperfect charter for the security organization, provision should be made for periodic review of the charter to improve it as the area of agreement and faith among the nations of the world increases.

The delegation believes that such a provision would contribute to the flexibility of the organization, a quality which, many observers assert, the League of Nations lacked. The British urged such a provision at the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Chapter III of the Dumbarton Oaks program states that "membership in the organization should be open to all peace-loving states," but several states which loved peace so much that they stayed out of war have applied for representation at the San Francisco conference only to have their applications rejected. In a reference to this point today Secretary Stettinius emphasized that the conference at San Francisco was a conference of the United Nations.

The Secretary's statement gave one more illustration of the attempt which is beginning to develop in official quarters here to clarify the limitations of the San Francisco conference.

Jurists Hold Two Sessions

The United Nations Committee of jurists met this morning and this afternoon and went over the first twenty-two articles of the code of the Permanent International Court of Justice, accepting some of them as a basis for a new code and leaving others over for further discussion.

The jurists, acting in an advisory capacity to the San Francisco conference, are going through the entire World Court code and allowing each delegation to state its opinion on each article. The meetings are secret, but the general impression among the jurists seems to be that progress is being made on a task that must be long and tedious.

Avra Warren, director of the State Department's Office of Latin-American Affairs and a leading figure in the recent Inter-American Conference in Mexico City, was added today to the list of advisers to the San Francisco delegation.

Arthur Sweetser, deputy director of the Office of War Information, and a former League of Nations official, was appointed chief representative of the OWI at the

conference. Among the other OWI representatives will be Ferdinand Kuhn, assistant to Elmer Davis, OWI director.

DISCOVERED

Majority to Rule Parley Group; Justice as Charter Theme Gains

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, April 10—The United States delegation will not only be free to decide most questions of national policy which come up at the United Nations Security Conference at San Francisco, but has already voted to support in principle several amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks draft charter.

It is understood that in their meetings at the State Department yesterday and today the delegates began studying the amendments proposed by Senator Arthur H.

mending that justice be made the criterion for action by the new league and those proposing periodic review of the security organization's charter, were approved in principle.

Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. told his press conference today that, while the American delegates hoped to obtain unanimity on all points before expressing the United States position at the conference, the delegation had decided to reach decisions by a majority vote.

DC-1 - US D-1 -

17

U. S. Peace Group to See Roosevelt, May Hear Oaks Data Talk Today

San Francisco Delegates Will Visit Stettinius First—Vandenberg Asks Armed Forces' Advice at San Francisco

WASHINGTON, March 12—Members of the United States delegation to the International Security Conference in San Francisco will hold their first consultation tomorrow morning in the offices of Secretary Stettinius, who has just returned from the preliminary meetings in Yalta and Mexico City.

After their conference, the Secretary of State, as head of the delegation, will conduct the group to the White House, there to be received by President Roosevelt.

All of the delegates are expected to be present with the exception of Cordell Hull, former Secretary of State, who still is confined in the United States Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Md., resting in the hope of regaining sufficient strength to participate in the deliberations at San Francisco. Visited yesterday by Premier Mackenzie King of Canada, Mr. Hull expressed optimism as to the state of his health, and anticipation that the security agreement would become the crowning event of his career.

Delegates to Get Secret Data

With the opening of the conference scarcely six weeks off on April 25, and with voluminous preparatory studies still in prospect, the delegates were expecting tomorrow's meeting to instruct them in the secret aspects of the negotiations which took place at Dumbarton Oaks and were completed by the international accords in Yalta and Mexico City.

These backstage discussions have been just as much a secret to the members of the delegation as to the general public, for, with the exception of Senator Tom Connally, who has been informed to some degree from time to time, the delegates know only the official proposals contained in the Dumbarton Charter, and such details as were given in President Roosevelt's address to Congress on his return from the Crimea.

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican representative who accepted the invitation only after personal correspondence with the President assuring him freedom of action, today announced that he was asking "the armed forces" to advise him on his duties as a delegate. He said that he advocated direct representation of the armed forces at the final peace conference, and referred to the fact that Commander Stassen is a member of the San Francisco delegation.

"Meanwhile," he said, "I invite them to a top priority in advising me of their immediate views in respect to my duties as a delegate."

Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania in addressing the House today called on the San Francisco conferees to insert a world-wide "freedom-of-the-press" provision in any agreement to which they may subscribe. He said, in his opinion, "availability of news and free communications" would be essential to a lasting peace.

Dr. Wei Tao-ming, the Chinese Ambassador, discussed plans for the United Nations meeting with President Roosevelt today. He would not confirm reports that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek would meet Mr. Roosevelt in San Francisco but said China would do "everything possible" to contribute to the success of the meeting.

Henry Bonnet, French Ambassador, after meeting Under-Secretary Grew today, discounted the possibility of obstruction by France at the Security Conference. Commenting reports that France might lead the small powers in an effort to modify the Yalta and Dumbarton Oaks agreements, M. Bonnet said the conference would meet "no great difficulty" from the French, who planned to suggest only "slight modifications" in the accords as adopted by the Big Three.

Mackenzie King at White House

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., March 12 (Canadian Press)—Canada's delegation to the San Francisco conference will be headed by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, he said here today.

Mr. King, who is here for a rest, said he would not remain in San Francisco, however, for all the conference.

Other members of the Dominion's delegation will be announced in Parliament, which opens next Monday, the Prime Minister said. In Ottawa, last week, he indicated that members of opposition parties would be represented in the delegation.

The Prime Minister came here on Sunday morning after two days as the guest of President Roosevelt at the White House. He will return to Washington tomorrow morning for further talks with the President and leave for Ottawa on Wednesday afternoon.

FORMAL PARLEY BID SENT BY PRESIDENT

Letters Go to Eight Persons
Who Will Represent Us at
San Francisco Talks

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 1—The White House has sent letters of formal invitation to the eight persons named in his announcement of Feb. 13 as the official representatives of the United States to the United Nations security conference at San Francisco April 25.

The letters went to Secretary Stettinius, Cordell Hull, former Secretary of State; Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan; Representative Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Representative Eaton, Republican, of New Jersey; Cmdr. Harold Stassen and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College.

The text of the invitations, which follows, was identical in each case except that Mr. Stettinius was designated as chairman and Mr. Hull as senior adviser:

"I take pleasure in inviting you to serve as a member of the delegation of the United States to the United Nations' conference which is to meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to prepare a charter for a general international organization along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks. You will understand, I am sure, that the sending of this invitation several days after the public announcement is due to the unavoidable delay in my return to Washington from the Crimea conference.

"I feel certain that this important conference bringing together all the United Nations which have so loyally cooperated in the war against their common enemies will successfully complete the plans for an international organization through which the close and continuing collaboration or all peace-loving peoples may be directed toward the prevention of future international conflict and the removal of the political, economic and social causes of war.

"I am confident that as a member of the delegation you would effectively contribute to the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the American people for an international organization through which this nation may play its full part in the maintenance of international peace and security."

DC-1 - VS Del -

18

VANDENBERG GIVES PEACE REVIEW IDEA

Offers State Department His Suggestions for Revision of Dumbarton Oaks Plan

By LANSING WARREN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 18—

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, one of the Republican members of the United States delegation to the San Francisco conference of the United Nations, opening April 25, has filed with the State Department some personal suggestions for amending the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which will form the basis for the San Francisco discussions.

Senator Vandenberg said that his suggestions would not be made public now, but would be taken into consideration in preliminary studies which the members of the delegation would make before the conference opened.

The Senator was the last of the delegates named by President Roosevelt in accepting the invitation to become a delegate, and did so only after a correspondence with the President, assuring him of his right of free action as a member of the delegation.

Urges Justice as Basis of Peace

The nature of Senator Vandenberg's proposed amendments may be judged by his declaration, made on accepting the Presidential appointment, when he said that his chief dubiety concerning the Dumbarton formula resided in the fact that "except in its brief chapter on the world court, it does not once mention 'justice' as a guiding objective or rule of conduct."

