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UNITED NATIONS
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

A COMPILATION OF THE
RESOLUTIONS ON POLICY
FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS
OF THE UNRRA COUNCIL



Washington, D. C., 1944

VOL. 2 UNRRA COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON POLICY

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Council I and II
Volume 2, Resolutions on Policy

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Included in this volume are the Resolutions on Policy adopted by the First and Second Sessions of the Council together with a number of related documents, including the Agreement establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Resolutions Nos. 1 through 41, adopted at Atlantic City, 1943, appear in the volume entitled "First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation—Selected Documents."

Resolutions Nos. 42 through 61, adopted at Montreal, 1944, appear in the pamphlet entitled "Resolutions on Policy, Second Session of the Council."

These Resolutions and the related documents have been brought together in one volume, and cross-referenced, for the convenience of the Council and the member governments.

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Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

1 The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized
2 representatives have subscribed hereto,
3 Being United Nations or being associated with the United
4 Nations in this war,
5 Being determined that immediately upon the liberation
6 of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or
7 as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population there-
8 of shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food,
9 clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in
10 the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation
11 and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners
12 and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption
13 of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and
14 the restoration of essential services,
15 Have agreed as follows:

16 ARTICLE I

17 There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and
18 Rehabilitation Administration.

19 1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold
20 and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake
21 obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the
22 activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and
23 in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects
24 and purposes.

25 2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes
26 and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

27 (a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the
28 administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in
29 any area under the control of any of the United Nations
30 through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other
31 basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to
32 facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate
33 provision of relief, the production and transportation of these
34 articles and the furnishing of these services. The form of
35 activities of the Administration within the territory of a mem-
36 ber government wherein that government exercises adminis-
37 trative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the
38 member government for carrying out measures planned by

1 the Administration therein shall be determined after consul-
2 tation with and with the consent of the member government.

3 (b) To formulate and recommend measures for indi-
4 vidual or joint action by any or all of the member govern-
5 ments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships
6 and other procurement activities in the period following the
7 cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans
8 and activities of the Administration with the total movement
9 of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable dis-
10 tribution of available supplies. The Administration may ad-
11 minister such coordination measures as may be authorized by
12 the member governments concerned.

13 (c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual
14 or joint action by any or all of the member governments
15 measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of
16 its experience in planning and performing the work of relief
17 and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member
18 governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recom-
19 mendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a
20 vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred
21 to any or all of the member governments for individual or
22 joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central
23 Committee and by vote of the Council.

24 ARTICLE II

25 *Membership*

26 The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabili-
27 tation Administration shall be the governments or authorities
28 signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities
29 as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto
30 by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, au-
31 thorize the Central Committee to accept new members be-
32 tween sessions of the Council.

33 Wherever the term "member government" is used in this
34 Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Ad-
35 ministration whether a government or an authority.

36 ARTICLE III

37 *The Council*

38 1. Each member government shall name one representa-
39 tive, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Coun-

1 cil of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-
2 tration, which shall be the policy-making body of the Adminis-
3 tration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one
4 of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall
5 determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise pro-
6 vided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Coun-
7 cil shall vote by simple majority.

8 2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not
9 less than twice a year by the Central Committee.* It may be
10 convened in special session whenever the Central Committee
11 shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days
12 after request therefor by one-third of the members of the
13 Council.

14 3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of
15 the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist
16 Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of
17 America, with the Director General presiding, without vote.
18 Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make
19 policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions
20 shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee
21 which shall be communicated promptly to each member gov-
22 ernment. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by
23 the Council at any regular session or at any special session
24 called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Cen-
25 tral Committee shall invite the participation of the repre-
26 sentative of any member government at those of its meetings
27 at which action of special interest to such government is dis-
28 cussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative
29 serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the
30 Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the
31 provision of supplies are discussed.

32 4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall con-
33 sist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, repre-
34 senting those member governments likely to be principal sup-
35 pliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members
36 shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may au-
37 thorize the Central Committee to make emergency appoint-

*Res. No. 50 provides "that the provision in Article III, Paragraph 2, of the Agreement, "that the Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee" is hereby waived for 1944."

1 ments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to
2 continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee
3 on Supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the
4 Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure
5 the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee
6 shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies
7 to review policy matters affecting supplies.

8 5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall con-
9 sist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,
10 representing member governments of territories within the
11 European area and such other members of the Council repre-
12 senting other governments directly concerned with the prob-
13 lems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall
14 be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the
15 Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of
16 emergency between sessions of the Council, such appoint-
17 ments to continue until the next session of the Council. The
18 Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all
19 the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing
20 member governments of territories within the Far Eastern
21 area and such other members of the Council representing
22 other governments directly concerned with the problems of
23 relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be
24 appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Cen-
25 tral Committee to make these appointments in cases of emer-
26 gency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to
27 continue until the next session of the Council. The regional
28 committees shall normally meet within their respective areas.
29 They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the
30 Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabili-
31 tation within their respective areas. The Committee of the
32 Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee
33 on European Post-War Relief established in London on Sep-
34 tember 24, 1941 and the records of the latter shall be made
35 available to the Committee for Europe.

36 6. The Council shall establish such other standing re-
37 gional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions
38 of such committees and the method of appointing their mem-
39 bers being identical to that provided in Article III, paragraph
40 5 with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe
41 and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such

1 other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise
2 it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise
3 the Central Committee. For such standing technical commit-
4 tees as may be established, in respect of particular problems
5 such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation,
6 and finance, the members may be members of the Council or
7 alternates nominated by them because of special competence in
8 their respective fields of work. The members shall be ap-
9 pointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the
10 Central Committee to make emergency appointments between
11 sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until
12 the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee
13 so desire, subcommittees of the standing technical committees
14 shall be established by the technical committees in consultation
15 with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

16 7. The travel and other expenses of members of the
17 Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by
18 the governments which they represent.

19 8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the
20 Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for dis-
21 tribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the
22 secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of
23 Article IV, paragraph 4.

24 ARTICLE IV 25 *The Director General*

26 1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief
27 and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director
28 General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomi-
29 nation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The
30 Director General may be removed by the Council on recom-
31 mendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

32 2. The Director General shall have full power and au-
33 thority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by
34 Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available re-
35 sources and the broad policies determined by the Council or
36 its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he
37 shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate
38 authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emer-
39 gency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by
40 the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for
41 the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and

1 create or select the emergency organization required for this
2 purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation,
3 and distribution of supplies and services, he and his represent-
4 atives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate au-
5 thorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable,
6 use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign
7 voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any
8 area receiving relief from the Administration without the
9 consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director
10 General. The powers and duties of the Director General are
11 subject to the limitations of Article VII.

12 3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the
13 organization and direction of the functions contemplated by
14 Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

15 4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Di-
16 rectors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his
17 headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he
18 shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his
19 powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General,
20 or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall
21 supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall
22 be required by the Council and its committees, including the
23 regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Direc-
24 tors General as shall be assigned special functions within a
25 region shall attend meetings of the regional standing com-
26 mittee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the
27 progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the
28 region.

29 5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to
30 the Central Committee and to the Council covering the prog-
31 ress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be
32 made public except for such portions as the Central Committee
33 may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Na-
34 tions, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of
35 a member government in such a way as to render it question-
36 able whether it should be published, such government shall
37 have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of
38 publication. The Director General shall also arrange to have
39 prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Ad-
40 ministration within each region and he shall transmit such
41 reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central
42 Committee and the respective regional committees.

ARTICLE V *Supplies and Resources*

1
2
3 1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall
4 authorize, each member government will contribute to the
5 support of the Administration in order to accomplish the pur-
6 poses of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and char-
7 acter of the contributions of each member government under
8 this provision will be determined from time to time by its ap-
9 propriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions re-
10 ceived by the Administration shall be accounted for.

11 2. The supplies and resources made available by the mem-
12 ber governments shall be kept in review in relation to pros-
13 pective requirements by the Director General, who shall ini-
14 tiate action with the member governments with a view to as-
15 suring such additional supplies and resources as may be re-
16 quired.

17 3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to
18 be made outside their own territories during the war for re-
19 lief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after con-
20 sultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as prac-
21 ticable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations
22 agency.

ARTICLE VI *Administrative Expenses*

23
24 The Director General shall submit to the Council an an-
25 nual budget, and from time to time such supplementary
26 budgets as may be required, covering the necessary adminis-
27 trative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a
28 budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be al-
29 located to the member governments in proportions to be de-
30 termined by the Council. Each member government under-
31 takes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional proce-
32 dure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share
33 of the administrative expenses so determined.

ARTICLE VII

34
35 Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained,
36 while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area,
37 the Administration and its Director General shall not under-
38 take activities therein without the consent of the military
39 command of that area, and unless subject to such control as
40 the command may find necessary. The determination that
41

1 such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall
2 be made by its military commander.

3 ARTICLE VIII

4 *Amendment*

5 The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as
6 follows:

7 a. Amendments involving new obligations for member
8 governments shall require the approval of the Council by a
9 two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member govern-
10 ment on acceptance by it;

11 b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or
12 Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a
13 two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the
14 Central Committee;

15 c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the
16 Council by a two-thirds vote.

17 ARTICLE IX

18 *Entry into Force*

19 This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to
20 each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by
21 that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

22 ARTICLE X

23 *Withdrawal*

24 Any member government may give notice of withdrawal
25 from the Administration at any time after the expiration of
26 six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for
27 that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months
28 after the date of its communication to the Director General,
29 subject to the member government having met by that time
30 all financial, supply or other material obligations accepted or
31 undertaken by it.

32 IN WITNESS WHEREOF, this Agreement is signed by the
33 following representatives, duly authorized for that purpose
34 by their respective Governments or Authorities.

35 DONE in Washington this ninth day of November, one
36 thousand nine hundred forty-three, in the English language,
37 the original to be deposited in the archives of the Department
38 of State of the United States of America, and certified copies
39 thereof to be furnished by the Government of the United
40 States of America to each of the Governments and Authorities
41 on whose behalf this Agreement is signed.

RESOLUTIONS ON POLICY

Resolution No. 1

*A Resolution Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the
Administration*

RESOLVED

That the following shall be the broad policies of the Administra-
tion with respect to the scope of its activities:

I. Areas in Which the Administration Will Operate

The exact geographical areas in which the Administration will
operate and the kind of operations it will undertake in each case
must be determined by the Director General (in the light of policies
laid down from time to time by the Council) only after consultation
with, and with the consent of, the government or authority (mili-
tary or civil) which exercises administrative authority in the area.
The Administration's activities in seeking to achieve the objectives
referred to in the preamble of the Agreement setting it up will be
governed as follows:

1. In the case of a liberated area in which a government or
recognized national authority does not yet exercise administra-
tive authority, the Administration will operate from such a
time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the
military command and the Administration, and subject to such
control as the military command may find necessary. The Ad-
ministration shall, so far as circumstances permit, seek the
advice of the government or recognized national authority
concerned.

2. In the case of a liberated area in which a government or
recognized national authority exercises administrative author-
ity, the Administration will operate only after consultation
with, and with the consent of, the government or recognized
national authority concerned regarding the form of activities
to be undertaken by the Administration within the whole or
part of such area.

3. If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate
in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of
the Agreement, it will do so only from such a time and for such
purposes as may be agreed upon between the military com-

mand, the established control authority or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary; provided that the Council approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision, and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned. The Director General will consult with the military command or established control authorities having control of enemy or ex-enemy areas with a view to securing information as to any surpluses of supplies from time to time available in such enemy or ex-enemy areas from which relief and rehabilitation import requirements of liberated areas might be met.

Nothing in the above should be taken as preventing the Administration from carrying on activities in other areas in order to perform the tasks laid upon it in the Agreement, provided that the government or authority (military or civil) exercising administrative authority in the area concerned agrees.*

REF. Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 46 Relating to Displaced Persons in Territories Never Occupied by the Enemy; Res. No. 47 Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons; Res. No. 54 Amending Res. No. 1 with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease; Res. No. 56 Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its 6th and 7th Meetings; Res. No. 57 Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; Res. No. 58 Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy; Res. No. 59 Relating to the Extension of the Benefits of the Administration to the Inhabitants of the Dodecanese; Res. No. 60 Relating to the Care and Return of Certain Persons of other than United Nations Nationality, or Stateless Persons, Found in Liberated Territory.

*Res. No. 54 adds the following: "In this regard, in so far as the resources and facilities of the Administration shall permit, any United Nations area under the control of any of the United Nations which is of importance to the military operations of the United Nations and which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the Administration, provided that in every case of action under this sentence the Director General shall immediately inform the Central Committee and shall also inform the Council at its next ensuing meeting."

II. The Range of Services Which the Administration Will Provide

The supplies and services of which the Administration will seek to insure the provision fall under four heads:

1. *Relief supplies*: essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies.
2. *Relief services*: such as health and welfare; assistance in caring for, and maintaining records of, persons found in any areas under the control of any of the United Nations who by reason of war have been displaced from their homes and, in agreement with the appropriate governments, military authorities or other agencies, in securing their repatriation or return; and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.
3. *Rehabilitation supplies and services*: materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.
4. *Rehabilitation of public utilities and services*: so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs: such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

REF. Res. No. 7 Relating to Relief Distribution Policies; Res. No. 8 Relating to Health and Medical Care; Res. No. 9 Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 11 Relating to Policies with Respect to Agricultural Rehabilitation and Other Means of Increasing Food Essential to Relief; Res. No. 12 Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief; Res. No. 13 Relating to Policies with Respect to Shelter; Res. No. 46 Relating to Displaced Persons in Territories Never Occupied by the Enemy; Res. No. 47 Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons; Res. No. 52 Relating to Modification of the International Sanitary Convention, 1926, and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1933; Res. No. 53 Relating to Reservations and Declarations of the Congress of the United States; Res. No. 56 Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its 6th and 7th Meetings; Res. No. 61 Relating to Measures for Continued Rehabilitation.

III. Relation of the Administration With Existing Intergovernmental Authorities and Agencies Established To Deal With Supplies, Shipping, and Related Questions

1. The activities of the Administration in bringing assistance to the victims of war will be so conducted that they do not impede the effective prosecution of the war. The prosecution of the war demands that scarce supplies and shipping tonnage shall be carefully controlled and allocated in order to assure not only that the supplies and shipping requirements of the armed forces are fully met, but also that a fair distribution of supplies is made between the civil populations of the various areas having due regard to their actual or potential contribution to the war effort. It will therefore be essential, both for the conduct of the war and in order to promote a fair distribution of supplies between the inhabitants of areas with which the Administration is concerned and those of other areas, that demands upon supplies and shipping presented by the Administration should be coordinated with other demands through the use of the existing intergovernmental agencies concerned with the allocation of supplies and shipping.

2. It will be an essential part of the functions of the Administration to secure a fair distribution of goods which are in short supply and of shipping services to and among the various areas liberated or to be liberated. For this purpose the Administration must have full knowledge of all the relief and rehabilitation import requirements of such areas, whatever arrangements may be contemplated for procurement or finance. Therefore, member governments shall keep the Administration fully informed of their requirements and programs of intended purchases. The Director General may present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies such recommendations or objections as he may deem necessary to obtain a fair distribution to and among both liberated and to be liberated areas. The Director General will present before the intergovernmental allocating agencies the over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of all areas liberated and to be liberated in order to permit a global consideration of these needs with all other needs. He may also present the particular requirements of any country for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested. It is anticipated that the Director General and, where necessary, the Chairman of the Committee on Supplies, will be fully consulted by the intergovernmental allocating agencies when any matter touching the interests of the Administration is under discussion.

3. In order that the supplies allocated by the appropriate intergovernmental agency against requirements presented and supported by the Administration may be procured expeditiously and without duplication of effort, the Director General, after consultation, where necessary, with the appropriate intergovernmental agency, will make use wherever possible of the established national agencies concerned with the procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies. The member governments to which such national agencies are responsible would agree on their part to put the services of such agencies at the disposal of the Administration. Such additional responsibilities would form part of those already undertaken in prosecuting the war effort of the United Nations.

REF. Res. No. 2 Relating to Non-discrimination; Res. No. 17 Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; Res. No. 56 Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its 6th and 7th Meetings.

IV. Relationship of the Administration With the Military Command

1. Before an area is liberated, the Administration will, when requested by the military authorities,

- (a) consult with them in the planning of supplies for the relief and rehabilitation of the area during the period of military control;
- (b) arrange for the advance procurement of such supplies as may be agreed on to supplement supplies to be provided by the military authorities.

2. During the period when a liberated area is under military control, the Administration, so far as the Director General deems practicable, will, when requested by the military authorities,

- (a) arrange for the procurement of supplies to supplement supplies being provided by the military authorities;
- (b) furnish expert personnel and services, and advise on the conservation and utilization for relief purposes of stocks and productive resources;
- (c) assist in the carrying out of policies with regard to the repatriation or return of displaced persons as formulated in paragraph II, 2, above;
- (d) undertake other relief and rehabilitation activities;
- (e) assume responsibility in whole or in part for such activities.

In undertaking any of these functions the Administration shall, so far as circumstances permit, seek the advice of the government or recognized national authority concerned.

3. It is recommended to the members governments that the Administration be kept informed so far as is practicable of the operations of the civil affairs branches of the military command and control authorities, in order that the Director General may make the necessary preparations for the provision of staff and facilities so that a smooth transition from the period of military control may be insured and the flow of supplies maintained.

4. It is recommended to member governments that the transition in each area from military to civilian relief and rehabilitation operations be consummated at the earliest date that military considerations permit.

REF. *Res. No. 7* Relating to Relief Distribution Policies; *Res. No. 8* Relating to Health and Medical Care; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 12* Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief; *Res. No. 13* Relating to Policies with Respect to Shelter; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 17* Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; *Res. No. 54* Amending *Res. No. 1* with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 2

A Resolution Relating to Non-discrimination

RESOLVED

1. That, in any area where relief and rehabilitation operations are being conducted through the employment, in whole or in part, of the Administration's resources, relief and rehabilitation in all its aspects shall be distributed or dispensed fairly on the basis of the relative needs of the population in the area, and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That, in determining the relative needs of the population, there may taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of the area.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 7* Relating to Relief Distribution Policies; *Res. No. 9* Relating

to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies; *Res. No. 56* Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its 6th and 7th Meetings.

Resolution No. 3

A Resolution Relating to Assistance From Member Governments

RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments take such steps as may be necessary and feasible to facilitate any operations of the Administration within areas under their control, assisting the Administration in obtaining such services, facilities, and personnel as may be required to carry on such operations, and arranging to the extent possible that the Administration's expenditures for services, facilities, supplies, equipment, and personnel be minimized so that its resources may be devoted directly to relief and rehabilitation.

REF. *Res. No. 6* Relating to Collaboration with Regard to Economic Measures; *Res. No. 7* Relating to Relief Distribution Policies; *Res. No. 8* Relating to Health and Medical Care; *Res. No. 9* Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 16* Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies; *Res. No. 32* Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; *Res. No. 33* Relating to Immunities and Priorities for Transit Goods; *Res. No. 34* Relating to Official Correspondence of the Administration; *Res. No. 35* Relating to Communications with Neutral Governments; *Res. No. 36* Relating to Travel Facilities for the Staff of the Administration; *Res. No. 37* Relating to Personnel Policies.

Resolution No. 4

A Resolution Relating to Administration Publicity

RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments, consistently with such measures as they consider necessary to regulate the dissemination of information while hostilities or other military necessities exist, afford the Administration opportunity to make public information with regard to its operations, and that they permit the use of special labels or other designations on supplies and equipment belonging to or furnished by the Administration.

REF. *Res. No. 7* Relating to Relief Distribution Policies.

Resolution No. 5

A Resolution Relating to the Relations of the Administration with Intergovernmental Agencies Other Than Those Established to Deal with Supplies, Shipping, and Related Questions.

RESOLVED

1. That the Council reaffirms the principle of cooperation between the Administration and other intergovernmental agencies as set forth in the report of the Temporary Committee on Admission of Observers adopted by the Council on 12 November, 1943.*

2. That the Council invite representatives of the League of Nations Technical Organizations, the International Labor Organization, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture (or representatives from the Permanent Organization for Food and Agriculture now represented by the Interim Commission), to attend as observers and to participate in the meetings of the Council, its committees and subcommittees, and in the meetings of regional committees and technical standing committees, in accordance with appropriate provisions in the Permanent Rules of Procedure.

3. That the Director General avail himself of the organizations mentioned in paragraph 2 above as the nature of the work and other circumstances make appropriate.

4. That the Director General, in pursuance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 above, cooperate to such a degree and to such extent as he may deem desirable in the interests of the Administration with all other intergovernmental agencies whose operations and specialized services may be of value to the Administration, including the sending of his representatives as observers to the meetings of other intergovernmental agencies, as well as those mentioned in paragraph 2 above.

REF. Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 11 Relating to Policies with Respect to Agricultural Rehabilitation and Other Means of Increasing Food Essential to Relief; Res. No. 37 Relating to Personnel Policies.

*See Appendix II, page 88 for text of the report.

Resolution No. 6

A Resolution Relating to Collaboration with Regard to Economic Measures

RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments consult with the Director General with a view to avoiding, so far as possible, the subjection of the funds, supplies, equipment, and services of the Administration to economic measures which might diminish the effectiveness of such activities or impose financial burdens on the Administration.

REF. Res. No. 3 Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; Res. No. 16 Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies; Res. No. 32 Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; Res. No. 33 Relating to Immunities and Priorities for Transit Goods.

Resolution No. 7

A Resolution Relating to Relief Distribution Policies

RESOLVED

That the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to relief and rehabilitation distribution:

1. That at no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That in general the responsibility for the distribution, within an area, of relief and rehabilitation supplies should be borne by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative authority in the area.

3. That distribution should be so conducted that all classes of the population, irrespective of their purchasing power, shall receive their equitable shares of essential commodities. When supplies are sold to consumers, prices should be set at such levels as to facilitate the flow of supplies into the proper hands, and to avoid maladjustments in the price structure of the areas.

4. That distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies should take place under effective rationing and price controls. The suppression of black markets should not be left to general pronouncements and decrees, but should be the subject of active measures of enforcement applied vigorously and unremittingly.

5. That the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative authority in the area should take appropriate measures to insure that so far as the distribution within a liberated territory of relief and rehabilitation goods is done through private trade, the remuneration earned by private traders for their services is no more than is fair and reasonable.

6. That use should be made to the maximum practicable extent of normal agencies of distribution (governmental, commercial, co-operative) to the particular ends of combating inflation and restoring normal economic activity. This principle, however, cannot be pursued at the expense of measures found necessary under emergency conditions to insure an adequate control of the distribution of supplies and their direction to the appropriate consumers.

7. That if the Administration is called on by the military authority to furnish distribution services through its own organization and personnel in a liberated territory in which a government or recognized national authority does not yet exercise administrative authority, the Administration should, subject to the general provisions governing the relation of the Administration to the military authority and the government or recognized national authority concerned, make the fullest possible use of local authorities and of local organizations.

8. That the Administration be prepared to render direct assistance in distribution whenever, because of unusual circumstances, the government or recognized national authority concerned requests such aid within its territory. Wherever as a consequence of such request, the Administration is directly concerned with internal distribution, it should follow, in cooperation with the national or local authorities, the same general principles as those recommended above.

9. That the Director General should be kept fully informed concerning the distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies within any recipient areas, and under all circumstances there should be the fullest working cooperation between the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the Administration for this purpose.

REF. Res. No. 2 Relating to Non-discrimination; Res. No. 3 Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; Res. No. 4 Relating to Administration Publicity; Res. No. 9 Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons.

Resolution No. 8

A Resolution Relating to Health and Medical Care

RESOLVED

1. That the Council urge its members, when nominating alternates for membership of the standing technical Committee on Health, to designate as such alternates accredited and technically competent representatives of their respective national health services.

2. That the Council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities cooperate fully with the Administration in establishing at the earliest possible date regional and other emergency agreements and arrangements for the notification within the limits of military security, of diseases likely to become epidemic, uniformity in quarantine regulations, and for other measures of prevention.

3. That the Council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities, whenever so requested by the Administration, offer all facilities in making available to the Administration suitable personnel for its health organization, including the temporary loan of technical experts and the services of scientific institutions.

4. That the Council recommends the closest collaboration at the earliest possible time between the Administration and the Allied Military Authorities, particularly in relation to the notification of infectious diseases, within the limits of military security, and to the orderly transfer to the Administration of the epidemic control and other public-health measures put into operation by the military authorities.

5. That the Council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities whenever so requested by the Administration, facilitate in every way possible the assignment of their nationals from the occupied countries for technical training especially in the newer aspects of medical and sanitary sciences in the countries where such training is available; under the condition that the request be filed by the government concerned.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 29 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Health; Res. No. 37 Relating to Personnel Policies; Res. No. 52 Relating to Modification of the International Sanitary Convention, 1926, and the International Sanitary Conven-

tion for Aerial Navigation, 1933; *Res. No. 54 Amending Res. No. 1* with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease; *Res. No. 55* Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 9

A Resolution Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies

RESOLVED

1. That welfare services administered by or in cooperation with the Administration shall be provided without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That it shall be the policy of the Administration to enlist the cooperation and seek the participation of appropriate foreign voluntary relief agencies, to the extent that they can be effectively utilized in relief activities for which they have special competence and resources, subject to the consent and regulation of the Director General in accordance with Article IV, paragraph 2, of the Agreement.

3. That the extent to which foreign voluntary relief agencies should be used for assistance in the relief and rehabilitation of distressed people in any country should be a matter to be determined by the Director General in consultation with the government or recognized national authority concerned.

4. That within the framework of its total program and with the closest collaboration between the health, welfare, and other appropriate organization units, the Administration should make specific provision for welfare services for victims of war—in particular for children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged, and the disabled.

5. That, in general, welfare services should be administered, so far as possible, by the government or recognized national authority concerned and the Administration should make its resources available to the appropriate agency in accordance with plans agreed upon between the Administration and the national agency.

Continuous cooperation should be maintained and information

exchanged between the government or recognized national authority concerned and the Administration.

6. That the Administration should be prepared to administer welfare services directly, either in part or in whole, when called upon by a government or recognized national authority, which for any reason is unable itself to administer these services.

7. That because of already prolonged suffering due to war and because of critical needs, the Administration should arrange to provide, as promptly as possible, the necessary welfare services, to be available when countries are liberated or occupied by the United Nations.

8. That welfare services should be designed to help people to help themselves. Wherever possible constructive work opportunities and measures for self-help should be provided to permit those receiving relief to produce at least some of their own basic requirements.

9. That because of the magnitude and complexity of the welfare problems confronting the Administration, and the necessity for effective technical guidance, there should be established a standing technical Committee on Welfare.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 7* Relating to Relief Distribution Policies; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 13* Relating to Policies with Respect to Shelter; *Res. No. 26* Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees; *Res. No. 31* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Welfare; *Res. No. 55* Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 10

A Resolution Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons

RESOLVED

1. That the Council recommends that member governments and the Director General exchange information on all phases of the problem, including such matters as the numbers and places of temporary residence of their nationals in other countries, and of the presence of the nationals of other countries, or stateless persons, within their territories.

2. That the Council recommends that member governments consult with and give full aid to the Director General in order that

he may, in concert with them, plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of orderly and effective measures for the return to their homes of prisoners, exiles, and other displaced persons.

3. That the Council recommends that member governments consult with the Director General for the purpose of carrying out measures with respect to the repatriation or return of displaced persons; and that the classes of persons to be repatriated be those referred to in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the report of Subcommittee 4 of Committee IV.*

4. That the question of the assistance to be given by the Administration in the return to their homes of displaced persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality who have been intruded into homes from which nationals of the United Nations have been expelled should be considered as a separate issue to be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 11 and 12 of the report of Subcommittee 4 of Committee IV.*

5. That steps be taken to insure the closest cooperation with the Committee on Health, as well as with the national health authorities of the various countries concerned, with a view to preventing and controlling any epidemics which may be expected to arise in connection with the repatriation of large groups of displaced persons.

6. That the Director General take steps to insure the closest cooperation with such agencies as the International Red Cross and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and any other appropriate bodies of suitable standing whose assistance may be of value, with a view to invoking their collaboration in the work of the repatriation of displaced persons.

7. That the Director General should establish the earliest possible contact with the military authorities of the United Nations with a view to concerting plans for dealing in a uniform and closely coordinated manner with any large groups of displaced persons which may be found in any liberated or occupied territory on the entry of the forces of the United Nations into that territory.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 5* Relating to the Relations of the Administration with Intergovernmental Agencies Other Than Those Established to Deal with Supplies, Shipping, and Related Questions; *Res. No. 9* Relating to Welfare Services and

*See Appendix III, page 89 for text.

Voluntary Relief Agencies; *Res. No. 13* Relating to Policies with Respect to Shelter; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 28* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 29* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Health; *Res. No. 46* Relating to Displaced Persons in Territories Never Occupied by the Enemy; *Res. No. 47* Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons; *Res. No. 54* Amending *Res. No. 1* with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 11

A Resolution Relating to Policies with Respect to Agricultural Rehabilitation and Other Means of Increasing Food Essential to Relief

RESOLVED

That the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to agricultural rehabilitation and other methods of increasing food essential to relief:

1. That for the first crop year after liberation in any area the Administration, through its agricultural rehabilitation and food production program, should give priority to the production of food for direct human consumption. For that year the war production pattern in liberated areas should generally be continued with emphasis upon maximum output both from the soil and from fisheries. In certain areas, however, modification in this policy may be undertaken where a continuance of the war production pattern results in a disproportionate sacrifice in productivity, provided essential foods are otherwise available.

2. That it shall be the responsibility of the Administration to assist governments and recognized national authorities in the liberated areas immediately to take the necessary steps in providing the supplies and services needed to enable farmers to sow and harvest essential crops during the first crop year, to maintain their dairy herds, and to rehabilitate their farms for immediate food production. It shall also be the responsibility of the Administration to assist in restoring necessary processing facilities; in providing for the early expansion of fisheries and of the whaling industry; in reinstating the agricultural labor needed to carry out the production program; and, to the extent that they can contribute to

the solution of relief problems, in reestablishing experimental stations and essential agricultural institutions, organizations, and services, in making the necessary technical surveys to determine agricultural requirements and to lay the basis for production programs.

3. That it shall be the policy of the Administration to integrate to the fullest possible extent its short-run agricultural rehabilitation and food production efforts with the longer-run reconstruction objectives of the United Nations Organization for Food and Agriculture, and to shape its policies so as not to hamper the achievement of those objectives, which call for the progressive realization in all countries of diets adequate both in quantity and quality.

4. That since priorities between various agricultural items will vary from area to area, such priorities shall be determined by the government or recognized national authority concerned in conjunction with the Director General in accordance with the general policy outlined above. In determining such priority for agriculture and fishing requirements the test should be applied whether the supply of these requirements will bring early and large returns in the form of crops and fish for direct human consumption.

5. The Administration should be prepared when requested by a government or recognized national authority to assist them in making technical field surveys in establishing priority on the need for supplies in making available information concerning production surpluses in nearby areas, and in providing such other technical assistance as is required.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 5 Relating to the Relations of the Administration with Intergovernmental Agencies Other Than Those Established to Deal with Supplies, Shipping, and Related Questions; Res. No. 27 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Agriculture; Res. No. 55 Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations; Res. No. 61 Relating to Measures for Continued Rehabilitation.

Resolution No. 12

A Resolution Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief

WHEREAS

The preamble of the Agreement states that preparations and

arrangements shall be made for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed industrial production and the restoration of essential services, it is therefore

RESOLVED

That, subject to the provisions of Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of this Session, the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to the rehabilitation of such industries, transport and other services as are essential to relief:

1. Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the Administration, the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication. These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

2. Raw materials may be supplied by (a) the liberated country in which the industry is situated and in which the materials are to be used, (b) another liberated country, or (c) any other country. The task of the Administration in cases (a) and (b) should be the rehabilitation of the raw material producing industries such as coal mines, mineral mines, construction materials industries, etc.

3. If the raw materials required must be imported from overseas, it should be the responsibility of the Administration, through the appropriate national or intergovernmental agencies, to arrange for necessary allocation and procurement of supplies, so that there may be created as promptly as possible, reserves to be available at the request of the Director General when and wherever the need arises.

4. It is recommended that pools be created of materials such as processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery of both standard and special types, and spare parts.

5. It is recommended that in cases where home production exceeds home consumption, the government or recognized national authority concerned should take all steps necessary to enable the excess of production available in a country to be put at the dis-

posal of other liberated areas which may need such supplies to cover their deficits.

6. It should be the policy of the Administration to help those countries whose industries can be rehabilitated for production of relief and rehabilitation goods urgently required in other liberated areas. It is recommended that in attainment of these objectives the following be considered: special allocations of raw materials, machinery, and spare parts, by placing at the disposal of those countries, at the request of their governments, an experienced staff, and by providing special priorities for the return of skilled personnel awaiting repatriation.

7. It is recommended that the governments or recognized national authorities having administrative authority in a liberated area will keep the Director General and the appropriate regional committee fully informed as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such area, to meet, when circumstances permit, relief and rehabilitation import requirements of other liberated areas.

8. It is recommended that the Administration should, in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, etc. It is recommended that a pool of transportation equipment both fixed and mobile should be created either from stocks manufactured overseas or in Allied or in neutral countries. Equipment which has been the property of the enemy may also form part of the pool.

9. It should be the task of the Administration to participate in conjunction with military and other appropriate authorities in the organization and coordination of the transportation of relief and rehabilitation supplies during the relief and rehabilitation period.

10. It is recommended that the requirements for raw materials, machinery, spare parts and processing materials should be established within each country and that a definite order of priority be established taking into consideration: (a) technical factors, such as, on the one hand, the necessity of restoring the public services (gas, water, electricity), and, on the other, the needs of various types of consumer goods; (b) social factors, such as the necessity of providing reemployment; (c) temporary economic factors, such as scarcity of certain raw materials and shipping.

11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 30 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation; Res. No. 53 Relating to Reservations and Declarations of the Congress of the United States; Res. No. 55 Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations; Res. No. 61 Relating to Measures for Continued Rehabilitation.

Resolution No. 13

A Resolution Relating to Policies with Respect to Shelter

RESOLVED

That the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to shelter:

1. Any general rebuilding policy for the areas to be liberated is in the sphere of long-term reconstruction and does not, therefore, come within the purview of the Administration.

2. In the relief period priority in the rehabilitation of essential shelter or accommodation in the liberated areas should be given to:

hospitals and schools;

habitations for homeless persons, especially for workers engaged in essential public services and in industries having high priority in relief, as well as for farmers and agricultural workers.

3. Where it may be necessary, however, there should be imported construction tools such as hand tools, building supplies and equipment, including excavating machinery, should essential materials and equipment not be found available, or be in short supply.

4. As regards the problem of shelter for displaced persons, which falls into two parts—temporary accommodation at collecting points and at frontiers, and accommodation of a more permanent, though not necessarily final character, for persons who cannot be returned

to their homes either because their homes have been destroyed or because these are in territories still occupied by the enemy—wherever possible existing buildings, camps, barracks, and other buildings, should be used as they are or can be made suitable.

5. Where, in some enemy-occupied territories, extensive enemy colonization has taken place, and where consolidation of holdings and construction of military installations has been accompanied by destruction of farmhouses and buildings, there should be provided camp accommodations for farmers and agricultural workers upon return to their own country. Any large-scale permanent reconstruction of holdings and the rebuilding of farmhouses and other structures should not be undertaken by the Administration. Pools of building materials shall be promptly created so that advance arrangements can be made for the accommodation of farmers and agricultural workers.

6. Where prefabricated housing is a specialized industry in any of the territories of a member government, the importance of making these supplies available as a part of the contribution of these governments should be recognized.

7. Where there is wide-spread destruction of particular areas caused by military operations or of a deliberate "scorched earth" policy on the part of the enemy, although priority should be given to housing repairs as indicated in paragraph 2, accommodation or shelter for workers in the food processing industries should be provided.

8. It is of importance that arrangements should be made, with the consent of the government concerned, for an expert assessment of this damage, so that detailed and accurate specifications of the equipment required in the reconstruction of factories providing essential relief requirements and the shelter or accommodations for the workers engaged in those industries may be obtained at as early a date as possible. In order that this work may be started, if possible, during the period of military responsibility for civilian relief and rehabilitation, the Council recommends to its member governments that the military authorities be invited to advise the Administration, to the fullest extent consistent with military security, of conditions found in the area affecting civilian relief and rehabilitation requirements and supplies.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 12 Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief.

Resolution No. 14

A Resolution Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration

RESOLVED

That the following Financial Plan for the Administration be adopted:

Administrative Budget and Program of Operations

Section 1. Program of Operations

The Director General shall prepare as soon as possible, and submit to the next session of the Council, a program of operations covering proposed activities of the Administration in connection with relief and rehabilitation including the care and transportation of displaced persons. This program may cover the entire period of contemplated operations of the Administration, or any part thereof. The operating program shall serve as a guide to the activities of the Director General, but, except as provided in Article IV, paragraph 2, of the Agreement, shall not limit his action when the situation requires other action. From time to time, the Director General shall submit to the Council revisions of, or supplements to the operating program which experience may show to be desirable.

Section 2. Annual Administrative Budget

The Director General shall prepare annually a budget covering the estimated administrative expense of the Administration for a calendar year. The budget shall be accompanied by an explanation and justification of the amount required. The proposed budget shall be submitted to the Council in accordance with the regulations of the Council with respect to administrative expenditures and receipts.

Section 3. Supplementary Administrative Budgets

The Director General may submit supplementary budgets to the Council covering the necessary administrative expenses not provided for in the annual budget.

Contributions

Section 4. General Contributions

As to the amount and character of the contribution of each member government, to be determined by its constitutional bodies as provided for in Article V of the Agreement, the Council recom-

mends that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy shall make a contribution for participation in the work of the Administration, approximately equivalent to one percent of the national income of the country for the year ending 30 June, 1943, as determined by the member government.

The Council recognizes that there are cases in which the recommendation above may conflict with particular demands arising from the continuance of the war or may be excessively burdensome because of peculiar situations, and therefore recognizes that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to such conditions.

Section 5. Character of Contribution

Subject to the provisions of Article V, paragraph 1, of the Agreement the Council recommends that as much as possible, but not less than 10 percent, of the amount contributed by each member government as recommended in section 4 hereof, shall be in such form of currency as can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country; and that the balance thereof shall be in the form of a credit in local currency which shall be available for the purchase of the contributing country's supplies and services.

Section 6. Contributions Toward Administrative Expenses

A member government may treat its share of the administrative expenses, as determined by the Council under Article VI of the Agreement, as included in its contribution made under sections 4 and 5 hereof.

Section 7. Contributions by Other Member Governments

The Council recommends that member governments other than a member government referred to in section 4 hereof, which are able to contribute to the work of the Administration for relief and rehabilitation outside its own territory (in addition to its annual contribution for allocated administrative expenses), should do so.

Section 8. Additional Contributions by Member Governments

The Council recommends that member governments desiring to make contributions in addition to those recommended in section 4 hereof should do so.

Section 9. Contributions by Non-member Governments and Non-governmental Sources

The Council expects that contributions will be received to the work

of the Administration from non-member governments or non-governmental sources. Such contributions may be accepted in accordance with rules and regulations established by the Director General in conformity with general policies of the Administration.

Section 10. Action on Contributions

The Council recommends that each member government take at the earliest possible time such constitutional budgetary, administrative, or legislative steps as may be necessary to make its contribution available when needed for the purposes of the Administration.

Section 11. Direct Contributions to Liberated Areas

The Council recommends that member governments giving to or receiving from foreign sources, direct contributions or other direct aid in the nature of relief and rehabilitation in addition to contributions to or from the Administration, shall do so only after prior notification and consultation with the Director General.

Section 12. Immediate Administrative Expenses

In order to meet immediate administrative expenses, the Director General may ask such of the member governments as may be in a position to do so to make immediate advance payments in the amounts necessary, with appropriate credit toward the general amounts recommended in sections 4 and 5 hereof.

Expenditures: Administrative and Operational

Section 13. Rate of Contributions

The Council recommends that, so far as is consistent with efficient operation, contributions of all member governments for the work of the Administration shall be called upon at an approximately equal rate.

Section 14. Administrative Expenses

The Director General may incur obligations and make expenditures for administrative purposes from the general resources of the Administration, in accordance with approved administrative budgets.

Section 15. Use of Currency

The Director General may use so much of the foreign exchange available to the Administration as he may deem necessary for defraying administrative and operational expenses which cannot be met from local currency credits. Such expenditures may be made

in any country, whether or not the government thereof is a member government. The consent of a member government must be secured for the use of any of its local currency to finance expenditures in any other country.

Distribution

Section 16. Governments in a Position to Pay with Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange

It shall be the policy of the Administration not to deplete its available resources for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange.

Section 17. Determination of whether a Government Is in a Position to Pay with Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange

When a member government considers that it is not in a position to pay as in the foregoing section, the Director General, in consultation with the member government involved and on the advice of the appropriate committee or subcommittee of the Council, shall determine whether the government or country is not in a position to pay for relief and rehabilitation supplies and services. In case of disagreement, either the member government or the Director General may refer the matter to the Council.

In making the determination the applicant's foreign exchange assets and its sources of foreign exchange shall be taken into account. Although payment for relief and rehabilitation supplies and services shall be considered to have a strong claim on the foreign exchange assets of the applicant country, due consideration shall be given also to its need of foreign exchange for other purposes.

The Director General, from time to time, shall review such determination in the light of changing circumstances.

Section 18. Policy on Relief Debt Burdens

It shall be the policy of the Administration that an applicant government shall not be required to assume the burden of an enduring foreign exchange debt for the procurement of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services.

Section 19. Supplies and Services for which Member Governments Are Not in a Position to Pay with Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange.

The Council recommends that governments not in a position to

pay in suitable means of foreign exchange for necessary relief and rehabilitation supplies or services make available to the Administration in whole or in part the local currency proceeds from the sale of supplies furnished by the Administration. It shall be the policy of the Administration to use any such local currency for relief and rehabilitation work, including the care and movement of displaced persons, and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon with the government. Programs for the utilization of such local currency shall be formulated by the Director General and the member government involved.

Section 20. Expenses Met with Local Currency

The Council recommends that so far as possible all expenses of the Administration within a liberated area shall be borne by the government of such area, and shall be paid in local currency made available by the government of the area or derived from the proceeds of the sale of supplies.

Section 21. Distribution of Gold or Convertible Currency Forbidden

Under no circumstances shall any distribution of gold or convertible currency resources be made by the Administration to any member or non-member government except for purchases of essential supplies and services.

Custody and Management of Funds

Section 22. Form of Assets

All funds and currency credits of the Administration shall be retained, so far as advisable, in the form in which they are received until needed.

Section 23. Fiscal Agents

The Director General shall, in consultation with the appropriate member government, select such fiscal agents for the Administration as he may require.

Section 24. Accounting

The Director General shall prescribe a procedure to secure careful accounting for all funds and other property of the Administration and shall require all officials, employees, and agents of the Administration to comply with such procedure.

Section 25. Audit

All financial transactions of the Administration shall be audited

annually by an auditor selected by the Council upon the recommendation of the appropriate committee of the Council.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 3* Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; *Res. No. 6* Relating to Collaboration with Regard to Economic Measures; *Res. No. 15* Relating to Insurance; *Res. No. 16* Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies; *Res. No. 23* Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 25* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control; *Res. No. 38* Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; *Res. No. 39* Relating to the Salary of the Director General; *Res. No. 41* Relating to Regulations with Respect to Expenditures and Receipts of the Administration; *Res. No. 43* Relating to the Administrative Budget (for 1945) and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy; *Res. No. 60* Relating to the Care and Return of Certain Persons of Other Than United Nations Nationality, or Stateless Persons, Found in Liberated Territory.

Resolution No. 15

A Resolution Relating to Insurance

RESOLVED

That if it appears to the Director General conducive to the efficient and economical discharge of the business of the Administration, the Administration may carry its own risks without insurance except as may be otherwise directed by the Council.

REF. *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration.

Resolution No. 16

A Resolution Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies

RESOLVED

1. That the Council recommends that all member governments make appropriate measures according to their constitutional procedures to insure that relief and rehabilitation supplies and services furnished by the Administration are not subjected to taxation in a manner which reduces the resources of the Administration.

2. That so far as may be required for the attainment of the above purpose, the Council recommends to all member governments that, *inter alia*,

- (a) export taxes on supplies to be furnished by the Administration to a member government for relief and rehabilitation be waived, or other equivalent action taken; and such supplies be exempted from any new or additional export taxes. The Council recognizes that such action on existing export taxes may be equivalent to a part of a member government's general contribution under Section 4 of the Financial Plan, but urges that such contribution be made under Section 8 of the said Plan;
- (b) appropriate action be taken where the necessary arrangements do not already exist to provide that supplies of the Administration in transit through a member government's country are not subjected to any burden of taxation;
- (c) relief and rehabilitation supplies furnished by the Administration be not subjected in liberated areas to the burden of any form of taxation in a manner which reduces the resources of the Administration.

3. That the appropriate Committee of the Council concern itself with the relationship of customs duties and other taxes in liberated areas to relief and rehabilitation work, and that a study of the problem and the preparation of recommendations be undertaken for the future guidance of the Council with regard to relief and rehabilitation work.

REF. *Res. No. 3* Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; *Res. No. 6* Relating to Collaboration with Regard to Economic Measures; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 32* Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; *Res. No. 33* Relating to Immunities and Priorities for Transit Goods.