"In my opinion," said the Senator at that time, "no permanent peace is possible without a constant, conscious mandate to seek and maintain justice as the basis of peace. I shall have concrete proposals to submit along these lines."

"It will be my prayer that the San Francisco conference may be successful in promoting dependable peace, with organized justice in a free world of free men. Civilization

Continued on Page 7, Column 2

CLINT SCH

WDC Post
3-5-45

Vandenberg Assured Free Hand at Frisco

By Jack Bell

Copyright, 1945, by the Associated Press
President Roosevelt has assured Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) of freedom of action at the World Security Conference and Vandenberg is expected to accept an invitation to become a delegate.

An authoritative source said yesterday the President's assurances that there are no strings attached to service on the American delegation to the San Francisco meeting, were conveyed in a letter to the chairman of the Senate Republican conference.

Vandenberg, who has declined comment, reportedly told friends he will make an announcement of his position early this week. That announcement is expected to signal his acceptance of a place on the United States delegation of eight.

Two Republicans Have Accepted

The San Francisco meeting, beginning April 25, is intended to complete, and formally set up, the world peace machinery outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks conferences here.

Representative Eaton (R., N. J.) already has officially accepted the invitation to become a delegate. Lieut. Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, another Republican chosen, also has said he will attend the conference.

Up to now Vandenberg has withheld any comment despite receipt of an official invitation from the President. Mr. Roosevelt said in it the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the American people for an international organization through which this Nation may play its full part in the maintenance of international peace and security."

Approves Oaks Principles

The Michigan Senator is understood to have communicated to Administration leaders his desire to have assurances that he will have a free hand as a delegate and not be bound to support commitments about which he now knows nothing. He is reported to have signified willingness to back the broad principles agreed upon in the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Some congressional delegates to international conferences have complained in the past that they were expected to support a pre-conceived American plan. The Bretton Woods monetary meeting last year has been cited as such a case.

Wants Boundary Conference

Vandenberg has made it a cardinal principle of his stand on international security matters that the United Nations organization which is expected to be formed at San Francisco shall have the right to review prior political agreements in subsequent years, in the light of their effect on the peace of the world.

In other words, he has told friends that while he expects a separate peace conference to settle such matters as boundary questions, he feels that the league should be empowered to recommend and enforce changes if those agreements threaten to breach the peace in later years.

President Roosevelt made it plain in his talk to Congress last week that the western boundary of Poland, for instance, will be fixed at the peace table. It apparently will not be a subject for immediate discussion by the international organization, once it comes into being.

VANDENBERG GIVES PEACE REVIEW IDEA

Continued From Page 1

tion cannot survive World War III."

Senator Vandenberg early in the year drew international attention to his stand on post-war problems when he proposed in the Senate that the major United Nations should immediately negotiate a treaty to keep Germany and Japan "permanently demilitarized."

This was the point of view adopted by the Big Three in their declaration at Yalta, and while no steps have been taken for a special treaty on the question, the policy announced at the Crimea conference left no doubt as to the position of the principal powers with regard to German militarism.

Review Procedure is Hinted

WASHINGTON, March 18 (P)—Senator Vandenberg's proposals to amend the Dumbarton Oaks agreements would provide, among other things, for review of war-time political decisions threatening future peace.

The Senator declined to discuss the proposed amendments but he declared today that the world security conference in San Francisco faced "the tremendous responsi-

bility" of deciding if the projected international organization would be limited in its operations to enforcement of peace-table decisions without change.

"Peace-making and peace-keeping are two totally different functions," he said. "The San Francisco conference will deal only with peace-keeping. It must be followed by another conference which does the actual peace-making."

"But there is this collateral relationship. The San Francisco conference will have the tremendous responsibility of deciding whether peace-keeping is to be confined to the status quo which the peace-makers dictate, or whether the new peace league shall have jurisdiction broad enough to explore and recommend correction of errors and injustices in the peace itself which could again threaten ultimate war."

Oaks Plan Is Under Dispute

Supporters have contended that the Dumbarton Oaks agreements leave the way open for the proposed league to review such political decisions as European boundary definitions if they threaten to provoke aggression.

It is Senator Vandenberg's position that, under the tentative agreements reached here last summer, the organization could not act until some specific threat of aggression was cited to it.

He fears that even if it becomes obvious a year or two afterward that some decision of the peace-makers is going to cause conflict

a decade later, the security league may find itself unable to start its review machinery in time to prevent another war.

It is understood that Mr. Vandenberg hopes to clothe the proposed league, as he said when he accepted appointment as a delegate, with "a constant, conscious mandate to seek and to maintain 'justice' as the basis of peace."

Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, another of the eight American delegates, said that he expected the group to meet again in a week or two.

Thus far, in meetings with Secretary Stettinius and President Roosevelt, the delegates have discussed largely the mechanics of conference operations, leaving until later the real work of trying to get together on an American program.

Sounded last...

STASSEN GIVES PLAN FOR UNITY IN PEACE

He Calls San Francisco Parley
'a Golden Opportunity' for
the World's Future

MINNEAPOLIS, March 7.—Describing the coming San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, to which he will be a delegate, as "a golden opportunity to win a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace," Comdr. Harold E. Stassen outlined tonight a seven-point program for the creation of an international organization with police power, and for the preservation of a democratic system of free enterprise in the United States.

In his first public address on world policy since he resigned as Governor of Minnesota to enter the Navy in 1943, Commander Stassen declared that the principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty was dead.

"It died with the airplane, the radio, the rocket and the robomb," he said.

Commander Stassen, who spoke in the auditorium of the University of Minnesota, of which he is a graduate, at a meeting sponsored by the Minnesota United Nations Committee, expressed hope that the post-war international organization would establish a World Court and make a beginning of the development of a basic world-wide law.

"The beginning may be very small," he said. "But even if we started with the enactment of one law, a law that no country in time of peace shall execute a human being without a just trial, it would be a significant step. We sometimes fail to realize that there is no such world law today."

Gestapo Atrocities Cited

"The Nazi storm troopers and the Gestapo, who dragged civilians from their houses in Germany and summarily shot them, were violating every moral code we know of, but they were not violating any international law because there is none to protect a human being within a nation."

Commander Stassen said that, as a delegate to the San Francisco Conference, he would try to assist in obtaining a result that would have the approval of the people of America and substantially all of the United Nations. He warned that there would have to be compromises and declared that the alternative to agreement would be world-wide depressions and another world war.

He added that it was tremendously important that the principles to guide our future actions be formulated and clarified in the heat of free discussion so that they might be set clearly before the world.

"To stimulate this search, speaking only for myself, I frankly state what I consider should be the seven cardinal points of our future world policy," he said.

"First: That as a nation we will join with our present Allies at San Francisco to build a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the World, based on justice and law and insured by force. That we will seek to gradually develop a new and higher level of Government, with legislative, judicial and executive functions and with world-wide jurisdiction for the future peace, progress and well-being of mankind."

Sovereignty Issue Raised

"Second: That we do not subscribe to the extreme view of nationalistic sovereignty, that we realize that neither this nation nor any other nation can be a law unto itself in this modern world and that we are willing to delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty to our United Nations organization so that it may be effective in the tasks we expect it to accomplish."

"Third: That we consider that the future welfare and peace and

heat of free discussion so that they might be set clearly before the world.

"To stimulate this search, speaking only for myself, I frankly state what I consider should be the seven cardinal points of our future world policy," he said.

"First: That as a nation we will join with our present Allies at San Francisco to build a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the World, based on justice and law and insured by force. That we will seek to gradually develop a new and higher level of Government, with legislative, judicial and executive functions and with world-wide jurisdiction for the future peace, progress and well-being of mankind.

Sovereignty Issue Raised

"Second: That we do not subscribe to the extreme view of nationalistic sovereignty, that we realize that neither this nation nor any other nation can be a law unto itself in this modern world and that we are willing to delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty to our United Nations organization so that it may be effective in the tasks we expect it to accomplish.

"Third: That we consider that the future welfare and peace and happiness of the people of America is inseparably intertwined with the future welfare and peace and happiness of the men and women and children of the world.

"Fourth: That we will use the enormous productive capacity of America and the reservoirs of capital and credit and technical skill to contribute to the gradual advancement of the standards of living of the peoples of the world, not as recipients of charity but as self-respecting men and women of dignity and of pride.

"Fifth: That we believe in the freedom of information through press and radio and school and forum as a vital factor in the peace and progress of the world and in the fulfillment of the dignity of man.

"Sixth: That those who were aggressors in this war shall be stripped of all means to make war and shall remain so stripped. That we propose to remain strong on land, at sea and in the air and will join with Russia and Great Britain, China and France and the other United Nations in furnishing police power in the world.

"Seventh: That we are and propose to remain a democracy of free citizens, with an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise. That we will constantly seek to improve the functioning of our system, both as to freedom and equality of our citizens and as to the success and adequacy of our economy. That we will explain our system to the world but will leave it to the peoples of each nation to decide for themselves their own form of government so long as they do not trample on basic human rights or threaten the peace of the world or transgress upon their neighbors. That we will permit our own citizens to learn of any other form of government they wish to study, but will not permit any other government to actively seek to undermine our own."

Agreement Called Essential

Commander Stassen declared that agreement among the major powers in the United Nations on a post-war international organization was absolutely necessary for future peace.

"If either the United States or Russia or Great Britain decide in the next twenty-five years to make war, then there will be another world war and no organization, or

league, or union or treaties will stop it," he continued. "But I do not believe that any of these countries will want to make war. Each knows the horrors of war. Each has too much to gain by not making war. Each has a great future in the peaceful development of its resources and its standing in the world."

Commander Stassen declared that vast sums of money for charitable assistance to other nations would be needed after the war, but said that this must be separated from investment of American capital abroad. The United Nations, he said, must develop an effective and just method of trusteeships for governing territories that could best be held under a form of joint United Nations title rather than by control by any individual country. He saw in the Atlantic Charter, the declarations of Teheran, the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and the decisions at Yalta definite hope for agreement at San Francisco.

"We need not scoffers today," he continued. "We need men; men to assault the pillboxes of lethargy, the emplacements of prejudice, the spitting guns of intolerance. Men who are willing to fall in the assault so that others may carry the

day. It will take that to build the world.

"There will be selfishness and greed and corruption and narrowness and intolerance in the world tomorrow and tomorrow's tomorrow. But pray God, we may have the courage and the wisdom and the vision to raise a definite standard that will appeal to the best that is in man and then strive mightily toward that goal."

Help win the war and get extra red points. Save waste fats and take them to your butcher.

ADVERTISEMENT

DON'T JUST ASK FOR ASPIRIN

When you buy aspirin be sure you ask for it by name, "St. Joseph Aspirin" ... none can do more for you. That's because there's no aspirin faster, none more dependable. It's first choice of millions from coast to coast at the first warning of common headaches or inorganic pain. Get St. Joseph Aspirin, world's largest seller at 10c. Big 100 tablet size 35c. You get nearly 3 tablets for 1c. Demand St. Joseph Aspirin.

ernhouse, Maryknoll, N. Y.

WDC RST
3-5-45

Vandenberg Assured Free Hand at Frisco

By Jack Bell

Copyright, 1945, by the Associated Press
President Roosevelt has assured Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) of freedom of action at the World Security Conference and Vandenberg is expected to accept an invitation to become a delegate.

An authoritative source said yesterday the President's assurances that there are no strings attached to service on the American delegation to the San Francisco meeting, were conveyed in a letter to the chairman of the Senate Republican conference.

Vandenberg, who has declined comment, reportedly told friends he will make an announcement of his position early this week. That announcement is expected to signal his acceptance of a place on the United States delegation of eight.

Two Republicans Have Accepted

The San Francisco meeting, beginning April 25, is intended to complete, and formally set up, the world peace machinery outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks conferences here.

Representative Eaton (R., N. J.) already has officially accepted the invitation to become a delegate. Lieut. Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, another Republican chosen, also has said he will attend the conference.

Up to now Vandenberg has withheld any comment despite receipt of an official invitation from the President. Mr. Roosevelt said in it the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the American people for an international organization through which this Nation may play its full part in the maintenance of international peace and security."

Approves Oaks Principles

The Michigan Senator is understood to have communicated to Administration leaders his desire to have assurances that he will have a free hand as a delegate and not be bound to support commitments about which he now knows nothing. He is reported to have signified willingness to back the broad principles agreed upon in the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Some congressional delegates to international conferences have complained in the past that they were expected to support a pre-conceived American plan. The Bretton Woods monetary meeting last year has been cited as such a case.

Wants Boundary Conference

Vandenberg has made it a cardinal principle of his stand on international security matters that the United Nations organization which is expected to be formed at San Francisco shall have the right to review prior political agreements in subsequent years, in the light of their effect on the peace of the world.

In other words, he has told friends that while he expects a separate peace conference to settle such matters as boundary questions, he feels that the league should be empowered to recommend and enforce changes if those agreements threaten to breach the peace in later years.

President Roosevelt made it plain in his talk to Congress last week that the western boundary of Poland, for instance, will be fixed at the peace table. It apparently will not be a subject for immediate discussion by the international organization, once it comes into being.

20

00-1 - US 2nd -

PRESIDENT GREETSS PARLEY DELEGATES

Points to Amity With Canada
as World Example—Team-
Work Asked by Stettinius

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 13.

After receiving the United States delegates to the San Francisco Security Conference today President Roosevelt, in the presence of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, reported under consideration for the conference chairmanship, pointed to United States-Canadian relationships as a model for international cooperation.

The delegates, holding their first meeting at the State Department were assured by Secretary Stettinius of their independence of action. He said they would work diligently in the coming weeks to reach a common objective, and added that at the conference he felt

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

DC-1

V5 Del -

21

PRESIDENT WITH DELEGATES TO WORLD SECURITY MEETING



Mr. Roosevelt and the group that will represent the United States at the conference in San Francisco. Left to right: Representative Sol Bloom, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, Senator Tom Connally, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Comdr. Harold Stassen, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and Representative Charles A. Eaton.

Associated Press Wirephoto

PRESIDENT GREETSPARLEY DELEGATES

Continued From Page 1

sure that they would work as a team.

The report that Prime Minister Mackenzie King would preside over the conference was neither confirmed nor denied, but the President during his consultation with the Canadian Prime Minister informed him of his talk with the American delegation and discussed with him both the plans for the San Francisco meeting and the recent Crimea Conference, as well as reverting to our affairs with Canada.

The delegation assembled early in the day at the State Department, the only absent member being former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who is still convalescing in the Naval Hospital. They were furnished, according to the official statement issued by the department, with background documentation concerning the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and their discussion today included a preliminary outline of practical details concerning their participation. Attending the meeting besides the Secretary of State were Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom, Representative Eaton, Comdr. Harold E. Stassen and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College. In addition were Under-Secretary of State Grew, Assistant Secretary Acheson, Assistant Secretary Dunn and expert officials of the department.

Group Called Representative

"I am sure it would be difficult," said Secretary Stettinius in addressing the delegates, "to find a more representative, a more highly qualified group in the country. Most of you have already had a prominent part in shaping the proposals which are to serve as a basis for the drafting of the United Nations Charter. We all are prompted by the same desire to succeed. I am confident, therefore, that while free in pursuing our personal views and convictions we shall be able to work as one team."