Resolution No. 17

A Resolution Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation

RESOLVED

That the following shall be the policies of the Administration with regard to procedures for ascertaining and meeting deficits in supplies requiring importation:

A. Policies Relating to Procedures for Estimating and Meeting Import Requirements

I. Preparation and Presentation of Over-all Requirements

1. The Committee of the Council for Europe and the Committee of the Council for the Far East will recommend, from time to time, as policies to be adopted by the Council whatever basis or bases the Committees think appropriate for the whole or parts of their respective areas.

2. The Council will consider these recommendations and, from time to time, determine the policies to be adopted, on the basis of which over-all estimates of relief and rehabilitation requirements shall be made.

3. The Director General, in consultation with the appropriate regional committees, will compute estimates of over-all requirements for their respective areas in conformity with the bases and policies approved by the Council.*

4. The Director General will present before the intergovernmental allocating agencies estimates of over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of all areas, liberated and to be liberated, in order to permit a global consideration of these requirements and all other requirements.

II. Preparation and Presentation of National Requirements

1. The Director General may present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies the particular requirements of any country for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested.

2. In cases where requirements of programs of intended purchases are presented directly to the intergovernmental allocating agencies by the government of a country liberated or to be liberated, such government, in advance of their presentation, shall keep the Director General fully informed of such requirements or programs. The Director General may present to these agencies such recommendations or objections in respect of these requirements or programs as he may deem necessary to obtain a fair distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies to and among the various areas liberated or to be liberated.

*Res. No. 42 adds the following: "This provision shall not be permitted to delay in any way the initiation by the Director General of whatever action is necessary for the allocation and procurement of essential supplies."

3. In determining what requirements he should present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies in respect of countries for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested, and what recommendations or objections he should make in respect of requirements presented by member governments directly to such agencies in order to obtain a fair distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies, as provided in paragraphs 1 and 2 immediately preceding, the Director General shall pay due regard to the degree of urgency of particular relief and rehabilitation requirements and to the extent of damage suffered by member governments in a part or the whole of their respective areas as a result of hostilities or of occupation by the enemy.

4. It is expected that the Director General will be fully consulted by the intergovernmental allocating agencies when any matter touching the interests of the Administration is under discussion, and where necessary the chairman of the Committee on Supplies will likewise be consulted.

III. Procedures for Obtaining Supplies

1. Subject to Article I, paragraph 2, of the Agreement, the Director General, after consultation when necessary with the appropriate intergovernmental agency, will make use whenever possible of the established national agencies concerned with procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies; such use to be subject to the general agreement of the government concerned. By consultation with the government concerned, or otherwise, every effort will be made to prevent any dislocation of the economy of a supplying country resulting from procurement by or on behalf of the Administration.

2. The Director General will consider it one of his first and most important tasks to seek, through the appropriate national and intergovernmental agencies, to arrange for necessary allocations and procurement of supplies and their storage, shipping, and handling, so that there shall be created as promptly as possible balanced reserves which shall be available at the request of the Director General whenever and wherever the need arises.

3. Member governments having administrative authority in a liberated area will keep the Director General and the appropriate regional committee fully informed as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such area, to meet, when circumstances permit, relief and rehabilitation import requirements of other liberated areas.

4. The Director General will consult with the military command or other established control authorities responsible for enemy or ex-enemy territories, with a view to securing information as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such enemy or ex-enemy territories, from which relief and rehabilitation import requirements of liberated areas might be met.

B. Recommendations Relating to Period of Military Responsibility for Civilian Relief and Rehabilitation

With regard to the period when a liberated area is under military control, the Council recommends to member governments that:

1. The military authorities be invited to advise the Administration, to the fullest extent consistent with military security, of conditions found in the area affecting civilian relief and rehabilitation requirements and supplies, so that planning and estimating may be as accurate as possible.

2. Representatives of the Administration enter the area at the earliest possible date to assist in preparations for the transition from military to civilian responsibility, after having first secured the permission of the appropriate military command, and, whenever practicable, after consultation with the national government or recognized national authority concerned.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 20* Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; *Res. No. 22* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 42* Amending *Res. No. 17*, Concerning the Preparation and Presentation of Over-All Requirements; *Res. No. 55* Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations; *Res. No. 56* Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its 6th and 7th Meetings; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 18

A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee of the Council for Europe

WHEREAS

In paragraph 5 of Article III of the Agreement there is established a standing Committee of the Council for Europe and,

WHEREAS

The Agreement further provides that the said Committee "shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Council"; and,

WHEREAS

The terms "Europe" and "European area" are not defined in the Agreement; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That for the purposes of the Committee of the Council for Europe, the terms "Europe" and "European area" shall be construed to include the entire continent of Europe, the British Isles, Iceland, and all islands in the Mediterranean.

2. That the Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates representing Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia, being countries included within the European area, and in addition the members of the Council or their alternates representing Brazil, Canada, and the United States of America.

3. That the Central Committee is authorized to appoint additional members to the Committee in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

REF. *Res. No. 20* Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 19

A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee of the Council for the Far East

WHEREAS

In paragraph 5 of Article III of the UNRRA Agreement there is established a "Committee of the Council for the Far East"; and,

WHEREAS

The Agreement further provides that the said Committee "shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council"; and,

WHEREAS

The terms "Far East" and "Far Eastern area" are not defined in the Agreement; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That for the purposes of the Committee of the Council for the Far East the terms "Far East" and "Far Eastern area" shall be construed to include eastern continental Asia, the East Indies, Philippine Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the eastern Indian and western Pacific Oceans.

2. That the Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates, representing Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America; and

3. That the Central Committee is authorized to appoint additional members to the Committee in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

REF. *Res. No. 20* Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 20

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East

RESOLVED

That the functions of the Committee of the Council for Europe and the Committee of the Council for the Far East shall be:

1. In the light of conditions prevailing in Europe and the Far

East, and with the advice of such technical or special subcommittees as may be created, to recommend from time to time, as policies to be adopted by the Council, whatever basis or bases for over-all requirements the committees think appropriate for the whole or parts of their respective areas; and to advise the Director General with respect to the computation of over-all requirements for their respective areas in conformity with the bases and policies approved by the Council.

2. To advise the Director General with respect to the fair and equitable apportionment of relief and rehabilitation supplies available to areas within the European and Far Eastern regions respectively where the Administration may operate; and to assist him in securing the maximum production and interchange of any surplus supplies which can be made available within each region, by promoting appropriate national or intergovernmental action on the part of member governments.

3. To receive and discuss the periodic reports covering the programs and activities of the Administration in Europe and the Far East, respectively; and to advise the Director General on the organization of measures to assist displaced persons and the coordination of national action in regard to medical and other relief and rehabilitation problems common to each region; and

4. Generally to consider relief and rehabilitation policies in Europe and the Far East, respectively; to formulate recommendations on such policies, and to discuss such recommendations with the Director General or his representative; and to transmit such recommendations to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee.

REF. *Res. No. 17* Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; *Res. No. 18* Fixing the Composition of the Committee of the Council for Europe; *Res. No. 19* Fixing the Composition of the Committee of the Council for the Far East; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council; *Res. No. 55* Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations; *Res. No. 56* Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its 6th and 7th Meetings.

Resolution No. 21

A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies

RESOLVED

1. That the Committee on Supplies shall consist of members of

the Council or their alternates representing Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, the French Committee of National Liberation*, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

2. That the Central Committee is authorized to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

REF. *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council; *Res. No. 45* Amending *Res. No. 21* Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies.

Resolution No. 22

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Supplies

WHEREAS

Article III, paragraph 4, of the Agreement provides that "The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies," it is therefore

RESOLVED

That the functions of the Committee on Supplies shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General on general policies regarding the provision, financing, and transport of supplies.

2. To discuss with the Director General broad programs for securing the provision of supplies, as such programs affect the supplying countries.

3. To cooperate with the Director General and the established intergovernmental supply and shipping agencies regarding supply policies and, when necessary, make recommendations to supplement the actions of such agencies and to assure the availability of required supplies.

4. To cooperate with the Director General and the established intergovernmental and governmental agencies in efforts to increase production and the availability of supplies.

5. To cooperate with the Director General and the intergovernmental supply and shipping agencies concerned, so that as between

**Res. No. 45* changes to read "France" and adds "India."

contributing countries, their supplies and services shall be drawn upon in an equitable manner; and that any necessary financial adjustments among them may be arranged.

6. To consider whether there are unjustifiable differences in the valuations placed by the contributing countries upon the supplies and services purchased by or made available to the Administration, and make necessary recommendations regarding the adjustment of such valuations. These recommendations would be made after having given due regard to the points of view expressed by the representative of the contributing country concerned.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 17* Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; *Res. No. 21* Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 23* Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 23

A Resolution Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies

RESOLVED

That the Council approve the appointment by the Chairman of the Committee on Supplies, after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee on Financial Control, of a subcommittee of not more than five members, of whom a majority would be drawn from the Committee on Supplies with the other member or members drawn from the Committee on Financial Control, and that this subcommittee be considered the appropriate subcommittee to advise the Director General relative to determining whether a government is in a position to pay, as provided in section 17 of the Financial Plan.

REF. *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 17* Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; *Res. No. 21* Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 24* Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Financial Control; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy; *Res. No. 60* Relating to the Care and Return of Certain Persons of other than United Nations Nationality, or Stateless Persons, Found in Liberated Territory.

Resolution No. 24

A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Financial Control

RESOLVED

1. That the Committee on Financial Control shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates representing China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

2. That the Central Committee is authorized to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

REF. Res. No. 25 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control; Res. No. 40 Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 25

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control

RESOLVED

1. That the functions of the Committee on Financial Control shall be:

- (a) To review the annual budgets and any supplementary budgets of the Director General and to make reports, comments, and recommendations to the Council on these budgets.
- (b) To receive the quarterly reports of the Director General on Administrative expenditures and receipts and to make reports to the Council regarding them.
- (c) To recommend auditors to the Council and to advise the Council regarding the scope and frequency of the reports to be obtained from the auditors. Such auditors' reports shall cover, in particular, the system of accounting employed by the Administration, the funds expended in the purchase and received from the sale of supplies, the liabilities of the Administration and, generally, any matters of substance which the auditors may raise on examination of the Administration's accounts.

- (d) To make recommendations to the Council regarding the share of the administrative expense of the Administration to be provided by each member government.
- (e) To give attention to the effect, if any, which the receipt and expenditure by the Administration of local currency proceeds, referred to in section 19 of the Financial Plan, may have upon inflation in any country in which the Administration may operate, and make recommendations as to procedures in relation to such receipts or expenditures which may aid in counteracting inflationary trends.
- (f) Generally to advise the Council on all financial matters within the competency of the Administration other than those falling within the scope of the Committee on Supplies.
- (g) To advise the Director General upon any of the foregoing matters when he so requests.

2. That the Central Committee is hereby authorized to make any further arrangements necessary in regard to the work of the Committee on Financial Control.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 14 Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; Res. No. 22 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Supplies; Res. No. 23 Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies; Res. No. 38 Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; Res. No. 40 Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council; Res. No. 41 Relating to Regulations with Respect to Expenditures and Receipts of the Administration; Res. No. 43 Relating to the Administrative Budget (for 1945) and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; Res. No. 44 Relating to Auditors of the Administration.

Resolution No. 26

A Resolution Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees

WHEREAS

Many of the policy problems of the Council and of its regional committees are highly technical in character; and,

WHEREAS

In paragraph 6 of Article III of the Agreement, the creation of standing technical committees is authorized; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the Council hereby creates standing technical committees on:

Agriculture
Displaced Persons
Health
Industrial Rehabilitation
Welfare

2. That such committees shall consist of such members of the Council as indicate to the Director General their intention to participate in the work of a committee or committees, or of alternates nominated by such members of the Council as shall elect to do so, such alternates to possess special competence in the problems relating to the work of the committee to which they are nominated.

3. That the Central Committee is hereby authorized to make any further arrangements necessary in regard to the work of these committees and to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 27* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Agriculture; *Res. No. 28* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 29* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Health; *Res. No. 30* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation; *Res. No. 31* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Welfare; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 27

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Agriculture

RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Agriculture shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature of and scope of problems relating to agriculture, fisheries, and food production and the rehabilitation of industries concerned therewith in areas in which the Administration will operate.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration with regard to agriculture, fisheries, food production, and related subjects, and consult with the Director General thereon with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies in regard to agriculture, fisheries, and food production and the rehabilitation of the industries concerned therewith and related subjects, discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by and in consultation with the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned with respect to agriculture, fisheries, and food production and the rehabilitation of the industries concerned therewith and related subjects.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 11* Relating to Policies with Respect to Agricultural Rehabilitation and Other Means of Increasing Food Essential to Relief; *Res. No. 20* Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; *Res. No. 26* Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 28

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Displaced Persons

RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Displaced Persons shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General on the organization of the work of the Administration in assisting in the repatriation and return of persons who have been obliged to leave their homes as a result of the war.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration with respect to displaced persons with a view to calling the attention of the Council to any features in those programs which in their view require modification; and

3. When requested by, and in consultation with, the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint sub-committees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to problems of displaced persons.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 20 Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; Res. No. 26 Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees; Res. No. 40 Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council; Res. No. 46 Relating to Displaced Persons in Territories Never Occupied by the Enemy; Res. No. 47 Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons; Res. No. 57 Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; Res. No. 58 Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 29

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Health

RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Health shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature and scope of problems relating to health, medicine, and nutrition in areas in which the Administration will operate.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration in the health, medical, nutrition, and related fields, and consult with the Director General thereon with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies relating to health, medical, nutrition, and related fields, discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for transmission to the Council and to the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by, and in consultation with, the Committees of the Council for the Far East or for Europe, or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint sub-

committees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to health and related special problems.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 8 Relating to Health and Medical Care; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 20 Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; Res. No. 26 Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees; Res. No. 40 Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council; Res. No. 52 Relating to Modification of the International Sanitary Convention, 1926 and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1933; Res. No. 54 Amending Res. No. 1 with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease; Res. No. 57 Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; Res. No. 58 Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 30

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation

RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature of and scope of problems in fields relating to the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies in areas in which the Administration will operate.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration in such fields of industrial rehabilitation, and consult with the Director General thereon with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies relating to the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies, to discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for distribution to the Council and to the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by, and in consultation with the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or such other re-

gional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to problems of industrial rehabilitation.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 12* Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief; *Res. No. 20* Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; *Res. No. 26* Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 31

A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Welfare

RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Welfare shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature and scope of welfare problems in areas in which the Administration will be operating; including the direct provision to victims of war of relief through other than normal economic channels of distribution; emergency measures for the care of children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged and disabled, and other victims of war; and the measures necessary to secure the effective cooperation in this work of voluntary relief organizations.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration in the above fields and consult with the Director General with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies relating to welfare problems, discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by and in consultation with the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or for such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to welfare problems.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 7* Relating to Relief Distribution Policies; *Res. No. 9* Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies; *Res. No. 20* Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; *Res. No. 26* Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees; *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 32

A Resolution Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff

WHEREAS

The Council is desirous of insuring to the Administration and its agents the independence necessary for the efficient performance of the duties entrusted to them, and of avoiding the imposition of financial burdens upon the funds contributed by member governments to the Administration; it is therefore

RESOLVED

I. That the Council recommends:

1. That the member governments accord to the Administration the facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which they accord to each other, including

- (a) Immunity from suit and legal process except with the consent of, or so far as is provided for in any contract entered into by or on behalf of, the Administration;
- (b) Inviolability of premises occupied by and of the archives of the Administration;
- (c) Exemptions from taxation, including customs duties;
- (d) Exemptions from or facilities in respect of foreign exchange controls.

2. That member governments take any steps that they may consider necessary to enable the Administration to exercise within their jurisdiction the powers conferred on it by Article I, paragraph 1, of the Agreement.

3. That member governments accord to representatives of member governments on the Council and its committees and to the officials and employees of the Administration when engaged on the business of the Administration, the following privileges and immunities in their respective territories:

- (a) immunity from legal process of any kind in respect of acts performed by them in their official capacity and falling within their functions as such;
- (b) immunity from taxation on official salaries, allowances, or other emoluments as representatives, officials, or employees of the Administration;
- (c) the same immunities from immigration restrictions, alien registration and military service obligations and the same facilities as regards exchange restrictions as are accorded to representatives, officials, and employees of similar rank of other member governments;
- (d) any further privileges and immunities that the Director General may request as necessary to safeguard representatives, officials, or employees in the territories of any member government where they are engaged and particularly those engaged in field operations in the areas in which the Administration may be undertaking relief and rehabilitation.

Provided that each member government shall determine to what extent the above recommendations shall apply to its own nationals, and to non-nationals in permanent residence in its territories.

4. That the member governments make any necessary arrangements with the Director General for the application of the foregoing recommendations.

II. That the Council requests the Director General:

1. To initiate immediate negotiations with member governments to bring such arrangements into operation as rapidly as possible.
2. Wherever appropriate, to approach non-member governments with a view to their granting such of the above-mentioned facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be desirable to facilitate the work of the Administration.

REF. *Res. No. 3* Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; *Res. No. 6* Relating to Collaboration with Regard to Economic Measures; *Res. No. 16* Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies; *Res. No. 33* Relating to Immunities and Priorities for Transit Goods; *Res. No. 34* Relating to Official Correspondence of the Administration; *Res. No. 35* Relating to Communications with Neutral Governments; *Res. No. 36* Relating to Travel Facilities for the Staff of the Administration; *Res. No. 37* Relating to Personnel Policies.

Resolution No. 33

A Resolution Relating to Immunities and Priorities for Transit Goods

RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that each member government expedite to the extent possible supplies and equipment of the Administration in transit, and that it exempt such supplies and equipment of the Administration from adverse legal action or seizure.

REF. *Res. No. 3* Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; *Res. No. 6* Relating to Collaboration with Regard to Economic Measures; *Res. No. 16* Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies; *Res. No. 32* Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; *Res. No. 36* Relating to Travel Facilities for the Staff of the Administration.

Resolution No. 34

A Resolution Relating to Official Correspondence of the Administration

WHEREAS

The Council recognizes the need for expedition, economy, and secrecy in the transmission of the official correspondence of the Administration; it is therefore

RESOLVED

I. That the Council recommends:

1. That the member governments accord to the official correspondence of the Administration

- (a) the same treatment as is accorded by them to the official correspondence of other member governments, including:
 - (i) Priorities for telephone and telegraph communications, whether cable or radio, and for mail transmitted by pouch or by courier.
 - (ii) Government rebates for official telegrams.
 - (iii) Diplomatic status for couriers and pouches of the Administration.
 - (iv) Under appropriate safeguards, exemption from censorship of the official correspondence of the Administration.

- (v) Appropriate arrangements for the use of codes and of cable addresses for the telegraphic correspondence of the Administration.
- (b) Appropriate postal facilities, including such franking privileges or arrangements for the use of specially printed or overprinted stamps as may be possible.
- 2. That the member governments make any necessary arrangements with the Director General for the application of the foregoing recommendations.

II. That the Council requests the Director General:

- 1. To initiate immediate negotiations with member governments to bring such arrangements into operation as rapidly as possible.
- 2. Wherever appropriate, to approach non-member governments with a view to their granting such of the above-mentioned facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be desirable to facilitate the work of the Administration.

REF. Res. No. 3 Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; Res. No. 32 Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; Res. No. 35 Relating to Communications with Neutral Governments.

Resolution No. 35

A Resolution Relating to Communications with Neutral Governments

RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments extend to the Director General technical facilities for communicating with governments neutral in the present conflict.

REF. Res. No. 3 Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; Res. No. 32 Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; Res. No. 34 Relating to Official Correspondence of the Administration.

Resolution No. 36

A Resolution Relating to Travel Facilities for the Staff of the Administration

WHEREAS

The Council has in mind the importance of securing the expedi-

tious and unhindered travel of officials and employees of the Administration necessary to permit the prompt fulfillment by the Administration of the urgent tasks entrusted to it; it is therefore

RESOLVED

I. That the Council recommends:

- 1. That the Director General issue to officials and employees of the Administration for use when traveling on official business a document identifying the official or employee and requesting in the name of the Administration that all appropriate facilities be granted to the bearer.
- 2. That all member governments give full recognition to such documents and instruct their diplomatic, consular, customs, and immigration services and any other services which may be concerned to recognize such documents as entitling the bearer to all appropriate facilities.
- 3. That in respect to passports and visas the member governments accord to the officials and employees of the Administration the same treatment as is accorded to the officials and employees of comparable rank of their own or other governments.
- 4. That all member governments take the necessary steps to grant all appropriate and possible priorities for the travel of the officials of the Administration on official business and government rebates for such travel.
- 5. That the member governments make any necessary arrangements with the Director General for the application of the foregoing recommendations.

II. That the Council requests the Director General:

- 1. To initiate immediate negotiations with member governments to bring such arrangements into operation as rapidly as possible.
- 2. Wherever appropriate, to approach non-member governments with a view to their granting such of the above-mentioned facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be desirable to facilitate the work of the Administration.

REF. Res. No. 3 Relating to Assistance from Member Governments; Res. No. 32 Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff; Res. No. 34 Relating to Official Correspondence of the Administration.

Resolution No. 37

A Resolution Relating to Personnel Policies

WHEREAS

The Council desires to promote the concept of a truly international civil service; and,

WHEREAS

It recognizes that the success of the Administration will in large part depend upon the vision, competence, integrity, and loyalty of the men and women who will become its administrative officers, and comprise its technical staff; and that the vesting, by the Agreement, of full executive authority and responsibility in the Director General, requires that he act with the greatest possible freedom in the selection of personnel and the establishment of personnel standards; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the staff of the Administration should be of an international character, selected upon the basis of individual competence, character, and integrity, without discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, nationality, or creed, and recruited upon as wide a geographic basis as is possible, compatible with efficient administration; and that salary standards be established at a sufficiently high level to make it possible for the Administration to secure the employment of persons possessing the highest qualifications within their own particular field of endeavor; and that due consideration should be given to the special problems which will arise because of the varying salary standards that will prevail in the different countries in which the Administration will operate.

2. That the Council recommends:

(a) That all member governments endeavor to make available to the Administration such persons in their own civil service as the Director General may invite to join the staff of the Administration; and to take proper steps to insure that the established rights and status of such persons shall be in no way adversely affected by their temporary employment by the Administration.

(b) That international agencies be urged to adopt the same policy with respect to such of their employees as may be invited to join the staff of the Administration.

REF. Res. No. 5 Relating to the Relations of the Administration with Intergovernmental Agencies Other Than Those Established to Deal with Supplies, Shipping, and Related Questions; Res. No. 8 Relating to Health and Medical Care; Res. No. 32 Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff.

Resolution No. 38

A Resolution Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses

RESOLVED

1. That the annual budget covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration for the calendar year 1944 and the unexpired part of the year 1943 submitted by the Director General in the amount of \$10,000,000 is hereby approved.

2. That the total amount of \$10,000,000 approved in the preceding paragraph is allocated to the member governments in the following proportions:

Percentage		Percentage	
Australia	1.50	Iran	.10
Belgium	1.00	Iraq	.10
Bolivia	.10	Liberia	.05
Brazil	1.50	Luxembourg	.05
Canada	3.00	Mexico	.70
Chile	.20	Netherlands	1.50
China	5.00	New Zealand	.30
Colombia	.30	Nicaragua	.05
Costa Rica	.05	Norway	.30
Cuba	.20	Panama	.05
Czechoslovakia	1.00	Paraguay	.05
Dominican Republic	.05	Peru	.25
Ecuador	.05	Philippines	.05
Egypt	.70	Poland	1.00
El Salvador	.05	Union of South Africa	1.00
Ethiopia	.05	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	15.00
French Committee of National Liberation	4.00	United Kingdom	15.00
Greece	.50	United States of America	40.00
Guatemala	.05	Uruguay	.20
Haiti	.05	Venezuela	.10
Honduras	.05	Yugoslavia	.70
Iceland	.05		
India	4.00		100.00

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 14 Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; Res. No. 25 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control; Res. No. 39 Relating to the Salary of the Director General; Res. No. 48 Relating to the Administrative Budget (for 1945) and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; Res. No. 44 Relating to Auditors of the Administration.

Resolution No. 39

A Resolution Relating to the Salary of the Director General

RESOLVED

That the salary of the Director General be the salary of the members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States of America.

REF. Res. No. 14 Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; Res. No. 38 Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; Res. No. 43 Relating to the Administration Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses.

Resolution No. 40

Resolution Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council

RESOLVED

That the Rules of Procedure of the Council attached hereto,* together with Annex I thereto, Rules of Standing Committees of the Council, shall be the rules of procedure of the Council and the rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

REF. Res. Nos. 18 through 31, inclusive; Res. No. 48 Relating to the Amendment of the Rules of the Standing Committees of the Council; Res. No. 50 Waiving a Second Regular Session of the Council in 1944.

Resolution No. 41

A Resolution Relating to Regulations with Respect to Expenditures and Receipts of the Administration

RESOLVED

That the Council adopts the regulations attached hereto** which shall be considered as Annex II to the Rules of Procedure of the Council.

REF. Res. No. 14 Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; Res. No. 25 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control.

*See Rules of Procedure of the Council and Annex I, Appendix IV, page 93.

**See Annex II to Rules of Procedure of the Council, Appendix IV, page 105.

Resolution No. 42

A Resolution Amending Resolution No. 17, Concerning the Preparation and Presentation of Over-All Requirements

WHEREAS

Paragraph A, I, (3) of Resolution No. 17 contemplates that the Director General will compute estimates of over-all requirements in conformity with the bases and policies developed by the Regional Committees and approved by the Council; and,

WHEREAS

The above-mentioned paragraph has proved to be inconsistent with the provisions of Paragraph A, III, (2) of the same resolution, which states that one of the Director General's first and most important tasks shall be to arrange, through the appropriate national and inter-governmental agencies, for the necessary allocations and procurement of supplies in order to create balanced reserves; it is therefore

RESOLVED

That the following sentence be added to Paragraph A, I, (3) of Resolution No. 17:

"This provision shall not be permitted to delay in any way the initiation by the Director General of whatever action is necessary for the allocation and procurement of essential supplies."

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 17 Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; Res. No. 55 Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations.

Resolution No. 43

A Resolution Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses

RESOLVED

1. That the annual budget covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration for the calendar year 1945 submitted by the Director General in the amount of \$11,500,000 is hereby approved.

2. Of the total amount of \$11,500,000 approved in the preceding paragraph, \$4,000,000 shall be provided out of funds authorized for administrative expenses for the calendar year 1944 and the unelapsed part of the year 1943 by Resolution No. 38 and not used during that period, and the balance of \$7,500,000 shall be paid by the member governments, and is allocated to them in the following percentages:

Australia	1.50	Iraq .....	.10
Belgium	1.00	Liberia .....	.05
Bolivia .....	.10	Luxembourg .....	.05
Brazil	1.50	Mexico .....	.70
Canada	3.00	Netherlands	1.50
Chile .....	.20	New Zealand .....	.30
China	5.00	Nicaragua .....	.05
Colombia .....	.30	Norway .....	.30
Costa Rica .....	.05	Panama .....	.05
Cuba .....	.20	Paraguay .....	.05
Czechoslovakia	1.00	Peru .....	.25
Dominican Republic .....	.05	Philippines .....	.05
Ecuador .....	.05	Poland	1.00
Egypt .....	.70	Union of South Africa	1.00
El Salvador .....	.05	Union of Soviet Socialist	
Ethiopia .....	.05	Republics	10.00
France	4.00	United Kingdom	15.00
Greece .....	.50	United States of America	40.00
Guatemala .....	.05	Uruguay .....	.20
Haiti .....	.05	Venezuela .....	.10
Honduras .....	.05	Yugoslavia .....	.70
Iceland .....	.05	Unallocated	5.00
India	4.00		
Iran .....	.10		100.00

3. Any funds collected during the year 1945 from the allocations made to member governments under Resolution No. 38, and any funds for administrative expenses from new members admitted to the Administration, shall be collected and added to the receipts for administrative purposes; and such collections together with any funds which may remain unexpended from the amount received pursuant to Resolution No. 38 shall be available to meet expenditures under the 1945 budget approved in paragraph 1 of this resolution, and to compensate for the 5 percent remaining unallocated for 1945, but the total authorized expenditure for Administrative purposes for the calendar year 1945 shall not exceed \$11,500,000.

4. Whenever a member government shall have paid over to the

Administration its general contribution under Sections 4 and 5 of Resolution No. 14 and shall elect that its share of the administrative expenses for the year 1945 as allocated by paragraph 2 above shall be paid out of such general contribution, the Administration is authorized to transfer the appropriate amount from its general funds to its administrative receipts and to make the appropriate credit to the member government whose funds are so transferred.

5. Such incidental expenses as may be incurred by administrative officials and employees during temporary and limited stays within a liberated area, and which fall to be paid out of the local currency of the area, may be charged to operating expense.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 14 Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; Res. No. 25 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control; Res. No. 38 Relating to the Administrative Budget (for 1944) and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; Res. No. 39 Relating to the Salary of the Director General; Res. No. 44 Relating to Auditors of the Administration.

Resolution No. 44

A Resolution Relating to Auditors of the Administration

WHEREAS

Resolution No. 25 provides that the Committee on Financial Control shall recommend auditors to the Council and advise the Council regarding the scope and frequency of the reports to be obtained from the auditors; and,

WHEREAS

The said Resolution requires that the auditors' reports shall cover in particular the system of accounting employed by the Administration, the funds expended in the purchase and received from the sale of supplies, the liabilities of the Administration and generally any matters of substance which the auditors may raise on examination of the Administration's accounts; and,

WHEREAS

The Committee on Financial Control has made certain recommendations to the Council including a proposal that the Committee should appoint an Audit Subcommittee to be composed of not less than three and not more than five technically competent auditors (who shall themselves serve and not have an alternate) from the member countries; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the Council accepts the recommendations for the appointment of an auditor of the Administration made by the Committee on Financial Control.

2. That Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths & Co. be appointed the Auditors of the Administration.

3. That the Auditors' first report cover the period to the close of business on 31 December 1944, and that subsequent reports be made annually thereafter, provided that interim reports shall be made whenever possible quarterly.

4. That the first report shall be accompanied by a report on the system of accounting adopted by the Administration.

5. That, for the purpose of each report, the Auditors' examination of the balance sheet, the statement of revenue and expenditure and the supporting statements be directed towards

(a) establishing that due authority exists for all kinds of expenditures incurred;

(b) reporting whether or not the balance sheet and the said statements and supporting statements fairly present the financial position of the Administration as at the date of the statements and the results of the operations of the Administration for the period covered by such statements;

(c) reporting any matters of substance arising out of their examination of the Administration's accounts.

6. That the Director General contract with the Auditors in accordance with arrangements made between the Auditors and the Committee on Financial Control to make the examination on the basis of salary cost of personnel engaged plus 50 percent thereof, plus traveling, maintenance and out of pocket expenses; provided that for the time being the amount authorized by the Council from which the expenses of the annual examination shall be paid shall be \$75,000.

7. That the Auditors consult with the Audit Subcommittee of the Committee on Financial Control, concerning all policy aspects of the audit, with a view to receiving special instructions from such subcommittee concerning detailed investigations to be made and any special matters to be included in the audit. The Auditors from time to time will report to the Audit Subcommittee of the Committee on Financial Control the time expended on the audit and the expense incurred thereby. In the event the above-mentioned sum

of \$75,000 shall require to be increased, the Subcommittee shall make its recommendations to the Committee on Financial Control, which may, pending a further meeting of the Council, authorize such an interim addition to the above-mentioned sum as may be required to carry on the work.

8. That the Committee on Financial Control appoint an Audit Subcommittee to be composed of not less than three and not more than five persons of special technical competence (who shall themselves serve and not have an alternate) from the member countries. The members of the Subcommittee shall expend as much time as necessary for the performance of the functions of the Subcommittee. The function of the Audit Subcommittee may require that the members thereof devote their full time to its work. Until the Committee on Financial Control shall have decided that such full time work is required, the members of the Audit Subcommittee shall be paid their salaries and their expenses by their governments. If and after the Committee on Financial Control shall determine that their full time work is required for the purpose of the Audit Subcommittee, their salaries and expenses shall be paid by the Director General out of the resources of the Administration.

9. That the Audit Subcommittee consult with the Auditor and give directions to him concerning the policy aspects of the audit and detailed investigations to be made and any special matters to be included in the audit, and consult concerning any prospective increase in the cost of the audit over and above the amount presently authorized in paragraph VI above or subsequently to be authorized by the Committee on Financial Control or otherwise. The Audit Subcommittee is further empowered to examine the records and accounts of the Administration in any place where the Administration operates and to make reports and recommendations thereon to the Committee on Financial Control which shall in turn report such findings to the Council.

10. That the Auditors' reports, together with any comments which the Director General may wish to make on them, be referred, together with the aforesaid reports and recommendations of the Audit Subcommittee, to the Committee on Financial Control, which shall in turn report the Audit Subcommittee findings together with its own report to the Council.

11. That the Auditors appointed under this Resolution shall have authority to examine any and all accounts and records of the Administration in any place where the Administration operates.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 14 Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; Res. No. 25 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control; Res. No. 38 Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses; Res. No. 41 Relating to Regulations with Respect to Expenditures and Receipts of the Administration; Res. No. 48 Relating to the Administration Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses.

Resolution No. 45

A Resolution Amending Resolution No. 21 Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies

WHEREAS

Article III, paragraph 4, of the Agreement provides that the Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing the member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation.

WHEREAS

India is likely to be among the principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation;

RESOLVED

That Resolution No. 21 (A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies) be amended to make the first paragraph of that Resolution read as follows:

"1. That the Committee on Supplies shall consist of members of the Council or their alternates representing Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America."

REF. Res. No. 21 Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies.

Resolution No. 46

A Resolution Relating to Displaced Persons in Territories Never Occupied by the Enemy

WHEREAS

Displaced persons are defined in Resolution No. 10 and,

WHEREAS

Many displaced persons have been able, pending the opportunity of returning to their homes, to reach certain United Nations territories never occupied by the enemy; and,

WHEREAS

It is laid down in Resolution No. 10 that it is to be the duty of the Administration to assist such persons when their return to their homes is a matter of urgency; it is therefore

RESOLVED

That the Council approve the following statement as a guide to the operations of the Administration with respect to displaced persons in territories never occupied by the enemy:

1. In assisting in the care and repatriation or return of displaced persons who are in territories which have never been occupied by the enemy, it is desirable that the Administration allot its resources mainly in favor of congregated groups of displaced persons rather than in favor of displaced individuals.

2. The Administration shall assume responsibility for care and repatriation only of persons who are necessitous and who lack the resources to return to their homes.

3. The Administration shall, in principle, assume responsibility for care of such displaced persons pending repatriation only in areas where the resources for their maintenance are inadequate or cannot continue to be made available.

4. The repatriation of such persons shall be carried out in such a way as to harmonize, with the minimum of disturbance, with any general scheme of repatriation, and in particular with any system of priorities which may be evolved as part of such a scheme.

5. The Administration shall undertake this task only in agreement with the governments concerned as provided in paragraph 8 of the report of Subcommittee 4 of Committee IV of the First Session of the Council.*

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 10 Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; Res. No. 28 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Displaced Persons; Res. No. 54 Amending Resolution 1 with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease.

*See Appendix III, page 89 for text.

Resolution No. 47

A Resolution Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons

WHEREAS

Resolution No. 10 provides:

"4. That the question of the assistance to be given by the Administration in the return to their homes of displaced persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality who have been intruded into homes from which nationals of the United Nations have been expelled should be considered as a separate issue, to be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 11 and 12 of the report of Subcommittee 4 of Committee IV," and,

WHEREAS

The efficient and orderly repatriation of displaced persons to their homes in liberated territory may necessitate the prior orderly removal from those homes of persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality who have been intruded therein and may necessitate the return of such intruded persons to their country of origin; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That in the event of request by a government or recognized national authority of a liberated area that the Administration remove or assist in the removal of intruded persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality from that area or return or assist in returning them to their country of origin, the Administration may undertake such a task pursuant to agreement entered into for this purpose between the Administration and the government or recognized national authority of the liberated area and between the Administration and the United Nations military command or the United Nations control authority in the country to which such persons are to be returned.

2. That all expenses connected with such possible operations shall be paid by or ultimately recoverable from the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 28* Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Re-

spect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy; *Res. No. 60* Relating to the Care and Return of Certain Persons of Other Than United Nations Nationality, or Stateless Persons, Found in Liberated Territory.

Resolution No. 48

A Resolution Relating to the Amendment of the Rules of the Standing Committees of the Council (Annex 1 of the Rules of Procedure of the Council)

RESOLVED

That the Rules of Procedure of the Council, and Annex 1 thereto, being the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council, be amended in the following particulars:

I. Amend Section 4 of Article III of Annex I—Rules of standing Committees of the Council—to read as follows:

4. Upon the death, resignation, or inability to serve of the chairman of any standing committee, the first vice chairman, or, if he is not available the second vice chairman shall serve as chairman *ad interim* until a new chairman is elected.

In the event of the temporary absence of the chairman during a meeting or any part thereof, the first vice chairman, or, if he is not available the second vice chairman shall preside. A vice chairman acting as chairman shall have the same powers and duties as the chairman.

II. Further amend Section 4 of Article V of Annex 1—Rules of Standing Committees of the Council—to read as follows:

4. Any request from a regional committee to any technical committee for the establishment of a technical subcommittee to advise the regional committee shall be transmitted to the Director General, who shall forthwith inform the chairman and members of the technical committee concerned. If the regional committee so desires, it may submit to the Director General, for transmission to the chairman of the technical committee, the names of qualified persons, for appointment to such technical subcommittees. In case of need, the chairman may proceed to appoint such technical subcommittees with the authorization of a majority of the members, subject to subsequent formal approval by the committee.

REF. *Res. No. 40* Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 49

A Resolution Relating to the Official Seal of the Administration

RESOLVED

That the design reproduced below shall be the Official Seal of the Administration.



Resolution No. 50

A Resolution Waiving a Second Regular Session of the Council in 1944

RESOLVED

That the provision in Article III, Paragraph 2, of the Agreement, "that the Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee" is hereby waived for 1944.

REF. Res. No. 40 Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council.

Resolution No. 51

A Resolution Authorizing the Central Committee to Admit Denmark Between Sessions of the Council

RESOLVED

If after the liberation of Denmark an appropriate Danish Government or Authority makes application for membership in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and if the urgency of the situation requires consideration of the application before the next session of the Council, the Central Committee is authorized to consider such application, and, in its discretion, to admit Denmark to membership under such conditions as it deems appropriate.

Resolution No. 52

A Resolution Relating to Modification of the International Sanitary Convention, 1926, and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1933

WHEREAS

Resolution No. 8, paragraph 2, provides, "That the Council recommends that member governments and recognized national authorities cooperate fully with the Administration in establishing at the earliest possible date regional and other emergency agreements and arrangements for the notification within the limits of military security, of diseases likely to become epidemic, uniformity in quarantine regulations, and for other measures of prevention," it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the Council approves in principle the preliminary drafts of the International Sanitary Convention, and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1944,* modifying the International Sanitary Convention of 21 June 1926 and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation of 12 April 1933.

2. That the Council, while recognizing that the approval in principle of the preliminary drafts in no way binds member governments to signing them, requests the Director General to submit copies of the French and English texts of these drafts to member governments for their early consideration.

3. That the Council requests that member governments shall submit their comments not later than 1 November 1944, and that copies of such comments shall be sent immediately to member governments by the quickest practicable method.

4. That the Council instructs the Health Committee to prepare, at a special meeting, final drafts of the said Conventions after having taken account of any comments received; that as soon as practicable after 1 November, not less than thirty days' notice of the special meeting shall be given by telegraph to member governments.

5. That the Council requests the Director General to make ar-

*See Appendix V, page 107, for text of Conventions as finally drafted by the Health Committee and as open for signature at the Department of State, Washington, in accordance with the procedure outlined in Res. No. 52.

rangements with the approval of the Central Committee for a member government to be nominated by that Committee to act as depository and to have the Conventions opened for signature not later than 15 December 1944. The Conventions shall then remain open for signature until 15 January 1945.

6. That the Council authorizes the Director General, at the time when the emergency Conventions come into force, to undertake the functions set out therein for the period for which the emergency amending Conventions are to remain in force, at the end of which time it is hoped the International Office of Public Health will be able to exercise its full functions.

REF. Res. No. 8 Relating to Health and Medical Care; Res. No. 29 Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Health.

Resolution No. 53

A Resolution Relating to Reservations and Declarations of the Congress of the United States

WHEREAS

The Congress of the United States of America has enacted Public Law 267, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, approved 28 March 1944, authorizing appropriations for participation by the United States in the work of the Administration; and

WHEREAS

Sections 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of said Public Law 267 read, respectively, as follows:

"Sec. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the First Session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems such as unemployment are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world.

"Sec. 5. No amendment under article VIII (a) of the Agreement involving any new obligation for the United States shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

"Sec. 6. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

"Sec. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12 adopted at the First Session of the Council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading 'The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief', contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.

"Sec. 8. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources"; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the Council hereby declares that nothing contained in said Sections 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 is inconsistent with the provisions of the Agreement and Resolutions on Policy of the Council.

2. That the Council accordingly accepts the reservations of the Congress of the United States as above set forth.

3. That the Council requests the Director General to arrange through the United States member on the Council for the transmission of the text of this Resolution to the Congress of the United States.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 12 Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief; Res. No. 61 Relating to Measures for Continued Rehabilitation.

Resolution No. 54

A Resolution Amending Resolution No. 1 with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease

WHEREAS

The Agreement provides in its preamble as follows:

"Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.";

WHEREAS

Article I, paragraph 2, of the Agreement provides in part as follows:

"2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

"(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services,"; and,

WHEREAS

Since the First Session of the Council, the constitutional bodies of certain of the member governments have made certain recommendations with regard to the areas in which the Administration may operate; it is therefore

RESOLVED

That the last paragraph of Resolution No. 1, Part I, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Nothing in the above should be taken as preventing the Administration from carrying on activities in other areas in order to

perform the tasks laid upon it in the Agreement, provided that the government or authority (military or civil) exercising administrative authority in the area concerned agrees. In this regard, in so far as the resources and facilities of the Administration shall permit, any United Nations area under the control of any of the United Nations which is of importance to the military operations of the United Nations and which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the Administration, provided that in every case of action under this sentence the Director General shall immediately inform the Central Committee and shall also inform the Council at its next ensuing meeting."

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 8 Relating to Health and Medical Care; Res. No. 46 Relating to Displaced Persons in Territories Never Occupied by the Enemy; Res. No. 57 Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control.

Resolution No. 55

A Resolution Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations

WHEREAS

Article III, paragraph 5 of the Agreement provides that the Committee of the Council for Europe shall consider and report to the Council on policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation in Europe.

WHEREAS

Article I of Part A of Resolution No. 17 provides that the Committee of the Council for Europe recommend to the Council bases for relief and rehabilitation requirements in Europe and that the Director General compute estimates of over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation in Europe in conformity with such bases therefor as are adopted by the Council.

WHEREAS

The Committee of the Council for Europe appointed technical Subcommittees of the Committee to consider and report technical requirements for such bases.

WHEREAS

The Subcommittees have considered the subject of their respective assignments and have filed reports with the Committee of the Council for Europe.

WHEREAS

The Committee of the Council for Europe has considered and approved these reports of its technical Subcommittees and has recommended that the Council adopt the technical recommendations of the reports as bases for the computation by the Director General of the over-all requirements in Europe for relief and rehabilitation; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the Council approves the recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe (Council II Document 8).*

2. That the Council accepts the technical recommendations of the Subcommittees of the Committee of the Council for Europe as contained in the following reports:

A. Report of the standing technical Subcommittee on Health for Europe (THE/E(44)20) dated 19 June 1944 providing the method of calculating medical supplies for relief in Europe and THE/E(44)26 dated 19 September 1944.

B. Report of the *Ad Hoc* Food Subcommittee for Europe (CCE(44)24) dated 29 June 1944 providing bases of food requirements for relief in Europe, and report of the standing technical Subcommittee on Health (THE/E(44)NC/4).

C. Report of the *Ad Hoc* Textile Subcommittee for Europe (*Ad Hoc* T/E(44)27) dated 5 July 1944 providing bases of clothing including footwear and textiles for the relief of Europe.

D. Report of the standing technical Subcommittee on Agriculture (TAG/E(44)80) dated 10 June 1944 providing bases of requirements for supplies and materials for the rehabilitation of agriculture and fisheries in Europe and TAG/E(44)50(a) and TAG/E(44)52.

E. Standing technical Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation Statement on Bases of Requirements for Industrial Rehabilitation (TIR/E(44)20) dated 17 July 1944, with the following modifications in the bases contained in that statement:

*See Appendix VI, page 116 for documents referred to.

a. At the end of paragraph numbered 16 insert the following paragraph:

"In accordance with Resolutions Nos. 12 and 13, equal priority with the above should also be given to provision of the means for the rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies, and raw materials for them."

b. At the beginning of paragraph numbered 17 insert the following phrase:

"Subject to the recommendations in paragraph 16 as amended by the Council."

c. At the end of the fourth sentence of paragraph numbered 20 insert the following phrase:

"as outlined in Resolution No. 13."

3. That the Council recommends that the Director General compute estimates of the over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of Europe in conformity with the provisions of the reports accepted in paragraph 2 of this Resolution; provided that the Director General in the exercise of reasonable administrative discretion may make such adjustments in any of the bases for relief and rehabilitation provided in paragraph 2 hereof as promote equitable distribution of articles and supplies and render the administration thereof more adaptable to the exigencies that may arise in the administration of relief and rehabilitation in Europe.

4. That the Council authorizes the Director General to adopt bases for articles and supplies not included in the bases set forth in the reports accepted in paragraph 2 hereof which are not inconsistent with the bases provided in any of the reports accepted in paragraph 2 hereof.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 2 Relating to Non-discrimination; Res. No. 17 Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; Res. No. 20 Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; Res. No. 42 Amending Resolution No. 17 Concerning the Preparation and Presentation of Over-All Requirements; Res. No. 50 Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of Its 6th and 7th Meetings.

Resolution No. 56

A Resolution Relating to a Proposal Transmitted by the Committee of the Council for Europe in the Minutes of its Sixth and Seventh Meetings

WHEREAS

Resolution No. 20 provides in part as follows:

"That the functions of the Committee of the Council for Europe and the Committee of the Council for the Far East shall be: 4. Generally to consider relief and rehabilitation policies in Europe and the Far East, respectively; to formulate recommendations on such policies . . . and to transmit such recommendations to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee;

WHEREAS

A number of the Subcommittees of the Committees of the Council for Europe have made certain recommendations on such policies with respect to priority in the securing of relief supplies;

WHEREAS

The Committee of the Council for Europe has stated that it appreciated these recommendations and considered that they should be dealt with by the Council as a separate issue,* and the Council has considered these recommendations; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That it is recognized that in accordance with the Agreement it is the Administration's primary responsibility to secure relief and rehabilitation supplies for the areas, liberated or to be liberated, of the United Nations.

2. That special weight and urgency shall be given to the needs of those countries in which the extent of devastation and of the sufferings of the people in a part or the whole of their respective areas is greater and has resulted from hostilities and occupation by the enemy and active resistance in the struggle against the enemy.

REF. Res. No. 1 Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; Res. No. 2 Relating to Non-discrimination; Res. No. 17 Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; Res. No. 20 Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East; Res. No. 42 Amending Res. No. 17 Concerning the Preparation and Presentation of Over-All Requirements; Res. No. 55 Relating to Recommendations of the Committee of the Council for Europe Regarding Bases for Requirements and Related Recommendations.

*See also Council II, Document 8, Appendix VII, page 128.

Resolution No. 57

A Resolution Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control

WHEREAS

In the course of the activities of the Administration in collaboration with the military authorities and the governments concerned with respect to the care and repatriation or return of the classes of displaced persons referred to in Resolution No. 10 found in enemy or ex-enemy areas, and in controlling epidemics, it will be necessary that the Administration have latitude in its authority to provide the assistance which may be required of it and be enabled to take measures for the care or repatriation of such persons without delay; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That, notwithstanding the provisions of Resolution No. 1, Part I, the Administration shall be authorized without the necessity of obtaining prior approval by the Council to carry out operations in enemy or ex-enemy areas for the care and repatriation or return of displaced persons as contemplated by Resolution No. 10, in agreement with the government of the country of which they are nationals, or other persons who have been obliged to leave their country or place of origin or former residence or who have been deported therefrom, by action of the enemy, because of race, religion or activities in favor of the United Nations, or for the control of epidemics for the purpose of preventing the spread of such epidemics to United Nations areas or to displaced persons of United Nations nationality found in the particular enemy or ex-enemy area. In carrying out the purposes of this Resolution the Administration will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary.

2. That with regard to payment for such operations the Administration shall

(a) make arrangements with the military command or the appropriate authority for the provision of local currency in the manner contemplated in Sections 19 and 20 of Resolution No. 14;

(b) be authorized to charge against its general resources such expenses as cannot be met in local currency and fall to be met in foreign exchange, provided that the Director General consult from time to time with a committee established under Resolution No. 23 as to the financial commitments incurred by the Administration in carrying out the operations set out in paragraph 1 hereof and as to the ability of the countries involved to pay.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 8* Relating to Health and Medical Care; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 23* Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 47* Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons; *Res. No. 54* Amending *Res. No. 1* with Respect to United Nations Areas of Importance to the Military Operations of the United Nations and Stricken by Famine or Disease; *Res. No. 58* Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy.

Resolution No. 58

A Resolution Relating to Operations of the Administration in Italy

WHEREAS

Resolution No. 1 provides that, as to proposed operations of the Administration in enemy or ex-enemy areas, the Council shall approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provisions; and,

WHEREAS

The Council has adopted Resolution No. 57 authorizing the Administration without the necessity of obtaining prior approval by the Council to carry out operations in enemy or ex-enemy areas for the care and repatriation or return of displaced persons as contemplated by Resolution No. 10, or other persons who have been obliged to leave their country or place of origin or former residence or who have been deported therefrom, by action of the enemy, because of race, religion or activities in favor of the United Nations, or for the control of epidemics for the purpose of preventing the spread of such epidemics to United Nations areas or to displaced persons of United Nations nationality found in the particular enemy or ex-enemy area; and,

WHEREAS

A substantial portion of Italy is now under the control of the

United Nations, and the Italian people are sacrificing life and property side by side with the forces of the United Nations in driving the Germans from Italian soil; and it is desirable that the Administration should be authorized to undertake certain specific and limited responsibilities for relief of victims of war in areas in Italy under the control of United Nations additional to those authorized under Resolution No. 57; it is therefore

RESOLVED

That as to the scale and nature of the operations that it is proposed the Administration should undertake and the standard of provision in Italy, the Council approves the following program:

1. The operations of the Administration in Italy (in addition to such operations as it may undertake under the authority given by Resolution No. 57) shall be confined to (a) the provision of medical and sanitary aid and supplies; (b) assistance in the care and return to their homes of displaced persons; (c) care of, and welfare services for, children and nursing and expectant mothers.

2. All operations of the Administration in Italy shall be agreed upon between the military command or the appropriate authority in Italy on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and such operations shall be subject to such control as the military command or the appropriate authority may find necessary.

3. With regard to payment for such operations the Administration shall

(a) make arrangements with the military command or the appropriate authority for the provision of local currency in the manner contemplated in Sections 19 and 20 of Resolution No. 14;

(b) be authorized to charge against its general resources such expenses as cannot be met in Italian currency and fall to be met in foreign exchange, provided that the Director General consult from time to time with a committee established under Resolution No. 23 as to the financial commitments incurred by the Administration in carrying out the operations set out in paragraph 1 hereof and as to the ability of Italy to pay.

4. The total net expenditure in foreign exchange which, under paragraph 3(b) above, the Administration is authorized to charge against its general resources in respect of operations additional to those authorized under Resolution No. 57 shall not exceed the equivalent of \$50 million without further specific authorization from the Council.

5. The Council recommends that, to the extent consistent with military considerations, the Director General shall be kept informed of all relief and rehabilitation requirements for Italy for the purposes set forth in Resolution No. 17.

6. The operations in Italy shall not constitute a precedent for operations in other enemy or ex-enemy territory.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 8* Relating to Health and Medical Care; *Res. No. 9* Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 17* Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation; *Res. No. 23* Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control.

Resolution No. 59

A Resolution Relating to the Extension of the Benefits of the Administration to the Inhabitants of the Dodecanese

WHEREAS

The Resolutions of the Council contain certain restrictions with respect to the operations of the Administration in enemy and ex-enemy areas and with respect to the treatment of persons of enemy and ex-enemy nationality; and

WHEREAS

Special conditions exist in the Islands of the Dodecanese which make it desirable that their inhabitants should benefit by the assistance of the Administration as soon as possible; it is therefore

RESOLVED

That nothing in Resolution No. 1 or any other resolution of the Council shall prevent the extension of the benefits of the Administration to the inhabitants of the Islands of the Dodecanese.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration.

Resolution No. 60

A Resolution Relating to the Care and Return of Certain Persons of Other Than United Nations Nationality, or Stateless Persons, Found in Liberated Territory

RESOLVED

1. That, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in other Res-

olutions of the Council, the Administration shall be authorized to undertake the care and return to their homes of persons of other than United Nations nationality, or stateless persons, who are found in liberated territory and who have been obliged to leave their country or place of origin or former residence or who have been deported therefrom, by action of the enemy, because of their race, religion, or activities in favor of the United Nations; provided, however, that nothing in this Resolution shall affect the provisions contained in the preamble of the Agreement and in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Part I of Resolution No. 1.

2. That with regard to payment for such operations the Administration shall

- (a) make arrangements with the military command, the established control authority or the appropriate national authority for the provision of local currency in the manner contemplated in Sections 19 and 20 of Resolution No. 14;
- (b) be authorized to charge against its general resources such expenses as cannot be met in local currency and fall to be met in foreign exchange, provided that the Director General consult from time to time with a committee established under Resolution No. 23 as to the financial commitments incurred by the Administration in carrying out the operations set out in paragraph 1 hereof and as to the ability to pay of the enemy or ex-enemy countries of which the persons referred to in paragraph 1 are nationals.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 10* Relating to Policies with Respect to Displaced Persons; *Res. No. 14* Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration; *Res. No. 23* Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies; *Res. No. 47* Relating to the Responsibility of the Administration for the Removal or Repatriation of Intruded Persons; *Res. No. 57* Relating to Operations in Enemy and Ex-Enemy Areas with Respect to Displaced Persons and Epidemic Control.

Resolution No. 61

A Resolution Relating to Measures for Continued Rehabilitation

WHEREAS

The limited functions of the Administration in connection with rehabilitation make it all the more necessary to provide at the earliest possible moment measures for such rehabilitation and re-

construction as the Administration cannot itself undertake, particularly in the fields of industrial production and inland transport; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the attention of the member governments is called to the fact that on the basis of the Agreement and the Resolutions of the Council, the activities of the Administration in and by themselves alone are not sufficient for the tasks of continued rehabilitation and cannot prevent lack of supplies and services or large scale unemployment covering great parts of essential industrial and other production.

2. That in accordance with Article I, paragraph 2c, of the Agreement the attention of the member governments is drawn to the importance and urgency of the need to provide means whereby the problems of continued rehabilitation may be jointly considered and through the cooperation of the nations successfully resolved.

REF. *Res. No. 1* Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration; *Res. No. 11* Relating to Policies with Respect to Agricultural Rehabilitation and Other Means of Increasing Food Essential to Relief; *Res. No. 12* Relating to Policies with Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief; *Res. No. 53* Relating to Reservations and Declarations of the Congress of the United States.

APPENDIX I

SIGNATORIES TO THE AGREEMENT

Article IX of the Agreement provides that the "Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory." Fourteen of the forty-four Governments signing the Agreement specified that they did so subject to ratification by their appropriate constitutional bodies.

The following is the list of the signers of the Agreement, in the order in which they signed. The specific reservations made by Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Ethiopia,* Guatemala,* India,* Iran, Iraq, Mexico,* Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay,* and Venezuela* are noted above the name of the official who signed on behalf of his government.

FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Sir Owen Dixon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Australia in Washington

FOR BELGIUM

Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium

FOR BOLIVIA

Señor Dr. Don Luis Fernando Guachalla, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Bolivia in Washington

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL

Mr. Eurico Pentead, Financial Attaché, Brazilian Embassy in Washington

FOR CANADA

The Honorable Leighton McCarthy, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Canada in Washington

FOR CHILE

This Agreement will enter into effect with respect to Chile, in conformity with the provisions of its Constitution, once it has been approved by the Congress and ratified by the appropriate constitutional agencies of the Republic.

Señor Don Rodolfo Michels, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Chile in Washington

*Indicates Member Governments ratifying the Agreement as of 1 January 1945.

FOR CHINA

Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Chief Political Secretary to the President of the Executive Yuan of China

FOR COLOMBIA

The Plenipotentiary of Colombia signs with the reservation of subsequent approval by the Colombian Congress.

Señor Don Alberto Vargas Nariño, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Colombia in Washington

FOR COSTA RICA

Señor Don Carlos Manuel Escalante, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica in Washington

FOR CUBA

This Agreement, subject to approval by the Senate of the Republic, will be ratified by the Executive.

Señor Dr. Aurelio F. Concheso, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Cuba in Washington

FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. Jan Masaryk, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia

FOR THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Señor Dr. Julio Vega Batlle, First Secretary, Embassy of the Dominican Republic in Washington

FOR ECUADOR

Subject to ratification by the Congress of the Republic of Ecuador.

Señor Dr. Don. S. E. Duran Ballen, Consul General of Ecuador in New York

FOR EGYPT

Mahmoud Bey Hassan, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Egypt in Washington

FOR EL SALVADOR

Señor Dr. Don Héctor David Castro, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of El Salvador in Washington

FOR ETHIOPIA

Subject to the ratification of the Imperial Ethiopian Government.*

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia and newly appointed Envoy Ex-

*Has since ratified.

traordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Ethiopia in Washington

FOR THE FRENCH COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

Mr. Jean Monnet, Commissioner General for Supply and Reconstruction

FOR GREECE

Mr. Kyriakos Varvaressos, Professor of Economics at the University of Athens, and Governor of the Bank of Greece, London

FOR GUATEMALA

Pending the required approval by the National Assembly of Guatemala,* the immediate application of this Agreement shall be considered provisional with regard to the Government of Guatemala.

Señor Dr. Don Adrian Recinos, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Guatemala in Washington

FOR HAITI

Mr. André Liautaud, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Haiti in Washington

FOR HONDURAS

Señor Dr. Don Julian R. Caceres, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Honduras in Washington

FOR ICELAND

Mr. Magnus Sigurdsson, Special Envoy of the Government of Iceland *ad hoc*

FOR INDIA

This Agreement is signed subject to a reservation under Article IX that it shall enter into force with respect to the Government of India as soon as it has been approved by the Indian Legislature.*

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Agent General for India in Washington

FOR IRAN

This Agreement shall enter into force immediately after its approval by the Iranian Chamber of Deputies.

Mr. Mohammed Shayesteh, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Iran in Washington.

FOR IRAQ

Subject to ratification by the Iraqi Parliament.

Mr. Ali Jawdat, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Iraq in Washington

FOR LIBERIA

Mr. Walter F. Walker, Consul General of Liberia in New York

FOR LUXEMBOURG

Mr. Pierre Dupong, Prime Minister of Luxembourg

FOR THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES

Subject to ratification by the Senate of the United Mexican States.*

Señor Dr. Don Francisco Castillo Nájera, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Mexican States in Washington

FOR THE NETHERLANDS

Mr. P. A. Kerstens, Minister of Commerce, Industry, Shipping Agriculture, and Fisheries of the Netherlands

FOR NEW ZEALAND

Mr. Geoffrey S. Cox, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of New Zealand in Washington

FOR NICARAGUA

Ad referendum.

Señor Dr. Don Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua in Washington

FOR NORWAY

Mr. Wilhelm Munthe de Morgenstierne, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Norway in Washington

FOR PANAMA

Señor Don Enrique A. Jiménez, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Panama in Washington

FOR PARAGUAY

Señor Dr. Don Celso R. Velásquez, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Paraguay in Washington

FOR PERU

Under reserve of its constitutional ratification.

Señor Don Manuel de Freyre y Santander, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Peru in Washington

*Has since ratified.

FOR THE PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH

Mr. Sergio Osmena, Vice President of the Philippine Commonwealth

FOR POLAND

Mr. Jan Kwapinski, Vice Premier and Minister for Commerce, Industry, and Shipping of Poland

FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Ralph William Close, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa in Washington

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Washington

FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
NORTHERN IRELAND

The Right Honorable the Viscount Halifax, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom in Washington

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America

FOR URUGUAY

With the reserve that it shall not enter into force with respect to Uruguay until it has received legislative approval.*

Señor Dr. Don Juan Carlos Blanco, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Uruguay in Washington

FOR VENEZUELA

The Plenipotentiary of Venezuela signs the present Agreement in the understanding that this is done subject to the ratification of the Public Powers of the Nation, in conformity with Venezuelan constitutional procedure.*

Señor Dr. Don Diogenes Escalante, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Venezuela in Washington

FOR YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. Constantin Fotitch, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Yugoslavia in Washington

*Has since ratified.

APPENDIX II

EXCERPT FROM REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AD- MISSION OF OBSERVERS FROM OTHER INTERGOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES AS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL

12 NOVEMBER 1943

The Committee, conscious that the establishment of the Administration represents a significant step forward in cooperation among the nations in dealing with problems of international concern, recognizes that in the interests of further international development, it is desirable that intergovernmental agencies working in related fields cooperate with each other. The Committee, therefore, believes that it should be the policy of the Administration to cooperate to the fullest extent possible with those intergovernmental agencies which have a special position by virtue of the scope of their membership and function, or by virtue of being charged with duties closely related to those of the Administration. These include intergovernmental executive agencies actually conducting operations of various kinds of direct interest to the Administration and which would be in a position to provide guidance, advice, and information to the Council and to the Administration. They also include other intergovernmental agencies and institutions, with accumulations of knowledge, data, and experience, and staffed with qualified technicians, and thus in a position to contribute substantially toward the formulation of the policies of the Council and the effective operation of the Administration.

As the first step in the development of close relations between the Administration and other appropriate intergovernmental agencies, the Committee recommends that the Chairman of the Council be authorized to invite any appropriate intergovernmental agency to send an observer to attend the meetings of the Council and of its committees for the present session. It is recommended that the invitations be extended by the Chairman through the Chief of the Secretariat, who shall determine, with the approval of the Chairman, the terms of each specific admission of such observer.

APPENDIX III

EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO ASSISTANCE TO DISPLACED PERSONS (COMMITTEE IV, SUBCOMMITTEE 4, COUNCIL I)

5. Bearing these various considerations in mind, and subject to what is said in paragraph 8 regarding the concurrence of the governments concerned, the Subcommittee has reached the conclusion

- (a) that UNRRA should in particular regard itself as responsible for assisting in the repatriation to their country of origin of those nationals of the United Nations who have been obliged to leave their homes by reason of the war and are found in liberated or conquered territory;
- (b) that UNRRA should also assist those nationals of the United Nations who have been displaced within their own (liberated) countries to return to their homes in those countries, if requested to do so by the member government concerned;
- (c) that UNRRA should also assist in the repatriation of those nationals of the United Nations in other countries who are exiles as a result of the war, and whose return to their homes in liberated territory is regarded as a matter of urgency;
- (d) that UNRRA should also assist those nationals of the United Nations and those stateless persons who have been driven as a result of the war from their places of settled residence in countries of which they are not nationals, to return to those places;
- (e) that UNRRA should also assist in the repatriation of any other categories of persons which can be shown to fall within the proper scope of UNRRA's activities in this respect.

6. On the other hand it was decided by the Subcommittee that UNRRA should not have any responsibility for the repatriation of prisoners of war who have served in the armies of the United Nations unless requested by the member government concerned to undertake such responsibility in respect of any particular group. It was felt by certain members of the Subcommittee that, while in the case of prisoners of war from the armies of certain of the

United Nations no problem would arise, in other cases the fact that the prisoners had originally been prisoners of war is likely to have been to a large extent obscured by subsequent acts of the enemy authorities in illegally demobilizing them, internment them as civilians, employing them in labor camps, deporting them to other territories or otherwise ignoring their military status. The Subcommittee felt that in cases where this has occurred on a large scale the government concerned may well wish to invoke the assistance of UNRRA with a view to securing the early repatriation not only of such prisoners but also of such of the prisoners of war from its army as have been allowed to retain their military character. The fact that the preamble of the Agreement specifically refers to the return of prisoners as one of the possible activities of UNRRA would seem not to exclude such prisoners from its scope, although they are not specifically included in the resolution of Subcommittee I of Committee II quoted above; and the Subcommittee therefore trusts that it will not be regarded as having exceeded its powers in making the present recommendation on this point.

8. As regards "agreement with the appropriate governments," the Subcommittee understands that the governments concerned may include the government or governing authority (other than an enemy or ex-enemy government or governing authority) of the country in which the persons to be repatriated are temporarily resident, of any country through which they may have to pass, of the country in which they were formerly residents, and of the country of which they are nationals. The Subcommittee assumes that UNRRA in the course of seeking to reach agreement with these various governments will keep the other governments concerned fully informed of the progress of the negotiations. The Subcommittee, recognizing that UNRRA cannot render assistance to any of the categories of persons referred to above without the concurrence and cooperation of the governments concerned, which it will be the duty of UNRRA to secure, expresses the hope that all the governments concerned will deal with any requests which they may receive from UNRRA in this connection in a spirit of wide humanity even if the request refers to persons who are not their nationals. The Subcommittee's further recommendations on this point and on the question of cooperation with the military authorities are contained in paragraphs 14, 15, 17, 20, and 23, below.

11. The question what action if any should be taken by UNRRA in regard to assisting the return to their homes of displaced persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality is one which presented particular

difficulties. In order to insure that the homes of United Nations nationals that have been intruded into and settled in by enemy or ex-enemy subjects, may be returned to their rightful owners, the Subcommittee suggests, that while it is not the purpose of UNRRA to assist enemy subjects, the removal of enemy or ex-enemy nationals, who may still be in occupation of the said homes, may be properly undertaken by UNRRA with the consent of the government concerned.

12. As however the return to their countries of origin may raise questions of great complexity, the Subcommittee suggests that this specific point should be referred to an early meeting of the Council as a separate issue, in order that a broad directive of policy may be laid down for dealing with it.

14. In the first place the Subcommittee was greatly impressed by the fact that, when the problem of the return of such people to their homes presents itself, it is likely to do so with the greatest urgency. On the liberation of any territory from enemy occupation, or on the collapse of enemy control in other regions where any large groups of displaced persons are resident, there is a grave danger that a mass movement of such persons may begin before any adequate machinery to control or organize it has been set up. The Subcommittee is aware that UNRRA will not normally be called in during the military period in any liberated or occupied territory; but the Subcommittee wishes to emphasize its view that, if the eventual task of UNRRA in organizing and providing for the repatriation and return of exiles to their homes is to be adequately carried out, it is vitally important that the closest liaison should be established with the military authorities of the United Nations in the territory concerned from the outset. In default of this, the already difficult task of controlling the mass movements which are likely to break out may be very greatly complicated.

15. The Subcommittee would emphasize that, unless this close liaison can be arranged at an early stage, groups of displaced persons are likely to be dealt with in an uncoordinated manner. In particular it feels that the methods adopted for identifying and classifying the various categories of persons to be repatriated should be based on a single principle from the outset, and it ventures to urge that preliminary discussions should take place at the earliest possible moment between the competent organizations of UNRRA and the governments concerned in order to establish some uniform system of dealing with these persons, during both the

military and the subsequent periods. In this connection the Subcommittee would draw particular attention to the report of Subcommittee I of Committee II* on the Relationship of UNRRA with the Military Command and Authorities Established to Control Enemy Countries.

17. Finally the Subcommittee has been much impressed by the magnitude of the problem presented by the repatriation of these displaced persons and by the complexity of some of the political issues likely to be involved. It therefore recommends that the closest and most continuous liaison should be maintained between the executive authorities of UNRRA entrusted with the organization of the task and the political authorities of the United Nations. This point is further dealt with below.

20. All these activities and duties would of course have to be performed in the closest consultation and cooperation with the governments concerned, which should be encouraged themselves to assume the greatest possible measure of responsibility for them, particularly—in the case of the governments of which the repatriates are nationals—in matters of finance, though the necessary work of coordinating all action in this sphere must, in the opinion of the Subcommittee, inevitably fall on UNRRA.

23. As has been stated above, the Subcommittee does not feel justified in making any recommendations on the general organization of the machinery required to deal with this problem. It would however direct attention to the fact that in many cases it will be necessary for UNRRA to deal with a number of governments simultaneously and for the various governments concerned to reach joint decisions or to take joint action. The Subcommittee feels that the Regional Committees of the Council of UNRRA may offer a particularly useful organization for such joint action, and it therefore hopes that the greatest possible use will be made of the Regional Committees by the authorities of UNRRA operating in each particular region. In this connection the Subcommittee would draw particular attention to section 3 of the resolution of Subcommittee I of Committee I on the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East in which it is laid down that the functions of the Regional Committees shall include "the organization of measures in regard to displaced persons and to the coordination of national action in regard to medical and other relief and rehabilitation problems common to the area."*

*Incorporated in Res. No. 1.

APPENDIX IV

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL

Article I

Sessions of the Council

1. In accordance with Article III, section 2, of the Agreement, the Council shall be convened in regular session by the Central Committee not less than twice a year. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be so convened within thirty days after the request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council. Such request shall be communicated to the Director General who shall transmit it forthwith to the Central Committee.

2. The Director General, after consultation with the Central Committee, shall fix the time and place of the first meeting of each session of the Council and shall notify the member governments¹ not less than sixty days in advance of a regular session and not less than three weeks in advance of a special session.

3. As a general rule, the plenary meetings of the Council shall be public, but the Council may decide that any meeting shall be held in private.

4. All decisions of the Council which may have been taken at a private meeting shall be announced at an early public meeting of the Council.

Article II

Officers of the Council

1. At the opening of each session of the Council, the Director General shall preside until the Council has elected a Chairman for the session.

2. The Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, elect a Chairman and three Vice Chairmen of the Council. The Chairman and Vice Chairmen shall hold office until the close of the session at which they are elected. In the event of the death, resignation, or other inability of the Chairman to complete his term, a new Chairman shall be elected for the unexpired term.

¹Whenever the term "member government" is used in these Rules of Procedure and any Annex thereto, it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

3. In addition to the other powers conferred upon the Chairman by these Rules of Procedure, he shall declare the opening and closing of each meeting of the Council. He shall direct the discussions of the Council, insure observance of these Rules of Procedure, accord the right to address the Council, put questions to the Council, and announce the results of all votes.

4. In the absence of the Chairman during a meeting, or any part thereof, one of the Vice Chairmen, taken in rotation according to the alphabetical order of the governments which they represent, shall preside. A Vice Chairman acting as Chairman shall have the same powers and duties as the Chairman.

5. The Chairman, or a Vice Chairman acting as Chairman, shall not vote but may appoint an alternate to act as the representative of his government on the Council.

Article III

The Director General

1. The Director General or his representative may attend and address any meeting of the Council and of its committees and subcommittees and may participate in the discussions, but may not vote.

Article IV

The Secretariat

1. In accordance with Article IV, section 4, of the Agreement, the Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees.

2. The Director General shall be responsible for the organization and direction of the secretariat of the Council.

3. It shall be the duty of the secretariat to receive, translate, and distribute documents, reports, and resolutions of the Council and its committees; to prepare the records of the proceedings of the Council and its committees; to distribute reports and recommendations of committees of the Council to the Council and the Central Committee; and to perform such other work as the Council shall require.

4. The secretariat shall distribute to member governments proposals and other documents relating to the agenda of any session

of the Council as far as possible in advance of the opening of such session.

Article V

The Central Committee

1. Meetings of the Central Committee may be convened by the Director General whenever he deems advisable and shall be convened by him within ten days after the request therefor by any member of the Central Committee.

2. The time and place of the meetings of the Central Committee shall be fixed by the Director General after consultation with the members of the Central Committee.

3. The meetings of the Central Committee shall be held in private unless it shall, by unanimous vote, decide that any meeting shall be public.

4. In accordance with Article III, section 3, of the Agreement, the Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representative of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

5. The minutes of each meeting of the Central Committee shall be sent as soon as possible to members of the Central Committee and to the representatives of those member governments participating in such meeting of the Central Committee, who shall, within forty-eight hours, inform the Director General of any corrections which they may desire to have made in the record of their own remarks. As corrected, the minutes shall be filed with the Director General and communicated promptly to each member government of the Administration.

6. At each session of the Council, the Director General shall render a full report on the work of the Central Committee since the preceding session of the Council.

Article VI

Committee Organization of the Council

1. At the opening of each session, the Council shall elect a Committee on Nominations consisting of eleven members of the Council. This Committee shall submit to the Council nominations

for the offices of Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Council, for the four members of the General Committee to be elected by the Council, and for appointments to each standing or other committee of the Council for which new appointments may be required.¹

2. At the opening of each session, the Council shall establish a General Committee consisting of the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Council, the members of the Central Committee, and four other members elected by the Council. The General Committee shall, subject to the concurrence of the Council and in consultation with the Director General, determine the order of business of the Council, set the date of adjournment of the session, fix the time and place of each meeting during the session, decide what matters are to be considered at each meeting, pass upon the provisional agenda in accordance with Article VIII of these Rules of Procedure, coordinate the work of all committees of the Council during the session, and otherwise facilitate the orderly dispatch of the business of the Council and its committees. The Chairman of the Council shall convene and preside at the meetings of the General Committee.

3. Subject to the provisions of Article III of the Agreement, the Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, designate the member governments to be represented on the Committee on Supplies, the Committee of the Council for Europe, the Committee of the Council for the Far East, and such other standing committees, other than standing technical committees, as the Council may establish.

4. In accordance with Article III of the Agreement, the Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, appoint the members of all standing technical committees which the Council may from time to time establish.

5. The rules of procedure applicable to all standing committees of the Council are set forth in Annex I to these Rules of Procedure.

6. The Council may appoint, or in particular cases authorize the appointment of, such temporary or special committees as may be required for advice or investigation, or for report on specific matters. Unless the Council decides otherwise, each temporary or special committee shall elect its own chairman and, if deemed necessary, a vice chairman and a rapporteur. The term of these commit-

¹Whenever the term "standing committee" appears in these Rules of Procedure, it shall be construed to include the Committee on Supplies of the Council.

tees shall end when their respective assignments have been completed or when the Council so decides.

7. Even when nominations are submitted to the Council by any committee pursuant to these Rules of Procedure and any Annex thereto, the members of the Council shall, within the limitations imposed by Article III of the Agreement, retain the right to propose and to vote for persons other than those nominated by such committee.

Article VII

Attendance of Observers

1. The Council and the Central Committee may invite observers, or may invite public international organizations, non-member governments or authorities, relief and welfare agencies or others to send observers, to attend all or any of their meetings or parts thereof, or to participate in such meetings or parts thereof, without vote, under such conditions as the Council or the Central Committee, respectively, shall determine. All such invitations shall be transmitted by the Director General.

Article VIII

Agenda

1. The provisional agenda of each session of the Council shall be prepared by the Director General, and shall include

- (a) all items proposed by the Council at any previous session;
- (b) all items proposed by the Central Committee;
- (c) all items proposed by any member of the Council and transmitted to the Director General at least ten days in advance of the session; and
- (d) any item which the Director General desires to put before the Council.

2. The provisional agenda shall be communicated to member governments as far as possible in advance of and not less than three weeks before the opening day of the session. Items transmitted to the Director General too late for inclusion will be at once communicated to member governments.

3. The provisional agenda so communicated shall be passed upon by the General Committee and submitted to the Council for approval as soon as convenient after the opening of any session.

4. The Council may later revise or add to the agenda.

Article IX

Procedure for the Conduct of Council Business

1. Every proposal which may be introduced into the Council by a member and which involves formal action by the Council on any item of the agenda shall forthwith be referred by the Chairman of the Council to the appropriate committee or committees. No action or vote shall be taken by the Council on any such proposal until a report thereon by such committee or committees has been presented and circulated to the members of the Council, unless the Council shall, by two-thirds vote, determine otherwise. Such reports shall, so far as practicable, be circulated at least twenty-four hours prior to the meeting at which the Council takes action or votes thereon.

2. The chairman or rapporteur of a committee shall be accorded preference for the purpose of explaining or defending the report of the Committee.

3. During the discussion of any question, any member may move the previous question or the adjournment. Any such motion shall have priority in the debate.

4. A member may at any time move the closure of the debate. If application is made to speak against the closure, it may be accorded to not more than two speakers. If the Council decides in favor of the closure, the Chairman shall declare the closure of the debate.

Article X

Voting

1. A majority of the members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for any formal action by the Council, except that for any proposal to amend the Agreement three-fourths of the members shall constitute a quorum.

2. Each member government represented on the Council or on any of its committees or subcommittees shall have only one vote.

3. When any representative is unable to attend one or more meetings of the Council, his place may be taken by an alternate. The name of such alternate shall be communicated to the Chairman of the Council.

4. Except as otherwise provided by the Agreement or by these Rules of Procedure, all decisions of the Council shall require an affirmative majority vote of the members present.

5. Voting shall be by show of hands except as hereinafter provided.

6. In case of doubt as to the result of any vote by show of hands, the Chairman shall cause a record vote to be taken.

7. A record vote shall be taken in all cases where a special majority is required by the Agreement.

8. A record vote shall also be taken on any question if requested in writing by not less than five members of the Council and handed to the Chairman in advance of the vote or immediately after a show of hands.

9. Record votes shall be taken by calling upon members in the alphabetical order of the governments which they represent.

10. The vote of each member participating in any record vote shall be inserted in the verbatim report of the meeting.

11. On decisions relating to individuals, a secret ballot shall be taken whenever requested in writing by at least five members of the Council.

Article XI

Languages of the Council

1. English shall be the official language of the Council and its committees.

2. Upon the request of any member of the Council that the final recommendations and resolutions of the Council and its committees shall be rendered both in English and in his own language, it shall be so provided.

Article XII

Records of Proceedings

1. A verbatim report of all plenary meetings held during each session of the Council shall be prepared by the secretariat and filed with the Director General. Such report shall be made available to any member government upon request. It shall not otherwise be distributed or published unless the Council shall decide to the contrary.

2. The secretariat shall prepare minutes of each session of the Council which shall be printed and circulated to member governments and which may be made public. The minutes of all private meetings shall be printed separately, distributed to member governments, and kept confidential.

3. The texts of all resolutions and formal decisions adopted at each session of the Council shall be transmitted by the Director

General to each member government as soon as practicable after the adjournment of the session.

Article XIII

Administrative Expenditures and Receipts

1. Regulations with respect to the administrative expenditures and receipts of the Administration are set forth in Annex II of these Rules of Procedure.

Article XIV

Suspension and Amendment of Rules of Procedure of the Council

1. Any of the foregoing Rules of Procedure may be suspended by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Council present at any meeting.

2. Amendments thereto may be adopted by a simple majority of the members present at any meeting subject to the proposal having first been reported upon by a committee of the Council.

Article XV

Transitory Provision

1. The adoption of the foregoing Rules of Procedure shall constitute a validation of the appointment of all standing committees of the Council made at its first session.

ANNEX I

Rules of Standing Committees of the Council¹

Article I

Appointment and Tenure of Committee

1. Subject to the provisions of Article III of the Agreement, the Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, appoint the members of the standing committees of the Council.

2. Such appointments, in the case of the Committee on Supplies, the standing regional committees, and such other standing committees other than standing technical committees, as the Council shall

¹Including the Committee on Supplies of the Council.

establish, shall be made by designating the member governments whose representatives or alternates shall serve as members of such committees.

3. In the case of standing technical committees, such appointments shall be made by naming members of the Council or alternates nominated by such members because of special competence in their respective fields of work.

4. Except in the case of appointments made by the Central Committee in accordance with section 5 below, the appointment of members of the Committee on Supplies, the standing regional committees, and such other standing committees other than standing technical committees as the Council shall establish, shall continue until changes or replacements therein are made by the Council. The appointment of members to the standing technical committees of the Council shall be made at each regular session of the Council. Until such appointments are made, the membership of such committees shall continue. Members of all standing committees shall be eligible for reappointment.

5. In accordance with Article III of the Agreement, the Central Committee, if previously authorized by the Council, may make emergency appointments to any standing committee between sessions of the Council. Such appointments shall continue until the next regular or special session of the Council.

6. Members of standing committees may be accompanied to the meetings thereof by advisers and assistants, who may participate in the discussions under such conditions as the committee shall prescribe but shall not be entitled to vote.

7. The travel and other expenses of members of the standing committees of the Council, and of their advisers and assistants, shall be borne by the member governments which have nominated them.

Article II

Meetings of Standing Committees of the Council

1. The Director General shall fix the time and place of the first meeting of each standing committee and he or his representative shall preside at the meeting until the committee has elected its chairman.

2. Subsequent meetings of each standing committee shall be convened by the chairman at such time and place as may be decided upon by the committee, provided that meetings of the Committee on Supplies, the Committee on Financial Control, and all technical

standing committees of the Council shall, in addition, be held so far as possible at the same time and place as each regular session of the Council. The chairman shall convene meetings of a standing committee whenever requested by at least one-third of its members.

3. The meetings of each standing committee shall be private unless the committee shall decide by a two-thirds vote of the members present that any meeting shall be public. Any standing committee may invite observers, or may invite other public international organizations, non-member governments or authorities, relief and welfare agencies or others to send observers, to attend all or any of its meetings or parts thereof, or to participate in such meetings or parts thereof, without vote, under such conditions as the committee shall determine.

Article III

Officers of Standing Committees of the Council

1. At its first meeting each standing committee shall elect a chairman, a first vice chairman, a second vice chairman and, if deemed necessary, one or more rapporteurs. The chairman and vice chairmen shall hold office until a new election takes place.

2. A new election of chairman and vice chairmen of any standing committee shall be held if, after a period of not less than a year from their election, the committee shall so decide. In this event, the election shall be held at the next meeting of the committee. The officers of all standing committees shall be eligible for reelection.

3. Upon the death, resignation, or inability to serve of any officer of any standing committee, an election to fill the vacancy thus created shall be held as soon as practicable.

4. Upon the death, resignation, or inability to serve of the chairman of any standing committee, the first vice chairman, or if he is not available the second vice chairman, shall serve as chairman *ad interim* until a new chairman is elected.*

5. The chairman, or a vice chairman acting as chairman, shall have the same powers and duties, in respect of committee meetings, as are provided for the Chairman of the Council in Article II, sections 3 and 5, of its Rules of Procedure.

*Resolution No. 48 adds the following:

"In the event of the temporary absence of the chairman during a meeting or any part thereof, the first vice chairman, or, if he is not available the second vice chairman, shall preside. A vice chairman acting as chairman shall have the same powers and duties as the chairman."

Article IV

Agenda of Committees

1. The provisional agenda for each meeting of each standing committee of the Council shall be prepared by the Director General or a Deputy Director General in consultation with the chairman of the committee, and shall include:

- (a) all items proposed by the committee at any previous meeting;
- (b) all items proposed by the Council, the Central Committee, or another standing committee of the Council;
- (c) all items proposed by any member of the committee and transmitted to the Director General at least five days in advance of the meeting; and
- (d) any item which the Director General desires to put before the committee.

2. The provisional agenda shall be communicated to the members of the committee as far as possible in advance of the meeting. Items transmitted to the Director General too late for inclusion in the provisional agenda shall be at once communicated to the members of the committee.

3. The committee may revise or add to the agenda.

Article V

Procedure for the Conduct of Committee Business

1. A majority of the members of each standing committee shall constitute a quorum for any formal action by such committee.

2. Unless otherwise provided by these rules, all decisions of a standing committee shall require an affirmative majority voting of the members present at the meeting.

3. Any standing committee may establish such *ad hoc* subcommittees as it considers necessary for the facilitation of its work. The chairman of the committee shall, with the approval of the committee, appoint the chairman and members of each such subcommittee, which shall report only to the committee which established it. In case of need, the chairman may proceed to appoint such *ad hoc* subcommittees with the authorization of a majority of the members, subject to subsequent formal approval by the committee.

4. Any request from a regional committee to any technical committee for the establishment of a technical subcommittee to advise

the regional committee shall be transmitted to the Director General, who shall forthwith inform the chairman and members of the technical committee concerned. (The chairman of the technical committee shall, with the approval of the committee, appoint the chairman and members of each such subcommittee.)* In case of need, the chairman may proceed to appoint such technical subcommittees with the authorization of a majority of the members, subject to subsequent formal approval by the committee.

5. Any subcommittee so appointed shall report to the regional committee concerned through the appropriate representative of the Director General, who will transmit copies of the report to the Director General for his information. A copy of the report shall be distributed to the technical committee and to any other standing committee concerned.

6. Each standing committee may adopt such other rules governing the conduct of its business and the business of its subcommittees as are not inconsistent with the Agreement, the Permanent Rules of Procedure of the Council, and any Annex thereto.

Article VI

Records and Reports of Standing Committees

1. All reports and recommendations of standing committees, whether made on their initiative or at the request of the Council, the Central Committee, the Director General, or any member government, shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee.

2. The secretary of each standing committee shall prepare minutes of each meeting which shall contain a record of the conclusions reached by the committee. When approved by the chairman, the minutes shall be filed with the Director General, who shall distribute a copy thereof to each member government of the Administration.

3. A verbatim report of the meetings of any standing committee shall be kept if the committee so decides. Such report shall be filed with the Director General and made available to any member government of the Administration upon specific request, but shall not otherwise be distributed or published.

*Resolution No. 48 substitutes the following for this sentence:

"If the regional committee so desires, it may submit to the Director General for transmission to the chairman of the technical committee, the names of qualified persons, for appointment to such technical subcommittees."

Article VII

Amendment of Annex I

1. The rules contained in this Annex shall apply to all standing committees of the Council but not to the Central Committee.

2. The rules contained in this Annex may be amended by the Council in the same manner as provided for the amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Council.

ANNEX II

Regulations With Respect to Expenditures and Receipts of the Administration

1. The fiscal year of the Administration shall be the calendar year.

2. The Director General shall submit to the Council at its regular session next preceding the commencement of the calendar year an annual budget covering the estimated administrative expenses of the Administration for that year. The budget for the calendar year 1944 shall include estimated administrative expenditures for the year 1944 and for the unexpired part of the year 1943. The budget shall be accompanied by a statement of the estimated receipts, a statement of the actual expenditures through the end of the quarter preceding the submission of the budget, and by an explanation and justification of the amount budgeted.

3. The Director General may submit to any session of the Council supplementary budgets or a budget amending a previously approved budget.

4. The proposed budget or a supplementary budget shall be referred for consideration to the appropriate committee of the Council for report, comment, and recommendation for action by the Council.

5. The approval of the budget or a supplementary budget by the Council shall make available to the Director General from the general resources of the Administration, for obligations and expenditures for administrative purposes during the year to which the budget relates, the amount specified therein but not exceeding such amount.

6. Pending the consideration which may be required for the final determination of a method of allocation, the amount of administrative expenses of the Administration approved by the Council in the annual budget or in a supplementary budget shall be allocated for

the year 1944 to member governments in the proportions shown in the resolution adopted by the Council relating to the Administrative Budget and the allocation of administrative expenses. The consideration of the question whether the proportions shown in the Appendix require revision in order to provide a method of allocation for subsequent years appropriate to the Administration shall be referred to an appropriate committee of the Council upon its establishment. The Council recognizes that the criterion of allocations hitherto adopted by other bodies is not suitable to the Administration.

The allocation to member governments for the succeeding year shall be adjusted for any differences between the provisional allocations and those finally determined.

Upon the admission of a government as a member, its share of administrative expense shall be fixed by the Council upon recommendation by the appropriate committee of the Council.

7. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined. A member government may treat its share of the administrative expense as included in its general contribution for participation in the work of the Administration.

8. The Director General shall prescribe the procedure for setting up and maintaining accounts showing administrative and operating expenditures and the receipts from each government of its contribution, including its share of the administrative expense.

9. The Director General shall make provision for the bonding of employees to insure the Administration against loss by their acts.

10. The Director General shall designate the depositories of any funds held in the name of the Administration.

11. The Director General shall, in consultation with the appropriate member government, select such fiscal agents for the Administration as he may require.

12. The Director General shall submit to the appropriate committee of the Council, quarterly reports of operating and administrative expenditures and receipts, and copies thereof furnished to each member of the Council.

13. Upon nomination by the appropriate committee of the Council the Council shall appoint a person or firm to make annually an independent audit of the accounts and records of the Administration,

tion, and a copy of each audit shall be furnished to each member of the Council.

APPENDIX V

INTERNATIONAL SANITARY CONVENTION, 1944

Modifying the International Sanitary Convention of 21 June 1926

The governments signatory hereto

Considering that the International Office of Public Health created by the Agreement signed at Rome on December 9, 1907, is unable for the time being to carry out effectively all of the duties and functions assigned to it in the Annex to that Agreement; in the International Sanitary Convention, 1926; in the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1933; and in other Conventions or Agreements relating to the public health;

Having entrusted the task of solving this temporary problem by the preparation of emergency agreements and arrangements for the notification of epidemic diseases and for uniformity in quarantine regulations to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (hereinafter referred to as UNRRA), in accordance with Resolution No. 8 (2) adopted by the Council of UNRRA at its First Session, without prejudice however to the status of the International Office of Public Health which it is hoped will be able at the expiry of the present Convention to resume the above-mentioned duties and functions; and having received the recommendations of UNRRA in this connection;

Having agreed that, in regard to the American Republics, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau shall continue to act as the General Coordinating Sanitary Agency, including the general collection and distribution of sanitary information to and from the said Republics, as specified in the Pan American Sanitary Code and recognized heretofore by the International Office of Public Health;

Desiring also to modify as between themselves the provisions of the International Sanitary Convention signed in Paris on 21 June 1926, as modified by the Sanitary Convention signed in Paris in 1933, insofar as the provisions of the Convention of 1933 may be in force between the respective Governments (hereinafter referred to as *the 1926 Convention*), in the light of the present-day conditions which call for special measures to prevent the spread by land and sea across frontiers of epidemic or other communicable diseases;

Have decided to conclude a Convention for these purposes, have

agreed that, whereas the authentic text of the 1926 Convention is in the French language, the present Convention shall be in French as well as in English, both texts being equally authentic, and have accordingly appointed the undersigned Plenipotentiaries who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed that the 1926 Convention shall be amended as follows:

Article I

All references in the 1926 Convention to the International Office of Public Health shall be read as references to UNRRA.