The delegation suspended its

session about noon to call on President Roosevelt at the White House, and afterward resumed discussions of the plans for preparing for their work in the meeting set to open in San Francisco April 25. When President Roosevelt opened his news conference in mid-afternoon, Prime Minister MacKenzie King was seated on the President's right, although he did not join in the conference.

Crimea Parley Surveyed

President Roosevelt announced that he had been surveying the Crimea conference, the San Francisco conference and other matters with the Canadian Premier, and had discussed in part the place that Canada will occupy in the new international organization.

He then went out of his way to pay a personal tribute to the way in which the warm relationship existing personally between himself and the Prime Minister had contributed to the mutual benefit of the United States and Canada. In view of the Prime Minister's political situation in his country the declaration was considered significant.

With regard to the San Francisco program the President said they talked mainly of the physical arrangements, and then made the important announcement that complete freedom is contemplated for the meeting as regards the press. The conference, he stated, is to be conducted after the pattern of the Mexico City conference, where there were plenary sessions, open committee meetings and conferences with heads of delegations. He said the San Francisco conference will be open to the press, radio, movies, and "stills."

President's Arrival Discussed

Another point which he discussed with the delegation today, said the President, was the timing of his own personal appearance at the conference, and whether he was to open it, or to be present at its close. He said that he had taken advice on the subject and the decision would be for the time that seemed generally considered most propitious.

With regard to the subject-matter for the conference, it is emphasized that no such questions as boundaries, surrender terms, the treatment of different nations and

military actions will come before it. The conference can in no way be considered the peace table, but its purpose is to be confined to the one task of devising the machinery with which these political and security decisions are made effective and maintained. The nations will gather to discuss this mechanism, and each country will be free to present its view on the mechanical aspects of the organization, but political questions before the nations will be excluded.

The length of the conference is being tentatively regarded as likely to be about one month, but plans are being set to allow for a longer duration.

Hist
Inva
ince
minde
Daily
of Bra
first Di
1525. E
of forty
a studer
this sub
of 762
pared for
war this
found hi
private
Kaiser he
special
buy it. I

LET HIM KNOW

In The Nation

United States Delegation to San Francisco

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22—The high quality of the American delegates to the conference of the United Nations at San Francisco has been widely conceded. No question has been raised of the qualifications of any of the eight citizens invited by the President to aid in drawing up a world security compact. The devotion of all to the concept of Dumbarton Oaks has been fully and publicly attested. And Mr. Roosevelt has been fitly praised for giving representation to Congress, to the bipartisan system by which this nation is governed, to education, to women and to the armed services.

Yet the fact remains that the President made the appointments without endeavoring to learn in advance whether some of those named were receptive and without—so far as is known—seeking the counsel of the minority party from which he chose three of the appointees. And, of the four Republicans who have borne that party's national standard against him, he passed over the names of the three who are living—all of whom have made important contributions to the objectives of the San Francisco conference.

The President's power as well as his right to make his own selections is indisputable. No statute or regulation required him to seek the judgment of anyone else, or to confer with the leaders of the opposition which he has officially linked with the drafting of the treaty that is expected to be the product of San Francisco. He chose to make the names public without previously furnishing any of those details of which one appointee, Senator Vandenberg, is now in search, and this also is his privilege. Nevertheless, despite the high caliber of the appointees and their representation of elements entitled to a voice, there are those who disapprove the individualistic method of selection as another manifestation of one-man government.

The Republicans of the Senate must furnish a certain number of votes in favor of any world security treaty if the two-thirds necessary to our adherence to that treaty is to be forthcoming. In choosing Senator Vandenberg, the President named the outstanding leader of the Senate minority on international affairs, the spokesman of a following which can defeat or assure the success of treaties and the author of the most definite and realistic proposal that has been made by any American public man as a foundation for Dumbarton Oaks. If he had suggested Mr. Vandenberg to a Republican sanhedrin, there is little doubt his choice would have been enthusiastically and officially approved. Therefore, even the critics of his method must concede that in this instance the outcome would have been the same.

Mr. Roosevelt also anticipated Congressional sentiment when he named as a delegate Senator Connally, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a Democrat; Chairman Bloom of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, also a Democrat; and the ranking Republican member of that committee, Representative Eaton. The choice of Secretary Stettinius was ex officio, and nothing could have been more appropriate or more nationally popular than the designation of former Secretary Hull, "the father of the United Nations," as senior adviser of the American delegation. It is inconceivable that there would have been dissent to any of these names among any group of consultants the President might have summoned.

The other two delegates are also outstanding and highly representative. Dean Gildersleeve is eminent among educators and observers of human progress, and the rate and soundness of that progress will be greatly influenced by what is done at San Francisco. Also, no American woman could be a worthier deputy of her sex, with its especially poignant and direct reasons for seeking enduring peace. And in Commander Stassen the President chose a citizen who has stood for the best things in statecraft and in politics, whose personal sacrifice to the war is notable amid a host of such sacrifices, and whose abiding search for an effective peace formula impelled him four

THE ROAD TOWARD PEACE

In a sense this week, which has brought to the world the first announcements of the Crimea Conference and the plans for the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, to be opened on April 25, is the most important of the war. It has long been certain that the United Nations would win a military victory. Now we can reasonably hope that they will also be able to create a just, secure and lasting peace.

The most serious mistakes of the Versailles Conference of 1919 are being avoided. The new conference is to precede final victory, not follow it. It is to begin with an effort to "remove the political, economic and social causes of war," not with a division of the spoils. The United States, with every evidence of popular support and every sign of majority approval in both houses of Congress, is to take its full share of the responsibility, renouncing, we believe forever, the tragic myth of isolationism. San Francisco, border city between two worlds, is a significant choice for this meeting, at which China and France will unite with the Big Three of Yalta in "sponsoring invitations" to the entire body of free nations.

The American delegation is genuinely bipartisan, as the delegation to Versailles in 1919 was not. Its senior adviser, former Secretary of State Hull, commands respect at home and abroad, and if his health permits he may be an obvious choice for conference chairman. Two Democrats, Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and two Republicans, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan and Representative Charles A. Eaton of New Jersey, give Congress full representation. When the decisions made at San Francisco have to be supported by law or by treaty, there can surely be no deadlock between the White House and the Capitol, as there was in 1919. The two remaining members, former Governor Stassen of Minnesota, later a Navy commander, and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, will strengthen the statesmanlike character of the group. The point need not be argued whether this delegation is either more able or less able than the group President Wilson took to Paris. Its great advantage will be that it is more representative of a much more nearly unified public opinion. The projects and ideas it accepts will stand a good chance of general acceptance.

The last Nazi will not have been disarmed by April 25. The costliest part of the war against Japan may still be ahead. But this conference, if it is as successful as it promises to be, will be as decisive as a great military victory. It can make peace and freedom the way of the future. It can put a final period to the German-Japanese conspiracy to destroy civilization.

THE G. O. P. AT SAN FRANCISCO

Commander Harold E. Stassen is as good an illustration as could be found of the difficulty as well as the necessity of bipartisan American representation at the forthcoming United Nations Conference at San Francisco. The difficulty is in the internal politics of the Republican party. As the former Governor of Minnesota and as a potential candidate for the Presidential nomination Commander Stassen is important in the party ranks, but he has no mandate to speak for other Republicans. For this reason and for the further reason that too close a harmony with the President's foreign policy might jeopardize his chances for the nomination in 1948 he did not welcome his new assignment, though he accepted it like the loyal citizen he is.

He has wisely made it clear that he does not intend to go to San Francisco as a freelancer. Though still in the Navy he has begun a series of conferences with titular and other Republican leaders, among whom Governor Dewey will be included. We may be hopeful that these conferences will result in harmony in essentials among outstanding Republicans and that Commander Stassen and his fellow-Republican nominees to the conference, Senator Vandenberg of Michigan and Representative Eaton of New Jersey, will be able and willing to persuade their party to accept those essentials. In this way the bases of lasting peace may be taken out of politics and the tragic failure of 1919 will not be repeated.