Article II

The second paragraph of *Preliminary Provisions* (2) shall be deleted and the following substituted:

The word *surveillance* means that persons are not isolated, that they may move about freely, but that the sanitary authorities of the place or places to which they are proceeding are notified of their coming. They may be subjected in the places of arrival to a medical examination and such inquiries as are necessary with a view to ascertaining their state of health; and, in any territory where the competent Contracting Party thinks fit, surveillance may include requirement to report on arrival and afterwards at such intervals during continuance of surveillance as may be specified, to the Health Officer of the city, town, district, or place to which they proceed.

Article III

The following definitions shall be added to the *Preliminary Provisions*:

5. The term *typhus*, *typhus fever*, or *exanthematous typhus* in the 1926 Convention and in the present Convention shall be deemed to relate only to epidemic louse-borne typhus.

6. The term *Stegomyia*, *Stegomyia* (*Aedes aegypti*) or *Stegomyia calopus* (*Aedes aegypti*) shall be deemed to include *Aedes aegypti* and any potential mosquito vectors of yellow fever.

Article IV

To *Article I*, the following shall be added:

Every Contracting Party shall, in addition to the diseases specifically mentioned in this Article, to wit, plague, cholera, yellow fever,

typhus, and smallpox, notify to UNRRA outbreaks of such other communicable diseases as, in the opinion of that Party or in the opinion of UNRRA, constitute a menace to other countries by their spread or potential spread across frontiers, and shall keep UNRRA regularly informed of the course of the disease and the measures taken to prevent its spread. The provisions of the 1926 Convention as amended or supplemented by the present Convention shall, unless clearly inapplicable, apply to the above-mentioned other communicable diseases.

Article V

In *Article 3* the word "Paris" in the second paragraph shall be deleted and the words "London or Washington" shall be substituted.

To *Article 3*, the following shall be added:

In order to facilitate the prompt and scrupulous fulfilment of the foregoing provisions, the Contracting Parties shall ensure priority for all communications which may enable UNRRA rapidly to appraise the situation concerning the outbreak of a disease and to inform governments in order that they may take appropriate measures against the spread of the disease across their frontiers.

Article VI

After *Article 5*, the following shall be inserted:

Article 5A. In addition to carrying out the system of notification and intelligence prescribed in Part I, Chapter I of the 1926 Convention, which remains in full force, the Parties to the present Convention shall transmit promptly to UNRRA the notifications and other information prescribed in Part I of the 1926 Convention.

Article 5B (1). In addition to the formal notification required above, the Contracting Parties shall, so far as possible, send to the Health Organization of UNRRA at regular intervals notifications of communicable diseases notified in their countries.

(2). The Contracting Parties shall make the necessary arrangements with UNRRA for giving prompt information to all the governments concerned of the outbreak in their respective countries of a disease which, in the opinion of UNRRA, constitutes a menace to other countries and of the measures which are being taken to prevent the spread of the disease across frontiers.

Article VII

To Article 13, the following shall be added:

In a country where there exists a communicable disease, the subject of a formal notification under any international sanitary or quarantine convention for the time being in force, the Sanitary Authority in that country may prohibit the embarkation on board a ship on international voyage of persons suffering from the disease, and of persons in such relations to the sick as to render them liable to transmit the disease, unless the Medical Officer of the port of embarkation is satisfied that measures can be taken to board the ship to prevent the spread of the disease to the other persons on board. The Medical Officer of the port of embarkation, or other authorized officer of the sanitary authority, if he has reason to suspect any clothing, bedding or other article of personal use which belongs to or is intended for use by persons embarking to be infected, may examine and require the disinfection of any such clothing, bedding, or other article of personal use before it is taken on board.

The measures enumerated in this Article shall be taken as far in advance of the sailing date of the ship as possible in order not unduly to delay the ship's departure.

Nothing in this Article shall affect the power of the Master of the ship to refuse to embark sick persons.

Article VIII

In Article 15, the following shall be inserted between the third and fourth paragraphs:

If on the call or arrival of any ship at a port there is on board a case of infectious disease duly verified by the port medical officer, not being a case of plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus, or small-pox, the usual measures in force in the country in which the port is situated shall be applied subject always to the provisions of Article 54 of the 1926 Convention.

In carrying out measures for control of the spread of communicable disease across frontiers, particularly in regard to the movement of displaced populations conveyed by international maritime transport, the Contracting Parties will not delay any ship at any point of her voyage longer than is necessary for the medical examination of crew and passengers, for the disembarkation (if such is

considered necessary) of persons suffering from communicable disease, and of their bedding and personal effects, and for the disinfection of the accommodation they occupied. The ship shall not be employed as a means of isolation of the sick, or of their contacts, unless such isolation can be effected without delaying or unduly interfering with her movements.

Article IX

The footnote to Article 25 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

IN ALL CASES where this convention provides for surveillance, surveillance may not be replaced by observation except

- (a) in circumstances in which it would not be practicable to carry out surveillance with sufficient thoroughness; or
- (b) if the risk of the introduction of infection into the country is considered to be exceptionally serious; or
- (c) if the person who would be subject to surveillance cannot furnish adequate sanitary guarantees.

Persons under observation or surveillance shall submit themselves to any examination which the competent sanitary authority may consider necessary.

Article X

In Articles 35 (a), 36 (4), and 47 the words "200 meters" shall be deleted and the words "400 meters" shall be substituted.

Article XI

To Article 40 the following shall be added:

With a view to the elimination of *Stegomyia (Aedes aegypti)* as an important step in the control of the spread of yellow fever, the Contracting Parties shall, in the light of their knowledge and experience of the control of the yellow fever vector, render and maintain free from *Stegomyia (Aedes aegypti)* (a) ports and their surroundings in endemic areas, and (b) ports not situated in endemic areas but exposed to the risk of the introduction of the disease. They shall also use their best endeavors to secure that personnel employed in the handling of ships in ports in endemic areas and in ports specially exposed to risk shall be inoculated against yellow fever.

The Contracting Parties agree that all persons inoculated in compliance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph of this Article shall be furnished with and carry an inoculation certificate signed by the officer carrying out the inoculation. This certificate shall conform to the International Form of Certificate of Inoculation against yellow fever annexed hereto.

Persons in possession of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate shall not for the purpose of the control of yellow fever be subjected to quarantine restrictions.

In place of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate, a certificate that the bearer has recovered from an attack of yellow fever and that his blood contains immune bodies against yellow fever, as proved by a test carried out by an institute regularly carrying out biological tests for yellow fever and approved for this purpose by the government of the country concerned, will be accepted.

Article XII

In Article 41 (4) and (5), before the word "disinfected" the words "disinfected and" shall be inserted.

To Article 41 the following shall be added:

The Contracting Parties will use their best endeavors to secure that ships trading with areas infected with typhus shall carry a sufficient quantity of an effective insecticide for the personal protection of the crew and passengers, and will give favorable consideration to the inoculation against typhus of all persons on board exposed to risk.

Article XIII

Article 42 (3) shall be deleted and the following substituted:

(3) Other persons reasonably suspected to have been exposed to infection on board, and who, in the opinion of the sanitary authority, are not sufficiently protected by recent vaccination, or by a previous attack of smallpox, may be subjected to vaccination or to observation or to surveillance, or to vaccination followed by observation or surveillance, the period of observation or surveillance being specified according to the circumstances, but in any event not exceeding 14 days, reckoned from the date of arrival of the ship.

In Article 42 the following shall be inserted as the penultimate paragraph:

For the purpose of this Article "recent vaccination" shall be taken as meaning evidence of successful vaccination not more than

3 years or less than 14 days previously, or evidence of an immune reaction.

To Article 42 shall be added "Vaccination of such persons may be performed."

Article XIV

In Article 43 after the word "crew" in the first paragraph shall be added the words "and passengers."

Article XV

Article 49 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

The Contracting Parties agree that bills of health and consular visas shall be abolished as soon as the conditions of hostilities permit the establishment of effective epidemiological communications. The Master of every foreign-going vessel approaching the first port in a territory shall ascertain the state of health of all persons on board and shall prepare and sign a Declaration of Health which shall be countersigned by the ship's surgeon, if one is carried, to be handed to the appropriate authority.

Article XVI

To Article 57 the following shall be added:

The Contracting Parties will, so far as possible, adopt the International Forms of Certificates of Inoculation or Vaccination against cholera and typhus, and smallpox, respectively, annexed hereto.*

For the purposes of the present Convention the period of incubation is reckoned as 6 days in the case of plague, 5 days in the case of cholera, 6 days in the case of yellow fever, 12 days in the case of typhus, and 14 days in the case of smallpox.

Article XVII

Article 58 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

Observation may, if considered necessary, be enforced at land frontiers. Persons may be directed to the places which have been designated for frontier traffic, and sanitary stations, equipped in accordance with the terms of Article 22 of the 1926 Convention, shall be set up at such places. These places and the measures taken shall be notified immediately to the countries concerned and to

*With regard to yellow fever see Article XI.

UNRRA. Individuals who have been in contact with a person suffering from a disease referred to in Article I of the 1926 Convention, and their bedding and effects, may be subjected to the appropriate sanitary measures. In the case of persons suffering from a communicable disease not referred to in Article I, the measures in force in the country of arrival shall be applied.

Article XVIII

Article 63 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

Railway carriages for mail or luggage and goods trains may not be detained at the frontier longer than is necessary to apply the necessary sanitary measures for the prevention of the entry of communicable diseases into the country concerned.

Article XIX

To Article 65 the following shall be added:

In framing regulations under this Article, the Contracting Parties will consult UNRRA and will inform UNRRA of the regulation and of the date of their entry into force.

Article XX

To Article 66 the following shall be added:

In the application of Articles 58 to 66 inclusive of the 1926 Convention, as amended by the present Convention, to any persons coming within the category of "displaced persons," the Contracting Parties shall be entitled to make such modifications as may be required by any special international arrangements under schemes to be organized by governments and by UNRRA for dealing with such persons.

And the Contracting Parties have further agreed as follows:

Article XXI

The present Convention shall come into force as soon as it has been signed or acceded to on behalf of ten or more governments.

Article XXII

The present Convention shall supplement and be read as one with the 1926 Convention, which as hereby amended remains in full

force as between the Contracting Parties, and whenever any provision of the 1926 Convention contains a reference to another provision, the reference shall be deemed to be a reference to that provision as modified by any amendments effected thereto by the present Convention.

Article XXIII

After January 15, 1945, the present Convention shall be open to accession by any government not a signatory. Accessions shall be notified in writing to the Government of the United States of America.

Accessions notified after the entry in force of the present Convention shall become effective with respect to each government upon the notification of its accession.

Article XXIV

Any contracting party may on signature or accession declare that the present Convention does not apply to all or any of its colonies, overseas territories, territories under its protection, suzerainty, or authority, or territories in respect of which it exercises a mandate. The present Convention may at any time thereafter be applied to any such territory by notification in writing to the Government of the United States of America, and the Convention shall apply to the territory concerned from the date of the receipt of the notification by the Government of the United States of America.

Article XXV

The Government of the United States of America shall give notice in writing to governments parties to the 1926 Convention, and to governments parties to the present Convention, of all signatures and accessions to the present Convention and of all notifications regarding the territories to which the present Convention is to be applied.

Article XXVI

The present Convention shall remain in force as to each Contracting Party until either

1. such Party shall become bound by a further Convention, amending or superseding the 1926 Convention, or
2. the expiration of eighteen months from the date on which the present Convention enters into force,

whichever shall be earlier.

Article XXVII

The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America and shall be opened for signature at Washington on December 15, 1944. Certified copies hereof shall be furnished by the Government of the United States of America to each of the governments on behalf of which this Convention is signed or acceded to and to each of the governments parties to the 1926 Convention.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, having deposited their full powers, found to be in due and proper form, sign the present Convention in the French and English languages, both texts being equally authentic, on behalf of their respective governments on the dates appearing opposite their signatures.

APPENDIX VI

INTERNATIONAL SANITARY CONVENTION FOR AERIAL NAVIGATION, 1944

Modifying the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation of 12 April 1933

The governments signatory hereto,

Considering that the International Office of Public Health created by the Agreement signed at Rome on December 9, 1907, is unable for the time being to carry out effectively all of the duties and functions assigned to it in the Annex to that Agreement; in the International Sanitary Convention, 1926; in the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1933; and in other Conventions or Agreements relating to the public health;

Having entrusted the task of solving this temporary problem by the preparation of emergency agreements and arrangements for the notification of epidemic diseases and for uniformity in quarantine regulations to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (hereinafter referred to as UNRRA), in accordance with Resolution No. 8 (2) adopted by the Council of UNRRA at its first session, without prejudice however to the status of the International Office of Public Health which it is hoped will be able at the expiry of the present Convention to resume the above-mentioned duties and functions; and having received the recommendations of UNRRA in this connection;

Having agreed that, in regard to the American Republics, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau shall continue to act as the General Coordinating Sanitary Agency, including the general collection and distribution of sanitary information to and from the said Republics, as specified in the Pan American Sanitary Code and recognized heretofore by the International Office of Public Health;

Desiring also to modify as between themselves the provisions of the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation signed at The Hague on April 12, 1933 (hereinafter referred to as "*the 1933 Convention*") in the light of the present-day conditions which call for special measures to prevent the spread by air across frontiers of epidemic or other communicable diseases;

Have decided to conclude a Convention for these purposes, have agreed that, whereas the authentic text of the 1933 Convention is in the French language, the present Convention shall be in French as well as in English, both texts being equally authentic, and have accordingly appointed the undersigned Plenipotentiaries who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed that the 1933 Convention shall be amended as follows:

Article I

All references in the 1933 Convention to the International Office of Public Health shall be read as references to UNRRA.

Article II

The second paragraph of Article 1, subparagraph VI, shall be deleted and the following substituted:

The word *surveillance* means that persons are not isolated, that they may move about freely, but that the sanitary authorities of the place or places to which they are proceeding are notified of their coming. They may be subjected in the places of arrival to a medical examination and such inquiries as are necessary with a view to ascertaining their state of health; and, in any territory where the competent Contracting Party thinks fit, surveillance may include requirements to report on arrival and afterwards at such intervals during continuance of surveillance as may be specified, to the Health Officer of the city, town, district, or place to which they proceed.

Article III

To Article 1, the following definitions shall be added:

VIII. The term *typhus*, *typhus fever*, or *exanthematous typhus* shall be deemed to relate only to epidemic louse-borne typhus.

IX. An *endemic yellow fever area* is a region in which yellow fever exists in a form recognizable clinically, biologically, or pathologically.

X. A *valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate* is one certifying that the bearer has been inoculated against yellow fever, with a vaccine and by a method approved by UNRRA, if there have elapsed:

1. More than 10 days and less than 4 years from the date of the inoculation.
2. Less than 4 years from the date of a reinoculation performed within 4 years of the previous inoculation.
3. More than 10 days and less than 4 years from the date of reinoculation performed after an interval of more than 4 years.

XI. The term *Stegomyia (Aedes aegypti)* shall be deemed to include *Aedes aegypti* and any potential mosquito vectors of yellow fever.

Article IV

Article 9 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

1. All passengers travelling by aircraft on international flight shall, on or just before arrival at the point of final disembarkation, or, if required, at any aerodrome where the journey is broken, complete a Personal Declaration of Origin and Health.

2. The Commander of an aircraft on international flight shall, on or just before the arrival of the aircraft at the first authorized aerodrome in the country of entry, complete an Aircraft Declaration of Health to be handed to the aerodrome authority on arrival, and may be required to produce certificates concerning sanitary measures which such declaration states were undergone by the aircraft before departure or at stopping places in application of the 1933 Convention as hereby amended.

3. Aircraft shall not be required to carry Bills of Health.

4. The Contracting Parties will, so far as possible, adopt the International Forms of Aircraft Declaration of Health, Personal Declaration of Origin and Health, and Certificates of Inoculation or

Vaccination against cholera, typhus, and smallpox respectively, annexed hereto.*

Article V

To Article 13 the following shall be added:

Further, the embarkation of persons who do not present adequate sanitary guarantees may be prohibited, until the sanitary measures—delousing, disinfection of clothing, etc., or any other measures that are, in the opinion of the sanitary authority, necessary to prevent the carriage of the disease by aircraft, have been carried out.

Article VI

To Article 16 after "sanitary measures" at the end of the first paragraph the words "including cleansing" shall be added.

Article VII

Article 20 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

1. Each Contracting Party shall immediately notify, by the most rapid means, the other Contracting Parties and UNRRA of

(a) The first recognized case of plague, cholera, or yellow fever discovered in its territory.

(b) The first recognized case of plague, cholera, or yellow fever which occurs outside the limits of local areas already affected.

(c) The existence of an epidemic of typhus or of smallpox.

2. Every notification prescribed above shall be accompanied, or very promptly followed, by detailed information as to

(a) The place where the disease has appeared.

(b) The date of its appearance, its source, and its type (including reports of pathological examinations as soon as available).

(c) The number of recognized cases and the number of deaths.

(d) The extent of the local area or areas affected.

(e) In the case of plague, the existence of that disease, or of an unusual mortality, among rodents (including reports of bacteriological examinations as soon as available).

(f) In the case of cholera, the number of germ carriers when any have been discovered.

*With regard to yellow fever see Article XI.

(g) In the case of yellow fever, the presence and relative prevalence (index) of *Stegomyia (Aedes aegypti)*.

(h) The measures taken.

3. Each Contracting Party shall, in addition to the diseases specifically mentioned in Article 18 of the 1933 Convention, to wit, plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus, and smallpox, notify outbreaks of such other communicable diseases as, in the opinion of UNRRA constitute a menace to other countries by their spread or potential spread across frontiers and shall keep UNRRA regularly informed of the course of the disease.

4. In addition to the formal notification required by paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) above, the Contracting Parties shall, so far as possible, send to UNRRA at regular intervals notifications of other communicable diseases notified in their countries.

5. The Contracting Parties shall make the necessary arrangements with UNRRA for giving prompt information to all the governments concerned of the outbreak in any country of a disease which, in the opinion of UNRRA, constitutes a menace to other countries, and of the measures which are being taken to prevent the spread of the disease across frontiers by aircraft.

6. The notifications contemplated in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Article are to be addressed to the diplomatic missions, or, failing them, to consular offices in the capital of the infected country and shall be held at the disposition of consular offices established in its territory.

7. These notifications shall also be addressed to UNRRA which shall communicate them immediately to all diplomatic missions, or, failing them, to the consulates in London or Washington as well as to the principal public health authorities of the participating countries. Those prescribed under paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Article shall be transmitted by telegraph or radio.

8. The appropriate health authority of each Contracting Party shall transmit to the sanitary and authorized aerodromes of its country or within its jurisdiction, all information contained in the epidemiological notifications and communications received from UNRRA (and the regional bureaus with which it has made agreements for this purpose) in execution of the provisions of the International Sanitary Convention of June 21, 1926, which may affect the exercise of sanitary control in those aerodromes.

9. In order to facilitate the prompt and scrupulous fulfilment of the foregoing provisions, the Contracting Parties shall ensure pri-

ority for all communications which may enable UNRRA rapidly to appraise the situation concerning the outbreak of a disease and to inform governments in order that they may take appropriate measures against the spread of the disease across their frontiers.

Article VIII

The second paragraph of Article 32 shall be deleted.

Article IX

In Article 34, paragraph (b), the following shall be inserted after sub-paragraph (3):

(4) The Contracting Parties shall give favorable consideration to the inoculation against typhus of all persons on board exposed to risk.

Sub-paragraphs (4) and (5) of Article 34 shall be renumbered (5) and (6) respectively.

Article X

Article 35(b) (3) shall be deleted and the following substituted:

(3) Other persons reasonably suspected to have been exposed to infection and who, in the opinion of the sanitary authority, are not sufficiently protected by recent vaccination, or by a previous attack of smallpox, may be subjected to vaccination or to observation or to surveillance, or to vaccination followed by observation or surveillance, the period of observation or surveillance being specified according to the circumstances, but in any event not exceeding 14 days, reckoned from the date of arrival of the aircraft.

The final paragraph of Article 35 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

For the purpose of this Article "recent vaccination" shall be taken as meaning evidence of successful vaccination not more than three years or less than 14 days previously, or evidence of an immune reaction.

Article XI

Article 36 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

The Contracting Parties agree:

(1) That persons suffering, or suspected to be suffering from

yellow fever shall not be allowed to embark on aircraft on international flight.

(2) That they will take all possible measures to establish the existence or non-existence of yellow fever within their territories. For this purpose, in territories where endemicity of yellow fever is suspected, in cases where the person dies within 10 days from the onset of any undiagnosed febrile illness, it is important that a specimen of liver tissue be taken, if necessary by viscerotome, for histo-pathological examination. In endemic areas a sample of blood for a yellow fever immunity test should, in addition, wherever possible, be taken from all persons suffering from an undiagnosed fever, and if the cause of the fever remains doubtful and the patient recovers, a second sample should be collected at the end of the third week from the onset of illness.

(3) For the purpose of quarantine control, UNRRA in consultation with the governments concerned and, as regards the Western Hemisphere, with the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, shall define the boundaries of endemic yellow fever areas.

(4) That they shall use their best endeavors to secure that all persons who are likely to land in an endemic yellow fever area shall be inoculated against yellow fever 10 days before arrival in the area and that, so long as such persons remain in the area, they shall be re-inoculated every 4 years.

(5) (a) That inoculation against yellow fever shall be required for all regular staff employees and crews using authorized aerodromes situated in endemic yellow fever areas.

(b) That in areas in which yellow fever does not exist, but in which there may be conditions permitting of its development, inoculation of such personnel is recommended.

(6) That all persons inoculated in compliance with the provisions of paragraphs (4) and (5) of this Article shall be furnished with an carry an Inoculation Certificate signed by the officer carrying out the inoculation. This certificate shall conform to the International Form of Certificate of Inoculation against yellow fever annexed hereto.

(7) That persons in possession of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate shall not, for the purpose of the control of yellow fever, be subjected to quarantine restrictions.

(8) That in place of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate, a certificate that the bearer has recovered from an attack of yellow fever and that his blood contains immune bodies against

yellow fever, as proved by a test carried out by an Institute regularly carrying out biological tests for yellow fever and approved for this purpose by the government of the country concerned, will be accepted.

(9) That any person not in possession of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate shall be considered to have been exposed to the risk of contracting yellow fever during the period of his stay in an endemic yellow fever area.

(10) That UNRRA shall lay down standards with which yellow fever vaccine shall conform.

(11) That they will make arrangements to test at frequent intervals the activity of the yellow fever immunizing vaccine in use in order to ensure that its immunizing properties are satisfactory, and for this purpose agree that UNRRA in consultation with the governments concerned and, as regards the Western Hemisphere, with the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, shall designate from time to time institutes which are approved for the carrying out of such tests.

Article XII

Article 38 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

Notwithstanding *Article 4* of the 1933 Convention, every aerodrome which receives aircraft to which the 1933 Convention as amended applies (*Article 1, I, second paragraph*) and which is situated in a region, that is to say, a part of a territory, in which yellow fever exists in a form clinically, biologically or pathologically recognizable shall be made a sanitary aerodrome as defined in the 1933 Convention, and in addition, shall be:

(1) Situated at an adequate distance from the nearest inhabited center;*

(2) provided with arrangements for a water supply completely protected against mosquitoes, and kept as free as possible from mosquitoes by systematic measures for the suppression of breeding places and the destruction of the insects in all stages of development;

(3) provided with mosquito-proofed dwellings for the crews of the aircraft and for the staff of the aerodrome;

*For the purpose of mosquito control the perimeter of the aerodrome should be defined as the line enclosing the area containing the aerodrome buildings and any land used or intended to be used for the parking of aircraft. A building-free zone of 400 meters should be maintained around the perimeter of all aerodromes on main air lines of communications within endemic yellow fever areas.

(4) provided with a mosquito-proofed dwelling in which passengers can be accommodated or hospitalized.

With a view to the elimination of insect vectors of yellow fever, the Contracting Parties will render and maintain free from such vectors (a) aerodromes and their surroundings in endemic yellow fever areas, and (b) aerodromes not situated in endemic yellow fever areas but exposed to the risk of the introduction of the disease.

As an immediate precaution against the carriage of vectors of yellow fever, disinsectization of aircraft shall be carried out at each aerodrome within an endemic yellow fever area, particularly on departure from the last aerodrome in an endemic yellow fever area.

Health authorities in any territory within an endemic yellow fever area shall be at liberty to impose such quarantine restrictions against other territories within that area as may be authorized by the 1933 Convention as hereby amended. Detention of healthy passengers and crews not carrying valid Inoculation Certificates shall not be carried out at the aerodrome of departure.

They shall be permitted to depart, the necessary quarantine measures being carried out at the first aerodrome of arrival in an area at risk.

Article XIII

*Articles 39 to 46 inclusive shall be deleted.**

Article XIV

Article 47 shall be deleted, and the following substituted:

(1) In territories in which yellow fever does not exist, but in which there may be conditions which permit of its development

(a) authorized aerodromes shall conform to the requirements set forth in Article 38 of the 1933 Convention as hereby amended;

(b) upon arrival at the first aerodrome of call aircraft which have proceeded from endemic yellow fever areas shall be disinsected.

(2) All persons travelling by air from an endemic yellow fever area to one in which yellow fever does not exist but in which there may be conditions which permit of its development, shall be dealt

*In view of the deletion of Article 40, compliance with the requirements of Article 38 as amended shall no longer cause aerodromes situated in an endemic yellow fever area to be regarded as "anti-amaryl aerodromes" and separate local areas. Passengers landing at such aerodromes shall submit to the measures laid down in Article 38 as required.

with in the following manner, at the first stopping place in the latter area

(a) If they are in possession of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate they shall be allowed to proceed without any quarantine restrictions with respect to yellow fever;

(b) If they are not in possession of a valid anti-yellow fever inoculation certificate, they may be isolated in properly screened quarters until the certificate becomes valid or until 6 days have elapsed, whichever is the lesser.

(3) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this Article, the Contracting Parties may (but only in the most exceptional cases) issue Certificates of Urgency to non-inoculated persons whose unobstructed passage is absolutely and immediately essential on grounds of high policy, certifying that a passage without hindrance to the bearer of the Certificate is urgently necessary.

The precise form and method of issue of the Certificate and the nature of the certifying authority shall be a matter for arrangement and communication between governments concerned.

The Contracting Parties undertake to grant unimpeded passage to bearers of such Certificates but the movements of such Certificate holders will, whenever possible, be restricted during stops on air routes to adequately screened quarters which will not be left except to re-enter the aircraft.

Article XV

The first line of Article 51 shall be altered to read "The following measures may be taken on arrival:"

Article XVI

Article 53 shall be deleted, and the following substituted:

Persons who, on their arrival at an aerodrome, are considered, under the terms of Part III of the 1933 Convention as hereby amended, liable to surveillance* up to the expiration of the period

*IN ALL CASES where this Convention provides for surveillance, surveillance may not be replaced by observation except

(a) in circumstances in which it would not be practicable to carry out surveillance with sufficient thoroughness; or

(b) if the risk of the introduction of infection into the country is considered to be exceptionally serious; or

(c) if the person who would be subject to surveillance cannot furnish adequate sanitary guarantees.

Persons under observation or surveillance shall submit themselves to any examination which the competent sanitary authority may consider necessary.

of incubation of the disease, may nevertheless continue the voyage, on condition that the fact is notified to the authorities of subsequent landing places and of the place of arrival by some method sufficient to secure that they can be subjected to medical inspection in any subsequent aerodromes on the route.

Persons who are liable to observation, under the terms of Article 26 of the 1933 Convention shall not be authorized, until the expiration of the period of incubation, to continue their voyage except, in the case of diseases other than yellow fever, with the approval of the sanitary authorities of the next stopping place.

Article XVII

The first paragraph of Article 54 shall be deleted and the following substituted:

In applying sanitary measures to an aircraft coming from an infected local area, the sanitary authority of each aerodrome shall, to the greatest possible extent, take into account all measures which have already been applied to the aircraft, in another sanitary aerodrome abroad or in the same country, and which are duly noted in the Aircraft Declaration of Health referred to in Article 14 of the present Convention.

To Article 54 the following paragraph shall be added:

In view of the special risk of conveying insect vectors of malaria and other diseases by aircraft on international flight, all such aircraft leaving affected areas will be disinfected. Notwithstanding the terms of Article 54 of the 1933 Convention as hereby amended, further disinsectization of the aircraft on or before arrival may be required if there is reason to suspect the importation of insect vectors.

And the Contracting Parties have further agreed as follows:

Article XVIII

The present Convention shall come into force as soon as it has been signed or acceded to on behalf of ten or more governments.

Article XIX

The present Convention shall supplement and be read as one with the 1933 Convention, which, as hereby amended, remains in full force between the Contracting Parties, and whenever any provision

of the 1933 Convention contains a reference to another provision, the reference shall be deemed to be a reference to that provision as modified by any amendments effected thereto by the present Convention.

Article XX

After January 15, 1945 the present Convention shall be open to accession by any government not a signatory. Accessions shall be notified in writing to the Government of the United States of America.

Accessions notified after the entry into force of the present Convention shall become effective with respect to each government upon the notification of its accession.

Article XXI

Any contracting party may on signature or accession declare that the present Convention does not apply to all or any of its colonies, overseas territories, territories under its protection, suzerainty or authority, or territories in respect of which it exercises a mandate. The present Convention may at any time thereafter be applied to any such territory by notification in writing to the Government of the United States of America and the Convention shall apply to the territory concerned from the date of the receipt of the notification by the Government of the United States of America.

Article XXII

The Government of the United States of America shall give notice in writing to governments parties to the 1933 Convention and to governments parties to the present Convention, of all signatures and accessions to the present Convention and of all notifications regarding the territories to which the present Convention is to be applied.

Article XXIII

The present Convention shall remain in force as to each Contracting Party until either

1. such Party shall become bound by a further Convention amending or superseding the 1933 Convention, or
2. the expiration of eighteen months from the date on which the present Convention enters into force, whichever shall be the earlier.

Article XXIV

The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America and shall be opened for signature at Washington on December 15, 1944 where it shall remain open for signature until January 15, 1945. Certified copies hereof shall be furnished by the government of the United States of America to each of the governments on behalf of which this Convention is signed or acceded to and to each of the governments parties to the 1933 Convention.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, having deposited their full powers, found to be in due and proper form, sign the present Convention in the French and English languages, both texts being equally authentic, on behalf of their respective governments, on the dates appearing opposite their signatures.

APPENDIX VII BASES OF REQUIREMENTS

This appendix contains excerpts from the following documents mentioned in Resolution No. 55:

Subject	Source
Resolutions of the Committee of the Council for Europe adopting the recommendations of the various sub-committees	Council II Document 8; CCE(44)33; CCE(44)39
Report of Subcommittee on Health for Europe	Council II Document 8; THE/E(44)20, dated 19 June 1944
Note on Substitutes and Priorities in Medical Supplies	Council II Documents 8 and 61; THE/E(44)26, dated 19 September 1944
Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Food Subcommittee for Europe	Council II Document 8; CCE(44)24, dated 29 June 1944
Report of the Subcommittee on Health for Europe	Council II Documents 8 and 67; THE/E(44)NC/4, dated 4 August 1944
Report of the <i>Ad Hoc Textile</i> Subcommittee for Europe	Council II Document 8; <i>Ad Hoc</i> T/E(44)27, dated 5 July 1944
Report of the Subcommittee on Agriculture	Council II Document 8; TAG/E(44)30, dated 10 June 1944
Priorities of Agricultural Requirements	Council II Documents 8 and 62; TAG/E(44)50(a), dated 20 July 1944
Agricultural Substitutes and Alternatives	Council II Documents 8 and 66; TAG/E(44)52, dated 6 July 1944
Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation Statement on Bases of Requirements for Industrial Rehabilitation	Council II Document 8; TIR/E(44)20, dated 17 July 1944

I. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL FOR EUROPE

At the sixth meeting of the Committee of the Council for Europe, held 14 July 1944, the following resolution was adopted (CCE(44)33):

"The European Regional Committee having received and considered the reports on the Bases of Requirements prepared by the technical subcommittees on Agriculture and Health, and by the special *Ad Hoc* Subcommittees on Food and Textiles, accepts the technical recommendations on bases contained in these reports, and recommends them to the Council for approval and for eventual communication to the Director General for his guidance in accordance with paragraph (1) of Atlantic City Resolution No. 20, with a view to enabling him to calculate the over-all requirements of the European area.

"At the same time, the European Committee wishes to draw attention to a passage which appears in most of these reports, and particularly in paragraph 1 of Section II of the Report of the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Food, laying down 'that it is recognized that UNRRA's primary responsibility was to secure relief supplies in the first place for the liberated territories of the United Nations, and that in judging the degree of urgency of the needs of particular countries (as provided for in Resolution No. 17) priority and most considerable relief should be given to the countries whose populations suffered to the greatest extent from enemy occupation, and who actively participated in fighting and resisting the enemy.'

"The European Committee, while appreciating the recommendation agreed by the various Subcommittees, considers that since this paragraph is in the nature of an explanation or expansion of Resolutions of the Council (particularly Resolution No. 1. I(3), Resolution No. 2 and Resolution No. 17) the principle embodied in it should form the subject of separate consideration by the Council, and should not be adopted as part of a technical document. The Committee therefore considers that this question should be dealt with by the Council as a separate issue."*

At the seventh meeting of the Committee of the Council for Europe, held 27 July 1944, the following resolution was adopted (CCE(44)39):

*See Resolution No. 56 for the action of the Council on this issue.

"The European Regional Committee having received and considered the report on the Bases of Requirements prepared by the technical Subcommittees on Industrial Rehabilitation, accepts the technical recommendations on bases contained in this report, and recommends them to the Council for approval and for eventual communication to the Director General for his guidance in accordance with paragraph (1) of Atlantic City Resolution No. 20 with a view to enabling him to calculate the over-all requirements of the European area.

"At the same time, the European Committee wishes to draw attention to a passage which appears in this report, and particularly paragraph 14 which says:

(14) Obviously it is very difficult to make any estimation of bases for Industrial Rehabilitation without taking into consideration the degree of devastation in the country concerned due to military action. The following guiding principles should, however, be considered:

- (a) Countries whose industries have suffered most severely from enemy occupation, and war damage, the peoples of which have taken an active part in fighting and resisting the enemy should be given high priority in industrial rehabilitation and more considerable relief.
- (b) Industrial Rehabilitation should be provided in the first place for the liberated territories of the United Nations countries.

"The European Committee, while appreciating the recommendations agreed by the Subcommittee, considers that since this paragraph is in the nature of an explanation or expansion of Resolutions of the Council (particularly Resolution No. 1.I(8), Resolution No. 2 and Resolution No. 17) the principle embodied in it should form the subject of separate consideration by the Council, and should not be adopted as part of a technical document. The Committee therefore considers that this question should be dealt with by the Council as a separate issue."*

II. MEDICAL SUPPLIES

A. REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH FOR EUROPE (THE/E(44)20)

Covering Note

1. In accordance with the resolution passed by the Committee of the Council for Europe at their third meeting on 28 March, the standing technical Subcommittee on Health for Europe have considered

*See Resolution No. 56 for the action of the Council on this issue.

year because everybody will not have received a new one at the beginning.

10. Under these circumstances, it seems better if possible to obtain a general measure of the amount of clothing needed to make good wear and tear, rather than to attempt a detailed assessment on each garment. Those concerned with the British clothing ration consider that on the average the present British ration for adults, which is about half the pre-war consumption, is not quite sufficient to cover the wear and tear, so that wardrobes are gradually deteriorating either in quantity or quality. Sample surveys of wardrobes taken at intervals tend to confirm the reduction by quantity in the poorer classes; there is no practicable way of measuring quality movements with accuracy but all concerned agree as to the gradual downward tendency. For children the ration (including the supplement) is considered fully to cover wear and tear and with a suitable system of passing on outgrown garments the supplement would probably be unnecessary.

11. British experience is not directly applicable to relief conditions under which it is reasonable to expect greater wear to be extracted from each garment before it is discarded, and allowance must be made for this factor in assessing essential replacements; on the other hand the British ration does not fully cover wear and tear in the case of adults. In the opinion of the Subcommittee these two factors may reasonably be offset against each other and the standard of 42 coupons* per adult per annum be adopted. This standard would cover replacements of clothing (excluding footwear), towels, blankets, knitting wool and mending yarn. For children the standard should be based on the standard ration, without the supplement, less the coupons used for footwear, and would be slightly lower i.e. 40 coupons.

12. Paragraph 11 deals with the amount of clothing required by the individual for replacement; an extra amount may be needed in some cases to build up the necessary distribution stocks. Some clothing may be provided from locally produced raw materials, some from imported raw materials, yarn or grey cloth and some from ready-made goods manufactured in Europe or elsewhere. It is desirable that so far as possible countries should take their

*This is made up as follows: Basic issue 48 coupons, plus occupational supplement (4 coupons), plus mending yarn and blankets (1 coupon) minus footwear (11 coupons.)

needs of a community, is readily applicable both to different countries and different periods.

3. The Subcommittee recommend:—

- (a) That in the case of general medical supplies lists of requirements be compiled on reasonable levels of consumption for given units of population.
 - (b) That the total number of these lists allocated to each country be determined by the application of factors based on (a) total population, (b) pre-war medical facilities calculated on numbers of hospital beds, consideration being given also to numbers of doctors, and to degrees of medical development as shown by polyclinics, dispensaries and institutes of preventive medicine, and (c) best available estimates of current deficiency in medical stores and facilities. In applying the last factor the distinction between expendable stores, requiring constant replenishment, and non-expendable stores should be carefully borne in mind.
 - (c) That material required for the control of epidemics and for displaced persons be calculated as far as possible according to the needs of countries concerned, but allowing for a contingency reserve of supplies to be held in the form of a pool for distribution by UNRRA as required. Requirements of this kind should be considered separately in the light of prevailing conditions and given the highest possible priority, as should also any extra provision made on account of the high incidence of other diseases such as tuberculosis and gastro-intestinal and skin conditions.
4. The Subcommittee wish to emphasize that the application of factors to different types of units will have to be considered by them in conjunction with the European Health Division of UNRRA, as soon as the composition of the unit lists is finally agreed by the Division after consultation with the UNRRA authorities in Washington.

B. *Note on Substitutes and Priorities* (THE/E(44)26)

The standing technical Subcommittee on Health for Europe has considered the questions referred to them by the Committee of the Council for Europe which

"agreed unanimously to ask the Subcommittees to prepare recommendations as to the substitutes and alternatives which could be regarded as interchangeable and as to the policy to be adopted in regard to priorities, after the completion of their reports on bases of requirements, insofar as these points had not already been covered by those reports." (para. 20, draft minutes of 5th Meeting of Committee of the Council for Europe).

On the question of substitutes it is clear that in the production

and supply of the widely varied commodities required under medical stores it may be necessary to substitute certain material for that specified in the lists. This would only be detailed in character and would not affect in any appreciable degree either the quantity or quality of any medical supplies. The Subcommittee therefore agrees that in cases where considerations of production and supply necessitate it, alterations in the individual lists may be made, provided such alterations are done after competent medical advice.

Furthermore, owing to the extremely small amount of tonnage involved compared to other commodities such as food, the question of priorities in the case of medical supplies should not arise. In view of the impossibility of determining beforehand the relative importance of different medical needs the Subcommittee feels that in cases where a system of priorities is necessitated the total quantity of all types of medical stores should be reduced, rather than any individual items, subject to any modification necessitated by conditions existing at the time.

III. FOOD REQUIREMENTS

A. REPORT OF THE AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE FOR EUROPE
(CCE(44)24)

The *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee was appointed at the third meeting of the Committee of the Council for Europe held on 28 March 1944, and consisted of representatives of:

Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Yugoslavia.

The first meeting was held on 5 May, when Dr. Karl Evang was elected chairman. Further meetings were held on 10, 15 and 24 May and 14 and 17 June 1944.

The *Ad Hoc* Food Subcommittee was asked to examine the bases of food requirements adopted by the Inter-Allied Committee and recommend to the Committee of the Council for Europe how far these bases need modification, before eventual submission to the Council, in the light of:

1. the Resolutions adopted by the Council at Atlantic City;
2. the estimates of requirements employed by the military authorities for the first six months; provided these are available within a reasonable time;

7. Accordingly, the assessment of needs should be expressed as follows:

- (a) The total coupon value of supplies urgently needed in whatever form by each country and not available in that country to bring up existing wardrobes to the minimum standard.
- (b) The coupon value of that part of these urgent supplies which should, if possible, be in the form of finished products or cloth. (If suitable finished products are not available for any country it should be open to that country to request its requirements in the form of raw materials).
- (c) The coupon value of that part of these urgent supplies both of clothing and household textiles which should be in the form of raw materials, including yarn and grey cloth.

8. Estimates of requirements should be based on an assessment of present conditions in the several countries. There will be additional requirements due to further deterioration between now and the end of the military period including possibly the results of military operations. It is not possible to make any firm estimates of the extent of this deterioration for individual countries but a general reserve should be included in the UNRRA estimates of over-all requirements to take account of this factor. This should be regarded as a reserve of maneuver enabling the Director General to move quickly to alleviate distress where this is discovered to be most acute. The extent of this reserve should be determined by the Director General in the light of reports received from time to time from the individual countries and of provision made meanwhile by the military authorities.

9. Besides the amounts needed to bring wardrobes up to the minimum standard the people in each country will require sufficient clothing to cover ordinary wear and tear, so that their wardrobes may be maintained. It is very difficult to assess for each garment how many need to be bought in a given period in order to maintain the wardrobe. This depends very largely on the severity of the standard adopted in deciding whether a garment is still fit for use or must be replaced and the extent to which patching, etc., is used to prolong its life. Occupational differences obviously affect the amount of wear which it will stand. For some garments (e.g. overcoats) replacement needs have to be considered over a long period, but even for these some replacements will be essential in the first

the above standard. This standard does not cover industrial footwear. Where such additional special footwear is necessary to enable a person to pursue his calling the requirements should be separately assessed.

5. The position in certain countries is such as to demand the earliest importation of a high proportion of finished footwear whereas in other countries the population could be persuaded to carry on with their existing stocks a little longer, provided that the necessary materials are made available so that they can be set to work to produce their own needed supplies.

6. The assessment of needs should be expressed in terms of numbers of pairs of footwear and weight of repair material (in terms of leather equivalent) urgently needed in whatever form by each country and not available in that country to bring up existing footwear stocks to the minimum standard. The quantities required in the following forms should be determined:

- (a) Finished footwear. (If suitable footwear is not available for any country it should be open to that country to request its requirements in the form of semi-finished or raw materials);
- (b) Leather or substitute materials for leather;
- (c) Raw materials.

7. Estimates of requirements should be based on an assessment of present conditions in the several countries. There will be additional requirements due to further deterioration between now and the end of the military period including possibly the results of military operations. It is not possible to make any firm estimates of the extent of this deterioration for individual countries but a general reserve should be included in the UNRRA estimates of over-all requirements to take account of this factor. This should be regarded as a reserve of maneuver enabling the Director General to move quickly to alleviate distress where this is discovered to be most acute. The extent of this reserve should be determined by the Director General in the light of reports received from time to time from the individual countries and of provision made meanwhile by the military authorities.

8. The replacement needs of each country should be the amount of footwear and raw materials necessary to maintain the minimum standard i.e. one wearable pair of boots or shoes per person. These replacement needs must vary considerably between different countries, according, among other things, to the type of footwear avail-

port programs providing for items over and above the relief requirements calculated on this basis.

6. In some previous calculations of requirements the population has been divided into categories, the principal division being between urban and rural, the assumption being that the latter would retain enough for their physiological needs and that relief would be required only to bring the urban population up to the minimum standard fixed: (as regards rural, account however having been taken of people living in rural communities but not engaged in agriculture, and of agricultural districts unable to retain enough for their needs). The Subcommittee feels strongly that the success of relief operations depends on the administrative machinery of each country being used to the full and the country being treated as a whole in which supplies will be distributed equitably among all sections of the population. If however indigenous supplies are in fact to become fully available for the whole population steps must be taken to induce hoarders to unload their stocks and to discourage distribution of food through illegal channels. The Subcommittee believes that this can be done only if:

- (a) a sufficient quantity of one or more staple commodities (e.g. wheat) could be imported into each liberated country to meet the demand not only for that food but the unsatisfiable demand for commodities still in short supply.
- (b) effective administrative machinery (including a rationing system) already in existence could be kept working under the control of the reinstated national authorities, or, where it no longer exists, could be set up rapidly.

A survey must be made immediately after liberation of indigenous food production and stocks in each of the occupied countries concerned so as to enable more accurate estimates of requirements to be made.

Much thought has been given to the best means of making available sufficient quantities of supplies from outside Europe and of sufficient shipping but less attention has been given so far to the administrative problem involved in getting the maximum amount of food produced inside Europe moving into consumption and being fairly distributed among all people, including the urban population.

The easiest and most practical way of increasing the available supplies of home produced food and of improving the diet of liberated Allied peoples would be to provide enough wheat to enable bread (of a grain composition acceptable to the country concerned) to be de-rationed as soon as possible and to provide reasonable quantities of some commodities of high morale value which have been in short supply, or even entirely lacking, such as coffee, flavorings and tobacco, particularly if these measures were reinforced by steps to ensure confidence in the currency

and to make some consumer goods available on the market. If UNRRA started with a low consumption target, increasing it only gradually, hoarding would continue as long as there was any scarcity. Such a policy would therefore absorb more imports in the long run and would effect no substantial general improvement in the diet.

Recommendations

I. Bases for Estimating Over-All Food Requirements For All Allied Occupied Countries in Europe

1. The estimates should be based on the average consumption for the total population of 2,650 calories* (at the retail stage) per head per day.