The minimum for security obviously is full American participation in a world organization to prevent war. We must be prepared to put force behind such an organization. We must also be prepared voluntarily to limit our sovereign freedom to act internationally without consulting other nations. Within this framework there is room for differences of opinion, and some of these differences may assume a partisan form. A Republican foreign policy might differ in many details and in many of its emphases from a Democratic foreign policy. There is no reason why the Republican delegates at San Francisco should not put themselves on record, or at least reserve judgment, on these matters. But the ghosts of the American dead in two

hedrin there is little doubt his choice would have been enthusiastically and officially approved. Therefore, even the critics of his method must concede that in this instance the outcome would have been the same.

Mr. Roosevelt also anticipated Congressional sentiment when he named as a delegate Senator Connally, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a Democrat; Chairman Bloom of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, also a Democrat; and the ranking Republican member of that committee, Representative Eaton. The choice of Secretary Stettinius was ex officio, and nothing could have been more appropriate or more nationally popular than the designation of former Secretary Hull, "the father of the United Nations," as senior adviser of the American delegation. It is inconceivable that there would have been dissent to any of these names among any group of consultants the President might have summoned.

The other two delegates are also outstanding and highly representative. Dean Gildersleeve is eminent among educators and observers of human progress, and the rate and soundness of that progress will be greatly influenced by what is done at San Francisco. Also, no American woman could be a worthier deputy of her sex, with its especially poignant and direct reasons for seeking enduring peace. And in Commander Stassen, the President chose a citizen who has stood for the best things in statecraft and in politics, whose personal sacrifice to the war is notable amid a host of such sacrifices, and whose abiding search for an effective peace formula impelled him four years ago to spurn those cautions which so often have been stepping-stones to the Presidency.

All these virtues the critics of Mr. Roosevelt's method of selection must acknowledge in the selectees. Commander Stassen, to be a free man at San Francisco, must doff his uniform for the time, since he cannot be subordinate to the military power in such a role. But then he will resume it, and there is a feeling that this necessity makes his situation somewhat awkward. Furthermore, though in civil life he is a national figure among the Republicans outside Congress, in the party organization he ranks below the Presidential nominees of 1936 and 1944 and the nominee of 1932, Mr. Hoover, who is also the only living ex-President. These facts are cited by critics to support their thesis that it would have been better process on Mr. Roosevelt's part, and less complicated for Commander Stassen, if the President had sought nominations from a group of national Republican leaders, or had cleared the Commander with such a group—as surely could have been done with a majority.

Arguments in favor of the President's method are, however, not lacking. The chief one is that, if he had consulted an official opposition group, he might have found himself obliged either to accept Mr. Hoover or Governor Dewey—whose political attacks he has not forgiven—instead of Commander Stassen, or, by rejecting such names, affront the Republican party and risk the wreckage of his foreign policy program in Congress.

DC-1

VS Del-

22

PRESIDENT GREETSS PARLEY DELEGATES

Points to Amity With Canada
as World Example—Team-
Work Asked by Stettinius

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 13 —

After receiving the United States delegates to the San Francisco Security Conference today President Roosevelt, in the presence of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, reported under consideration for the conference chairmanship, pointed to United States-Canadian relationships as a model for international cooperation.

The delegates, holding their first meeting at the State Department were assured by Secretary Stettinius of their independence of action. He said they would work diligently in the coming weeks to reach a common objective, and added that at the conference he felt

NY Times March 14

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1945.

PRESIDENT GREETSPARLEY DELEGATES

Continued From Page 1

sure that they would work as a team.

The report that Prime Minister Mackenzie King would preside over the conference was neither confirmed nor denied, but the President during his consultation with the Canadian Prime Minister informed him of his talk with the American delegation and discussed with him both the plans for the San Francisco meeting and the recent Crimea Conference, as well as reverting to our affairs with Canada.

The delegation assembled early in the day at the State Department, the only absent member being former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who is still convalescing in the Naval Hospital. They were furnished, according to the official statement issued by the department, with background documentation concerning the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and their discussion today included a preliminary outline of practical details concerning their participation. Attending the meeting besides the Secretary of State were Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom, Representative Eaton, Comdr. Harold E. Stassen and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College. In addition were Under-Secretary of State Grew, Assistant Secretary Acheson, Assistant Secretary Dunn and expert officials of the department.

Group Called Representative

"I am sure it would be difficult," said Secretary Stettinius in addressing the delegates, "to find a more representative, a more highly qualified group in the country. Most of you have already had a prominent part in shaping the proposals which are to serve as a basis for the drafting of the United Nations Charter. We all are prompted by the same desire to succeed. I am confident, therefore, that while free in pursuing our personal views and convictions we shall be able to work as one team." The delegation suspended its

session about noon to call on President Roosevelt at the White House, and afterward resumed discussions of the plans for preparing for their work in the meeting set to open in San Francisco April 25.

When President Roosevelt opened his news conference in mid-afternoon Prime Minister MacKenzie King was seated on the President's right, although he did not join in the conference.

Crimea Parley Surveyed

President Roosevelt announced that he had been surveying the Crimea conference, the San Francisco conference and other matters with the Canadian Premier, and had discussed in part the place that Canada will occupy in the new international organization.

He then went out of his way to pay a personal tribute to the way in which the warm relationship existing personally between himself and the Prime Minister had contributed to the mutual benefit of the United States and Canada. In view of the Prime Minister's political situation in his country the declaration was considered significant.

With regard to the San Francisco program, the President said they talked mainly of the physical arrangements, and then made the important announcement that complete freedom is contemplated for the meeting as regards the press. The conference, he stated, is to be conducted after the pattern of the Mexico City conference, where there were plenary sessions, open committee meetings and conferences with heads of delegations. He said the San Francisco conference will be open to the press, radio, movies, and "stills."

President's Arrival Discussed

Another point which he discussed with the delegation today, said the President, was the timing of his own personal appearance at the conference, and whether he was to open it, or to be present at its close. He said that he had taken advice on the subject and the decision would be for the time that seemed generally considered most propitious.

With regard to the subject-matter for the conference, it is emphasized that no such questions as boundaries, surrender terms, the treatment of different nations and

military actions will come before it. The conference can in no way be considered the peace table, but its purpose is to be confined to the one task of devising the machinery with which these political and security decisions are made effective and maintained. The nations will gather to discuss this mechanism, and each country will be free to present its view on the mechanical aspects of the organization, but political questions before the nations will be excluded.

The length of the conference is being tentatively regarded as likely to be about one month, but plans are being set to allow for a longer duration.

DC-1

VS Del -

23

NY Times March 14

THE NEW YORK TIMES, W.
PRESIDENT WITH DELEGATES TO WORLD SECURITY MEETING



Mr. Roosevelt and the group that will represent the United States at the conference in San Francisco. Left to right: Representative Sol Bloom, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, Senator Tom Connally, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Comdr. Harold Stassen, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and Representative Charles A. Eaton.

Associated Press Wirephoto

h2

-pro sn-

De-1

CHILDREN'S BUREAU IS URGED ON PARLEY

U. S. and War Emergency Units
of International Union Seek
Action at San Francisco

A proposal that a children's bureau be included in the social welfare division of the United Nations organization was made jointly yesterday by the war emergency advisory section of the Save the Children International Union of Geneva, Switzerland, and the Save the Children Federation, Inc., United States member of the union.

Representatives of many international groups met at luncheon in the Town Hall Club, 123 West Forty-third Street, to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the union, which has forty-eight affiliates in thirty countries.

John R. Voris, president of the federation, which has headquarters at 1 Madison Avenue, urged that all welfare organizations that are interested in the care of children support this proposal.