The Director General, when proceeding to the calculation of requirements, should, before submitting them to the Combined Boards, obtain from each Allied Government figures for the foodstuffs to make up this 2,650 calorie level for that country, so that the Director General may take proper account of the special needs of the different countries and of their food habits as indicated in their pre-war pattern of consumption.

The above is subject to the modifications required by paragraph 4 below.

2. The estimates should include sufficient quantities of milk and eggs to enable the following allowances to be made for priority groups of the population in each Allied territory.

	Whole milk, Liters per day	Eggs per week
Pregnant and nursing mothers	$\frac{3}{4}$	7
Children, 0-3 years	$\frac{3}{4}$	0
Children, 4-7 years	$\frac{1}{2}$	0
Sick people	$\frac{1}{2}$	7

The question whether the above quantities of milk and eggs are appropriate has been referred to the technical Subcommittee on Health. They have also been asked to state whether they consider the provision of vitamin and mineral supplements for these priority

*The average calorie level of 2,650 per head per day recommended by the Inter-Allied Committee was calculated as an intake requirement but was used in estimating supplies. It is now evident that the average calorie level from all foodstuffs of the whole population of some of the countries concerned is above the 2,000 calorie level at one time used by the Inter-Allied Committee for the urban and non-producing sections of the population.

requirements in the form of raw materials; in this case the necessary proportion for dead stock should be allowed.

13. In the consideration of raw materials requirements, regard should, of course, be had to the capacity likely to be available for manufacturing finished goods either in the country which needs them or as surplus to that country's needs for the relief of its neighbors.

14. The necessary accessories e.g. buttons, needles, thread, etc., should be estimated on expert advice proportionately to the raw materials or other goods available to each country. Unless there are special reasons to the contrary in the case of any country, these proportions of accessories to raw materials will be the same for all. As in the case of clothing some may be provided from locally produced raw materials, some from imported raw materials and some from imported ready-made articles.

15. If requirements calculated on these bases cannot be met from any source of supply a uniform percentage reduction should be made in the minimum wardrobe standard.

Bases for Estimating Over-all Relief Requirements of Footwear and Material for Footwear of the Allied Occupied Countries in Europe.

1. To meet essential needs, all liberated countries will require footwear or the raw materials to make footwear. It is necessary to take into special account the needs of those countries whose populations have suffered most as a result of war operations and of the active participation of the people in resistance to and struggle against the enemy. It is recognized that UNRRA's primary responsibility is to secure relief supplies in the first place for the liberated territories of the United Nations.

2. The import requirements of different countries vary both in their extent and in their nature (i.e., raw materials, semi-finished or finished products) but the minimum standard to which all countries should if possible be raised and at which they should be maintained should, broadly, be the same.

3. This standard should be the minimum required for health, warmth and working efficiency. In the opinion of the Panel, the minimum standard for footwear at any time should be one pair of wearable boots or shoes per person.

4. It should be the function of the Administration, in consultation with expert representatives of each of the Allied countries, to assess each country's needs of imported supplies by reference to

- military destruction, exceptional reduction of sown area, use of seed for food, etc., or
(ii) an estimate of the probable shortage from one or other of these causes at the time when liberation takes place.

The degree of shortage estimated under (i) is based on current reports and varies from nil to 50 per cent (in the case of Greece).

The shortage so far estimated under (ii) is an average of 10 per cent of total seed requirements, calculated as the area under the crop multiplied by the rate of seeding per hectare. It is recognized, however, that in countries where autumn sowing immediately succeeds harvest this may well be too high since there will be little time in which seed can be consumed or destroyed.

11. In the case of (b) seeds normally imported the full pre-war import is the basis of the estimate of requirements since imports of this kind imply that the seed, usually for climatic reasons, cannot be produced in the importing country. In the case of exceptional reductions of sown area of perennials more than pre-war imports may be required.

12. In the case of (c), seeds partly home produced and partly imported the need to import is generally the deterioration of home-grown seed and the need to replace with improved or disease-free strains if the level of food production is to be maintained. Where the quantities required for this purpose exceed the allowance for possible destruction the additional requirement should be provided in the estimate.

13. In the case of vegetables for which accurate statistics of sown acreage are not often obtainable, estimates of quantities should be based on sowings in Great Britain during the war, related to the population of the country under consideration.

14. It should be emphasized that quantitative estimates of seed requirements are not sufficient and that the most careful regard should be paid to climatic conditions and sowing seasons when sources and types are selected for relief supplies, especially to countries which are not normally importers. The value of re-opening European sources of supply has already been stressed. For most countries there is only a limited range of alternative sources and it is useless to plan the supply of seeds from sources where, owing to climatic and soil conditions, the type grown would be quite unsuitable. Considerations of shipping space will rank next to those of climate and variety as a reason for Europe's relying for seed mainly upon its own resources.

take account of the consumption habits of each country and the constantly changing position of world supplies and transport.

B. REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH FOR EUROPE
(THE/E(44)NC/4)

Expert Commission on Nutrition: Report on Questions Referred to the Health Subcommittee by the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Food

1. In accordance with its terms of reference (THE/E(44)NC-/2), the Expert Commission on Nutrition has been asked by the technical Subcommittee on Health to report on the questions raised in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Recommendations set out in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Food Subcommittee entitled 'Bases of Food Requirements' (CCE (44)24, 29 June 1944). Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the recommendations are as follows:—

"The estimates should include sufficient quantities of milk and eggs to enable the following allowances to be made for priority groups of the population in each Allied territory:

	Whole milk, Liters per day	Eggs per week
Pregnant and nursing mothers	3/4	7
Children, 0-3 years	3/4	0
Children, 4-7 years	1/2	0
Sick people	1/2	7

"The question whether the above quantities of milk and eggs are appropriate has been referred to the technical Subcommittee on Health. The Subcommittee has also been asked to state whether it considers the provision of vitamin and mineral supplements for these priority groups necessary and if so, to recommend the allowances which should be provided.

"Provision should be made as part of the Requirements Program for special diets for the population of areas whose health has been seriously undermined by prolonged existence barely above the starvation level, among whom there is evidence of large scale deficiency conditions, the provision of such diets being regarded as part of the medical treatment of patients to restore them to normal health. The question of a suitable diet for this purpose has been referred for consideration to the technical Subcommittee on Health."

2. These questions have been considered by the Expert Commission on Nutrition, which held two meetings on 31 July and 1 August. The report of the Commission follows.

Milk and Eggs for Priority Groups of Population in Each Allied Territory

Provision of Vitamin and Mineral Supplements for These Priority Groups

3. The recommendations of the Commission on these two matters are summarized in Table 1.

4. The Commission is of the opinion that every effort should be made to maintain, during and after the period of liberation, the priority distribution schemes for 'vulnerable' groups that are operating in the various countries. This is in accordance with the general view that the food position in the various countries should not be allowed to deteriorate. The Commission wishes to emphasize the vital importance of doing everything possible to make secure the nutritional position of the expectant and nursing mothers and children.

5. *Milk.* The Commission is strongly of the opinion that every effort should be made to provide milk for children from 8 to 13 years of age and that the *minimum* quantity for them should be 250cc. daily.

The Commission regards one-half liter of milk a day as a reasonable allowance for 'sick people.' Hospitals and other institutions for sick people should be able to provide for the essential needs of their patients if there is an all-over allowance at the rate of one-half liter per bed, although it is recognized that this may represent, in many cases, a smaller quantity than they would require in normal times.

In some occupied countries sick people are provided with milk under a system based on medical certification. The Commission did not have opportunity to study these systems in detail and cannot, therefore, express opinions on their adequacy or the efficiency with which they are operated. Such systems should be maintained as far as possible during the liberation period and the Commission recommends, therefore, that an effort should be made to provide one-half liter of milk daily to those classes of invalids which are now entitled to priority.

6. *Eggs.* The Commission is of the opinion that an allowance of 7 eggs a week for pregnant women and nursing mothers and for sick people is generous in view of the strong claims of children from 0-3 to priority.

Accordingly, it is recommended that the highest priority in respect to supplies of eggs (fresh or dried) should be given to preg-

this program it is necessary to see that adequate quantities of seeds, fertilizers and plant protection materials are available.

6. The basis for the requirements of seeds is the fulfilment of such a cropping program. Shipping space for the immediate importation of seeds of the principal food crops must be weighed against the much larger demands on shipping space for foodstuffs in the event of a subsequent failure in food production due to lack of seed. Vegetable seeds, which are small in bulk, quickly produce food of high nutritional value. Pulses are valuable as a source of vegetable protein. In countries where much pasture has been destroyed or has deteriorated or where the area under green fodder crops has decreased, seeds of fodder crops are needed in order to maintain milk supplies. Owing to the extension of industrial crops in Europe during the war, seeds for these crops will not however generally be needed.**

7. Europe is, as a whole, self-supporting in seeds in normal times though there is considerable movement between countries in different climatic zones. It is essential that, on the cessation of hostilities, prompt steps should be taken to organize the collection and distribution of seeds within Europe including enemy countries which were former producers for export. It will also be necessary to provide prompt and adequate food relief and thus prevent the consumption of seeds for food purposes.

8. It is considered, however, that although European countries may be normally self-supporting in seeds, the results of military operations, destruction of crops and stocks, interruption of agricultural work and consumption of seeds as food before liberation takes place, make it essential to provide against local deficiencies, which may be severe and widespread. Deficiencies due to these causes have already occurred in some countries.

9. The statistical bases for estimating requirements vary according to whether the seeds of a specific crop are:

- (a) normally wholly produced within the country;
- (b) normally wholly imported;
- (c) normally in part home produced and in part imported.

10. In the case of (a), seeds normally produced within the country, the basis of requirements is either:

- (i) the degree to which a shortage of this type of seed is already understood to exist in any country as a result of

**Cotton seed for Greece and flax for France and Belgium are exceptions.

to the availability of sprayers and other apparatus for the application of plant protection materials.

28. In the absence of information on abnormal needs the pre-war utilization of plant protection material should be provisionally adopted as a standard but in addition to requirements based on the needs of individual countries it is recommended that provision be made for a pool of lead or lime arsenate to be used in the case of an unexpected outbreak of Colorado beetle in any country.

Sacks and Other Containers

29. The bases for requirements of sacks and other packing materials for cereals, potatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural products including liquid milk and agricultural supplies are:

- (a) the quantity of agricultural products or supplies estimated to be available in the first year of relief and requiring transport other than local movements. This includes both home produced and imported products and supplies with the exception of materials which are imported in containers. In making this estimate account must be taken of the changes in the balance of production, including the increase in vegetable and decline in animal products;
- (b) the type and capacity of container normally in use or the quantity of raw materials, (for example raw jute or jute fabric) necessary for its manufacture;
- (c) absence of normal raw materials during the war and inferiority and excessive depreciation of many substitutes;
- (d) the rate of turn round and of loss of containers of each type.

30. An estimate of the total quantity of containers required for the movement of agricultural products and supplies will depend on these factors. The import requirements are the balance remaining after the deduction of the quantity which can be manufactured from home produced raw materials, including reasonably efficient substitutes. It is recognized that substitutes may also have to be used to fill relief requirements but preference should be given to materials capable of being used more than once.

Recommendations of the Expert Panel on Agricultural Machinery Installations and Food Processing Plant

31. The basis of all requirements of agricultural machinery, implements and tools; of accessories thereto such as fuel, lubricants

TABLE I
Milk and Eggs, and Vitamin and Mineral Supplements for Priority
Groups of Population in Each Allied Territory

	Whole Milk cc day	Eggs (b) No. week	Vitamin A I.U. day (e)	Vitamin D I.U. day	Vitamin C mg. day	Vitamin B ₁ mg. day	Fe mg. day
Expectant mothers—last 6 months of pregnancy	750	3 (c)	3,000	700	40	1	25
Mothers—first 6 months after delivery	750	3 (c)	3,000	700	40	1	25
Children— 0-3 years	750	3 (c)	3,000	700	20	0.5	25
4-7 years	500	at least 1 (d)	3,000	700	20	...	25
8-13 years	at least 250 (a)	...	3,000	700	20	...	25
Adolescents— 14-18 years	...	at least 3 (d)	1,500	25
Sick people	500

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(a) See paragraph 5.
(b) Fresh eggs or equivalent quantity of dried eggs.
(c) The highest priority in respect to supplies of
fresh eggs should be given to children 0-3 years.
After them, the expectant and nursing mothers
should have priority over older children and
sick people.
(d) See last sentence of paragraph 6.
(e) Expressed as vitamin A, not as carotene.

implementing a policy of enriching flour with calcium wherever the national Government desire or think it is practicable to do so.

The Commission was informed that full technical information on the process would be given to UNRRA by the Ministry of Food if desired.

IV. CLOTHING REQUIREMENTS

REPORT OF THE AD HOC TEXTILE SUBCOMMITTEE FOR EUROPE

(Ad Hoc T/E (44) 27)

1. The *Ad Hoc* Textile Subcommittee was set up in accordance with the decision taken by the Committee of the Council for Europe at its meeting on 28 March 1944, to constitute an *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Textile Requirements, with the following terms of reference:

"To examine the bases of requirements adopted by the Inter-Allied Committee and recommend to the Committee of the Council for Europe how far these bases need modification, before eventual submission to the Council, in the light of:

- The Resolutions adopted by the Council at Atlantic City;
- The estimates of requirements employed by the Military Authorities for the first six months; provided these are available within a reasonable time;
- Other information available since the bases were originally agreed, including any information which the Director General may be able to supply arising out of the examination by the Supply Authorities of the provisional requirements which have already been submitted."

No information regarding the estimates of requirements employed by the Military Authorities have been available to the Subcommittee and no information regarding the supply situation, other than the messages from the Director General, circulated as CCE (44) 14 and 18 stating that it was a well-known fact that nearly all supplies are expected to be short.

2. The Subcommittee consisted of Monsieur de Keyser (Belgium and Luxembourg), Señor P. T. de Boavista (Brazil), Mr. F. Vondrich (Czechoslovakia), Dr. C. Zimmern, succeeded by Captain Leon (French Committee of National Liberation); Miss R. Zafiriou (Greece), Mr. M. Magnussen (Iceland), Mr. A. B. Speekenbrink (Netherlands), Mr. A. Corneliussen (Norway), Dr. K. Zaluski

ports should, in order to save shipping, be made as far as possible in raw materials rather than product.

23. Reliable statistics of average annual production of fertilizers both from home produced and imported raw materials in European countries before the war are readily available. Information as to destruction of productive plant or of sources of raw materials in any of the countries concerned or estimates of probable destruction before liberation should be taken into account in applying the above bases.

24. It should also be borne in mind that the season in which fertilizers can profitably be applied to the soil is short and that deliveries should be made in sufficient time to allow for distribution and (in the case of raw materials) of manufacture. Phosphate and potash are mainly required in the autumn and nitrates in the spring.

25. In view of the paramount importance of food and especially cereal, and potato production in the first year of relief it is agreed that the most urgently needed relief supply will be of phosphatic fertilizers. Although requirements have only been put forward in terms of phosphates, nitrates and potash, requirements of other products such as manganese sulphate and borax should not however be ignored.

Pesticides

26. The bases for requirements of plant protecting materials are the need to keep up the yields of food crops by preventing losses from fungus and insect pests. Materials will be required for the dressing of standing crops and plants, for home-grown seed and for seed imported from sources whence a guarantee of healthy stock may not be obtainable.

27. The bases for requirements of plant protection material are:

- (a) area under the crop for which a given pesticide is required;
- (b) proportion of the crop normally dressed;
- (c) number of dressings during the year;
- (d) weight of dressing normally used.

As information under (b) is frequently in the form of a very speculative estimate, the result should be checked against the pre-war production and/or imports of the country concerned. Where factory capacity exists deliveries should be made in the form of raw materials rather than product. Consideration should also be given

2. The import requirements of different countries vary both in their extent and in their nature (i.e., raw materials or finished goods) but the minimum standard to which all countries should if possible be raised and at which they should be maintained, should, broadly, be the same.

3. This standard should be the minimum required for health, warmth and working efficiency, and it can conveniently be measured in British clothing coupons (using a simplified pointing scale for the purpose: See page 150).

4. In the opinion of the Panel the standard, expressed in clothing coupons, should be as follows*:

	Adult (14 years and over)	Child (1-13 years)	Infant (Under 1 year)
For clothing	61	34	29
For household textiles.....	14	8	8

The standard for household textiles covers one square yard of towelling per four persons; one woolen blanket of about 4.5 square yards (weight about 5 lbs.) per adult; one woolen blanket (about 4.5 sq. yds.) per child; 1.5 square yards woolen blanket material and 1.5 square yards cotton blanket material per infant under one year of age. These are average requirements per individual; in assessing requirements account should be taken by the Administration of climatic differences in the different countries.

5. It should be the function of the Administration in consultation with expert representatives of each of the Allied countries, to assess each country's needs of imported supplies by reference to the above standard. Requirements of clothing and of household textiles, respectively, should not be interchangeable. This standard does not cover industrial clothing. Where such clothing is necessary to enable a person to pursue his calling, the requirements should be separately assessed.

6. The position in certain countries is such as to demand the earliest importation of a high proportion of finished goods or cloth, whereas in other countries the population could be persuaded to carry on with their existing stocks a little longer, provided that the necessary materials are made available so that they can be set to work to produce their own needed supplies.

*See page 151 for examples of wardrobe lists, within these coupon limits for a man, woman, boy, girl and infant, respectively. The composition of these lists may vary from country to country.

7. Accordingly, the assessment of needs should be expressed as follows:

- (a) The total coupon value of supplies urgently needed in whatever form by each country and not available in that country to bring up existing wardrobes to the minimum standard.
- (b) The coupon value of that part of these urgent supplies which should, if possible, be in the form of finished products or cloth. (If suitable finished products are not available for any country it should be open to that country to request its requirements in the form of raw materials).
- (c) The coupon value of that part of these urgent supplies both of clothing and household textiles which should be in the form of raw materials, including yarn and grey cloth.

8. Estimates of requirements should be based on an assessment of present conditions in the several countries. There will be additional requirements due to further deterioration between now and the end of the military period including possibly the results of military operations. It is not possible to make any firm estimates of the extent of this deterioration for individual countries but a general reserve should be included in the UNRRA estimates of over-all requirements to take account of this factor. This should be regarded as a reserve of maneuver enabling the Director General to move quickly to alleviate distress where this is discovered to be most acute. The extent of this reserve should be determined by the Director General in the light of reports received from time to time from the individual countries and of provision made meanwhile by the military authorities.

9. Besides the amounts needed to bring wardrobes up to the minimum standard the people in each country will require sufficient clothing to cover ordinary wear and tear, so that their wardrobes may be maintained. It is very difficult to assess for each garment how many need to be bought in a given period in order to maintain the wardrobe. This depends very largely on the severity of the standard adopted in deciding whether a garment is still fit for use or must be replaced and the extent to which patching, etc., is used to prolong its life. Occupational differences obviously affect the amount of wear which it will stand. For some garments (e.g. overcoats) replacement needs have to be considered over a long period, but even for these some replacements will be essential in the first

year because everybody will not have received a new one at the beginning.

10. Under these circumstances, it seems better if possible to obtain a general measure of the amount of clothing needed to make good wear and tear, rather than to attempt a detailed assessment on each garment. Those concerned with the British clothing ration consider that on the average the present British ration for adults, which is about half the pre-war consumption, is not quite sufficient to cover the wear and tear, so that wardrobes are gradually deteriorating either in quantity or quality. Sample surveys of wardrobes taken at intervals tend to confirm the reduction by quantity in the poorer classes; there is no practicable way of measuring quality movements with accuracy but all concerned agree as to the gradual downward tendency. For children the ration (including the supplement) is considered fully to cover wear and tear and with a suitable system of passing on outgrown garments the supplement would probably be unnecessary.

11. British experience is not directly applicable to relief conditions under which it is reasonable to expect greater wear to be extracted from each garment before it is discarded, and allowance must be made for this factor in assessing essential replacements; on the other hand the British ration does not fully cover wear and tear in the case of adults. In the opinion of the Subcommittee these two factors may reasonably be offset against each other and the standard of 42 coupons* per adult per annum be adopted. This standard would cover replacements of clothing (excluding footwear), towels, blankets, knitting wool and mending yarn. For children the standard should be based on the standard ration, without the supplement, less the coupons used for footwear, and would be slightly lower i.e. 40 coupons.

12. Paragraph 11 deals with the amount of clothing required by the individual for replacement; an extra amount may be needed in some cases to build up the necessary distribution stocks. Some clothing may be provided from locally produced raw materials, some from imported raw materials, yarn or grey cloth and some from ready-made goods manufactured in Europe or elsewhere. It is desirable that so far as possible countries should take their

*This is made up as follows: Basic issue 48 coupons, plus occupational supplement (4 coupons), plus mending yarn and blankets (1 coupon) minus footwear (11 coupons.)

SIMPLIFIED POINTING LIST

	Man (14 and over)	Woman (14 and over)	Child (1-13)
	<i>Coupons</i>		
<i>Outdoor Garments</i>			
Overcoat	18	18	10
Raincoat (lined)	16	15	10
Mackintosh (unlined)	9	9	7
<i>Other Outerwear</i>			
Jacket	13	12	6
Trousers	8	8	6
Shorts, Boys' knickers	5		3
Jersey, jumper, wool blouse	6	6	4
Blouse—not wool		4	3
Skirt		6	4
Dress—wool		11	8
Dress—not wool		7	5
Gloves, mittens	1	1	1
Overall	3	3	3
<i>Underwear, etc.</i>			
Shirt	5		4
Vest, pants, knickers, bodice, corset	4	3	2
Suspender belt		1	1
Slip, petticoat		4	3
Stockings, socks	2	2	1
<i>Infants' Garments—(under 1 year)</i>			
Shawl		4	
Nightdress, day-gown and other "full-length" garments		3	
Socks, knitted booties		½	
All other garments, including napkins		1	
<i>Cloth</i>			
Square yard of wool cloth		3	
Square yard of any other kind of cloth		2	
<i>Towels</i>			
Square yard of towelling		2	
<i>Blankets</i>			
4.5 square yards blanket material (weight about 5 lbs.)		13½	
<i>Knitting wool and mending yarn</i> (2 ozs.)		1	

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EXAMPLES OF MINIMUM WARDROBE LISTS

CLOTHING

1. Adult (14 years and over):

Man	Coupons
Overcoat	18
Pair of trousers and jacket	21
or Battledress (if permitted) 2 shirts	10
2 vests	8
2 pants	8
2 pairs of socks	4
	69

61 coupons. Man 69 coupons
Woman 53 coupons

Woman	Coupons
Overcoat	18
Jumper	6
Dress—not wool	7
Slip	4
2 vests	6
2 knickers	6
3 pairs of stockings	6

2. Child (1-13 years):

	Coupons
Overcoat	10
Pair of knickers	3
Jacket	6
2 shirts	8
2 vests	4
2 pants	4
3 pairs of socks	3
	38

34 coupons Boy 38 coupons
Girl 30 coupons

Girl	Coupons
Overcoat	10
Dress—not wool	5
Jumper	4
2 vests	4
2 knickers	4
3 pairs of stockings	3

3. Infant (under 1 year)

	Coupons
10 napkins	10
3 nightdresses	9
2 vests	2
1 jacket	1
8 oz. knitting wool	4
1½ yards flannelette	3
	29

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HOUSEHOLD TEXTILES

	Adult	Child	Infant
Towelling	0.5	0.5	0.5
Blanket material	13.5	0.5	7.5

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requirements in the form of raw materials; in this case the necessary proportion for dead stock should be allowed.

13. In the consideration of raw materials requirements, regard should, of course, be had to the capacity likely to be available for manufacturing finished goods either in the country which needs them or as surplus to that country's needs for the relief of its neighbors.

14. The necessary accessories e.g. buttons, needles, thread, etc., should be estimated on expert advice proportionately to the raw materials or other goods available to each country. Unless there are special reasons to the contrary in the case of any country, these proportions of accessories to raw materials will be the same for all. As in the case of clothing some may be provided from locally produced raw materials, some from imported raw materials and some from imported ready-made articles.

15. If requirements calculated on these bases cannot be met from any source of supply a uniform percentage reduction should be made in the minimum wardrobe standard.

Bases for Estimating Over-all Relief Requirements of Footwear and Material for Footwear of the Allied Occupied Countries in Europe.

1. To meet essential needs, all liberated countries will require footwear or the raw materials to make footwear. It is necessary to take into special account the needs of those countries whose populations have suffered most as a result of war operations and of the active participation of the people in resistance to and struggle against the enemy. It is recognized that UNRRA's primary responsibility is to secure relief supplies in the first place for the liberated territories of the United Nations.

2. The import requirements of different countries vary both in their extent and in their nature (i.e., raw materials, semi-finished or finished products) but the minimum standard to which all countries should if possible be raised and at which they should be maintained should, broadly, be the same.

3. This standard should be the minimum required for health, warmth and working efficiency. In the opinion of the Panel, the minimum standard for footwear at any time should be one pair of wearable boots or shoes per person.

4. It should be the function of the Administration, in consultation with expert representatives of each of the Allied countries, to assess each country's needs of imported supplies by reference to

the above standard. This standard does not cover industrial footwear. Where such additional special footwear is necessary to enable a person to pursue his calling the requirements should be separately assessed.

5. The position in certain countries is such as to demand the earliest importation of a high proportion of finished footwear whereas in other countries the population could be persuaded to carry on with their existing stocks a little longer, provided that the necessary materials are made available so that they can be set to work to produce their own needed supplies.

6. The assessment of needs should be expressed in terms of numbers of pairs of footwear and weight of repair material (in terms of leather equivalent) urgently needed in whatever form by each country and not available in that country to bring up existing footwear stocks to the minimum standard. The quantities required in the following forms should be determined:

- (a) Finished footwear. (If suitable footwear is not available for any country it should be open to that country to request its requirements in the form of semi-finished or raw materials);
- (b) Leather or substitute materials for leather;
- (c) Raw materials.

7. Estimates of requirements should be based on an assessment of present conditions in the several countries. There will be additional requirements due to further deterioration between now and the end of the military period including possibly the results of military operations. It is not possible to make any firm estimates of the extent of this deterioration for individual countries but a general reserve should be included in the UNRRA estimates of over-all requirements to take account of this factor. This should be regarded as a reserve of maneuver enabling the Director General to move quickly to alleviate distress where this is discovered to be most acute. The extent of this reserve should be determined by the Director General in the light of reports received from time to time from the individual countries and of provision made meanwhile by the military authorities.

8. The replacement needs of each country should be the amount of footwear and raw materials necessary to maintain the minimum standard i.e. one wearable pair of boots or shoes per person. These replacement needs must vary considerably between different countries, according, among other things, to the type of footwear avail-

able. For this reason, the estimates of replacement needs should be made by the Administration in consultation with the expert representatives in each of the Allied countries.

9. Import requirements for replacement purposes should be estimated on the basis of the total replacement needs minus domestic production. Some footwear may be provided from locally produced raw materials, some from imported raw materials and some from products manufactured in Europe or elsewhere.

10. An extra amount of finished goods may be needed in some places to build up distribution stocks. Since it is desirable that so far as possible countries should take their requirements in the form of raw materials the necessary material for adjusting the process stock to meet the required production should be allowed.

11. In the consideration of raw and semi-finished material requirements, regard should of course be had to the capacity likely to be available for manufacturing the semi-finished or finished products either in the country which needs them or as surplus to that country's needs for the relief of its neighbors.

12. The necessary accessories and processing materials should be estimated on expert advice proportionately to the raw materials or other goods available to each country. Some of these accessories and processing materials may be provided from locally produced raw materials, some from imported raw materials and some from imported semi-finished or finished products.

13. If requirements calculated on these bases cannot be met from any source of supply a uniform percentage reduction should be made.

V. AGRICULTURAL REQUIREMENTS

A. REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE FOR EUROPE

(TAG/E(44)30)

1. The basis of requirements of all supplies of materials for the rehabilitation of agriculture and fisheries in the first year of relief is the fulfilment of a program of optimum food production.

2. As concerns agriculture* this object will be attained in two ways:

(a) by the provision of materials such as seeds, fertilizers,

*Detailed recommendations on the rehabilitation of fisheries will be found on p. 172.

pesticides, machinery, fuel, binder twine, food processing plant, food transport equipment, feeding stuffs, breeding and utility livestock and veterinary supplies, which are all essential to the increase of the output of agricultural produce;

(b) by offering the agriculturist capital goods and current supplies which he desires and for which he will be prepared to deliver, through legal channels, produce already in his hands, which, without the inducement of a tangible return, he might have been tempted to dispose of through illegal channels and would certainly consume in excessive quantity in his own household and farm.

3. The rehabilitation of agriculture has a further objective which will assume greater importance after the fulfilment of immediate relief needs. It is in all countries the largest single industry on which a great part, not infrequently the major part, of the population is dependent for employment and livelihood. The future freedom from want, the well-being and contentment of this important section of the European population depends on the return of the agricultural industry to independence and prosperity, wherever these have been impaired.

4. In the case of agricultural supplies of all types great importance must be attached to the specific character of the bases and to the need to build up over-all requirements of each type from an assessment of national needs, since supplies adapted to one region are often technically inefficient or even useless when introduced into another.

Recommendations of the Expert Panel on Crops

5. The basis of requirements for the production of crops is a cultivation program adapted to the nutritional needs of Europe and the necessity of helping liberated countries to feed themselves and so reduce their abnormal dependence on imported food in the early stages of relief. Such a program should include the full maintenance or even the enlargement of areas of autumn sown cereals; full maintenance of the cultivation of potatoes, sugar beet and vegetables for food; and such increases in spring cereals and forage crops as may be possible, taking into consideration the possible reduction in the production of potatoes and sugar beet for alcohol in so far as this is required for war purposes; the re-seeding of worn out pastures and sowing down of fresh areas necessary to the maintenance and gradual increase of milk production. To fulfill

this program it is necessary to see that adequate quantities of seeds, fertilizers and plant protection materials are available.

6. The basis for the requirements of seeds is the fulfilment of such a cropping program. Shipping space for the immediate importation of seeds of the principal food crops must be weighed against the much larger demands on shipping space for foodstuffs in the event of a subsequent failure in food production due to lack of seed. Vegetable seeds, which are small in bulk, quickly produce food of high nutritional value. Pulses are valuable as a source of vegetable protein. In countries where much pasture has been destroyed or has deteriorated or where the area under green fodder crops has decreased, seeds of fodder crops are needed in order to maintain milk supplies. Owing to the extension of industrial crops in Europe during the war, seeds for these crops will not however generally be needed.**

7. Europe is, as a whole, self-supporting in seeds in normal times though there is considerable movement between countries in different climatic zones. It is essential that, on the cessation of hostilities, prompt steps should be taken to organize the collection and distribution of seeds within Europe including enemy countries which were former producers for export. It will also be necessary to provide prompt and adequate food relief and thus prevent the consumption of seeds for food purposes.

8. It is considered, however, that although European countries may be normally self-supporting in seeds, the results of military operations, destruction of crops and stocks, interruption of agricultural work and consumption of seeds as food before liberation takes place, make it essential to provide against local deficiencies, which may be severe and widespread. Deficiencies due to these causes have already occurred in some countries.

9. The statistical bases for estimating requirements vary according to whether the seeds of a specific crop are:

- (a) normally wholly produced within the country;
- (b) normally wholly imported;
- (c) normally in part home produced and in part imported.

10. In the case of (a), seeds normally produced within the country, the basis of requirements is either:

- (i) the degree to which a shortage of this type of seed is already understood to exist in any country as a result of

- military destruction, exceptional reduction of sown area, use of seed for food, etc., or
- (ii) an estimate of the probable shortage from one or other of these causes at the time when liberation takes place.

The degree of shortage estimated under (i) is based on current reports and varies from nil to 50 per cent (in the case of Greece).

The shortage so far estimated under (ii) is an average of 10 per cent of total seed requirements, calculated as the area under the crop multiplied by the rate of seeding per hectare. It is recognized, however, that in countries where autumn sowing immediately succeeds harvest this may well be too high since there will be little time in which seed can be consumed or destroyed.

11. In the case of (b) seeds normally imported the full pre-war import is the basis of the estimate of requirements since imports of this kind imply that the seed, usually for climatic reasons, cannot be produced in the importing country. In the case of exceptional reductions of sown area of perennials more than pre-war imports may be required.

12. In the case of (c), seeds partly home produced and partly imported the need to import is generally the deterioration of home-grown seed and the need to replace with improved or disease-free strains if the level of food production is to be maintained. Where the quantities required for this purpose exceed the allowance for possible destruction the additional requirement should be provided in the estimate.

13. In the case of vegetables for which accurate statistics of sown acreage are not often obtainable, estimates of quantities should be based on sowings in Great Britain during the war, related to the population of the country under consideration.

14. It should be emphasized that quantitative estimates of seed requirements are not sufficient and that the most careful regard should be paid to climatic conditions and sowing seasons when sources and types are selected for relief supplies, especially to countries which are not normally importers. The value of re-opening European sources of supply has already been stressed. For most countries there is only a limited range of alternative sources and it is useless to plan the supply of seeds from sources where, owing to climatic and soil conditions, the type grown would be quite unsuitable. Considerations of shipping space will rank next to those of climate and variety as a reason for Europe's relying for seed mainly upon its own resources.

**Cotton seed for Greece and flax for France and Belgium are exceptions.

15. It will also be necessary to guard against the importation, especially from other continents, of plant diseases. It is assumed that supplying countries will send only seeds which have been tested and guaranteed as sound and healthy. If this proves impossible arrangements should be made for applying protective dressings on arrival.

16. In considering seed potato requirements it must be recognized that seed in use in the last few years may have deteriorated seriously and that import requirements may be in excess of those of normal years.

17. For more detailed recommendation on the bases of seed requirements for relief purposes, reference should be made to the Report on Seed Requirements of the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements, dated 23 March 1943.

Fertilizers

18. The bases of requirements of fertilizers for relief purposes are:

- (a) the need to fulfill a program of optimum food production;
- (b) soil deterioration due to excessive cropping and deficient supplies of fertilizers during the war years.

Requirements of fertilizer stand in direct relation to the additional quantities of food which their application would make possible, with the resultant saving in shipping space next season, since a ton of fertilizer will, under suitable conditions, normally produce several times its own weight in additional food yields.

19. Quantitative estimates should be based on general principles applying to all countries concerned. The principle of maximum food production cannot, however, be applied without regard to pre-war use of fertilizers. In a short-term relief program it is necessary to follow the general line of pre-war practice and send fertilizers in larger quantities to those countries in which farmers understand their value and know how to use them. On the other hand it would be noted that consumption was increasing rapidly from 1935 onwards and that 1935/7 average figures may underestimate consumption in many countries before the war.

20. In Europe several times as much plant food normally reaches the soil from farmyard manure as from fertilizers. It might be desirable to make specific additional allocations to individual countries based on such factors as (a) destruction of livestock, (b) lack of concentrated feeding stuffs leading to a further fall in value of

farmyard manure, (c) increased arable cultivation and (d) accumulated fertilizer deficiency in the soil. The factors are, however, too complex and the data too incomplete separately to assess each country's claims on these grounds. In the event of more ample supplies of fertilizers becoming available they should, however, be taken into account.

21. It is recommended that the bases for estimating the requirements of fertilizer should be levels of consumption calculated as a percentage of average annual consumption 1935/37 of the three main fertilizer groups calculated in terms of chemical content:

	N		P ₂ O ₅		K ₂ O	
	1st 6 months	2nd 6 months	1st 6 months	2nd 6 months	1st 6 months	2nd 6 months
Belgium	100	125	60	133	40	100
Czechoslovakia						
Denmark, France						
Netherlands						
Norway, Poland	150	200	150	300	40	200
Greece						
Yugoslavia						
	800	800	400	800	40	100

Of the two levels of consumption suggested, that for the first six months represents a minimum objective which should be increased as soon as circumstances permit. The low level of potash consumption in particular is put forward in view of the probable difficulties, not of supply, since it is a European product, but of inland transport early in the relief period. The amount shown for the second six months represents the recommended level of consumption to which supplies should as soon as possible be adjusted. The higher consumption levels for Greece and Yugoslavia are set in view of the very low pre-war consumption in these countries and the need to promote the maximum yield of food crops.

22. On this basis import requirements are the quantities either of raw materials or product which when added to home production (if any) will bring consumption up to the agreed levels in N, P₂O₅ and K₂O. It is agreed that for purposes of calculation no distinction other than that of chemical content should be made between different types of fertilizers in the same chemical group but that it should be recommended that the need for one type of fertilizer rather than another in the same group (for example basic slag and superphosphate) should as far as possible be met. It is also recommended that as far as factory capacity exists in each country im-

ports should, in order to save shipping, be made as far as possible in raw materials rather than product.

23. Reliable statistics of average annual production of fertilizers both from home produced and imported raw materials in European countries before the war are readily available. Information as to destruction of productive plant or of sources of raw materials in any of the countries concerned or estimates of probable destruction before liberation should be taken into account in applying the above bases.

24. It should also be borne in mind that the season in which fertilizers can profitably be applied to the soil is short and that deliveries should be made in sufficient time to allow for distribution and (in the case of raw materials) of manufacture. Phosphate and potash are mainly required in the autumn and nitrates in the spring.

25. In view of the paramount importance of food and especially cereal, and potato production in the first year of relief it is agreed that the most urgently needed relief supply will be of phosphatic fertilizers. Although requirements have only been put forward in terms of phosphates, nitrates and potash, requirements of other products such as manganese sulphate and borax should not however be ignored.

Pesticides

26. The bases for requirements of plant protecting materials are the need to keep up the yields of food crops by preventing losses from fungus and insect pests. Materials will be required for the dressing of standing crops and plants, for home-grown seed and for seed imported from sources whence a guarantee of healthy stock may not be obtainable.

27. The bases for requirements of plant protection material are:

- (a) area under the crop for which a given pesticide is required;
- (b) proportion of the crop normally dressed;
- (c) number of dressings during the year;
- (d) weight of dressing normally used.

As information under (b) is frequently in the form of a very speculative estimate, the result should be checked against the pre-war production and/or imports of the country concerned. Where factory capacity exists deliveries should be made in the form of raw materials rather than product. Consideration should also be given

to the availability of sprayers and other apparatus for the application of plant protection materials.

28. In the absence of information on abnormal needs the pre-war utilization of plant protection material should be provisionally adopted as a standard but in addition to requirements based on the needs of individual countries it is recommended that provision be made for a pool of lead or lime arsenate to be used in the case of an unexpected outbreak of Colorado beetle in any country.

Sacks and Other Containers

29. The bases for requirements of sacks and other packing materials for cereals, potatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural products including liquid milk and agricultural supplies are:

- (a) the quantity of agricultural products or supplies estimated to be available in the first year of relief and requiring transport other than local movements. This includes both home produced and imported products and supplies with the exception of materials which are imported in containers. In making this estimate account must be taken of the changes in the balance of production, including the increase in vegetable and decline in animal products;
- (b) the type and capacity of container normally in use or the quantity of raw materials, (for example raw jute or jute fabric) necessary for its manufacture;
- (c) absence of normal raw materials during the war and inferiority and excessive depreciation of many substitutes;
- (d) the rate of turn round and of loss of containers of each type.

30. An estimate of the total quantity of containers required for the movement of agricultural products and supplies will depend on these factors. The import requirements are the balance remaining after the deduction of the quantity which can be manufactured from home produced raw materials, including reasonably efficient substitutes. It is recognized that substitutes may also have to be used to fill relief requirements but preference should be given to materials capable of being used more than once.

Recommendations of the Expert Panel on Agricultural Machinery Installations and Food Processing Plant

31. The basis of all requirements of agricultural machinery, implements and tools; of accessories thereto such as fuel, lubricants

and binder twine; of machine tools and raw materials for the production of such agricultural machinery and implements; and of plant and installations for the processing of home grown food, is the efficient execution of a program of optimum food production and the transfer of such food to the consumer in its most convenient and wholesome form. The bases of requirements of plant and installations, machine tools and industrial raw materials should be considered in consultation with the standing technical Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation.

Agricultural Machinery, Implements and Tools

32. Import requirements of agricultural machinery, implements and tools should be estimated for each country on the bases set out below. Not all these factors are relevant to the position in all countries and the weight which must be attached to each factor in reaching a conclusion varies appreciably from country to country.

- (a) Assuming that the pre-war quantity of agricultural machinery was then adequate for European agriculture, requirements would be based in the first instance on the decline in numbers in each category, i.e. on an estimate of production, import and export of each type of agricultural machine before and since the war in each country.
- (b) Depreciation must, however, be taken into account and not only the normal but the excessive use of machines should be considered as also the lack of materials and facilities for repair.
- (c) But the shortage of available agricultural machinery is not the only factor to be considered and the changes, resulting from war conditions, in the structure of European agriculture must be taken into account, in particular the need for replacement of draught animals lost during the war.* After taking into account the fact that in some countries there were certain reserves of animals,** the aim should be to supply tractors to replace the losses of those draught animals which were fully employed.

*According to the estimates of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau these losses amounted to about 4.5 million head which means about 30 percent of the total draught animal population.

**It is difficult to estimate these reserves but they undoubtedly represented a much lower percentage of the total than the losses which have taken place. It is generally assumed that one horse on an average mixed farm can be used to cultivate 20 acres of land. Farms below the minimum efficient size did not make full use of their horses; this figure varies however considerably from country to country with different types of work animals and conditions of farming.

The replacement of such losses as quickly as possible is essential so as to avoid a permanent decrease in agricultural production and undesirable changes in the agricultural structure.*

- (i) Estimates of tractor requirements, both numbers and types should also take into account difficulties of utilisation due to lack of trained drivers, mechanics and engineers, fuel and the transport and storage of fuel; organization of repairs, etc. The suggested allocation of tractors for European countries made by the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau in its Report of June 1948. (Appendix II of the Report on Agricultural Machinery) should be consulted.
- (ii) It is necessary to consider, with the import of tractors, the need to import all agricultural implements adapted to tractor cultivation since most machinery designed for draught animals is useless with tractors. At the same time, in selecting machinery for tractors, the possibility of its use with draught animals should be kept in mind.
- (d) Machinery used to replace manpower, e.g. harvesting machinery, potato diggers, should be sent primarily to those countries and those districts where agricultural labor is insufficient. In this case it would be necessary to take into consideration not only territories which suffered from lack of manpower even before the war, but the compulsory displacement of populations by the German administration.
- (e) Since it would probably be impossible to provide European countries with their full normal requirements of machinery in the form of imports, it will be necessary to keep existing machinery in operation as long and as fully as possible. As regards machinery imported from abroad and especially from overseas, the supply of spare parts when available in the producing countries, should be taken into consideration. Requirements should be based on expert advice as to the rate of use of spare parts. The question of local manufacture of agricultural machinery and spare and repair parts is treated in paragraph 10 below. Provision should also be made for efficient local repair, including welding.
- (f) As particular types of machinery are often used for short periods only and are not in continuous full-time use by individual farmers, the cooperative or other joint use of such machinery is strongly recommended especially in the case of tractors and other heavy machines.
- (g) The supplies of agricultural machinery should be related to a cropping program aiming at optimum food

*For the bases for the importation of draught animals see page 170.

production in the first year of relief.

- (h) Particular care should be given to providing liberated countries with machinery necessary for the cultivation of fallow land and land left derelict or abandoned in the course of military operations.
- (i) The importance of supplying agricultural machinery depends principally on seasonal work and therefore the priority for particular types of agricultural machines varies greatly according to the period of year when deliveries take place.

33. It is emphasized that though quantitative estimates of requirements must be made on the above bases, which (apart from the question of relative importance of factors referred to in paragraph 2) are common to all the countries concerned the actual types and combinations of machines and implements appropriate to each country can only be decided in consultation with the expert representatives of that country who are familiar with the marked local variations in soil, climate and terrain which exist in Europe. If this precaution is neglected much disappointment and waste, through the delivery of unsuitable machinery, is likely to result.

34. It is further pointed out that if Europe is liberated gradually and as a result of prolonged military action, the need for agricultural machinery in some, at least, of the countries liberated is likely to be greater than had been anticipated. It is strongly recommended that some emergency reserve consisting of machines and implements in common use in all countries should be created and held on a pool basis for the purpose of meeting such contingencies—otherwise there is a risk that needs unexpectedly revealed in the countries first liberated, may be met out of supplies allocated to countries still in enemy occupation, a process which might gravely dislocate the food production program in the latter group of countries as soon as liberation took place. Such a reserve should be given equal priority with national requirements.

Fuel and Lubricants

35. Import requirements of fuel and lubricants should be calculated on the basis of the fullest use being made both of existing machines and those to be imported as relief requirements. *Full use* is defined as the operation of tractors and stationary engines for the maximum annual number of hours consistent with the seasons appropriate to agricultural operations, weather conditions, running

repairs and hours of daylight, the consumption per tractor being an average for the types in use.*

Binder Twine

36. Import requirements of binder twine cannot be based on acreage under cereals in view of the use of reapers, mowers, and in some countries, scythes. It is therefore recommended that the basis should be the fullest use of all existing binders and of those to be imported in relief requirements. Full use is defined as the quantity used in reaping the maximum acreage of grain likely to be covered by one binder, taking into account the shortness of the harvesting season and the fact that binders are for this and other reasons less adapted to communal use than tractors.* The use of twine for vineyards and for horticultural purposes should be considered in some countries.

Food Processing Plant

37. Import requirements are based on the need to maintain, in good running order, such capacity for the processing of home grown and imported foodstuffs as will ensure that these foodstuffs reach the consumer without loss or waste in a form convenient for storage and transport under difficult conditions and retaining their highest nutrient qualities. The types of plant coming within the scope of the agricultural subcommittee are:

- (a) Flour and grist mills.
- (b) Dairies, creameries, cheese factories, pasteurizing plants, condenseries, including tank cars and other means of collecting milk.
- (c) Slaughterhouses, fat and bacon factories.
- (d) Sugar factories.
- (e) Canning factories, and mobile canneries; other systems

*The following average annual consumption figures are based on British war-time experience of the use of tractors for maximum food production:

Metric Tons	Paraffin	Petrol	Lub. Oil
Tractors old	4.2	.4	.3
Tractors new	5.4	.4	.3
Stationary engines	.2	.75	.02

Requirements of lubricants for other agricultural machines were agreed as 2.2 liters machine oil and 19 kg. grease for each machine. Requirements of heavy oil or petrol for tractors running on these fuels would be on a comparable basis to the figure for paraffin. It is assumed that the average number of hours running in the year would be 1,000.

*A figure of 80 kg. per binder has been derived from a comparison of the binder twine imports with the number of binders in several European countries checked by evidence as to normal British consumption of twine per binder.

of food preservation including dehydration and the necessary materials such as tinplate.

- (f) Oil processing plant.
- (g) Warehouses and cold stores including refrigerated transport.

It is assumed that in general pre-war capacity was sufficient to handle the anticipated volume of produce. In the early stages emphasis should therefore be on restoration rather than on new plant. Regard should also be paid to the relative vulnerability of different types of plant to the seasonal priority of agricultural industries and the possibilities of local repair.

38. The factors used in making quantitative estimates of import requirements for the rehabilitation of food processing plant are:

- (a) Number and capacity of pre-war plant.
- (b) Normal source of equipment (home manufactured or imports).
- (c) Estimates of present capacity taking into account (a) depreciation and non-replacement, (b) destruction during the war.
- (d) Volume of produce which, on the basis of estimated home production and imports in the first year of relief, it is understood will have to pass through processing plants.
- (e) Rate of consumption of liquid milk and other fresh and preserved produce by the urban population.

39. As in many countries repair or partial renewal of existing machinery will be more important than the introduction of completely new installations, it is emphasized that the most careful consideration must be given to the preparation of exact specifications for proposed deliveries to such countries. In others new equipment will be of great urgency.

Agricultural Machinery and Implement Factories

40. As the continued supply of agricultural machinery and implements of most types depended in the past in most countries on local manufacture, the supply, where necessary, of machine tools and other capital equipment as well as of raw materials will be a substantial contribution to a program of food production and will also contribute to the saving of shipping space which would otherwise be occupied by bulky machinery. Precise bases can probably only be established after expert investigation of factories in European pre-war investigation which should be carried out at the earl-

iest possible opportunity after liberation. It may be assumed, however, that pre-war capacity will not be in excess of post-war needs, which will be increased by the reduction in animal draught power. It is doubtful therefore whether restoration of existing plant will meet the full needs of the situation. Estimates should be based upon:

- (a) The need of agricultural machinery and implements to carry out the food production program.
- (b) Pre-war factory capacity.
- (c) Reduction in capacity due to:
 - (i) diversion to war production;
 - (ii) requisitioning of machine tools;
 - (iii) depreciation and non-replacement;
 - (iv) military destruction;
- (d) Availability of labor.
- (e) Special needs arising from loss of draught animals, failure of normal sources of supply of machinery, etc.

Food Transport Equipment

41. The transfer of home grown food, especially perishable food, including milk from producing centers to centers of consumption is a vital link in any program of relief supply. It is primarily a matter for the Industrial Rehabilitation Division to assess the rolling stock including refrigerated wagons and the road and inland water transport necessary for this purpose. The bases will however be the volume and area of production of the commodities to be moved which should be furnished by the Agricultural Division.

Recommendations of the Expert Panel on Livestock

42. Recommendations on requirements for the maintenance of livestock must be based primarily upon the needs of food production in the immediate postwar period including the need to maintain work animals for maximum crop production, and for manure. Taking into account, however, the rapidity with which livestock herds can be reduced below the danger point and the slowness of recovery, especially of the essential dairy and draught cattle and horses, it is also necessary to consider whether the policy recommended will, when the immediate pressure on food supplies is relieved, leave Europe with basic herds of a size and quality to allow of effective and not too long delayed recovery.

43. Lack of feeding stuffs both home-grown and imported, and requisitioning both for draught purposes and meat have been the principal causes in the decline of livestock in occupied countries.

In most areas the decline in livestock produce, especially milk has been greater than that of livestock numbers. Recovery may be by a simple increase in numbers, or by increase in yields. It is desirable that both these lines of advance should be pursued simultaneously if restoration is not to be unduly prolonged and in particular if current food production is to be raised as rapidly as possible. At the same time it is recognized that an attempt to modify, even to apparent advantage, the pre-war system of animal husbandry would be unsuited to a short-term relief program since the pre-war system resulted from a number of factors such as soil, climate, system of tenure and agricultural trade and policy of the country concerned.

44. The requirements for maintenance and gradual increase of livestock and livestock products are feeding stuffs, essential breeding stock, (intended primarily for the improvement of quality and increase of yields), a minimum of utility stock for food and draught purposes, and veterinary supplies needed for the preservation of animal health. The bases of requirements for these items are considered below. In all cases where the number of existing livestock or the current domestic supplies of feeding stuffs enter into the calculation, these refer to the estimated position at the end of 1943. They do not include forecasts of military destruction, or scorched earth, which may occur before the end of hostilities.

Feeding Stuffs

45. The serious deficiency in feeding stuffs in occupied countries is due to (a) ploughing up of pasture (b) change-over from fodder crops to food crops (c) use of what are normally fodder crops for human food (d) higher extraction flour (e) virtual cessation of imports of cereals, oilseeds and oilcake (f) depletion of soil fertility due to lack of fertilizers (g) decrease in cultivated land due to war conditions. Some at least of these adverse factors will be modified with the opening of relief activities and it is particularly to be hoped that relief shipments of edible oils will be made in the form of oilseeds and of breadstuffs in the form of grain in order that the by-products may be available for conversion into milk and to a lesser degree meat.

46. The bases for estimating quantitative requirements should be as follows:

- (a) The supply of coarse fodders should be ignored since it is assumed that the decline in livestock has been at least

as great as the decline in home production of coarse fodder.

- (b) Consumption of concentrates (oilcakes, cereals and offals) should as far as possible be brought to the same percentage of pre-war consumption in all countries.
- (c) Until full pre-war consumption can be attained, no country should import more than would bring consumption of oilcake up to a maximum of 500 kgs. per cow per annum.
- (d) The ratio of imports of offals to imports of cereals should not exceed the ratio of consumption of offals to cereals before the war.
- (e) Quantitative estimates should be made in tonnage of oilcake, cereals and offals, not in protein or starch content. In allocating supplies, however, careful attention should be given to the food value of different types of oilcakes, cereals and offals and their suitability to conditions in the receiving country.
- (f) Offals from grain imported for bread should be regarded as forming part of the import requirements of offals, the milling rate being taken as 85 percent.
- (g) Oilcake from oilseeds imported for the extraction of edible oils should be regarded as forming part of the import requirements of oilcakes and should be calculated at the percentage appropriate to each variety of oil seed.
- (h) In order that countries which have lost most heavily in cattle and horses should have an opportunity of improving the yield of their remaining stock, reductions in imports of feeding stuffs for these species should not be made below 75 percent of the pre-war level.
- (i) Subject to the foregoing assumptions, (a)—(g), the requirements for the first six months of oilcake and offals for each country are the quantities, which, when added to home production, will bring consumption up to 75 percent of the pre-war level. Oilcake requirements should be delivered as far as possible evenly throughout the year; offal requirements are mainly needed in winter.
- (j) The consumption recommended for cereal feeding stuffs in the first year of relief is based on the estimated pre-war annual consumption of cereals by (a) cattle and horses (b) pigs and (c) poultry. The recommended level of consumption in the first year of relief is the estimated pre-war consumption of each species reduced in the same proportion as the reduction in the numbers of the species which is understood to have taken place by 1943 or any later date for which infor-

mation may be available.* *The requirements of cereal feeding stuffs are the quantities which, when added to home production, would bring consumption up to the recommended level.* Cereal feeding stuffs requirements are needed in larger quantities in the winter than in the summer.

47. It has been urged that the same principle should be applied to cereals as to oilcake and offals and that allocation be fixed for each country on the basis of the *average* decline of each species, rather than on the decline in the particular country concerned, in order that countries which have suffered losses greater than the average might have an opportunity to rebuild. It is emphasized, however, that large imports of cereals, in which human beings compete with livestock for supplies, cannot be expected in the earlier stages of relief, and that provision cannot be made for immediate recovery of pigs and poultry. The highest importance is attached to imports of oilcake for the production of milk, and it is recommended that the meat situation be reviewed in consultation with the *Ad Hoc* Food Committee and consideration be given to the stage at which some provision for the increase of meat-producing animals can be recommended.

Live Animals

48. The bases for estimating requirements of live animals must of necessity be related more closely to supply and shipping conditions than to need since the losses of draught and milch animals (the most essential types and those which take the longest to replace by a process of natural increase) are so large that no attempt to make good anything near the total loss would be possible.

49. The bases recommended for a minimum importation during the first year of relief of live animals into Allied countries from all sources (including enemy countries) are as follows:

- (a) *Breeding Stock.* Such numbers as can be efficiently handled and used to the best advantage in rebuilding livestock herds (especially of dairy cattle) on lines aiming immediately at improved quality and quantity of food products rather than rapid increase of numbers and taking full advantage of the method of artificial insemination.
- (b) *Utility Stock,* especially dairy cattle, required for the

*According to the estimates of livestock population in 1943 the fall in numbers as compared with the pre-war populations were cattle 16 percent, horses 29 percent, pigs 38 percent, poultry 48 percent.

supply of milk to children and the sick, and draught animals for crop production. Assuming, as is believed to be reasonable, that approximately 10 percent of the estimated losses of dairy and draught cattle might be replaced during the first year, 80 percent of these replacements should be allocated for the provision of minimum milk supplies (calculated at a flat rate of .25 pint per head per day) in towns of over 50,000 inhabitants in each country and 20 percent to meet the needs of Eastern European countries for draught animals, replacements for this purpose to be equal to 2 percent of total pre-war draught animals of each country concerned.

50. It is of the highest importance that breeding and utility animals should be both of the right breeds, that is those known in and appropriate to the region for which they are destined, and accustomed to conditions of climate and farm management as near as possible to those to which they will be transferred. It is for this reason, as much as for convenience in transport, that the enemy countries are proposed as a source of supply. It should be noted that in enemy countries, with one or two exceptions, livestock population has remained high or increased during the war, introducing a disparity with Allied countries which can hardly be allowed to continue, and that this increase has been made possible by, among other factors, imports of feeding stuffs from Allied countries which will cease with the end of occupation. It is recommended that in the case of valuable breeding stock removed by the enemy, steps should be taken to secure the return of individual animals.

Veterinary Supplies

51. The bases for the estimates of veterinary requirements are (a) the number of animals to be treated and (b) the number of veterinary surgeons capable of applying the treatment. For convenience in calculation and subsequently in supply and distribution it is recommended that these bases be applied to estimating the number of minimum units of (a) drugs and (b) instruments and dressings required by each country. Biological products, sera and vaccines will also be required, especially in the case of epizootics, for which there may also be a need for field laboratories. It is, however, impossible to state requirements in advance owing to the impossibility of forecasting the character of the emergency, the number of animals which will require treatment and owing also to the highly perishable nature of the products.

Drug Units

52. It is recommended that these be of 4 kinds adapted to the treatment of horses, cattle, sheep and pigs respectively and consisting of quantities sufficient for the minimum needs for 100,000 animals for 6 months. The allocation to each country should be based on the livestock population as estimated in 1943.

53. *Units of Instruments and Dressings* should, it is recommended, be of three kinds:

- A. A very restricted list of perishable materials in the proportion of 1 unit to each veterinary surgeon.
- B. An extended list, including some of the more costly instruments, in the proportion of 1 unit for every 100 veterinary surgeons the whole unit intended for retention at a central veterinary institution.
- C. A list covering the minimum complete equipment for an individual veterinary surgeon in the proportion of 1 unit for every 100 veterinary surgeons.

Lists A and B should be multiplied in accordance with the number of veterinary surgeons in each country and put forward as that country's requirements. List C should be multiplied by 1 percent of the total number of veterinary surgeons in all Allied countries and held as a pool for allocation to any country in which exceptional damage has left veterinary surgeons without the means of carrying on their profession. It should, however, be noted that the rate of provision for lists B and C, while appropriate to countries where the veterinary services are adequate and have been comparatively undisturbed should be increased for countries where veterinary surgeons are few and communications difficult or where extensive destruction has taken place.

Consideration should be given to the Reports on Veterinary Supplies and Veterinary Administration prepared by the Veterinary Subcommittee of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee.

Recommendations of the Expert Panel on Fisheries

54. The basis for requirements for the rehabilitation of fisheries is the need to enable the fishing fleets of the Allied countries in Europe to resume as soon as possible the catching of fish and so make available to their people, and in some cases to the people of other European countries, a source of abundant and valuable protein food and edible oil at a time when proteins and oils in alterna-

tive forms are likely to be in very restricted supply. In order to make this possible it is necessary to secure the refitting of the maximum number of vessels possible in the first year of relief.

Quantitative estimates, both of capital equipment and continuing needs, including nets, twine, lines, ropes, sailcloth and their raw materials, engines, instruments, electrical equipment fishing gear, preservatives, paint, tar, varnish, coal, petroleum products and other consumable stores, must be based on the number, size and class of vessels assumed to be available to the country concerned and fishing for European supply during the first year of civilian relief and on each number of new vessels as it may be possible to build or obtain either in or for the country concerned during the same period. Specification of equipment should be according to customary national fishing methods. It is assumed that though vessels now fishing from continental ports will have been kept seaworthy and will have a minimum of fishing gear, this gear will be in urgent need of renewal. Vessels which have been dismantled or used for naval service by the enemy will require complete re-equipment.

55. Estimates of the number of new vessels which should be supplied, if they can be made available, and of materials for the construction of new vessels should be based on the difference between the pre-war fishing fleet of the country concerned and the number and type of vessels believed to survive, taking into account that surplus capacity existed in the fishing fleets of some countries.

Estimates of the quantities of materials such as salt, ice and containers needed for handling fish, will be based on the utilization of estimated quantities of fish landed or imported during the first year of civilian relief. Tinplate and other materials for factory processing will be based on the utilized plant capacity.

56. A common basis for materials for the rehabilitation of fisheries which are also required for the rehabilitation of coastwise and inland transport vessels should be agreed with the standing technical Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation.

B. PRIORITIES OF AGRICULTURAL REQUIREMENTS (TAG/E(44)50(a))

1. The standing technical Subcommittee on Agriculture has been asked to make recommendations as to the priorities to be attached to the delivery of different types of agricultural requirements in the first year of relief. This subject has been discussed in meetings of the Expert Panels on Crops, Livestock and Agricultural Machinery and the following statement embodying their recommenda-

tions has been agreed by the standing technical Subcommittee on Agriculture at its meeting on 12 July, 1944.

2. It may be remembered that the question of priorities was discussed provisionally in the Inter-Allied Agricultural Supplies Subcommittee and that the following list was drawn up:

- (a) Seeds
- (b) Veterinary medicine and sera
- (c) Insecticides and fungicides
- (d) Fuel and lubricants for existing farm machinery
- (e) Farm implements (if their absence would make cultivation or harvesting impossible)
- (f) Feeding stuffs
- (g) Fertilizers
- (h) Containers and processing apparatus (if their absence is seriously impeding food distribution).
- (i) Livestock.

It was agreed that dairy cattle and draught animals should have a higher priority if ocean transport were not required.

3. The order of priorities suggested in the Inter-Allied Committee was based in a general way on the need for optimum food production in Allied countries in the first year of relief. It did not take into account any of the following factors:

- (a) Seasonal priorities in general
- (b) Difference in seasonal priorities as between southern and northern Europe. (It may be recalled that the Greek harvest begins in May, the Norwegian in September.)
- (c) The timetable of seasonal priorities which would result from assuming the beginning of relief at a definite date
- (d) National priorities depending on circumstances other than seasonal (e.g. exceptional losses of draught power, available local supplies of fertilizer, etc.)

4. It is suggested that some attempt to cover points (a), (b), (c) might be made by the construction of a table based on the list given in paragraph 2, by subdividing such items as seeds into spring and autumn sown, and machinery into cultivating and harvesting types; by assuming that the war ends in November and by adding indications of delivery dates for southern and northern Europe.

DRAFT TABLE OF PRIORITIES

	<i>Southern Europe</i>	<i>Northern (a) Europe</i>
1. Spring seeds	1 January	1 February
2. Veterinary supplies	Whenever possible	
3. Insecticides and fungicides (other than winter wastes and fungicides for autumn sown seeds)	1 March	1 March
4. Fuel and lubricants	1 December	1 January
5. Cultivating machinery (b) (including draught power) ..	1 December	1 January
6. Feeding stuffs (c)	Whenever possible	
7. Fertilizers (product)	1 January	1 February
8. Fertilizers (raw materials) ..	1 December	1 December
9. Farm dairy equipment (d)	as soon as possible	
10. Hay making machinery	1 April	1 May
11. Harvesting machinery (also binder twine)	1 May	1 June
12. Sacks for cereals	1 May	1 July
13. Sacks for potatoes	1 May	1 July
14. Autumn sown seeds	1 September	1 August
15. Fungicides for autumn sown seeds	1 September	1 August
16. Live animals for breeding	as soon as circumstances permit	
17. Live animals for draught and milk	These items are not strictly seasonal but should be delivered continuously	

- (a) Seed for sowing under glass 1 January.
- (b) The priority of agricultural hand tools would probably be as high as that of cultivating machinery, but inclusion in this list has been postponed until clearer indications of the demand for hand tools have been obtained.
- (c) Feeding stuffs cover both those included in whole grain and oilseeds for human consumption and any feeding stuffs as such which it may be necessary to import to fill the gap in time before crushing and milling can be carried out.
- (d) Priorities of food processing equipment in general will be dealt with in a future memorandum.

5. It is felt, however, that in addition to such a general timetable, each country should prepare a national timetable showing not only the month in which each item should be delivered but the relative importance attached to commodities entered for delivery on the same date. This might be indicated by a percentual division of the tonnage of agricultural requirements for each month's deliveries. The proportion of the total tonnage of relief supplies devoted to agricultural requirements in each month would have to be decided after considering the relative priority of other items in the national relief program. It is also unlikely that deliveries of agricultural supplies would be of the same total weight month by month. These questions can, however, be deferred till quantitative

PERCENTAGE DIVISION (BY WEIGHT) OF MONTHLY DELIVERIES OF
AGRICULTURAL REQUIREMENTS

NAME OF COUNTRY		PERIOD BEGINNING							
Months	Veterinary Supplies %	Pesticides	Fuel and Lubricants %	(i) Machinery %	Binder Twine %	Feeding Stuffs %	(ii) Fertilizers %	(iii) Food Processing Equipment %	(iv) Containers Livestock %
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									

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(i) To be divided into (a) cultivating, (b) hay-making, (c) harvesting.
(ii) To be divided into (a) raw material, (b) product.
(iii) To be divided into (a) farm, (b) factory.
(iv) To be divided into (a) breeding, (b) milk, (c) draught.

requirements are available. It is possible, however, to provide at once for the preparation of separate tables of agricultural requirements only, for every country, depending on the month in which deliveries begin. This would provide the Administration of UNRRA with the practical plan which could be used to draw up a shipping program which would cover supplies for the first six months. During this period it would be possible to establish a new detailed plan worked out for the second six months, according to the needs of every country after liberation. This method of establishing priorities gives every country the opportunity to take into consideration the commodities most urgently required in the right proportion for each month, as it is improbable that all the shipping space available for one month and for one country would be used for one commodity only. Usually the monthly supplies would consist of several different commodities.

Blank forms on the lines indicated are attached. It should be understood that the total for each month will add up *horizontally* to 100, but that no vertical addition is possible as the figure shown for each month may be a percentage of a different total.

6. In considering priorities both general and national it may be helpful to consider agricultural requirements as falling into three classes:

- (a) Those needed to maintain and operate what may be looked on as the existing capital equipment of agriculture (veterinary supplies for existing animals; fuel, lubricants and binder twine for existing machinery; seeds for land under cultivation; pesticides; processing and transport equipment for foodstuffs actually being produced).
- (b) Those needed to increase food production for the benefit of the urban population (fertilizers, machinery to bring more land under cultivation, feeding stuffs to increase yields, especially of milk).
- (c) Those needed for the rehabilitation of the agricultural industry.

C. AGRICULTURAL SUBSTITUTES AND ALTERNATIVES (TAG/E (44) 52)

At a meeting of the Committee of the Council for Europe, held on 1 June 1944, the Committee agreed to ask the Subcommittees to prepare recommendations as to substitutes and alternatives which could be regarded as interchangeable and as to the policy to be adopted in regard to priorities, after the completion of their Re-

ports on Bases of Requirements, in so far as these points had not already been covered by those Reports.

The question of priorities is dealt with in another paper. The question of substitutes and alternatives is referred to in some measure in the paper on Bases (TAG/E(44)30) and also came up for consideration in the course of discussions in the Inter-Allied Agricultural Committee. The following summary of the conclusions so far reached may be a useful basis for further discussions:

1. *Seeds*

There are, here, no substitutes and the only alternatives are alternative sources. This question was dealt with at some length in the Report of the Inter-Allied Seeds Subcommittee where the best source was indicated first, with possible alternatives. (See paragraph 14 of the Bases of Agricultural Requirements TAG/E(44)30.) There may be limited possibilities of sowing land with spring crops, where, owing to military operations, there has been failure to sow in the autumn, but such a possibility should not be exaggerated.

2. *Fertilizers*

A certain amount of substitution within the same chemical group is possible (e.g., basic slag for super phosphates) but regional preferences have, as a rule, a scientific basis and should, as far as possible, be met.

The supply of raw materials is, in a sense, an alternative to the supply of the product but time, shipping-space and productive capacity really decide which is the most desirable.

3. *Pesticides*

Some materials (e.g., derris) are practically unobtainable and more or less efficient substitutes exist. Detailed work on this subject is proceeding with the help of experts.

4. *Sacks and Containers*

The alternatives in order of priority are (a) jute or cotton sacks, (b) paper sacks, (c) bulk transport. In the interests of food preservation it is urged that jute or cotton sacks should be provided as far as possible. The use of paper for jute or cotton sacks is, however, fairly satisfactory for some types of contents, and as paper for this purpose is obtainable in some European countries it may have to be used. Further investigations are being made as to the limits of its efficient use and the bare minimum of fibre sacks which will have to be imported if agricultural produce is to be moved. In some countries raw material or fabric may be preferred to made-up sacks.

5. *Agricultural Machinery*

There is a certain variety in types of machine used for the same purpose. In general it is agreed that the type most suitable and familiar in each region should be supplied, and that the need for horse-drawn implements should especially be borne in mind. Investigation is proceeding as to whether, if the most suitable type is not available, something less suitable (e.g., light, wheeled tractors for heavy crawlers) should be supplied or whether it would be useless. The answer can only be based on a study of individual implements and regions.

6. *Fuel and Lubricants*

Agricultural machinery, and in particular, tractors, may run on paraffin, petrol, heavy oil or producer-gas. It is not proposed to supply any new machinery using producer-gas. It is recommended that, as far as possible, requests for diesel-driven tractors should be met. Paraffin or petrol-driven tractors can fairly easily be adapted from one to the other fuel, if the necessity arises. In the absence of special requests, paraffin has been recommended.

7. *Binder Twine*

It is assumed that wherever possible fiber (sisal) twine should be supplied. It is known that paper and metal twine are being produced and extensively used in Europe. Neither appears to be highly efficient. The metal in particular is unsatisfactory. It may be necessary, at least for countries in which paper twine is produced and which have the necessary raw materials, to continue its use, but there are many countries in which it will not be available.

8. *Food Processing Plant*

The question of substitutes or alternatives has not yet been considered. It is now before the Expert Panel on Food Processing.

9. *Agricultural Machinery and Fertilizer Factory Equipment*

Here again, no alternatives have been considered, but as industries ancillary to food production, it is proposed to refer consideration to the Food Processing Panel to which appropriate technical experts can be invited.

10. *Food Transport Equipment*

Obvious alternatives seem to be between road, water and rail transport; and between bulk transport (e.g., in milk tank cars) and transport in small containers. Consideration should also be given to alternative forms of storage, including cold storage.

11. Feeding Stuff

The alternative to supplies of feeding stuffs is supplies of human food. Oilcake and offals are equivalent to milk, cereals to milk, meat and eggs. (On an average four pounds of oilcake, in addition to a maintenance ration, is equivalent to 10 pounds of milk.)

There is, further, a certain range in the choice of feeding stuffs to be supplied, although regional preferences should receive due weight.

- (a) The type of oilcake will depend on the type of oilseed most readily available and imported for the purpose of oil extraction for human food. Where possible a variety of types should be supplied.
- (b) The type of cereal may also vary with the world-supply situation and transport possibilities.
- (c) Offals will depend on the constituents of the loaf in each country.
- (d) To some extent, cereals may be substituted for offals and vice versa.

The suitability of the various alternatives will depend on their combination with one another and on the type of coarse fodder obtainable in each region.

12. Live Animals

In the Report of the Inter-Allied Livestock Committee indications were given as to the most suitable breeds and sources, with in some cases a second choice of either breed, source or both. Beyond this little choice is possible unless a long-term view is taken and the milk-draught animal is exchanged for a policy of milk production plus mechanization. In the case of draught animals, there are regions in which horses or mules may be looked upon as alternatives to tractors.

13. Veterinary Supplies

Some drugs are in short supply and alternatives are available. As far as possible, those which are difficult to obtain have been eliminated from the lists put forward by the Inter-Allied Veterinary Subcommittee, but experts are being consulted as to whether any further indication on substitutes can be made.

VI. REQUIREMENTS FOR INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION STATEMENT

(TIR/E(44)20)

1. An agreement on the bases of requirements was the first task of the standing technical Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation,

tion, which was appointed on 18 May 1944, and has held four meetings on the subject pursuant to a resolution of the Committee of the Council for Europe of the 28 March 1944. The resolution directed the standing technical Subcommittee to "examine the bases adopted by the Inter-Allied Committee and recommend to the Committee of the Council for Europe how far these bases need modification before eventual submission to the Council, in the light of:

- (a) the resolutions adopted by the Council at Atlantic City;
- (b) the estimates of requirements employed by the Military Authorities for the first six months;
- (c) other information available since the bases were originally agreed."

2. The resolution also stated "that the Committee of the Council for Europe should address themselves to the task of approving bases of requirements for the twelve months succeeding the six months military period." Industrial Rehabilitation is, however, a continuous process and it is difficult to split the problem of supplies required into two different periods. The Subcommittee has, therefore, approached the problem from a somewhat wider point of view by recommending the standards of minimum requirements that should be introduced as soon as possible after the Allied territories have been liberated. In planning the introduction of these requirements, the problem of industrial rehabilitation should normally be treated as one large problem of the combined liberated territories rather than as a number of separate problems, each pertaining to the particular country concerned. Certain exceptions to this may be desirable if decentralization appears to offer advantages, but the interests of the family of United Nations should always over-ride the national interests.

3. Sir William Goode, British Director of Relief, stated in his Report of 1 January 1920: "Of one thing I am absolutely convinced, and that is that to continue to provide food without at the same time providing raw materials on which to re-establish industry, is merely to aggravate the problem of Europe."

In the light of this experience after the last war, the Subcommittee wishes to record its profound conviction of the crucial importance of industrial rehabilitation in the UNRRA program. This is apparent not only from experience in the last war but also in territories liberated during this war. It is clear that unless and until the liberated countries can be helped to stand on their own feet from the point of view of industrial rehabilitation, relief in the

form of final consumer goods will confer no lasting benefit, while the need for it will continue longer. The choice made between the alternatives of consumer goods and imports of say, machinery, materials or equipment will settle the rate at which acute shortages can be overcome.

4. The Subcommittee has noted the views of the Director General in paper CCE(44) 18, that bases of requirements should be limited strictly to the scope of relief and rehabilitation as defined in Resolution No. 12, and that they should take account as far as possible of the general and well-known fact that nearly all supplies will be short in relation to total needs.

5. The Subcommittee has also noted the necessity for speed in the preparation of bases, realizing that, as the Director General points out in paper CCE(44) 19, the completion of their task will speed up the procurement of supplies not only by UNRRA, but by the countries seeking allocations from the Combined Boards.

6. The Subcommittee strongly endorses the Council's view that every effort should be made to secure "the maximum production and interchange of any surplus supplies which can be made available within each region, by promoting appropriate national and international action on the part of member governments."

7. In its task of framing bases of requirements, the Subcommittee has been deeply impressed with the complexity of the problems of industrial rehabilitation which are so varied from industry to industry and from country to country, and so different from the problems in other departments of relief and rehabilitation that the methods adopted elsewhere of arriving at bases of requirements are inapplicable in this field. There is no objective criterion, for instance, analogous to the bases used for food. Moreover, the margin of possible variation in the demand for materials and equipment is, on account of potential industrial devastation, much greater than in any other field.

8. The above considerations have greatly influenced the Subcommittee in favor of a broad general approach to the problem of bases as against detailed bases for each commodity. In its review of the valuable work done on this subject by the Inter-Allied Committee, the Subcommittee came to the conclusion that a great deal of this work could and should be utilized by the Administration in its present task. Nevertheless the changed conditions since this work was done, and the differences between the task of UNRRA and that of the Inter-Allied Committee preclude the adoption of

the detailed bases of requirements worked out by the Inter-Allied Committee and call for a more general approach. The Subcommittee further understands that subsequent to the adoption of a broad general statement, close contact at all stages would be maintained by the Administration with the Allied Governments under the new arrangement sanctioned by the Washington Headquarters, in accordance with which the Administration is to make the initial calculations of requirements in London or Washington* in consultation with the Allied representatives whose advice and assistance is to be sought wherever possible.

9. The bases of requirements appropriate for industrial rehabilitation depend in the first instance on the scope of UNRRA in this field. When the Administration was asked by the Subcommittee to state its own view on this question a reply was received, a part of which is stated below:

INTERPRETATION OF UNRRA'S RESPONSIBILITIES

A. Industries Affected

The industries which are the responsibility of UNRRA fall into two broad classes:

1. Those producing goods of a kind needed for relief—i.e. food, fuel, clothing, medical supplies, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services. These may include industries ancillary thereto, e.g. necessary raw materials production, etc.
2. Those concerned with the provision of public services—i.e. water, sanitation, electricity, gas, transportation, communication. These may include industries ancillary thereto, e.g. necessary raw materials production, etc.

B. Extent of UNRRA's Responsibility

UNRRA's responsibility in respect of both groups included in paragraph A is limited to repair and restoration to meet immediate basic needs, and does not involve new construction or reconstruction work. Those responsibilities will be further affected by the season during which civilian responsibility will be assumed, the extent of repair accomplished during the period of military responsibility, the availability of supplies and the extent of UNRRA's financial resources.

*N.B. "or Washington" inserted in text by the Committee for Europe at their seventh meeting.

10. The Subcommittee believes that the following supplementary principles should also be recognized by the Administration if they are not implied in the above:

- (a) Each country should be encouraged to improvise to the greatest extent possible with indigenous materials so as to reduce its demand for relief imports.
- (b) For any given activity all the needed factors of production such as fuels and raw materials should be provided in balanced proportions.

11. The limitation of the scope of industrial rehabilitation in paragraph 9 will, in the opinion of the Subcommittee, raise many difficulties in practice, unless the liberated territories maintain such administrative controls as will assure the most effective utilization of UNRRA supplies.

12. Following the recommendation of the Council, in Atlantic City Resolution 12, the Subcommittee wishes to emphasize strongly the desirability of accumulating stocks and supplies in appropriate places in the form of a pool not earmarked for any particular area but to be used in European territories according to the needs ascertained at the time of liberation.

13. As the rehabilitation of industry by UNRRA should, where possible, be planned to form part of such long-term plans as may be in course of preparation by the Governments of liberated territories, only for reasons of extreme urgency, lack of funds and materials, or the absence of a long-term plan on the part of the territory's government, should machinery be installed which will obviously have to be scrapped and removed at the end of the relief period. Requirements which are to be obtained in advance of liberation, therefore, should be limited, in default of sufficiently detailed information, to those for which satisfactory utility can be assured without detailed engineering surveys on the spot. Provision should be made at the earliest possible time after liberation for the determination and subsequent procurement of requirements which cannot be adequately programmed in advance but for which needs are as urgent as those subject to earlier recognition.

14. Obviously it is very difficult to make any estimation of bases for Industrial Rehabilitation without taking into consideration the degree of devastation in the country concerned due to military action. The following guiding principles should, however, be considered:

- (a) Countries whose industries have suffered most severely from enemy occupation, and war damage, the peoples of

which have taken an active part in fighting and resisting the enemy should be given high priority in industrial rehabilitation and more considerable relief.

- (b) Industrial rehabilitation should be provided in the first place for the liberated territories of the United Nations countries.*

15. The list shown below of economic activities eligible for UNRRA assistance indicates in accordance with the Director General's request, reported in paper CCE (44) 18, the types of activities to which special consideration should be given. The Subcommittee has thought it desirable to submit these rough indications of priorities rather than to enter into a long discussion of this difficult question, the detailed answers to which depend in practice entirely on the degree of devastation, the special needs of particular countries, and the economic facts of the situation when liberation takes place. In view of this, the assignment of detailed procurement and shipping priorities should be made after direct consultation between the Administration and the receiving Government concerned.

16. First priority should be given to the following activities which are all of equally high importance:

Inland Transport and Communications. The essential replacements, maintenance and organization of communications and all inland transportation media including railway, highway, water, and terminal warehousing, and storage facilities, the equipment to include both fixed and mobile stock. The needed level of inland transportation is to be provided in each country through the media which can be most economically supplied.

Public Utilities. Public utilities including water and sewage, gas, electricity and communications, and other essential services needed for the production, transportation and distribution of relief supplies and services.

Services Essential for General Industrial Maintenance and Repair. This category includes the facilities needed for general maintenance and repair operations for essential transportation, utility, industrial and relief activity, fuel industries, automotive repair and maintenance, foundries and forges, machine and woodworking

*The view of the United States member is that the subject matter of paragraph 14 does not fall within the jurisdiction of the standing technical Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation and particularly that it does not concern bases of requirements. For this reason he did not participate in the discussion of the re-wording of the statement submitted by the member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. With the exception of this reservation on paragraph 14 he agrees with the principles expressed in the document.

shops, electrical repair and maintenance establishments, and any other related industries, deemed necessary in any of the countries.*

17. **Consumer goods and producers and capital goods industries are of the second order of priority. Supplies of raw materials and equipment may be furnished for them for the maintenance of civilian relief. Supplies may also be furnished for manufacturing, processing and repair and maintenance industries vital to the domestic production and utilization of such goods and services as are covered by UNRRA standards. The lists of particular consumer goods and fuel industries should be varied in consultation with the representatives of each country, so as to ensure the provision of requirements for any activity deemed necessary for the production of goods and services which are identical with or equivalent to the following examples (which are given for illustrative purposes and not in order of priority):

- Clothing, including materials and accessories;
- The manufacture and repair of shoes;
- Soap;
- Medical and health supplies;
- Materials for emergency shelter, essential building repair and basic household equipment.

It is understood that all essential food industries such as flour milling, bread baking, milk plant, butter and cheese making, margarine and butter substitute manufacture, edible oil preparation, vegetable and fruit preservation, meat packing, fish preservation, cereal and alimentary paste manufacture, sugar refining, food containers, and food storage facilities, including refrigeration, may be adequately assisted with due consideration of the policies and bases recommended by other Subcommittees.

As regards producers and capital goods industries this category includes industries engaged in producing raw materials, equipment and other supplies necessary for the production of the essential goods, fuels, and services. The maintenance, repair, and operation

*The Council in adopting Resolution No. 55 provided for the modification of the bases contained herein by adding the following paragraph at the end of paragraph numbered 16: "In accordance with Resolutions 12 and 13, equal priority with the above should also be given to provision of the means for the rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies, and raw materials for them."

**The Council in adopting Resolution No. 55 provided for the insertion of the following phrase at the beginning of paragraph numbered 17: "Subject to the recommendations in paragraph 16 as amended by the Council."

of these industries should be assisted to the extent that they contribute to the over-all UNRRA relief level. The representatives of each country should be consulted in order to determine the extent to which contributions are necessary in keeping with the UNRRA policy of decreasing the reliance of any liberated country, and to the extent possible of Europe, as a whole, on import requirements for relief purposes.

The individual Allied representatives should furthermore be consulted with regard to selection from or elaboration of, the list of following industries (which are given for illustrative purposes and are not in order of priority: iron and steel, electrical, essential metallic and non-metallic mining, chemical, fertilizer, tanning, textile, paper, building materials, agricultural equipment and supplies, tools, industrial and utility and transport equipment, etc.

18. As to the types of requirements which should be supplied, the Subcommittee recommends that there should be no limitation subject to the observance of the above priorities. Raw materials, and semi-manufactured materials, fuels, tools, equipment, machinery and spare parts, emergency or mobile units and any other appropriate forms of needed assistance are to be included.

19. The principles discussed provide a framework specifying the kinds of industry which are eligible for UNRRA assistance, the degree to which, and the order in which assistance should be given and the types of supplies which may be needed. Within this policy framework some indication may be given of the application of these principles to particular groups of industries and activities in order to fulfill the request of the Committee of the Council for Europe and illustrate how far the bases adopted by the Inter-Allied Committee need modification before they are submitted to the Council. The commodity bases of the Inter-Allied Committee, in so far as they are rigidly determined and are presented in such detail that the calculation of requirements is a simple arithmetical problem, cannot easily be fitted into this framework. For the reasons stated above the Subcommittee believes that the procedure of the Inter-Allied Committee, while it may have been perfectly justified for the purposes of that Committee, is unsuitable for the present purpose which requires the more general approach herein exemplified. While specific bases of estimates of requirements seem to be difficult to establish the principle of absolute fairness and justice in allocation of rehabilitation goods particularly those in scarce supply must be maintained with all recipient countries, in accord-

ance with the Director General's statement in paragraph 5 of paper CCE(44)18). Statements of the Administration revealing the quantity and quality of rehabilitation goods received by the various countries under UNRRA should be issued to this effect.

Inland Transport and Communications

1. The following principles should guide the estimation of requirements of equipment and material for inland transport:

- (a) to prevent any further deterioration during the relief period by providing for necessary maintenance;
- (b) to effect such replacement of damage known to have occurred in individual countries as is required for the restoration of the transport to a level that would make them able to cope with the urgent demands of the relief period;
- (c) to provide, from a pool, a certain amount of equipment and materials which will be necessary in the light of anticipated damage.

2. With respect to 1(a) above, the appropriate rate of deterioration in Allied countries should be taken into consideration. With respect to 1(b) and 1(c) above, the Subcommittee recognizes that estimates of requirements can only be based on the latest available intelligence from civilian and military sources (including the latest estimates of anticipated damage resulting from military operations) as well as full knowledge of the supplies provided by the military to meet anticipated damage.

3. The general bases stated in (1) above should be applied to all forms of transport and communications with variations where appropriate. For road transport, for example, this would involve making due allowance for the present number of vehicles in occupied countries (both in operation and capable of being brought back into use through repair), for wastage, for terminal distribution and for other factors special to individual countries.

4. As a further illustration, the general bases can also be applied to telecommunications. Telecommunication equipment should be provided with the aim of restoring the telecommunication system to the extent necessary for the essential operations of a community.

Public Utilities and Services

1. The following principles should guide the estimation of requirements of equipment and materials for public utilities:—

- (a) to prevent any further deterioration during the relief period by providing the necessary maintenance.
- (b) to effect such replacement of damage which has occurred in individual countries as is required for the restoration of the public utilities of the country to a level that would make it able to cope with the urgent public utility and service demands for the relief period.
- (c) to provide, from a pool, a certain amount of equipment and material which will be necessary in the light of anticipated damage.

2. With respect to 1(a) above, the appropriate rate of deterioration in Allied countries shall be taken into consideration. With respect to 1(b) and 1(c) above the Subcommittee recognizes that estimates of requirements can only be based on the latest available intelligence from civilian and military sources (including the latest estimates of anticipated damage resulting from military operations) as well as full knowledge of the supplies provided by the military to meet anticipated damage.

3. Pools of equipment for the restoration of facilities for water, sewage, land drainage, electricity and gas, must necessarily be based on the above considerations.

Industrial Maintenance and Repair

The basis for the calculation of requirements of supplies and equipment needed for this important group of industries should be the desirability of ensuring in them a volume of activity adequate to provide the proper range of facilities for essential industries, particularly those producing relief goods (either for domestic consumption or for supply to other liberated areas).

The above illustrations suggest how the general principles which the Subcommittee favors can be applied so as to deduce the kinds of industry and the volume of activity to be supported from the standards of final consumer goods and services which UNRRA can legitimately provide. In a similar way the same principles can be applied, once the desired level of output in the proper industries is set, to deduce the total requirements of fuels, raw materials and semi-processed goods, factory equipment and machinery which are necessary to enable this level of output to be maintained. Thus, the total requirements of rubber, for example, would be based on the demand at the approved level of output of the rubber-using industries, such as tire manufacture and surgical supplies. Similarly the requirements of building materials would be based on the vol-

ume of output of the building industry which UNRRA considered essential to cover the need of repairs to hospitals, public services, etc., and the need for emergency shelter.* The requirements of fuel would be based on the demands of the essential transportation and public utility services and of essential industries together with the UNRRA approved allocations to consumers and an allowance for distribution needs.

*The Council in adopting Resolution No. 55 provided for the insertion at the end of this sentence of the following phrase: "as outlined in Resolution 13."

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War and Peace Aims

Extracts from Statements of United Nations Leaders

*Special Supplement No. 5 to
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THE GOVERNMENTS OF AUSTRALIA, BELGIUM, CANADA, CHINA,
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LUXEMBOURG, NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, NORWAY, THE PHILIPPINES,
POLAND, SOUTH AFRICA; OF THE DANISH LEGATION AND OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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WAR AND PEACE AIMS

THIS collection of extracts is an attempt to meet the need for a convenient survey of official statements on war and peace aims which have so far been made by heads of state, members of governments and authorized spokesmen. It is a compilation for those who seek information on the subject and in no sense a document or an analysis of policy.

Though a comprehensive selection, the collection does not necessarily include all statements made to date on the subject. The statements have all been transmitted by the official agencies of information of the countries concerned and have all been published in the American press and elsewhere. The classification is according to what seemed to be points of public interest in the United States and the nature of the statements available. The essential core of each statement is given and omissions of words are indicated by dots.

The term "official" is interpreted more freely in some countries than in others. The aim of this compilation is to give a cross-section of the trend of official opinion, and an index to the basic ideas so far put forward.

It will be remembered that the pre-occupations of governments vary with the type of contribution to the united war effort. Some are based on their own territory, while others are carrying on the war from outside their own countries. Some are concerned with problems in widely scattered areas or all around the world. Some have been fighting for a longer time than others. More immediate pressure in some areas of the world than in others brings special problems to the fore.

The questions touched on will be found very largely international in scope. So much has been written and said on postwar national planning that a separate volume or volumes would be required. Still another would be required on economic reconstruction, which is found here only in some aspects. Nevertheless, some important phases of national planning in the field of social and political problems are dealt with.

The latest statement included in Volume I was dated December 6, 1942. Volume II continued the survey up to July 7, 1943. Volume III covered the period from the end of Volume II to January 1, 1944, Volume IV covered the period from January 1 to July 15, 1944. With Volume V, a regular six-month period from July 15 to January 15 is established.

PREFACE TO VOLUME V

In the new volume, two categories have disappeared from the Annex of Documents—those on lend-lease and mutual aid and on the administration of liberated and occupied territories. Since the Yalta Declaration, although chronologically later than the limits set for this volume, marks a culminating point in statements of policy previous to the San Francisco Conference, the text has been added in a special Appendix.

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The Significance of the Present Struggle

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

... I ... hold to the view ... that as the war enters its final phase it is becoming, and will become increasingly less ideological. Confusion was caused in some minds by mixing ideology with idealism, whereas in fact there is quite a notable difference between them. While I cherish idealism as a cheerful light playing over the thoughts and hopes of men and inspiring noble deeds, ideology too often presents itself as undue regimentation of ideas and may very likely be incompatible with freedom. I have rejoiced to see the Fascist ideology overthrown, and I look forward to its complete extirpation in Italy.

I rejoice in the prospect, now becoming sure and certain, that the Nazi ideology enforced in a hideous manner upon a vast population, will presently be beaten to the ground. These facts and manifestations, which I see taking place continually as the world war crashes onwards to its close, make me increasingly confident that when it is won, when the hateful aggressive Nazi and Fascist systems have been laid low, and when every precaution has been taken against their ever rising again, there may be a new brotherhood among men which will not be based upon crude antagonisms of ideology but upon broad, simple, homely ideals of peace, justice and freedom. Therefore, I am glad that the war is becoming less an ideological war between rival systems and more and more the means by which high ideals and solid benefits may be achieved by the broad masses of the people in many lands and ultimately in all ...

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, President, address at Third People's Political Council, Chungking, September 5, 1944

I sincerely hope that the people of this nation will be farsighted and be enterprising enough to enable China after this war to secure real independence and freedom, and to be on equal terms with all the civilized nations of the world. Only by so doing can we prove ourselves worthy of the Father of the Republic, the revolutionary martyrs, and the soldiers and people who have laid down their lives in this war.