The connection of this proposal with the Declaration of Geneva, made in 1924 and reaffirmed in 1934, in behalf of "the rights of the child," was pointed out by Miss Marie Ginsberg, former assistant librarian of the League of Nations, who expressed the hope that "the spirit of the early formation of an international children's organization in Geneva will be carried on at the San Francisco conference."

Dr. Howard E. Kershner, chairman of the overseas committee of the Save the Children Federation, also approved a separate children's charter and suggested further that advisory committees composed of all national groups be formed "to mobilize the largest resources to go to the aid of the children."

Referring to the vast amount of suffering already caused to the children of Europe, Mr. Kershner declared that it would take "two or three generations" to recover the losses.

He said also that there was need of "a complete revamping of the education" of the children who have been subjected to totalitarian ideologies "to make it safe for other children to live in the world with them."

Dr. Robert W. Searle, chairman of the executive committee of the international organization, presided. The annual report of the organization's progress was made by Nicholas Lemtukov, executive

EDUCATION OFFICE ASKED FOR WORLD

Delegates of 34 Nations Here
Urge San Francisco Meeting
to Provide for It

By unanimous vote, delegates from thirty-four countries of the United Nations attending the third annual conference of the International Education Assembly adopted a resolution at the closing session yesterday calling upon the San Francisco delegates to establish a world office of education.

This action came after James Marshall, member of the New York City Board of Education, had disclosed that 500 leading American college presidents and chancellors had signed a declaration urging the formation of an international school body. This resolution is being forwarded to the American delegation at the conference.

In approving the stand taken by the American educators, representatives of foreign nations pledged themselves to seek similar support from their own educational leaders.

"If we can get 500 world educators to sign the document for an international education office, it will be extremely helpful," Dr. William G. Garr, chairman of the education assembly, told the delegates.

In urging the establishment of a world education office, the American educators declared that "a world opinion which wants peace and which organizes and educates for understanding among nations and peoples is the only sure foundation for a secure peace structure." The statement was prepared under the direction of the American Association for an International Office of Education, of which Mr. Marshall is vice president.

"There can be no realism in international covenants which are not founded upon common moral aims and a desire of people to understand others as well as to be understood by them," the educators declared. "We believe that any international organization which ignores this fundamental principle will prove to be unrealistic and will speedily dissolve into power struggle and imperialist competition."

Fear of New War Cited

The great fear among the people of the world is that there may be a new war in which D-Day may become "Doomsday," the educators said. Culture and cultural institutions and personnel have suffered. What is left of these institutions, it was suggested, should be enlisted to "heal the torn world."

"In furtherance of a climate of world opinion which wants peace and understanding between nations and peoples and in aid of the development of such understanding, we deem it necessary that there be created an International Office for Education," the statement said. "International interest in education must now include not only the instruction offered by universities and furthered by meetings of scientists and scholars, but also elementary, secondary and adult education of a more informal character."

"We therefore urge that the proposals for the creation of an International Office for Education to further educational and cultural relations be given prompt consideration and that action to this end be taken by our Government in collaboration with the other Governments of the world."

Copies of the statement are to be sent to all delegates at San Francisco. Many of the assembly members also will represent their countries at the conference.

Dr. Carr, who was selected by the assembly to represent it at San Francisco, said an effort would be made to get the conference to agree to hold a meeting at a later date to establish an educational agency. All that could be expected at this time, he added, was that the groundwork for future action might be laid.

At the morning session the plight of the children in Europe was brought out by various speakers from the occupied and liberated countries. More books, school supplies and equipment of all kinds are urgently needed if the educational systems are to function, the delegates emphasized.

Even though conditions are extremely bad in Holland, Belgium, France and the other countries surrounding Germany, these countries will not be willing to send their children to other lands for adoption. Dr. Francoise Dony of Belgium said, adding that they wanted to restore their children to health within their own lands.

DC-1

US Del -

25

BACK ECONOMIC UNIT IN SECURITY SET-UP

Spokesmen for Many Countries
Urge More Power for Council
Than Dumbarton Oaks Gave

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 6—Efforts will be made by several countries represented at the San Francisco Security Conference to endow the proposed Economic and Social Council with greater power and more prestige than were allotted to it at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

The view that the Economic and Social Conference should have greater power, perhaps equal to that of the Security Council, which would be the most powerful organ of the international organization under the Dumbarton Oaks formula, is represented by its proponents as in line with the view expressed at Chicago on Wednesday by Secretary Stettinius that the task to which the nations should "principally" direct themselves after the war is the elimination of "economic warfare, depressions, hunger, poverty and despair." This task, the Secretary said, "will fall principally upon the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council."

Supporters of the move for a position of more importance for the Economic and Social Council, who are numerous among Washington representatives of the British Commonwealth of Nations, argue that if, as most people recognize, economic factors are a primary cause of war, then the international means for dealing with them should be lodged in an organ which could at least cope with these matters from a position of power and prominence equal to that of the organ dealing with political security.

Opinion Voiced by Australian

H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, gave voice in London this week to the view widely held in British Commonwealth diplomatic circles here when he said that more power should be given to the Economic and Social Council.

Several diplomats of the British Dominions stationed here expressed confidence that as a result of the, current preparatory conference of the Commonwealth nations at London the United Kingdom might be induced to give some support to this view.

The principal diplomatic representative of one of the Dominions remarked:

The Security Council deals with war and peace. But so does the Economic and Social Council.

One thing that attracts the small and middle nations to the Economic and Social Council is what they regard as its "democracy," which they feel transcends that of the Security Council on which the great powers have insured their own dominance.

"The curious thing is," said one diplomat, "that the Economic and Social Council may well demonstrate that the great powers do not have to elect themselves as permanent members of these international bodies. In all likelihood the other nations will insist that they each have a place among the eighteen equal members of the Economic and Social Council."

Proposed Role for Council

As this Council was set up at Dumbarton Oaks, it would be a sort of appendage to the Assembly of the international organization, its eighteen members being elected by the Assembly for three-year terms. It would function subordinate to the Assembly and could assist the powerful Security Council only "upon its requests."

The French, in their proposed amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks document, specifically propose thus:

"An extension of the authority of the Economic and Social Council and the adoption of measures permitting it eventually to collaborate with the Security Council."

Also, the French would have the Economic and Social Council empowered not only to act for the Security Council on its request, but to "submit directly to it in emergency cases any humanitarian, economic, social, or other question which it believes of a nature to endanger the peace."

Some Canadians interpret a passage in the parliamentary address of Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King on March 20 as indicating his Government's desire for a greater role for the Economic and Social Council. The Prime Minister said:

"It would be a mistake to think of the world organization as exclusively preoccupied with the prevention of war. Indeed, if the defeat of our enemies brings about a securer world, we may hope that considerations of security will gradually recede into the background and that the progress in the arts of civilization by international cooperation of many fronts will be the first topic and central concern of our foreign policy. We should come to think and act less and less in terms of force and more and more in terms of forces, the forces that create or destroy international amity and good-will."

Stress on "Full Employment"

The Australians are making in London, and will undoubtedly make at San Francisco, a demand for a commitment on the part of all member nations to pursue domestic policies designed to assure full employment."

There are signs that this demand will be taken up by other smaller nations which, feeling as do the Australians that their political as well as economic security is dependent upon a high level of income in the United Kingdom and the United States, will endeavor to have these countries commit themselves to "full employment," perhaps only in the preamble to Chapter IX, which is the part of the Dumbarton Oaks document outlining the Economic and Social Council.

The Australians seem hopeful that they may get some support from the United Kingdom on this demand, but representatives of some other dominions did not think the United Kingdom will go very far in behalf of such a proposal.

DC -1

US Del -

26

OAKS PLAN CALLED A START BY DULLES

Years Needed to Perfect Structure and for Law to Evolve, He Warns Capital Rally

WASHINGTON, March 26 (AP)—John Foster Dulles described the Dumbarton Oaks security plan tonight as no more than a first step toward organized world peace.