CHINA

Wei Tao-ming, Ambassador to the United States, New York, October 10, 1944

The revolutionary struggle in China has made our people more conscious than ever of the need for complete success not only in the achievement of freedom and democracy in our own country, but also of peace and prosperity in the world. This is the people's revolution. This is the people's war. We are confident that together with all the other freedom-loving peoples of the United Nations we will reach our supreme goal.

UNITED STATES

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, December 12, 1944

In the months and years ahead, the United States will have far greater responsibilities in world affairs than ever before in our history. We have great moral and material power, which we must exercise in the long-range mutual interests of our own people and of the peoples of other nations.

Our major objectives may be stated very briefly, as follows:

(1) The fullest possible support in the conduct of our foreign relations for our armed forces, so that the war may be won at the earliest possible moment.

(2) Effective steps to prevent Germany and Japan, after victory by the United Nations, from again acquiring the power to wage aggressive war.

(3) Establishment at the earliest possible moment of a United Nations Organization capable of building and maintaining the peace—by force if necessary—for generations to come.

(4) Agreement on measures to promote a great expansion of our foreign trade and of productiveness and trade throughout the world, so that we can maintain full employment in our own country and—together with the other United Nations—enter an era of constantly expanding production and consumption and of rising standards of living.

(5) Encouragement of all those conditions of international life favorable to the development by men and women everywhere of the institutions of a free and democratic way of life, in accordance with their own customs and desires.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, at a meeting of the Polish National Council, London, December 13, 1944

Our principal aim is the preservation and handing down to the Polish nation of an independent Polish State. We want to achieve this in common effort with our Allies, by completely beating the Germans against whom we have fought since 1939, in Poland and on all Allied fronts, as well as by sincere understanding with Russia.

Our next aim is the reconstruction of Poland. The Government will consider the agreement of political parties in Poland of August 15, 1943 and the Declaration of the Council of National Unity of March, 1944, which laid us the foundation of our activities.

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address at the Rotary Club of Philadelphia, December 13, 1944

The problem of establishing peace after this world war will be a mighty one. ... It is especially important to unify the views of the big Powers on the principles and problems of peace. ... A just and durable peace cannot be based on power alone. That would be a "Pax Germanica", not a civilized peace. Durable peace can only be based on the respect of the fundamental principles of humanity and justice. For only then will the nations consider it worth while to use power to maintain and to defend it. ...

Poland's aims are simple and clear. She is fighting to regain her complete independence and her territorial integrity. Her people consider that true freedom begins with that of the individual and that true democracy can only be applied in the spirit in which it is applied in countries such as the United States where the government is "of the people, by the people, for the people. ..." Such is the system of democracy Poland intends to pursue in the postwar period. ...

Poland is determined to be a factor of peace in Europe. The Polish Government has spared and will spare no effort in trying to bring about a lasting understanding between the Polish Republic and her great Eastern neighbor, the U.S.S.R., in accordance with the principles of international life fixed in the Atlantic Charter and with a view to safeguarding the most vital interests of both neighboring countries.

Allied loyalty and respect of international agreements will continue to be a leading principle of Poland's policy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

POLAND

Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, President, broadcast to Poland on New Year's Eve, London, December 31, 1944

Winning of the war must at the same time be a winning of peace, of just peace on which the Christian civilization of Europe organized politically and economically and included into a world system of general security could revive and develop. . . .

To us true democracy is the possibility of free organization of the nation according to the will of its majority, of the wish freely expressed without compulsion and pressure. True democracy is also the real freedom of the citizen unafraid of violence. It is for such a democracy that our whole nation are humiliated slaves in the labor camps, prisoners, deportees, refugees—you all ought to have the possibility of returning to your destroyed homes—but still yours—in order to be able to participate with the entire nation in the building of a new, better and lasting order, over the ruins of the old order, in accordance with divine rights and the rights of man based on those rights.

WAR FOR FREEDOM

CHINA

H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, and concurrently Minister of Finance, address at China-America Council of Commerce and Industry dinner, New York, July 27, 1944

We know we are fighting not only for our national liberty and independence, but also for the security and prosperity of the whole world. We know that in this fight all peace-loving peoples are on our side. At this very moment, the Japanese are launching another attack upon us in the final attempt to realize their age-long ambition of world domination by gaining control of the Asiatic mainland. We are determined to see that they shall not succeed.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, address, Washington, August 10, 1944

In this war between a free world and a slave world, the Philippines has freely and voluntarily taken side with the defenders of liberty and democracy.

POLAND

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Prime Minister, broadcast to Poland on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the War, September 1, 1944

. . . The Polish Government will not capitulate and resign the rights of Poland to full independence, freedom and sovereignty. I declare this in full realization of the gravity of the tragic situation.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President, Provisional Government of the French Republic, press conference, Paris, October 25, 1944

I believe the most important thing is that the party of freedom should win the victory. That each of the states which forms this party should receive the share it deserves, and that the peace which will follow these great efforts shall be a peace of unity; that each of the states, great or small, having belonged to the coalition for freedom, shall receive its share, so that all this sum of efforts and suffering in common of so many men and women throughout the world, shall result in such a world organization, that the security, dignity, and development of each nation shall be possible and even guaranteed by all the others. If mankind achieves this, those who died and those who suffered shall not

have died and suffered in vain. This is now the real problem facing nations and consequently statesmen.

CHINA

Wei Tao-ming, Ambassador to the United States, speech to the Board of Education, New York, October 30, 1944

The war we are fighting today is in a sense a continuation of the revolutionary struggle. This is as much a people's war as the revolution was a people's revolution, and we are fighting as much for world democracy as for national freedom. In fact, all the United Nations, I venture to say, are fighting for the same things. Their thoughts are truly one.

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, President, Message on fiftieth Anniversary of Kuomintang, Chungking, November 12, 1944

If the Japanese are not driven out of China, we shall have no hope of successfully concluding our Revolution or realizing the principles of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood. Moreover, national existence can in no way be safeguarded, not to say individual or group interests. Revolution implies all-out sacrifice and struggle, and national salvation requires total elimination of selfish ends. . . .

We should realize that Revolution and national salvation are our common duty and our sole aim today is to drive the enemy out, rejuvenate the nation and win national independence and freedom. Everything else is out of our consideration.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, New Year's broadcast to Poland, January 1, 1945

Our supreme purpose is to achieve real freedom and independence for Poland, without foreign interfering in our internal affairs. We still have in mind the experiences of the period of partitions and long years of slavery. . . .

For we know that without a really independent State our nation will lack the essential conditions for normal, human existence and possibilities for democratic development.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, THE DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER DECLARATIONS

AUSTRALIA

John Curtin, Prime Minister, speech before the Australian Parliament, July 17, 1944

After victory, the first task must be the framing of measures to preserve world peace. Maintenance of peace and security is, however, not merely an end in itself but a means for promotion of an ordered society of nations having as its aim the welfare of mankind. The four essential freedoms defined by President Roosevelt and the common principles of national policies outlined in the Atlantic Charter must be translated into national and international policies not only to secure the rights of man to freedom but to increase his well being as an individual.

GREECE

Philip Dragounis, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, statement to the press, Cairo, August 9, 1944

. . . Greece cannot play her part as a true and wholehearted friend of the great democracies of the west who are also the ruler

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, THE DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER DECLARATIONS

of the sea if she is not made really safe in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. . . .

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, broadcast, September 1, 1944

Poland asks no favors. According to traditional Polish standards, she has done her duty in the fullest sense of the word as a champion of freedom and a loyal Ally. She expects justice and the application in her case of the lofty principles of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Concept. She fights for the freedom of the individual which is the foundation of the real freedom of nations. She fights to ensure that democratic principles will govern not only human, but also international relations on the basis of equality and of the right of all nations to freedom.

NORWAY

Trygve Lie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, statement, London, October 7, 1944

The Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people have wholeheartedly welcomed and endorsed the Atlantic Charter because it includes all the fundamental aims of Norwegian policy both at home and in its relations to other countries. Norway seeks no territorial aggrandizement. As a strongly democratic nation, Norway has always maintained that small countries must have the opportunity to determine their own destiny. That is why the Norwegian Government considers it so important that one of the main ideas of the Atlantic Charter asserts that any future international co-operation must be founded upon voluntary agreements between free peoples.

Before her progress was interrupted by invasion, Norway was well advanced on the road of social and economic democracy. She will therefore certainly do her utmost to bring about collaboration between all nations in the economic field.

Norway was neutral when war broke out. But experience has convinced us that we cannot base our future on the old neutrality policy. Norway is therefore ready to take her part in establishment of a permanent system of general security. For a seafaring people like the Norwegians, it is a special satisfaction to see the statement in the Charter that peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance. It is evident that application of the principles of the Charter must be adapted to prevailing circumstances, but for Norway and the Norwegian people the principles themselves will be a guide towards the new world order that the United Nations must build after the Nazi tyranny of Germany as well as Japan has been finally and utterly destroyed.

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address at the Pulaski Day Dinner, New York, October 8, 1944

The Atlantic Charter was the broad, generous definition of these aims. The United Nations Concept was the splendid novel form of a permanent association of all nations, great and small, for the good of mankind. The Four Freedoms were a promise of a better future for all people and the basis of real peace in the world. All these great ideas initiated and defined by the President and the United States Government have been accepted by the United Nations as their war aims, in particular by the Polish Nation.

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address at Rotary Club of Philadelphia, December 13, 1944

. . . The fate of Poland has become the acid test of the survival and triumph of those principles of freedom, justice and international decency, in the name of which we, the United Nations, have declared that we are fighting this war against the forces of totalitarianism, paganism, barbarism and wanton and reckless imperialism which—in our minds—have no longer any place in this era of advanced civilization and progress.

. . . In our enlightened age of democratic thinking, there can no longer be any choice between the noble principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations Concept, initiated by the President of the United States and Mr. Churchill, and a semblance of peace—an antiquated, power political peace that would follow a period of "grab as grab can", during which any imperialist power may seize other nations' territories on the plea of increasing its own security, after which a concert of Powers would decree that, security being thus assured, the new territorial status would become frozen into spheres of interests and sanctified by the derisive name of peace.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 15, 1944

In the view of His Majesty's Government, there is an exception to the general principle that there should be no territorial changes before the peace table. . . . That exception is not in the Atlantic Charter. The exception is in cases where changes are mutually agreed, and that is not part of the Atlantic Charter. It is part of the statement of our own policy which we made in September 1940, when the Prime Minister said "We have not at any time adopted since this war broke out the line that nothing can be changed in the territorial structures of the various countries. On the other hand, we do not propose to recognize any territorial changes which take place during the war unless they take place with the free consent and good will of the parties concerned." . . .

VICTORY, THE FIRST CONDITION OF PEACE

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, September 29, 1944

. . . I want to deal with references which have been made from time to time in this Debate to the nature of the peace to be imposed on Germany. There have been advocates of a hard peace and of a soft peace. I confess that I agree with my hon. friend, the Member for West Leicester, that I am not greatly impressed by those terms "hard peace" or "soft peace". I think it is a pity that a controversy in that form should ever have arisen in this country at all. There can be only one peace which will be acceptable to the people of this country. That is a peace which takes every precaution in our power to see to it that neither Germany nor Japan has any avoidable opportunity of starting this business again. . . . We have heard some criticism of this phrase "unconditional surrender". I would draw the attention of the House to the definition of that phrase which the Prime Minister gave a little time back. I want myself to explain what we mean by it. My right hon. friend said, in a Debate in this House:

"It means that the Allies will not be bound to them at the moment of surrender by any pact or any obligation. . . . Unconditional surrender means that the victors have a free hand. . . . We are not to be bound to the Germans as a result of a bargain struck".—(Official Report, 22nd February, 1944; Vol. 397, c. 699.)

. . . What we mean by "unconditional surrender" is this. We are not prepared to make a negotiated peace with Germany. The reasons for that go deeper. They are based on the experience of

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

history and on the interpretation which, without doubt, the Germans placed on the Fourteen Points on the occasion of the last war. On that basis I hope I shall carry the body of the House with me. Let me go a little further. Many hon. Members, I know, have studied the relevant documents which have been issued about German activities immediately after the last war. They show—I do not think anybody can doubt it—a devastating indictment of the complete absence of German sincerity from the very beginning in fulfilling any of the disarmament stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles. I believe it to be a fact that over the whole range of the disarmament stipulations of that Treaty the German military authorities practised ingenious, universal, and, let us admit it, to a certain extent successful evasion and obstruction at all possible points. Here I am not dealing with . . . the later stages of German disarmament, but I am dealing with the immediate problems which will confront us at the time of the German surrender. I believe that this policy did receive the general support of all the early Governments of the Weimar Republic.

. . . We cannot take those risks again. What do we propose? There are many in Germany, no doubt, who see the writing on the wall. They understand that if Allied unity is maintained and Allied military operations are carried through—and no doubt they will be—with the same vigor and success as in the last months, final defeat is certain. What is their reaction? The House has been told by my Noble friend in another place of the information which we have had from a number of channels that the German General Staff, recognizing the inevitability of defeat in this war, are already thinking in terms of the next. . . .

When the hon. Member for Shettleston (Mr. McGovern) . . . said there was no need for the occupation of Germany, and that the German people will do it themselves, I can only answer, relating it to our own experience, that he is living in cloud-cuckoo land. It would be utterly unjustifiable, whether we believe in good or bad Germans, if, in the preparations we are now making with our Allies, and which are virtually complete, for the time when the surrender comes, for the occupation of Germany, we did not take every precaution in our power to ensure that what we are suffering today, we shall not suffer again.

. . . In several speeches hon. Members referred to the need for our close collaboration with our neighbors in Western Europe and with the small powers generally, but particularly with Western Europe. . . . We have had certain informal discussions about our future relations and these will be pursued further in due course. . . .

I say frankly that we have not pressed this matter beyond a certain point. As the hon. gentleman will understand, these Governments have all to return to their own countries; they have to seek fresh authority, perhaps reform, perhaps change, their personnel; so deliberately we did not carry the conversations beyond the general point that we, for our part, are ready to enter into close association with them, as they are with us, to guarantee the future peace of Europe, and to play our part in dealing with our common problems.

. . . Let no one think . . . that with the defeat of Germany that issue is at an end. The problem of Germany will be a continuing problem. It is the key to the foreign policy that this country must pursue. . . . I agree emphatically with the hon. Member for Oxford that any diversion from concentration with our Allies upon this problem within our own generation would invite disaster. The principle danger to Europe—this may not be agreed to by all, but this is my conviction—after the defeat of Germany will be the re-emergence of a militant Germany. You may disagree about how you wish to avoid it, but that is the problem which will

be a continuing one for the foreign policy not only of ourselves but of all those who come after us. If that crude, harsh fact be accepted, then I think our foreign policy may have a fair chance of leading our people and the Allied peoples and the peoples of the United Nations to a lasting peace.

CHINA

Wei Tao-ming, Ambassador to the United States, address before the St. Andrew's Society, Philadelphia, November 30, 1944

When the European war is over, it will mean that we are more than half way towards the end of this world conflict, but in Asia our enemy is still entrenched in her fortress, and victory will not be complete without the defeat of Japan. Unless that fortress is taken and every trace of Fascism obliterated from the earth, we shall not have the kind of world we want, where man can live in peace and without fear. . . . For only after the evil forces of both Germany and Japan have been brought to judgment can the freedom-loving peoples begin to live the kind of life they are fighting for in a world of peace and prosperity.

BELGIUM

Paul-Henri Spaak, Minister for Foreign Affairs, speech in Belgian House of Representatives, Brussels, December 6, 1944

When the war will have ended, our essential task will be not to disinterest ourselves from the battle which will go on in the Pacific. We must give to the United States, to China, to the British Empire, to Holland, all our help and thus show in a tangible way that international solidarity is not just a word; and if we have been compelled to appeal to that solidarity, we do not intend to reject the duty it imposes upon us.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, broadcast to Czechoslovakia, London, December 24, 1944

The western world had expected the downfall of Germany at the end of the year. Now the Germans have succeeded in temporarily stemming the Allied advance on the German frontier. Goebbels's articles, the German press and broadcasts, indicate that the Germans are convinced that they are on the threshold of destruction but hope has been prolonged. Resistance will enable them to conclude a negotiated peace instead of having to agree to unconditional surrender, since they expect disagreement between the Allies and they also allege that the United Nations are war weary.

Be convinced that all these calculations are fictitious and wishful thinking. The Allies will carry the war to Germany's complete military defeat. The longer the fight continues the greater will be Germany's military catastrophe and the peace will be severer. This is not merely the decision of the Allied Governments but the will of the common peoples of the United Nations. The new offensive will not save Germany. Germany tries to frighten you with non-sensical stories about the Soviet Union and Communism as a destructive deluge by which the Germans hope to divide the west from the east. There I repeat what has often been said: war will be carried on by all the Allies together and victorious peace will be concluded by all together; this again is confirmed by the Franco-Soviet treaty. This also confirms our pre-Munich policy of alliances; we already in 1938 urged what the Allies are now doing to destroy Hitlerism.

Immediate Postwar Problems

GENERAL STATEMENTS: SOLUTION BY STAGES

NETHERLANDS

Hubertus J. Van Mook, Minister of Overseas Territories and Acting Governor General of the Netherland East Indies, press conference, October 16, 1944

Our first need is to supply food and vital necessities to our countrymen. Next will be governmental re-establishment and the resumption of the primary industries—rubber, tin and kapok. We shall need great supplies of tools and railway material. It is a big job, but I am sure that you will see a greater country emerge from the bitter body of war.

SOUTH AFRICA

Field Marshal Jan C. Smuts, speech at opening of United Party Congress at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, December 6, 1944

Two great problems will face the Allies at the end of this war. The first is planning and establishing an international order which will take the place of the League of Nations and prevent aggressive wars in the future. The second is the settlement of Europe on lines which will be just and stable for the future and speed up its rapid recovery from the exhaustion and destruction of this war. . . .

. . . To settle the European temper of distraction, hatred and greed and revenge, of injured innocence and inferiority complexes which will prevail after this war, will be a superhuman task. The attempt may add to the confusion and unsettlement. Rather let us give time for the patient to recover; let the large-scale removal of frontiers and the movement of large populations remain in abeyance while the problem of human salvage is being tackled first with all our resources.

I have suggested before that no peace treaty be concluded immediately after this war at a peace conference on the lines of the last Peace Conference but that comprehensive armistices be concluded and maintained by the great powers for some time. Time could thus be found for Europe to settle down and for statesmen to explore and mature national settlements under more normal conditions. The great object should be to save Europe herself, to help her on her feet again and to prevent her in her utter moral and material exhaustion from entering on a process of decay relatively to other continents which would be an immeasurable calamity not only for Europe but also for human progress and welfare as a whole.

IMMEDIATE RELIEF, REHABILITATION, RESTITUTION AND REPATRIATION

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Declaration of Czechoslovak Government on looted gold, London, July 21, 1944

The Czechoslovak Government cannot in any way condone the policy of systematic plundering adopted by the Axis or participate in any way directly or indirectly in the unlawful disposition of looted gold.

. . . The Czechoslovak Government, referring to the declarations made on the 22nd February, 1944, by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, formally declare that they do not and will not recognize the transference of any title to the looted gold which the Axis at any time has held or may yet hold or has disposed of in world markets. They further declare that it will be their policy not

to buy any gold from any country which has not broken relations with the Axis or from any country which acquires gold from any country which has not broken relations with the Axis unless and until they are fully satisfied that such gold is not gold which was acquired directly or indirectly from the Axis Powers or is not gold which any such country has been or is enabled to release as a result of the acquisition of gold directly or indirectly from the Axis Powers.

GREAT BRITAIN

Hugh Dalton, President of the Board of Trade, in the House of Commons, July 25, 1944

I must warn the Committee that, when hostilities come to an end, there will in some cases be very large stocks of certain raw materials, so far as we can foresee, and special plans will have to be made, on the lines I have indicated, to prevent any serious disturbance of markets or production plans or employment resulting from the existence of those very large stocks. We must be careful where those stocks go to; we must see that they are used to the general advantage, but not poured forth recklessly in such a way as to upset our production and employment arrangements. . . .

It is impossible to discuss this problem of surpluses without having in mind the future state of liberated Europe after these Huns have done their worst upon those innocent territories, and there will be great scope for us to make a constructive and human and helpful contribution to the restoration of Europe through the proper use of these surplus goods. We must not, of course, simply think of unloading upon Europe what we do not want ourselves, because that would be a wrong approach to any consultation with the various Allied Governments concerned and with the authorities of UNRRA as to how we can best meet their urgent requirements out of our supplies. That question will be gone into with those concerned as we go along. We have to balance our own needs at home, which will be very considerable, with the need of our Allies, who have suffered so much in the course of the war, to obtain relief at the earliest possible moment. The relief of liberated territories will be one of the main destinations of many of these surplus supplies. . . .

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Frantisek Nemec, Minister of Economic Reconstruction, addressing the Czechoslovak State Council, London, July 29, 1944

In the Ministry of Economic Reconstruction, there has been established an office of the Government delegate to UNRRA whose task it is to co-ordinate the work of all the bodies concerned. UNRRA will provide, free of cost, medicine and essential supplies for first aid, but raw materials and industrial rehabilitation will have to be paid for by the Czechoslovak Government although UNRRA will assist in providing them. The supply of foodstuffs will be the first great task, said the Minister. It will be done through a special sub-committee of UNRRA's European Committee. After the first "emergency" period there should be a noticeable improvement compared with the last year of occupation. UNRRA has accepted 2,650 calories per day as a first estimate of what will be needed—a figure which was arrived at as a result of the uncompromising attitude of the Czechoslovak delegation, which opposed suggestions of gradual improvement of the standard of nutrition in a number of stages.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, address, Washington, August 10, 1944

But the forces of freedom will not land in the Philippines with

guns and tanks alone. They will also bring with them food, medical supplies and clothing which are so much needed by our suffering people. 30,000,000 pesos have already been set aside for the requisition of these supplies which will be sent to the front as soon as possible for distribution to our civilian population. As the war progresses and as more troops are landed in the Philippines, increasing quantities of these supplies will be made available. Philippine relief will be prompt and adequate.

As Philippine territory is wrested from the enemy, civil government will promptly follow military occupation so that the orderly processes of self-government may be established under the Constitution. Red Cross units, both Filipino and American, will follow the armies of freedom to help alleviate the sufferings of the people. Hospitals, health and puericulture centers will be re-established. All the schools in operation before the war will be reopened in order to resume an education of patriotism, democracy and humanitarianism.

The veterans of our wars for independence, and all those who supported our struggle for freedom, will receive for their labors and sacrifices the full recognition expected of a grateful nation. War widows and orphans will be provided for. Ample compensation will be made for the destruction of public and private properties. Roads and bridges destroyed by the enemy will be rebuilt. Disrupted communications by land, sea and air will be repaired and improved. Towns and cities which either were destroyed or suffered damages because of the war will be reconstructed under a systematic and scientific town planning program. In this program, the towns of Bataan and Zambales will receive preferential attention. . . .

In providing for the reconstruction of our industries and the rehabilitation of our agriculture, immediate attention will be given to factory workers and farm hands throughout the Philippines, and full and generous assistance will be given to the small farmers who, because of the war, have lost with their nipa hut, their work animals and farm implements.

We are making preparations to meet the manifold problems arising from the closing and insolvency of our banks, insurance and credit institutions, the adulteration of our currency with unsound enemy issues, the impairment of the basis of taxation and the initial difficulty of tax collection. Moreover, we are formulating a long range economic program with a view to securing that sound economic foundation which will give our independence stability and permanence.

In the gigantic task of rehabilitation and reconstruction, we are assured of America's full assistance and support. The joint Filipino-American Rehabilitation Commission, created by Congress is already functioning. . . . To it is entrusted the task of studying and recommending to the United States and Philippine Governments measures calculated to secure the complete physical and economic rehabilitation of the Philippines and the re-establishment as soon as possible of such commercial relations between the two countries as will assure us a reasonable level of public and private prosperity.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Frantisek Nemec, Minister of Reconstruction, article published in the *New York Times*, September 17, 1944

The nations of Europe will require help from those parts of the world over which the destructive flood has not swept. This assistance is not only in the interest of European nations. If Europe's poverty, the result of the destruction of wealth built up over centuries, were to continue, it would inevitably lead to the birth of a new economic crisis, and hence to a new fascism and another war. If the nations of Europe are not in a position to work fully as soon as possible, so that they may become purchasers again from other countries, their continental crisis will develop automatically into a

world crisis, with all the consequences in the future which we are actually experiencing in the present. . . .

It will be a question not only of the economic assistance needed for restoring the life of each liberated country. Of course, the restoration of material value and the saving of material life are first essentials if postwar development is to lead to improvement. But another task no less important must be faced. The free world does not fully appreciate a fact which burdens the nations of Europe far more than material suffering and material need. It is the moral humiliation which the people as a whole and as individuals have suffered. . . .

Gutted factories will be rebuilt. Smashed houses and railways will be restored. The unlimited harm which has been or still may be inflicted upon the economic life of Europe will certainly be made good sooner or later, even though it be at the cost of great sacrifices on the part of the present generation of Europeans.

But all this would be of little effect if there were no speedy rectification of consequences brought about in Europe by the system of slavery. If the healing of the people's souls were not carried out in an appropriate manner restoration of economic life, although well carried out, might prove to be ineffective.

So, at the end of this war the nations of Europe will first seek what they most miss—state freedom and individual freedom. They will be extremely sensitive to anything which might recall the spirit or methods used during the time of bondage. And as oppression has gone deep, and the consequent moral humiliation is of far-reaching effect, there will be a sudden and marked reaction.

Liberated Europeans will set enormous store by being treated as equals. They may choose rather to suffer than to feel any flavor of mere charity in the economic assistance offered. In their desire to obtain complete state and individual freedom immediately they may perhaps go to excesses—sometimes even to extremes.

The Allied nations and their armies must take account of this feeling and be prepared for it. The souls of the people of Europe are sick, and the sickness has arisen out of the humiliations of slavery to which they have been helplessly exposed. That sickness is expressed in a longing for freedom; for legal certainty and security, and those who have suffered for want of these are touchy and suspicious to a heightened degree. Some fear that the end of this war may only be a respite for preparing another even more ghastly conflict.

All of these facts must be taken into account. Yes, speedy assistance will be needed, as soon as the war is over, by the nations of Europe—economic assistance which will enable them to live, work, create, build. But this assistance must be offered in such a way as to restore to Europe her lost soul as a free partner.

The Allied armies which will pass through Europe must be made aware of the psychological problem. The Allied relief organization must take account of it. The maintenance of peace may well depend upon the proper solution. Despite effective economic assistance, psychological doubt might give rise to a new ideological confusion, with consequences that cannot be foreseen.

Economic assistance must be in the form of a friendly hand proffered to a neighbor who, through no fault of his own, is in misfortune and who is helped as a matter of course by his neighbor to regain the life of an equal citizen. Not only the peace of Europe but the peace of the world may be found to depend upon successful dealing with this difficult task.

CANADA

W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, address at the second conference of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal, September 18, 1944

. . . With other nations, Canada glimpses in UNRRA the beginning of a service of ministrations on an international scale. . . . UNRRA represents the growing co-operative activity of many na-

IMMEDIATE RELIEF, REHABILITATION, RESTITUTION AND REPATRIATION

tions banded together for humanitarian needs. The service of relief and rehabilitation in times of strain is the moral equivalent of military service in time of war. . . . We are members one of another. The doctrine of mutual aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of force . . . it signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It considers human need, rather than human greed. . . . Men and nations must substitute co-operation for coercion. Mutual aid must become the guiding principle of international relationship. . . . The hope of the future lies in the universal recognition of our common humanity. . . .

NETHERLANDS

Johannes R. J. van den Broek, Finance Minister, broadcast, London, September 20, 1944

The Netherlands Government is trying to ensure that you will, as soon as possible, be able to get what can reasonably be regarded as essential for your immediate needs. This does not mean, however, that immediately after the enemy has been driven from our country the same level will be reached to which you were accustomed before our country was looted by the Germans.

We will have to reckon that for some time, for how long cannot yet be foreseen, the supply of available foodstuffs and other goods will be regulated by rationing. . . .

Probably you have asked yourselves how our business and industries will be rehabilitated. The reply is, the government has taken many preparatory steps in order that necessary raw materials may soon be imported. This will take time because, with raw materials as with food, many regions which formerly contributed them are still in the hands of the enemy or else will not return to production for some time. Also in this connection the limited available shipping space is an important factor.

The authorities therefore will arrange provisionally for the distribution of raw material and will strive to get our industrial apparatus restarted as soon as possible—but this time producing goods for our population and not for the enemy.

Now a few words concerning the financial side of the problem of food and raw material supply. Already several credit agreements have been prepared with various countries. A credit of \$100,000,000 was obtained some days ago in the United States. To prevent misunderstanding, I would like to add explicitly that this does not mean, as the enemy propaganda asserts, that the gold of the Netherlands bank has been used up. On the contrary, that gold is for the major part still there. The meaning of the credit is that we now have the necessary currency at our disposal for buying the articles which are of the greatest importance to the national economy.

UNITED STATES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, First Report to Congress on United States Participation in Operations of UNRRA, September 30, 1944

The United States Government has taken the lead in the establishment and organization of UNRRA. As was recognized in the debate on UNRRA in the Congress, only through our full and active participation can UNRRA succeed in its objectives. By the same token, if UNRRA should fail in its objectives, our own national interests will suffer serious injury.

The UNRRA program in Europe during the coming twelve months will call for the provision of essential supplementary supplies for those governments of liberated countries which will be unable to buy for themselves. UNRRA will also finance essential services for displaced persons and for the maintenance of health. These services will help the peoples of the liberated nations to return to their homes and take up again productive work in industry, agriculture, or the professions.

Supplies which will be needed in Europe include—

(1) Supplementary foodstuffs which will bring the general diet level up to a point where life and health can be sustained, together with agricultural supplies and equipment which will enable the liberated peoples to increase their own food production. Protein foods, such as beans, peas, and canned and cured meats and fish will be required as well as fats and oils, wheat and flour, and canned, evaporated, and dried milk for mothers and babies. For food production, fertilizers, insecticides, seeds, tools, tractors, ploughs, and harrows are among the supplies required. As soon as European farm equipment factories get back into production they will meet most farm-equipment needs.

(2) All kinds of clothing and shoes as well as raw cotton and wool, cotton and wool cloth for the manufacture of clothing and canvas, composition materials, and leather for the manufacture of shoes. Some replacement parts for textile and clothing factories may also be needed in certain areas.

(3) Medical supplies, including gauze and bandages and a wide variety of drugs such as iodine, aspirin, and atabrine, and medical epidemic kits to combat typhus and other diseases.

(4) Spare parts, trucks, and other equipment needed to restore internal transportation sufficiently to permit distribution of food and other necessities and minimum supplies needed to revive production of essential relief commodities.

Many of the food, agricultural, clothing, medical and other supplies for liberated areas will be procured in the United States by UNRRA or by those governments with available financial resources to buy for themselves. Many supplies will also come from other countries, particularly from the United Kingdom, Canada, and other members of the British Commonwealth and from Latin American countries.

Of the total import needs of Europe during the first year after UNRRA begins full-scale operations, only a small part will actually be provided by UNRRA. And of that part provided by UNRRA somewhat more than half will be contributed by the United States through its appropriation for UNRRA.

The UNRRA program for the Far East is also proceeding. However, the information required for formulating the detailed program is not all at hand. As liberation proceeds the full operating plan is being developed. . . .

NETHERLANDS

Hubertus J. van Mook, Minister of Overseas Territory and Acting Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, broadcast, Washington, October 12, 1944

Even if liberation comes in time to avert the worst consequences, the Netherlands will have a hard and difficult future. But they are sure to face it with courage and fortitude, as long as the world to come does not deny them a few basic conditions for their reconstruction. . . .

In doing this they have a right to exact some reparation from Germany. I know that the Nazi blight has been so terrible that none of us can expect anything like full restitution from that evil country. But there should be a possibility of acquiring some compensation in kind for the land they spoiled, for the materials they looted, and—maybe—for the labor they enslaved.

As important as the rehabilitation of agriculture and industry for the Netherlands is the reconstruction of trade, shipping and sea-fisheries. With a probably chaotic and certainly exhausted Germany at their back door much depends, in this respect, on the rate of international co-operation and of the unshackling of international trade. The Netherlands have an almost unbroken tradition in this respect. They will naturally turn towards what has been named the Atlantic community, at the same time their historic interests have widened their horizon towards the whole world. . . .

IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PROBLEMS

BELGIUM

Hubert Pierlot, Prime Minister, address over the Belgian radio, October 25, 1944

... The program [for remedying the transportation situation] consists of the following points:

1. To speed up the unloading of cars still immobilized by the material or war booty they carry;
2. To intensify repair work, in particular by addressing urgent appeals to our Allies;
3. To speed up rotation of material;
4. To go ahead with repairing the network and to build supplementary temporary bridges. In a few days the latter objective will have been attained as regards some of the most important bridges, in particular that of Curange in Limburg.
5. To prepare a supplementary railway for coal between the Limburg coal basin and Brussels. This work will start the first of November.
6. Finally, we shall do everything in our power to support the Allied armies, but we shall also have to continue to insist that their growing demands should leave us what is indispensable for the life of the population.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, statement, Leyte, November 3, 1944

The municipal government of Tacloban, the capital of this province, has been re-established and other municipalities will be rehabilitated as soon as they are freed from enemy occupation and control. . . .

The damage and destruction that the war will necessarily leave in its wake in the towns will be repaired, and it is the purpose of the Commonwealth to assist them not only so that they can be improved and beautified in accordance with a progressive city planning. The health and welfare activities of the government are being tackled and a hospital, a maternity house and several free dispensaries will soon be opened.

Following closely military operations that are rapidly destroying the Japanese military power, the Government of the Commonwealth will restore to the people all the school facilities obtaining before the war.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Václav Nosek, Vice-President of the Czechoslovak State Council, London, December 6, 1944

We are fully conscious of the fact that along with the political and legal measures the people must also be given the right to take effective action in economic affairs as well. For this reason a decree is being drawn up which has already been placed before the Government and approved by the State Council, with the aim of ensuring the smooth working of economic life in the liberated territory. I should like to emphasize that this decree also represents one part of the general effort to ensure a peaceful transition in our lands; and that the National Committees have the right to introduce temporary administration into any economic concern or factory as well as to any property holdings if this is in the public interest. This also applies to abandoned factories and concerns, or those which are held, owned or administered by unreliable persons.

NETHERLANDS

Charles O. Van der Plas, Temporary Head of Department of Civil Administration of Netherlands East Indies Government, broadcast, December 11, 1944

The terrible destruction in Holland, where the people are desirous of helping us, makes our task still heavier. We are doing what we can and preparing. We are busily collecting food and clothing from all parts of the world, we have worked out a recon-

struction plan for education and for the printing of school books so that most children will be up to date again in a few years.

We will take with us hospitals and medicines. We are regulating the evacuation of the sick and the very weak to good climates, and we are working out a relief plan. But the main point is that you compatriots of all population groups—unitedly and discarding differences in religion, race, political views, and self-interest—once more put yourselves to the heavy task of staving off hunger and of simultaneously laying the basis of a new Netherlands Indies which at the same time is a new Indonesia.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 13, 1944

During the military period responsibility for the repatriation of nationals of the United Nations deported to Germany in the course of the war rests with the military authorities who, in consultation with the Allied Governments concerned, have been making detailed plans for this purpose. I understand that UNRRA has been closely collaborating in the formulation and completion of these plans. UNRRA is, moreover, in constant consultation with the Governments of our Allies on the whole problem of displaced persons, and the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia have formally requested the Administration to assist the repatriation of their nationals in Germany.

FRANCE

Henri Frenay, Minister of Prisoners and Deportees, statement, January 11, 1945

Repatriation and welfare of these persons fall under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Prisoners and Deportees. Although the chief function of the Ministry is to co-ordinate the work of public and private organizations for the aid of prisoners and their families and for the process of rehabilitation, much of the work must be supervised directly by members of the Ministry staff. Especially important is preparation for the reassimilation of the returning prisoners into national life. Many of the other Ministries, such as War, Transportation, and Foreign Affairs, are also closely involved in these problems.

Within the Ministry of Prisoners and Deportees are three important divisions designed to expedite the work of organization: the administrative and financial division, the repatriation division, and the sociological division.

The administrative and financial division is in charge of purchase and shipping of all parcels and bundles for prisoners to Geneva where they are taken over by the International Red Cross.

Within the repatriation division are three offices:

(a) Office of French citizens outside of France. This office arranges for the transportation of prisoners, deportees, and refugees, and the repatriation of all Frenchmen who, by chance, are caught in foreign countries, such as Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia. This work must, of course, be done with the approval of the other nations involved.

(b) Office of technical services. This office handles the prisoners as they actually come back into France. As they are expected to return in very large groups of several thousand, special arrangements are necessary to avoid congestion and undue discomfort.

(c) Office of foreigners within France. This office plans repatriation of all foreigners now in France. (This does not include those residing in France before the war.)

Once the prisoners have started to return in large groups, social, moral, and medical problems must be solved. As a preliminary to this, case histories on each individual are being collected and investigated by the Ministry.

Many returning exiles will have neither homes nor employment. Some may find that their husbands or wives have not been faithful, and that they have illegitimate children. They will face the slow painful readjustment of persons who have lived for four years as prisoners. About 10 percent of the returning exiles are expected to be suffering from venereal diseases which must be cured before they may go home, and an estimated 200,000 cases of tuberculosis must receive hospitalization. . . .

. . . Every effort must be made to prevent the existence of too great a gulf between the exiles and the people at home. To breach this gulf, both prisoners and their families must be prepared for the readjustment. Prisoners must be shown the trials that France has endured, while France must know and appreciate the sufferings of the prisoners. All possible psychological techniques will be applied and the psychology itself must take precedence over the technique. The government's decision to hold elections only after the return of the prisoners is a first step toward their re-assimilation into national life.

Three steps were taken by Vichy in preparation for the return of war prisoners: the "*livret du prisonnier*", relief centers, and the "houses for prisoners". The "*livret*" is a deposit book for a savings account in which families and friends of the prisoners may deposit money in any amount desired. 400,000 of these accounts were opened in the northern zone and 300,000 in the southern zone. Deposits vary from 200 to 40,000 francs per book; the average deposit is 2,000 francs. The Ministry is allocating a sum of 200,000,000 francs among those with the smallest deposits, and, in addition, is instituting a similar plan for political deportees.

The relief centers (*centres d'entraide*) give moral and social assistance to families of exiles, and supervise volunteer workers. 13,000 of these have been established throughout France; in Paris alone, there are 42 such associations.

The houses for prisoners (*maisons du prisonnier*) were established to avoid involving the prisoners in administrative formalities. All of the various services are represented within a single building to omit red tape and errors. To date, there are 143 of these houses. In the future, their services will be extended to include deportees and workers.

Colonials who were held prisoners in France by the German occupation forces are a special problem. Some 30,000 escaped at the time of the liberation. The Ministry is trying to make them as comfortable as possible and help them arrange for their return home. Their morale is excellent; many of them do not want to be repatriated, preferring to rejoin the French Army. Those who do not go into the army are working at average salaries.

Repatriation poses serious questions for all the United Nations. From 14 to 15 million foreign nationals are held in Germany; more than one-fifth of these are French. While we are anxious to bring them back quickly, we remember that in 1918, only 500,000 prisoners had to be repatriated and that we did not see them return until May, 1919. We must take into consideration the possibility of epidemics, the strength of German resistance, the need to protect trains carrying prisoners as well as the prisoners themselves from saboteurs, and the necessity to prevent thousands of prisoners from blocking military operations by clogging the roads leading home.

It is felt that first contacts with French prisoners in the camps should be made through French missions composed of former prisoners who know their problems and by Resistance members. It is hoped that such missions may go to Germany and the occupied nations to work there with the Allied authorities. Since it is believed that some prisoners will try to return home by their own efforts, we are setting up medical stations along the frontier, where they will be held for not more than 48 hours for medical examinations, monetary exchange and other brief formalities. They will then be sent to a transportation center from which they will be directed to their homes.

TREATMENT OF THE ENEMY: DISARMAMENT, ETC.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

. . . The only result of the use of this indiscriminate weapon (the robot bomb) as far as they (the Germans) are concerned, will be that the severity of the punishment which they will receive after their weapons have been struck from their hands by our fighting men will be appreciably increased. . . .

. . . It seems to me that Rumania must primarily make its terms with Russia, whom they have so outrageously assaulted and at whose mercy they will soon lie. Russia has offered generous terms to Rumania, and I have no doubt they would be accepted with gratitude by the Rumanian people, if only the Rumanian leaders had not got a Prussian automatic pistol pressed pretty closely against their breast or at the nape of their neck. . . .

. . . Three times in my life has . . . wretched Bulgaria subjected a peasant population to all the pangs of war and chastisements of defeat. For them also, the moment of repentance has not passed, but it is passing swiftly. The whole of Europe is heading, irresistibly, into new and secure foundations. What will be the place of Bulgaria at the judgment seat, when the petty and cowardly part she has played in this war is revealed, and when the entire Yugoslav and Greek nations, through their representatives, will reveal at the Allies' armistice table the dismal tale of the work the Bulgarian Army has done their countries as the cruel lackeys of the fallen Nazi power? . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

. . . One of the conditions of . . . peace is that every Government in Europe shall be entitled to have the Government which it desires, and there shall be no dictation at all from outside. Applying that to Germany, is the House going to say that that is our position? Supposing, after the conclusion of hostilities, another Nazi power was to come forward in Germany, is it suggested that we could disinterest ourselves in that power? We could not possibly do so. . . . We should not for a moment admit that Germany should have the right to establish the Government she wished. . . .

I cannot conceive that the Nazi-trained German mentality of war, which is now, unhappily, deep in the minds and consciousness of Germans, is going willingly to accept a peace which does not allow a future Nazi domination of Europe. That is a fundamental problem we must face. . . .

CHINA

Liang Han-chao, Minister of Information, Chungking, August 24, 1944

The rise of militarism in Japan is largely attributable to the Japanese myth of the invincibility of the Japanese Imperial forces. The best way of opening the eyes of the Japanese people to the horrors and realities of modern war and of restoring to them a sense of decency and proportion is to shatter that myth by Allied military occupation of their hitherto never invaded territory.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, broadcast from Rome on August 28, 1944

Italy suffered a long period of governmental tyranny under the Fascist regime, which terminated in the frightful disaster and most cruel suffering which has befallen the Italian people. She

would be very unwise to let herself again fall into the clutches of this Fascist totalitarian system in any guise in which it might present itself.

Such systems of governmental tyranny breed in conditions of social dislocation, economic hardship, and moral depression which follow in the wake of war and defeat. It is in such a crisis in their history that peoples should be most on their guard against unscrupulous parties seeking after power and most zealous in the preservation of their liberties.

When a nation has allowed itself to fall into a tyrannical regime it cannot be absolved from the faults due to the guilt of that regime, and naturally we cannot forget the circumstances of Mussolini's attack on France and Great Britain when we were at our weakest, and people thought that Great Britain would sink forever—which, in fact, she has not done.

But in the main, speaking for the British—although the other victorious allies would have a say in this—I believe that the British nation will be happy to see the day when Italy, once again free and progressive, takes her place among all the peace-loving nations.

It has been said that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. The question arises, "What is freedom?" There are one or two quite simple, practical tests by which it can be known in the modern world in peace conditions, namely:—

Is there the right to free expression of opinion and of opposition and criticism of the Government of the day?

Have the people the right to turn out a Government of which they disapprove, and are constitutional means provided by which they can make their will apparent?

Are their courts of justice free from violence by the Executive and free of all threats of mob violence and all association with any particular political parties?

Will these courts administer open and well-established laws which are associated in the human mind with the broad principles of decency and justice?

Will there be fair play for poor as well as for rich, for private persons as well as Government officials?

Will the rights of the individual, subject to his duties to the State, be maintained and asserted and exalted?

Is the ordinary peasant or workman earning a living by daily toil and striving to bring up a family free from the fear that some grim police organization under the control of a single party, like the Gestapo, started by the Nazi and Fascist parties, will tap him on the shoulder and pack him off without fair or open trial to bondage or ill-treatment?

These simple practical tests are some of the title-deeds on which a new Italy could be founded.

The first duty of all is to purge the soil of Italy from the foul German taint. This can only be done by hard fighting. I rejoice that large new Italian forces will soon join the allied armies.

Hard work, a strong resolve, high inspirations, and above all true unity will all be needed if Italy is to nourish her people and resume her place among the leading Powers of Europe. Political excitement and the clash of many parties will not achieve those simple joys and rights which the mass of the people so desire. Italy must recapture the ideals of freedom which inspired the Risorgimento.

May this thought rest with you through your trouble, and may your friends both in England and across the ocean, see their hopes rewarded.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister, interview with *Chicago Tribune Press Service*, London, September 9, 1944

After the defeat of Germany the prospects of maintaining peace in Europe are very good, but it will not be easy and each country will have to contribute to peace not by getting, but by giving. Germany must be placed under allied control for an indefinite

period. The German people, who have kept the world at war five years are like a puppy that needs to be housebroken. It will be a difficult problem to train the German youth, because they are crazed and poisoned by Nazi propaganda.