The development of actually working machinery, he said, is a matter for the years and the evolution of international law.

Mr. Dulles supported the Dumbarton Proposals, however, as having value for the purpose of bringing the nations together in the fellowship from which that law could develop.

Mr. Dulles, who is chairman of the Federal Council of Churches Commission on a Just and Durable Peace and a consultant to Governor Dewey in last year's Presidential campaign, said in a speech to a United Nations rally here:

"In the meantime conflicts of interests will still be settled primarily by power. We can hope that the power will be potential power and not actually applied power. That depends above all on the wisdom, self-restraint and the unity of the peoples and leaders of Great Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States.

Opposes "Do Nothing" Policy

"The fact that we cannot yet have a perfect world structure does not, however, mean that we should do nothing. On the contrary, it means that the nations should get started working together in ways that can promote association and dissipate the present distrust.

"Dumbarton Oaks is a forward step because it starts that process."

International law, Mr. Dulles said, does not now cover the serious disputes which have led to major wars, and there does not now exist enough association among the nations, nor sufficient trust and confidence, to set up any formal machinery for creating such law.

On the point of peace council power under today's conditions, Mr. Dulles recalled that world courts had been available for many years to handle justiciable disputes but had not kept the peace inviolate.

As to the use of force to maintain peace, he commented:

"We do not put a man in a blue uniform and give him a badge and a revolver and tell him to go out and shoot anyone he feels like. That would not maintain peace and order. On the contrary, that would be a menace. Without law he would not know when and how to act.

"The conclusion is inescapable that the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a court and a policeman, while good as far as it goes, does not go very far. It cannot go far because of the absence of law."

Confers With Pasvolosky

Mr. Dulles earlier conferred with Dr. Leo Pasvolosky, special adviser to Secretary of State Stettinius.

After he saw Mr. Pasvolosky, Mr. Dulles was asked whether he would be at San Francisco as an observer for Mr. Dewey.

"Not for Governor Dewey particularly," he said. "I am continuously in a close advisory relation with a good many in the Republican party, National Republican Chairman Herbert Brownell and a good many Senators, and so forth. I might retain that feature of my personality."

Mr. Dulles said that he had been talking quite a bit with Senator Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, and with Comdr. Harold Stassen, two of the American delegates to the conference.

He said that Mr. Vandenberg and Comd. Stassen had indicated "they would like to have me around at San Francisco and would like to talk with me about various things."

Mr. Dulles has declined Mr. Vandenberg's invitation to be his personal adviser.

Security Plan Only a Start, Dulles Says

John Foster Dulles, authority on international relations and chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches, last night described the international agreement that will come from the San Francisco Conference as "only the beginning of world order."

"It will keep the nations around a consultation table and launch them into specific projects for the general good," he said at a United Nations Forum on "Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes" at Constitution Hall.

Must Be Realistic

"But we will have to wait upon the further development of international law before we have streamlined, modern instrumentalities like courts and policemen that can surely keep the peace," he continued.

Referring to the Kellogg-Briand pact as a detriment after the last war because it created an illusory sense of security, Dulles said: "This time it is of the utmost importance that we be realistic. We must see the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for what they are—an elemental start. This plan for a court and a policeman is good as far as it goes but it cannot go far because of the absence of international law."

Briton Stresses Power

Harold B. Butler, minister of the British Embassy, said that the last 20 years have shown that no council or court of justice can insure that international disputes will be settled peacefully unless the peoples of the world have the will to enforce peace.

"If war is to be prevented, rapid action is necessary," Butler said. "The Dumbarton Oaks plan does make it possible to press a button and put the forces of peace into instantaneous motion. Every potential aggressor must know that it has this power."

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas presided, and the following participated in a discussion panel, answering questions from the audience:

Representative Emily Taft Douglas (D., Ill.), Senator Wayne L. Morse (R., Oreg.), Representative Charles La Follette (R., Ind.) and Owen Lattimore, director of Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University.

DC-1 VS DAD- 27

Official Parley Role Shunned by Dulles

Indicates to Vandenberg He'd Prefer Private Citizen's Part to Adviser's

By Robert C. Albright

John Foster Dulles, New York attorney and foreign affairs adviser to Thomas E. Dewey in the last presidential campaign, yesterday indicated he preferred to attend the United Nations conference in San Francisco as a private individual rather than as an appointed adviser.

Dulles made known his wish in

a letter to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.), who he said spoke to him "about attending the San Francisco conference as an appointed adviser either to the United States delegation or to you as a delegate."

Vandenberg made public the letter without comment as it was reliably indicated that the eight-member American delegation will meet in almost daily session during the last 10 days or two weeks before the conference, giving intensive consideration to the American position and any proposed changes in the original Dumbarton Oaks charter.

The delegation is expected to try to reach full agreement in advance of departure for San Francisco on questions bound to arise there. In addition, decisions probably will be sought in advance on amendments suggested by the delegates themselves. Vandenberg, for example, already has submitted suggestions for world Security Council review of wartime political decisions, and a mandate for the new league "to maintain 'justice' as basis for peace."

Other developments:

1. The State Department disclosed that each of the nations at the San Francisco conference would have one vote, but said it was unable to supply information at this time on whether decisions of the conference would be by simple majority vote or otherwise.

2. CIO President Philip Murray, in a letter to union members, designated the four weeks before the San Francisco Conference as "United Nations Month," saying:

Urges Foreign Policy Study

"American labor, because it has always been in the forefront in the fight against Fascism, has a great responsibility to see that the fight stays won, to educate itself on the basic principles of our foreign policy and then to join with other patriotic citizens to impress upon Congress the will of the American people."

Dulles, before representing Governor Dewey last year in State Department talks on Dumbarton Oaks, advised closely with the Republican Mackinac subcommittee which wrote the preliminary draft of the

GOP foreign policy plank. Vandenberg was chairman of the Mackinac foreign policy subcommittee.

In declining the Senator's suggestion he be appointed an advisor to the delegation or to Vandenberg as delegate, Dulles wrote the Michigan Senator:

"I greatly appreciate the consideration being given this matter by the State Department, yourself and others. It is, however, my preference to have no official status at San Francisco. For several years now I have, in various nonofficial capacities, worked for the creation of a world organization dedicated to securing a just and durable peace. I think that, if I continue in that way, it will best serve the great cause we all have at heart."

It was believed that Dulles would attend the conference in his personal role as chairman of the Commission for a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

At the Capitol meanwhile, there was increasing speculation on the duration of the conference starting April 25, with some of the delegates believing it would last well over a month and some speculating on a session of eight weeks or more. It was pointed out in one quarter that the conference would practically have to start from scratch in designing the new Court of International Justice, would have to deal with the knotty question of international trusteeships and discuss what to do about the old League of Nations before approving the final charter for the new one.

vs Del

28

DULLES AS 'ADVISER' AT PARLEY IN VIEW

Will Probably Be Named by
Stettinius, Otherwise Van-
denberg Bid Is Due

By JAMES B. RESTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 19—The Administration will send a small number of advisers and a technical staff to the United Nations Security Conference at San Francisco next month, it was learned today.

The technical staff will be headed by Leo Pasvolksky, special assistant to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., and the "advisers" will probably include John Foster Dulles, chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches in America, and a special foreign affairs assistant to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in the 1944 Presidential campaign.

If Mr. Dulles is not on the list of "advisers" or "counsels" or whatever the State Department decides to call them, he will have the opportunity of going to the conference as an adviser to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, one of the eight United States "delegates."

Church Role Is Large Factor

The State Department has not yet made up the full list of those who will be invited to assist the "delegates" and much interest has attended the report that Mr. Dulles would be on the list. But Mr. Dulles is being considered not because of his connections with the Republican party but because of his position as head of the Federal Council of Churches Commission and because of the assistance he has already given in working out some of the technical difficulties in the Dumbarton Oaks formula.

In whatever capacity he serves

'German's' Grave Yields Vichyite Killer of Mandel

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 19—Nationalities and communities have become so intermingled in Europe during the past five years that it is scarcely possible yet to measure the problem presented by "displaced persons."

Two minor examples came to light here today. A group of liberated French prisoners of war reached Lille this morning. The first "Frenchman" to alight from the train was registered as "a departed Briton, speaking no French and not yet identified."

One of Joseph Darnand's militiamen who had murdered Georges Mandel, Minister of the Interior prior to armistice, had been sought for months. He was found today—buried in Pantin Cemetery near Paris. The marker above his grave read: "Here lies an unknown German soldier."

at San Francisco, Mr. Dulles can be expected to support the broad objectives of the Dumbarton Oaks formula.

Praised Voting Plan

In a letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES he has praised the voting procedure evolved at the Yalta conference as "a statesmanlike solution of a knotty problem" and, while he has made it clear that he would like to have the world security organization emphasize justice as its guiding principle and would like to see it liberalize the procedure for amending the Dumbarton Oaks charter, he has convinced the members of the Republican party and the Democratic Administration of his sincerity in trying to help build an effective security system.

The decision to place Mr. Pasvolksky at the head of the technical staff supporting Mr. Stettinius was something less than a surprise. It is increasingly clear here that, on

the question of the world security organization, Mr. Pasvolksky is playing a leading if not a decisive role in the deliberations of the United States Government and it was therefore expected that he would play an important part at San Francisco, as he did at the recent inter-American conference at Mexico City.

22 Mar 45
THE NEW YORK TIMES, TH

DULLES REFUSES CONFERENCE POST

Informing Vandenberg That He
Prefers to Work Unofficially
for Durable Peace

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 21—John Foster Dulles of New York, chief foreign policy adviser to Governor Thomas E. Dewey in the 1944 Presidential campaign, rejected today a suggestion that he attend the conference of the United Nations on world security at San Francisco late next month as an attaché to the official American delegation.

Mr. Dulles set forth his position in a letter to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, a member of the delegation, who made the letter public without comment.

"It is my preference to have no official status at San Francisco," Mr. Dulles informed Senator Vandenberg. "For several years now I have, in various unofficial capacities, worked for the creation of a world organization dedicated to securing a just and durable peace. I think that if I continue in that way it will best serve the great cause we all have at heart."

DC-1

US Dul -

29

DULLES WOULD FREE PARLEY OF POLITICS

Accepts Adviser Post to Consolidate 'Precedent of Bi-partisan Action,' He Says

John Foster Dulles said here yesterday that he accepted the appointment as an adviser to the United States delegation to the San Francisco Security Conference in order to consolidate "the precedent of bi-partisan action" established by former Secretary Hull and himself last year when the Administration and the Republican party sought a common ground on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

His acceptance of the post was made known in a dispatch from Washington Wednesday night and officially confirmed in the national capital yesterday.

Mr. Dulles, who was Governor Dewey's adviser on foreign affairs in the November Presidential campaign, held a press conference at his law offices at 48 Wall Street and released copies of his letter of acceptance to Secretary of State Stettinius, as well as a statement outlining the reasons for his action.

Mr. Dulles said that he preferred a non-official status, but that he had conferred with Governor Dewey, Senator Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, and Herbert Brownell, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and they agreed that he could best serve in an official capacity.

Mr. Dulles, in reply to reporters

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dulles Accepts Post as Adviser To Help Free Parley of Politics

Continued From Page 1

questions, expressed support of President Roosevelt's decision not to seek more than one vote for the United States in the proposed Assembly, but added that he had a flexible attitude toward the demand of the Soviet Union for three votes.

"I am fully in accord," Mr. Dulles said, "with the President's position that the United States should ask for only one vote in the Assembly."

"On the other hand, whether certain States of the Soviet Union deserve an additional vote should be considered from a juridical viewpoint."

"If, in fact, certain states of the Soviet have an independence in foreign relations comparable to that of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, then there is no question why they shouldn't be treated the same. If they haven't, then they shouldn't have an additional vote."

Says Prestige Is More Important

Explaining why he felt a single vote was sufficient for the United States, Mr. Dulles said, "Actually the votes are not significant from the standpoint of numbers. The more important thing is the prestige of the voter."

Mr. Dulles refused to comment on the problem of Polish representation other than to say that he had heard, but had no opinion on the suggestion, that if the issue was not resolved by the time the conference opens on April 25 both the London and the Lublin Polish Governments should be invited to send delegations.

He said that he heard the situation likened to the problem of the two Texas delegations at the 1944 Democratic convention, where it was decided to split the votes among the two groups.

"My preference remains," Mr. Dulles said in his statement, "as expressed in my letter to Senator Vandenberg of March 20, 1945, 'to have no official status at San Francisco.' I have subordinated that preference to the expressed views of the President and the Secretary of State that I can best advance the cause of world order by serving as general adviser to the United States' delegation."

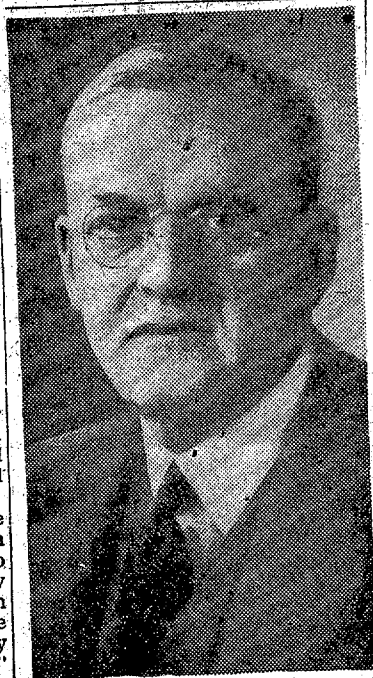
"The Federal Council of Churches will relieve me of my duties as chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. No question of religious representation is involved. I am, and always have been, strongly opposed to representation of the churches at any peace conference."

Must Adhere to Essentials

"The San Francisco Conference is sure to succeed if it sticks to essentials. It will fail only if it gets diverted."

"The purpose of the conference is not to settle controversial issues between the United Nations. Its purpose is to assure an environment of association which will make it easier hereafter to settle controversial matters."

"The essence of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is an assembly, where representatives of all the member States will meet once a year for discussion, and a council, where representatives of the great powers and rotating smaller pow-



John Foster Dulles
Jay Te Winburn

ers will be in continuous round-the-table association.

"The task of San Francisco is thus (1) to make a start of putting association onto a permanent basis; (2) to give that association an activating purpose to achieve peace through justice; (3) to make the initial arrangement sufficiently flexible that it can grow naturally."

Mr. Dulles said that he believed he held the unusual distinction of being the only adviser to the delegation whose work would be of a general or policy nature. Other advisers will work presumably on technical issues.

Explaining to reporters his decision to accept Mr. Stettinius' invitation, Mr. Dulles said, "There are always two aspects to a conference of this nature."

"One is the technical proposition of working with the conference group and participating in the negotiations with other nations."

"Then there is the task of mobilizing public opinion and assuring public acceptance of its results."

"I have certain connections with church groups and the Republican party so that I could exert some influence on the results in an outside capacity."

"I enjoy that capacity very much and thought I might make a more valuable contribution by doing that rather than as a participant."

"The question I discussed with Governor Dewey, Senator Vandenberg and Mr. Brownell was the capacity in which I could best serve. They came to the conclusion that I could best serve in an official capacity."

Mr. Dulles said that he would go to Washington next week to participate in the American delegation's pre-conference discussions.

Mr. Dulles emphasized that he was "still a Republican the same as Comdr. Harold Stassen, and Senator Vandenberg, who are conference delegates."

"All of us are interested in making the conference a success," he added. "There will be no politics in the American delegation."

DC-1 - VS Del -

30