FRANCE

Georges Bidault, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, press conference, September 22, 1944

All questions regarding the occupation of Germany must be decided in agreement with France. It is we who have received the successive shocks of German invasions and we could receive others in the future. I insist, therefore, that France should take her rightful place in any negotiations preceding the occupation of Germany.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Earl of Selborne, Minister of Economic Warfare, in the House of Lords, September 26, 1944

... His Majesty's Government, after consultation with the Governments of the Dominions and India, have decided to retain the Statutory List for a period after the cessation of organized resistance in Germany. This will be necessary in order that the Allies may be able to retain their control over German commercial, industrial and financial enterprises outside Germany in the transitional period while effective Allied control machinery within Germany is being established. The List will also be necessary in order to identify and maintain control over persons who have acted, or are suspected of acting, as cloaks for German property abroad, and those who have assisted Germans to dispose of property looted from occupied territory. Moreover, certain neutrals who have gone out of their way to assist Germany during the war will be retained on the list in order that they may be clearly identified as enemies of the United Nations. Finally the list will be used in connection with the further prosecution of the war against Japan.

It will obviously be possible to reduce the number of names on the Statutory List in certain countries more rapidly than in others, particularly in those cases where the Governments of the countries concerned have taken adequate measures to control enemy interests. His Majesty's Government hope that they will receive the co-operation of all Allied and friendly Governments in the execution of this policy.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, September 28, 1944

... I cannot feel—I make my confession—any sentiments of hostility towards the mass of the misled or coerced Italian people. Obviously, no final settlement can be made with them or with their Government until the North of Italy and its great cities have been liberated and the basis on which the present Government stands has been broadened and strengthened. There are good hopes that this will be achieved, I might say soon, but it would be safer to say in due course. Indeed, it would be a miserable disaster if the Italian people, after all their maltreatment by their former Allies and by the Fascist remnants still gathered round Mussolini, were to emerge from the European struggle only to fall into violent internal feuds.

NETHERLANDS

Netherlands Government, statement, October 28, 1944

In the circumstances now prevailing it is deemed inadvisable to give specific instances and, for obvious reasons, it is impossible to give a complete survey—this can only be done at a later stage.

To a lesser extent, the Germans have done the same, prior to

PROSECUTION FOR WAR CRIMES

their withdrawal, in the liberated part of the Netherlands. In respect of these areas, instances may now be given. Factories have been blown up or their equipment removed. For no reason connected with operations, collieries have been extensively damaged. Indiscriminate bombing with flying bombs has resulted in further damage. A particularly harmful form of destruction and damage consists of flooding fertile regions with salt water, even in cases where fresh water was available. Other areas have been extensively flooded, either carelessly or without military necessity, with river water.

It is impossible to expect, considering also the legitimate claims on Germany of other nations, that Germany will be able to make good the damage she has inflicted on the Netherlands by the transfer of economic assets from one side of the frontier to the other, within a reasonable period. Experience gained at the end of the last war has shown the difficulties attending such transfer.

Considering further that it is in the general interest that Germany be made to realize once and for all that aggression does not pay. It is possible that the people of the Netherlands may reach the conclusion, in spite of their innate repugnance to all forms of armed conquest, that, if in their case some substantial measure of reparation is to be made by the invader, a suitable part of adjoining Prussian territory should either be ceded to the Netherlands—provision being made for the absorption by Germany of the Prussian inhabitants—or brought into the dominion and economic orbit of the Netherlands in some other manner on a provision or permanent basis.

It cannot be the task of the present Netherlands cabinet to commit the country, which cannot be properly consulted at the moment, to a definite policy in so important a matter on which a decision need not be taken at once. But the Netherlands government considers it their duty to reserve the country's rights, in particular that of formulating its considered opinion and claims after its liberation, and to bring this to the knowledge of the governments of the United Nations and of the public in general.

In doing this the Netherlands government leaves out of account the sorrow and suffering inflicted on the Netherlands people by the representatives of the people of Germany, the grief caused by their vindictive strangulation of the country's national life, by their mass deportation of the nation's young manhood, by the starvation they have brought about, by their widespread killings and medieval torture, causing the death of thousands of good citizens. This grief may cry for justice but can never find adequate compensation in terms of material values.

FRANCE

Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs, statement to the Press, November 1, 1944

Could anything be more absurd than that France should not be consulted on the treatment to be accorded to Germany? I do not speak from the point of view of prestige. This question involves more than our security. It involves also the responsibility that we must assume and should be encouraged to assume in the maintenance of European peace. Our soldiers want to fight in Germany. We all demand our place in the guard that will be stationed in the Reich. . . .

Our terms would be hard but just. I will not go into particulars, because I do not think that the specific measures adopted are of prime importance. We have our own ideas regarding the Rhine frontier, but whether Germany should be divided and what dispositions should be taken to destroy her capacity to make war matter less than that the Allied powers stand firmly together to enforce the common policy. Since it is inconceivable that France should not stand with the others against the danger that threatens her first, it is unreasonable that our views should be ignored in formulating that policy. . . .

UNITED STATES

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and Petroleum Administrator for War, before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, December 8, 1943

I hope that we now understand that the best safeguard against another war would be the joint undertaking by the peace-loving nations to keep down the supplies of oil to Germany and Japan to such a point that they could never go to war again. This would be a much cheaper and more efficient device for policing the world in the interest of peace than armies and navies.

PROSECUTION FOR WAR CRIMES

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, statement, Washington, July 14, 1944

Reliable reports from Hungary have confirmed the appalling news of mass killings of Jews by the Nazis and their Hungarian Quislings.

The puppet Hungarian government, by its violation of the most elementary human rights and by its servile adoption of the worst features of the Nazi "racial policy," stands condemned before history. It may be futile to appeal to the humanity of the instigators or perpetrators of such outrages. Let them know that they cannot escape the inexorable punishment which will be meted out to them when the power of the evil men now in control of Hungary has been broken.

NETHERLANDS

G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, Minister of Justice, address, London, August 12, 1944

. . . . You must not imagine that I consider the Generals who tried to send Hitler to his Valhalla as "good" Germans who will presently have to be honored by being treated in an exceptionally lenient manner.

I certainly shall not forget—let us hope that no one else will ever forget—that these men in the past ten to twenty-five years, hoping for "*Frisch Froebliche Krieg*," helped that man, beneath whose seat they have now placed a time bomb, into the saddle.

Their only worth is that they have confessed a few months before the rest that their dishonorable case has been lost.

But this recognition comes much too late. Millions of people paid with their lives for the nauseating National Socialist public frauds. Hundreds of millions for many years lived in a state of humiliation and oppression reminding one of barbaric times, a black blot in the history books of the world. . . .

But although I have neither the desire nor the power to elaborate a program of action I can and may make some observations, in the spirit in which I speak to you, of the transition measures prepared here. When, for instance, I say that all those half and three-quarter satellites who now fill their pockets by working for the Wehrmacht by trading in the black market for profit or by supplying labor for the enemy, will be brought before the courts, including lay judges, and will receive there punishment fitting their crime—apart from other punishment which may be counted as normal—then you will feel that the government did not stop at reckoning with official personnel only.

Do not worry yourself about severity towards those official traitors and sellers of the nation. These gentlemen themselves are very nervous and from their distance they throw their black mud at the head of the Minister of Justice, which happens to be mine.

IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PROBLEMS

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Lords, September 26, 1944

... I do not think we can absolve the German people as a whole from guilt for what has happened in the last twenty or thirty years. Consider the rise of the Hitler regime. Ultimately, it was the German people who allowed Hitler to seize power and allowed him to use that power for the persecution and domination of his peaceful neighbors. It is the German people who have acquiesced and in some cases approved, of the horrible cruelties against the Jews and the peoples of the occupied countries. And it is the German people who are still fighting with fanatical zeal to keep Hitler in power. All this may come from one of those fundamental processes of the German mentality to which Lord Cecil of Chelwood has referred this afternoon. He said that one of the great principles of the Nazi movement was belief in the divine right of the State.

It may equally arise from a quality in the German character to which he referred in a passage in his speech in the debate on March 10, 1943, which I would like to recall to the House because I think it is a perfectly correct assessment of the German character—their docility. Lord Cecil of Chelwood said on that occasion:

"I think that this docility of the Germans is a very terrible danger to the peace of Europe. It means that if anybody gets hold of the Government in conditions such as those which prevailed before the war they are able to turn the whole strength of Germany, however much the Germans may disapprove in their hearts of that being done, to any form of aggression or offensive action they please."

Now, my Lords, I suggest that that is a profoundly true description of the German character. . . .

I believe that there is accumulating evidence that the German General Staff, envisaging defeat, are already beginning to make preparations to win the next war. Therefore, whatever may be the present frame of mind of the German people, we can have no certainty that they would not follow new leaders into war, like sheep, when the time came. That is no reason—and I agree with the right reverend Prelate entirely about this—for treating the German people with the savage cruelty with which they have treated other countries. That, in any case, would be quite contrary to our traditions and practice, and entirely contrary to the declarations of the Allied leaders. The aim of British policy, and indeed of the policy of the Allies as a whole, is after all, not to establish a slave world but to establish a peaceful world.

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, statement on war criminals, Washington, September 28, 1944

The neutral governments were reminded that it was the intention of this Government that the successful close of the war would include provisions for the surrender to the United Nations of war criminals. . . . They were advised that the American people would not understand the extension of asylum or protection by neutral countries to any of the persons responsible for the war or for the many barbaric acts committed by the Axis leaders, and that relations between the United States and the neutral governments concerned would be adversely affected for years to come should the Axis leaders or their vassals find safety in those countries.

Some of the neutral governments had already been giving serious thought to this problem. The Swedish Government's policy was publicly announced on September 5 in a declaration to the effect that Sweden's frontiers would not be open to those who by their actions had defied the conscience of the civilized world or betrayed their own countries and that persons of this character who succeeded in slipping into Sweden would be promptly deported. . . .

... The Turkish Government announced on September 8 that

Turkish frontier authorities had been instructed not to permit Axis nationals, either civil or military, to enter Turkey by land or by sea.

The Swiss Government has indicated that it is fully alive to the problems which would arise should Axis leaders find asylum in Switzerland.

A public statement has been made by the Spanish Ambassador in Washington denying that there was any basis for supposition that Axis leaders might find refuge in Spanish territory.

No indication has yet been received of the views of certain other governments.

The Department is continuing to impress upon those governments whose policy has not yet been clearly stated the importance which it attaches to the taking of adequate measures to insure that Axis war criminals do not find asylum in their countries.

Considerable attention has been attracted by a statement that a list of war criminals compiled by the War Crimes Commission in London does not include the names of Hitler and other top Nazi officials. The answer to any suggestion that they have been or are likely to be overlooked by the United Nations is found in the Moscow Declaration of 1943 on German atrocities which, after stating that the perpetrators of atrocities in occupied territories will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged, specifically declares that the "major criminals, whose offenses have no particular geographical localization . . . will be punished by the joint decision of the Governments of the Allies."

The omission of the names of these people from any particular list compiled by the War Crimes Commission is without any significance whatsoever from the point of view of what the Allied Powers have in mind in regard to them.

U.S.S.R.

Extraordinary State Committee for the ascertaining and investigation of war crimes, statement, Moscow, October, 1944

Responsibility for all the crimes committed by the German invaders in Minsk, for the destruction of cultural and material values, the torture and murder of peaceful citizens and prisoners of war, is borne by the Hitlerite government, the Supreme Military Command, and also by the . . . organizers and immediate executors of the crimes:

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Simon, Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords, October 3, 1944

... I should like to take the opportunity of assuring your Lordships most confidently and solemnly that there is no ground for thinking that Allied policy in regard to the lesser war criminals will allow the arch-criminals, who have inspired and directed the endless infamies of this war, to escape their proper fate. . . .

I shall take this opportunity of making one other observation on a matter which I know causes concern in some quarters. The defense of superior orders—the defense "I was ordered to do it"—is no excuse for those who perpetrate crimes which they must know to be wicked and unjustified. But while that is undoubtedly good law, and I think good sense, the fact remains that it is those who give the orders who are even more deserving of punishment than those who carry them out. . . . I think . . . that the true position is very clearly indicated in the famous Moscow Declaration, the Tripartite Declaration, the declaration of the Prime Minister, of President Roosevelt, and of Mr. Stalin, of November 1, 1943, on this subject of war criminals. It divided the subject into two parts. There is the war crime which we hope to be able to trace by identification and evidence to those who did the deed or directly ordered and supervised the deed, a definite war crime committed in particular circumstances in a particular area at a particular time. That is

PROSECUTION FOR WAR CRIMES

the main topic, I apprehend, of the inquiries being made by the War Crimes Commission. . . .

But the Moscow Declaration went on, in a second part, to make a further announcement which has been much overlooked. It is very short and I will venture to read it:

"The above Declaration"—that is the declaration about what we call ordinary war criminals—"is without prejudice to the case of the major criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical localization, and who will be punished by the joint decision of the Governments of the Allies."

. . . As that sentence indicates, the matter is of course for the Allies and not for any single Government. . . . When you consider the supreme criminals their fate is quite as much a political as a juridical question. And the Moscow Declaration thus contemplates the punishment of the major war criminals as well as the lesser ones.

As regards the risk . . . of the leaders attempting to find refuge in neutral countries, your Lordships will have noticed in recent weeks the series of assurances which have been coming to hand from various neutral countries. The Allies have addressed the sternest warnings to neutrals and assurances have been given by one after the other that they will not receive Axis war criminals. Perhaps the latest case, the one which is of immediate interest, is the case of Argentina. His Majesty's Government have made no secret of their resolve to neglect no means of ensuring that the Nazi leaders and their accomplices and all Germans accused of war crimes shall not be permitted to find refuge in neutral territory from the consequences of their crimes; and they have made it clear that they will regard any shelter given to such criminals as a violation of the principles for which we are fighting.

As regards the Argentine Government, that Government, who are well aware of the attitude of His Majesty's Government in this matter, recently gave to His Majesty's Government definite assurances that in no event will persons accused of war crimes be allowed in Argentine territory, and that such persons will not be allowed to create capital deposits or to acquire property of any kind in their country. His Majesty's Government have welcomed these assurances and I think they have now appeared in the press. Nevertheless, His Majesty's Government are continuing to use every means in their power to satisfy themselves that the guilty Nazis and their loot shall not be able to reach Argentina or any other destination outside Europe. All measures of control at our disposal are being used to keep a check on the movements of such persons and their property and use is being made of our system of passenger crew control to ensure that they shall not succeed in escaping overseas.

UNITED STATES

United States Government, statement, October 10, 1944

The United States Government has been informed by the Polish Government that it had received reliable information that German officials in Poland are making plans for the extermination of tens of thousands of innocent persons of Polish and other United Nations nationalities as well as Jewish deportees from areas under German control who are now held in concentration camps, particularly those at Brzezinski and Oswiecim.

The United States Government takes this occasion to warn again the German Government and Nazi officials that if these plans are carried out those guilty of such murderous acts will be brought to justice and pay the penalty for their heinous crimes.

GREAT BRITAIN

Richard Law, Minister of State, in the House of Commons, October 11, 1944

The Portuguese Government have informed His Majesty's Government that it will not, by granting asylum in its territory, per-

mit war criminals to escape the decisions of the national or international tribunals competent to try them.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, broadcast, London, October 28, 1944

The German nation must be held fully responsible for the ensuing infamy and devastation. This time there will be no seeking for theories to exculpate Germany from responsibility for the war. The German nation has shown itself guilty as no other nation. The Germans deserve the punishment which will come to the German nation and State and also to those who assisted them.

The Germans are guilty of hideous crimes against the Czechoslovak nation and they must be punished for them. For six years, we made extreme exertions and have had success in our struggle for the punishment of the Germans. Our records in this respect will show emphatically that we fulfilled our human and national duty. We shall face great tasks after the war. All that the Germans and Hungarians destroyed and plundered will be returned. We shall have former territory in former frontiers. The State will be set in order anew and reconstructed. The Germans of Czechoslovakia will be punished for crimes like the Reich-Germans.

U.S.S.R.

Extraordinary State Committee for the ascertaining and investigation of war crimes, statement, Moscow, December, 1944

For all the crimes, the plundering and destruction of cultural and material values, the Extraordinary State Committee holds responsible the Hitlerite government, the German Military Command and also the direct organizers and executors of the crimes.

NORWAY

Johan Nygaardsvold, Prime Minister, broadcast to Norway, London, December 26, 1944

. . . Every single German officer and every soldier must be made to answer for what he has done, and the punishment must be so severe that it is in accord with the crimes that have been committed. . . .

NORWAY

Terje Wold, Minister of Justice, statement, London, September 29, 1944

It is important to bring the war criminals into court and to punish them, not as a victor's act of vengeance against the conquered, but because of those goals and ideals for which we are fighting this war, and which we will continue to strive for even after military operations have ended. The pursuit of the war criminals "even unto the ends of the earth", as is stated in the Moscow declaration, is an important phase of our task in building a new world. . . .

The task of dealing with . . . Hitler collaborators will fall to the courts of each particular country, but here as in the case of enemy war criminals the United Nations will stand united in guaranteeing that the guilty get their punishment. . . .

The home front will not stand for any delay in trying the quislings. The legal procedure will therefore be through our courts which will decide the fate of Norwegian war criminals. Our task in London has been to equip them with modern instruments, and with devised penal laws which provide for the new crimes and which stipulate adequate punishment. . . .

The most important changes made have been aimed at assuring that the punishment will be in proportion to the crime. We have given the courts the right to impose the death penalty, and to pronounce the death penalty after military operations have ceased. Further, all

stipulations regarding maximum fines have been removed, so that a traitor will not be able to return to a life of luxury after having served his sentence. And, to guarantee that the minor Quislings shall not escape getting what they deserve, we have decided that it is a crime to be a member of Nasjonal Samling, and we have introduced a new, but purposeful, penalty: "the loss of public trust", whereby a person for a period of years or for life can be deprived of the right to hold public office, the right to vote or to serve in the nation's armed forces, the right to conduct a business or other means of livelihood which require a license or approval by public authorities, and the right to hold positions of trust in corporations or organizations.

I am certain that if Quisling should one day land by parachute on British soil, the British would regard it as right and proper that he should be handed over to us. But let us imagine that Quisling and some of his aides managed to reach some neutral country, in common with what some of the more frightened already have done. Will a neutral government accept our point of view that every single one of these fellows is co-guilty in the crimes, murders, torture, assaults and plunder which have been committed by the Germans in Norway and then turn the refugees over to us? For the sake of our future civilization, I hope so.

GOVERNMENT OF LIBERATED AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, address, Washington, August 10, 1944

As Philippine territory is wrested from the enemy, civil government will promptly follow military occupation so that the orderly processes of self-government may be established under the Constitution.

NETHERLANDS

G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, Minister of Justice, address, London, August 12, 1944

I do not intend here to elaborate a program of action, and this would be directly contrary to the views which the present Netherlands government takes of its task. Because in the transition period between the present oppression and the return of your full freedom, the government wishes to take only the most necessary temporary measures, for it realizes that, on principle, its task finishes at liberation. It will give way gladly to another formed by a man selected for that purpose by Her Majesty the Queen after consultation with the re-liberated country. . . .

. . . The regulations are ready. We are eager to put them into practice. It is clear to you that the altogether extraordinary conditions prevailing immediately after the liberation will necessitate very special measures. That is why presently there will be a special state of siege which will be essentially different from the ordinary states of siege, in that the special state of siege places military authority under governments. Because, if there is one thing of which we are profoundly conscious, it is this—that you, after years of drudgery and toil under the kicking boots of some thousands of uniformed robbers, have had more than your fill of being ordered about by any kind of a military dictatorship, however good its intentions might be.

Let me put your mind at rest. Nothing of that kind will happen. Authority will be strong—as you certainly wish—and will know exactly what it wants.

But it will be also Dutch authority, which is authority deriving its inner worth from an honest respect for your re-born liberties. You also who contribute with your personal courage, your deep patriotic feelings, in the liberation of our nation would not want to see it degenerate into a disorderly mob. All who want to see Holland happy will, I think, agree on the following points:

First, justice, not murder, must be done. Granted, the government is prepared for quick severe justice.

Second, there must be military authority, particularly as long as the operations of war are unfinished. Granted, the government saw to that.

Third, military authority must thoroughly understand and respect people's liberties. Granted, the government saw to that too, and your re-born freedom will be real freedom.

Fourth, immediately after the liberation of our European territory, we must go after the Japanese with all our strength in order to free Indonesia. Granted, the government is ready with all measures for that purpose.

Fifth, the nation has an undeniable right to participate, through representative assemblies, in determining policy for the administration of towns, provinces and country. Granted, this is exactly what is wanted by the government which will see to it punctually that councils, assemblies and chambers with full powers will function immediately.

Sixth, the press which is now daily dishing out German lies must be banned until it is cleaned of all stains left on it by the present editors, managers and directors. Granted, the Minister of Home Affairs dealing with this matter is of exactly the same opinion and will see to it that this happens.

Seventh, all officials who collaborated in an intolerable way with the enemy must disappear, apart from further punitive measures. Granted, a regulation for this is ready and the gentlemen concerned can make a note of this. . . .

NETHERLANDS

Jacob A. W. Burger, Minister of the Interior, broadcast, August 16, 1944

Some time ago the Premier [Pieter S. Gerbrandy] told you I would give further information about the provision of government and penal measures. There now is immediate reason to proceed with this because Her Majesty now has given assent to the draft decree concerning the temporary provision of government which I submitted to the Council of Ministers on June 17, 1944.

In the preamble of this decree, it is considered necessary—in view of the extraordinary conditions which will prevail in Holland at the time of liberation—that temporary measures be taken in respect to provincial and municipal government and to representative bodies of the state, provinces and municipalities.

The decree comprises only four articles of which article one is the most important, and I shall read this to you:

"Further rules shall be laid down by us concerning temporary provision of representative bodies of the state, provinces and municipalities and provincial and municipal government as from the time when the territory of the Kingdom has in whole or in part been evacuated by the enemy."

This means therefore that, as from the time of the liberation, provision will be made for representative bodies of the state, provinces and municipalities, that is—parliament and provincial and municipal councils.

The second paragraph of article one reads:

"The rules referred to in the foregoing paragraph also relate to the composition of representative bodies and, while maintaining the general principles applying thereto, so far as is necessary to their duties and procedure."

This means therefore that—whatever provisions are made for the composition, duties and procedure of the representative bodies—there may in no case be any deviation from the democratic foundations of our system of government.

Article two specifies that these provisions can function immediately in order that the representative bodies may act, even though they have not been able to learn their purport.

Article three says that former provisions of the law shall yield temporarily to these new provisions.

Article four says that the military administration shall not have the power to amend or suspend this decree concerning the temporary provision of government.

Finally, the Ministers for General Affairs and for Home Affairs will be charged with carrying out this decree.

A commentary upon this decree states that in it the principle is established that as soon as possible after the return—that is, within the period of a special state of siege—Parliament and the provincial and municipal councils shall function and shall possess their old powers.

In the decree concerning the special state of siege, guarantees have been given that the representatives of the people in Parliament may say and do freely and publicly whatever they deem useful and necessary. Who these representatives will be, however, the decree does not state. It will not be possible to hold general elections immediately. Nevertheless, it must be insured that the chambers are composed in such a way that the independence of our Parliament vis-a-vis the government is assured.

It is self-evident that the voices of the groups who have excelled in resistance to the German occupier must be heard also in Parliament. The problem is, then, how shall we get—within a short period of time and without general elections—a Parliament which is real and as representative as possible.

If we are to be assured—says the commentary—of the proper carrying out of these provisions, then it is advisable to take into account, when establishing these representative bodies, the possible absence of persons who are above all to be considered for membership of these bodies. Consequently provisions must be made the carrying out of which is possible independently of the measures of the occupying power.

It must be emphasized that the provisions will apply principally to the period between the time of liberation and the day when the new Parliament, chosen by general elections, shall function.

In this decree an important question has been decided concerning the principle whether for the transition period separate extraordinary representative bodies would have to be formed in accordance with normal conditions, or whether the organs mentioned in the Constitution should function and thereby maintain the general principles applying to them. The way that has been chosen appears to afford the best guarantee for immediate restoration of our democratic system of government.

Finally, a few words concerning penal measures. The reason I speak to you about this is the fact I used to be Minister Without Portfolio. It is a kind of legacy. But I am glad to do it for in these penal provisions principles have been included with which I am personally very much concerned, namely, that the administration of justice will be quick, severe and just.

Under provisions of the law, which work retroactively, ample powers have been given for insuring that those who have behaved criminally or against the national interest during the occupation can be arrested immediately. At the same time, however, the great principle that those who have been deprived of their liberty can appeal to a court of law has been maintained so that faults or mistakes can be put right. During the period of a special state of siege also, it is in the last resort the courts and not the executive power which will decide whether someone has been incarcerated justly or unjustly.

It will be most difficult to draw a line between those who have merely been weak in their attitude toward the occupier and those who have consciously helped or supported the enemy and his accomplices either actively or passively. A decision will have to be made separately in each case by a court which will have its place in the midst of our people and will be called a tribunal.

A tribunal will be established in each district (*arrondissement*). The president will be a lawyer, and two other judges will be selected as far as possible from among people of that district having the same occupation as the accused. This will assure that justice will really be done.

But among, and in addition to, those who must be considered to have conducted themselves consciously against the interests of the Netherlands people or who have consciously hampered resistance are to be found those whose actions may be described as "criminal" in the pre-war sense of the word.

They will be tried by special courts. In the jurisdiction of the special courts, as well as of the tribunals, provisions have been made to insure consistency in judgment.

Drastic punishment, including the death penalty as well as confiscation of possessions and long-term internment, are possible, and formalities have been reduced to a minimum although there has been no failure to create guarantees giving the accused all the rights and possibilities of a proper defense—the opportunity of pardon has not been excluded—as is proper in a state where justice is the high ideal.

It is not up to me to discuss these details extensively with you, but I consider it a matter of the greatest importance that you should have the certainty and conviction that even in the most important spheres of the provision of government an efficient and democratic administration of justice has been the only leading thought.

UNITED STATES

Joint Statement by the War Department and the Department of State concerning Arrangements for the Administration of Civil Affairs in France, Washington, August 24, 1944

By means of an exchange of letters with General Koenig in London, General Eisenhower as Commanding General of United States Forces has today put into effect certain arrangements with respect to the administration of civil affairs and related subjects in continental France, the terms of which were agreed to between French and American representatives in Washington.

These arrangements, which are in the form of memoranda and which are intended to be essentially temporary and practical in character, deal with the following subjects:

1. Civil administration and jurisdiction.
2. Currency.
3. Captured war material and property.
4. Publicity.
5. Distribution of civilian relief supplies.

These arrangements are designed to facilitate as far as possible the direction and co-ordination of assistance which the French authorities and people will be able to render to the Allied Expeditionary Force in continental France; the adoption in France of all measures deemed necessary by the Supreme Allied Commander for the successful conduct of military operations; and the orderly resumption of responsibility for civil administration by Frenchmen.

General Eisenhower as United States Commanding General has been authorized to deal with the French authorities at Algiers as the *de facto* authority in France so long as they continue to receive the support of the majority of Frenchmen who are fighting for the defeat of Germany and the liberation of France. This authorization is also based on the understanding that as Supreme Allied Commander General Eisenhower must retain whatever authority he considers necessary for the unimpeded conduct of military operations and that, as soon as the military situation permits, the French people will be given an opportunity freely to exercise their will in the choice of their government.

An arrangement has also been arrived at in Washington providing for the initiation of negotiations concerning mutual aid.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, address in the Palais de Chaillot, Paris, September 12, 1944

In order to achieve this, an extraordinary national unanimity

was formed by our people in the midst of trials. This is the gigantic force to which the government is appealing, in order to fulfil its mission in serving the nation. It is the government's right and duty to appeal to this force, because it is the government of the Republic. Undoubtedly, the tidal wave which passed over France swept away the organisms by which the nation's will was normally expressed. Undoubtedly the majority of citizens believe that deep reforms must be made in the workings of our institutions. Therefore, there does not exist any other means—neither by rights nor in fact—of building the new edifice of our democracy, than by consulting the sovereign French people.

As soon as the war is ended, that is as soon as the territory has been entirely liberated, and when the prisoners and deportees have returned to their homes, the government will ask the nation to elect by universal suffrage—among all the men and women of France—the representatives who will form the National Assembly. Up until then the government will accomplish its task with the help of the Consultative Assembly, enlarged in order to be as representative as possible of public opinion, and whose nucleus will be formed by the experienced men who at present make up the National Resistance Council. But, when sovereignty has been re-established in the persons of the representatives who have been elected by the nation, the government will hand over to them, the provisional powers of which it had assumed charge.

If the government is democratic this is not only because it intends to lead the nation according to its wishes, until the new start of the French democracy, but also because the government is applying and will apply the laws—the just laws—which were adopted by the nation when it was free—and which are known as the laws of the French Republic. Of course, we cannot state that they are all perfect. But such as they are, they are the law. As long as national sovereignty has not modified these laws, it is the duty of the government—even of the provisional government—to enforce them, in their spirit and to the letter, just as the government has done, without hesitating or weakening, for more than four years among the men who were living in territories which were successively wrested from the enemy or Vichy.

Of course, circumstances have some times forced the government to create provisions which were not formulated by our laws, and to associate the Consultative Assembly in the elaboration of these provisions. But the government has done so on its own responsibility, which the nation has justly recognized as whole. It will be incumbent on the future representatives of the country to decide whether or not they shall be transformed into laws.

If we were not firmly supported by these principles only despotism and chaos would result, and the nation does not want this. But by applying these principles, we shall find the conditions for order, efficiency and justice. As no human undertaking can do without these conditions for order, efficiency, and justice, there is all the more reason why they are needed in the present situation of the country. First of all, we are waging war, and I say so frankly, until the enemy has been crushed, we are not yet through with the war.

BELGIUM

Prince Charles, Regent of Belgium, speech made after taking the oath, in the Belgian Parliament, September 21, 1944

With the certainty of being in complete accord with the King and to conform to his last-minute appeal for the unity of the Belgians, I consider that we must accept all the help offered from whatever quarter and repulse only the bad citizens, on whom just punishment must fall.

The government of tomorrow must regard this national solidarity as imperative. A large place in it therefore should appropriately be given to patriots of the Interior, without however changing, as the ship approaches port, all the pilots who by their efforts have also deserved well of the country.

NETHERLANDS

Charles O. van der Plas, Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands East Indies in Australia, broadcast, Washington, September 25, 1944

N.I.C.A.'s task is to organize for the war effort all personal and material resources in liberated territories and neighboring occupied territory. N.I.C.A. detachments land on D-Day—sometimes groups go in even earlier to investigate landing possibilities. They contact the natives, collect intelligence, scout, guide Allied patrols or patrol themselves. N.I.C.A. also organizes native resistance against the Japanese, especially behind the Japanese lines. Then too, they distribute food, clothes and medicine, control prices, move native villages away from the Allied camps to diminish malaria infection.

NETHERLANDS

Pieter S. Gerbrandy, Prime Minister, proclamation, September 26, 1944

The royal Netherlands government bring the following notice to the Netherlands nation. As the territory of the Kingdom in Europe is being liberated from the enemy, it is declared to be under a special state of siege in accordance with provisions of the decree concerning the special state of siege.

A military authority has been appointed to exercise powers laid down in this decree.

The decree concerning the special state of siege will be published as soon as is practicable in all liberated municipalities.

As soon as external and internal security of the state permits, the special state of siege will be terminated either with respect to the whole of or part of the Kingdom in Europe.

It is essential that military operations, which have already led to the liberation of part of our country, be continued by our Allies with all their power until the enemy is totally defeated and expelled from the entire territory of the Kingdom in Europe.

Apart from the special state of siege, the Netherlands has entered into agreements with Great Britain and the United States in order to secure the promotion of military operations on Netherlands territory in all possible ways.

The main provisions of the agreements are as follows—

First, the arrangements concluded in no way affect the sovereignty of the Netherlands government.

Second, in the areas affected by military operations, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, will possess *de facto* full authority to take all such measures, both military and administrative, which the military situation may necessitate.

Third, it is not expected that it will be necessary for the Commander of the Allied forces—although he has authority to do so—to exercise this authority in the extent of direct control over your public and private actions. Instead, such control will be exercised by the Netherlands military authority.

Fourth, appointments in the Netherlands administrative and judicial services will be made by competent Netherlands authorities in accordance with Netherlands law. During the military phase, competent representatives of the Netherlands government will assist the Commander-in-Chief by effecting such replacements and making such additional appointments as are required.

Fifth, the Netherlands military authority will exercise responsibility for civil administration subject to the exceptional authority of the supreme commander in the areas affected by military operations as referred to above and subject to such special arrangements as may be required by Allied forces in areas of vital military importance.

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Lords, September 26, 1944

GOVERNMENT OF LIBERATED AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

... It is the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government... that collaboration between the United Nations great and small, which has been so notable a feature in winning this war, should be maintained during the days of victory. We want to see all of them make their contribution, where possible, to a solution of the problems of the future, as they have made so great a contribution in surmounting the dangers of the past.

May I make this one proviso? It is inevitable, I think, that the three great Powers should bear the main burden. Just as they have played the leading part in conducting this war, so they must play the leading part in occupying Germany. . . . Some Allied countries . . . especially those which have lately been occupied by the enemy, . . . will have innumerable problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation which inevitably call for full deployment of their manpower and of their resources and material. For these reasons, it is likely to be impracticable for every member of the United Nations to participate in the occupation of Germany. Even the European Allies, whose interest in the solution of the German problem is obviously equally as direct as ours, have many immediate preoccupations. Their territories have been ravaged and their manpower has been enslaved. Their first concern must evidently be to set their own house in order and grapple with the task facing them there. But while it is thus inevitable that Great Britain, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics must carry the main burden of the occupation of Germany, I would make it quite clear . . . —this is as far, I am afraid, as I can go to-day—that for their part His Majesty's Government would have sympathy with the view that those members of the United Nations who have shared in the operations against Germany should make a contribution to the forces of occupation in Germany when the war is over. . . .

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1944

Throughout the whole Czechoslovak territory national committees are being formed. When the time for change comes, these will take over the administration of the liberated territory in agreement with the Government and its representatives. This is the same form of administration as the one used by the Czechoslovak people in the transitional period of 1918. In practice, these national committees, formed from the representatives of the people in every village and town, will be the first democratic instruments to exercise legal and executive authority. They will be the exponents of our political system and symbols of our political rights. Regional committees will be formed, by free vote, from the local and district national committees; and from these, in turn, a kind of provisional National Assembly will be formed.

It will be the duty of the national committee to collaborate with the Government as soon as we have come back to our territory. This Government will be newly appointed. It will be composed of certain members of the Government now in London, but, above all, of leading members of the underground movement, thereby ensuring complete unity between the resistance at home and the resistance abroad as well as continuity in national political affairs, both internal and external.

I calculate that within six months after liberation we shall succeed in normalizing conditions to the extent of being able to hold fresh parliamentary elections and a fresh presidential election. For the time being, the original Constitution of 1930 will provide for the establishment of internal order. However, it will be revised as soon as possible and adapted to postwar needs so that Czechoslovakia in her new decentralized shape shall be the true home of Czechs, Slovaks and Carpathian Ruthenians.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, proclamation, Leyte, October 20, 1944

As the enemy is progressively driven out and order is restored in our country, so will the normal functions of civil government be resumed in the liberated areas. In my capacity as the head of the Philippine Commonwealth I will as promptly and effectively as possible direct the restoration of the democratic functions of government in the administration of the nation, the provinces and municipalities.

NORWAY

King Haakon, broadcast to Norway, London, October 26, 1944

Some time ago my government, with my approval, concluded an agreement with the government of Soviet Russia providing for military co-operation in the event of the war developing in such a way that Soviet Russian armed forces came to operate on Norwegian territory. This situation now exists. The armed forces of Soviet Russia are arriving in Norway to fight against the common enemy. It is to me a particularly great joy to be able to announce that Norwegian forces will participate in operations together with the Soviet Russians and will thus once more be fighting on Norwegian soil.

The Soviet Union like us was attacked by Germany, and Soviet Russian forces are coming to Norway as our allies. Our agreement with the Soviet Union provides that as soon as the military situation permits Norwegian administration and legal procedure will again be fully operative. It also provides that military and civilian Norwegian officials chosen by the government will co-operate with Russian commanders in order to facilitate the prosecution of military operations and the transition to normal conditions under Norwegian administration. We have had numerous proofs of the friendship and sympathy felt for our country by the government and people of Soviet Russia and we have watched with admiration and enthusiasm the heroic and victorious fight of the Soviet Union against our common enemy. It is the duty of every Norwegian to give our Soviet Russian allies the greatest possible support.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, October 27, 1944

I am satisfied that the results achieved on this occasion at Moscow have been highly satisfactory. But I am quite sure that no final result can be attained until the heads of the three Governments have met again together, as I earnestly trust they may do before this year is at its end. After all, the future of the world depends upon the united action in the next few years of our three countries. Other countries may be associated, but the future depends upon the union of the three most powerful Allies. If that fails, all fails; if that succeeds, a broad future for all nations may be assured. I am very glad to inform the House that our relations with Soviet Russia were never more close, intimate and cordial than they are at the present time. Never before have we been able to reach so high a degree of frank and friendly discussions of the most delicate and often potentially vexatious topics as we have done at this meeting from which I have returned. . . .

Where we could not agree, we understood the grounds for each other's disagreement and each other's point of view, but, over a very wide area, an astonishingly wide area considering all the different angles from which we approached these topics, we found ourselves in full agreement. Of course, it goes without saying that we were united in prosecuting the war against Hitlerite Germany to absolute victory, and in using the last and every resource of our strength and energy in combination for that purpose. Let all hope die in German breasts that there will be the slightest division or

weakening among the forces which are closing in upon them, and will crush the life out of their resistance.

Upon the tangled question of the Balkans, where there are Black Sea interests and Mediterranean interests to be considered, we were able to reach complete agreement. I do not feel that there is any immediate danger of our combined war effort being weakened by divergencies of policy or of doctrine in Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and, beyond the Balkans, Hungary. We have reached a very good working agreement about all these countries, singly and in combination, with the object of concentrating all their efforts, and concerting them with ours against the common foe, and of providing, as far as possible, for a peaceful settlement after the war is over. We are, in fact, acting jointly, Russia and Britain, in our relations with both the Royal Yugoslav Government headed by Dr. Subasic and with Marshal Tito, and we have invited them to come together for the common cause, as they had already agreed to do at the conference which I held with them both at Naples. How much better that there should be a joint Anglo-Russian policy in this disturbed and very complex area, than that one side should be backing one set of ideas, and the other the opposite. That is a most pernicious state of affairs to grow up in any country, as it may easily spread to corresponding differences between the great Powers themselves.

Our earnest hope and bounden duty is so to conduct our policy that these small countries do not slip from the great war effort into internal feuds of extreme bitterness. We have, as I say, invited them to come together and form a united government for the purpose of carrying on the war until the country itself can pronounce. . . . These workaday arrangements must be looked upon as a temporary expedient to meet the emergency, and all permanent arrangements await the presence of the United States, who have been kept constantly informed of what was going forward. Everything will eventually come to review at some future conference, or at an armistice or peace table. . . .

The most urgent and burning question was of course that of Poland, and, here again, I speak words of hope, of hope reinforced by confidence. To abandon hope in this matter would, indeed, be to surrender to despair. In this sphere there are two crucial issues. The first is the question of the Eastern frontier of Poland with Russia and the Curzon Line, as it is called, and the new territories to be added to Poland in the north and in the west. . . . The second is the relation of the Polish Government with the Lublin National Liberation Committee. On these two points, apart from many subsidiary and ancillary points, we held a series of conferences with both parties. . . .

I wish I could tell the House that we had reached a solution of these problems. It is certainly not for want of trying. I am quite sure, however, that we have got a great deal nearer to the solution of both. I hope Mr. Mikolajczyk will soon return to Moscow, and it will be a great disappointment to all the sincere friends of Poland, if a good arrangement cannot be made which will enable him to form a Polish Government on Polish soil—a Government recognized by all the great Powers concerned, and indeed by all those Governments of the United Nations which now recognize only the Polish Government in London. Although I do not underrate the difficulties which remain, it is a comfort to feel that Britain and Soviet Russia, and I do not doubt the United States, are all firmly agreed in the re-creation of a strong, free, independent, sovereign Poland loyal to the Allies and friendly to her great neighbor and liberator, Russia. Speaking more particularly for His Majesty's Government it is our persevering and constant aim that the Polish people, after their suffering and vicissitudes, shall find in Europe an abiding home and resting place, which, though it may not entirely coincide or correspond with the pre-war frontiers of Poland, will, nevertheless, be adequate for the needs of the Polish nation and not inferior in character and quality, taking the picture as a whole, to what they previously possessed.

These are critical days and it would be a great pity if time were wasted in indecision or in protracted negotiation. If the Polish Government had taken the advice we tendered them at the beginning of this year, the additional complication produced by the formation of the Polish National Committee of Liberation at Lublin would not have arisen, and anything like a prolonged delay in the settlement can only have the effect of increasing the division between Poles in Poland and also of hampering the common action which the Poles, the Russians and the rest of the Allies are taking against Germany. Therefore, as I say, I hope that no time will be lost in continuing these discussions and pressing them to an effective conclusion.

I told the House on 28th September of my hope that the re-organization of the French Consultative Assembly on a more representative basis would make it possible for His Majesty's Government, at an early date, to recognize the then French Administration as the Provisional Government of France. The Assembly has now, in fact, been enlarged and strengthened by the addition of many fresh representatives of both the resistance organizations in France, and the old Parliamentary groups. It constitutes as representative a body as it is possible to bring together in the difficult circumstances obtaining today in France, and it will be holding its first session in Paris in a few days' time. This development was closely followed by a further step towards the restoration of normal conditions of government in France. The Civil Affairs Agreement concluded by France with Great Britain and the United States last August, after long and patient exertions by the Foreign Secretary, provided for the division of the country into a Forward Zone, in which the supreme Allied Commander would exercise certain overriding powers of control considered necessary for the conduct of military operations, and an Interior Zone, where the conduct of, and responsibility for, the administration would be entirely a matter for the French authorities. . . .

The French administration was . . . able to announce on 20th October that, with the concurrence of the Allied High Command, it had established an Interior Zone comprising the larger part of France, including Paris. This marked the final stage of transformation of the Committee of National Liberation into a Government, exercising provisionally all the powers of the Government of France, and a Government accepted as such by the people of France in their entirety. The way was thus clear for the formal recognition of the Committee as the Provisional Government, and His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris was accordingly instructed, on 23rd October, to inform the French Minister for Foreign Affairs of the decision of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in the Union of South Africa and in New Zealand to accord such recognition. A similar communication was made by the Canadian Government, through the Canadian Ambassador in Paris, and by the Commonwealth Government, through the French representative at Canberra. The United States and Soviet Governments, with whom we had acted throughout in the closest agreement and concert in this matter, were taking similar and simultaneous action.

. . . This act of recognition, may, therefore, be regarded as a symbol of France's re-emergence from four dark years of terrible and woeful experience and as heralding a period in which she will resume her rightful and historic role upon the world's stage.

. . . We are doing our best in every way to bring Greece back to normal. Though, of course, we are actively aiding the Greeks in every sphere to recover from the horrible injuries inflicted on them by the Germans, and are thus adding another chapter to the story of the friendship between our countries, we do not seek to become the arbiters of their affairs. Our wish and policy is that when normal conditions of tranquillity have been restored throughout the country, the Greek people shall make, in perfect freedom, their decision as to the form of Government under which they desire to live. Pending such a decision, we naturally preserve our relations with the Greek Royal House and with the existing con-

stitutional Government, and we regard them as the authority to whom we are bound by the alliance made at the time of the attack upon Greece in 1941. Meanwhile, I appeal to all Greeks of every party and of every group—and there is no lack of parties or of groups—to set national unity above all other causes, to cleanse their country of the remaining German forces, to destroy and capture the last of the miscreants who have treated them with indescribable cruelty, and, finally, to join hands to rebuild the strength and reduce the suffering of their famous and cherished land.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, address, Leyte, November 23, 1944

The problem under consideration must be solved with justice and dignity. Every case should be examined impartially and decided on its own merits. Persons holding public office during enemy occupation, for the most part, fall within three categories: those prompted by a desire to protect the people, those actuated by fear of enemy reprisals, and those motivated by disloyalty to our government and cause. The motives which caused the retention of the office and conduct while in office, rather than the sole fact of its occupation, ought to be the criteria upon which such persons will be judged.

Those charged with giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whether office holders or private citizens, with being traitors and disloyal to the governments of the Philippines and of the United States will be dealt with in accordance with law. But for the common good and our national welfare, I appeal to all the citizens of the Philippines to support their government in meeting its responsibilities by lawful procedures. Persons in possession of information on acts of disloyalty to the Commonwealth Government or that of the United States should report it to the authorities. But under no circumstances should any person or group take the law into their hands.

Ours is a constitutional government; ours is a community educated in the norms of a Christian civilization. Due respect for the law, rigid adherence to those principles established in civilized countries, complete obedience to the decisions of the courts—all these involve forms of character and high moral attributes that are the possession of enlightened countries like ours. On the threshold of occupying a sovereign place in the concert of free nations, we must live up to our responsibilities. We must prove our ability to maintain domestic peace and our capacity to mete out justice. Precisely when the eyes of the civilized world are focused on our country, we cannot allow acts of personal revenge and misguided zeal to cast a reflection on our civilization and our ability to maintain an orderly government. Ours is a government by law: the splendor of its majesty must never be dimmed in our land.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 1, 1944

I was asked by the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Pethick-Lawrence) and the hon. Member for Ebbw Vale to say what we are trying to do and what are the aims of our foreign policy. I would say that they are threefold: First, victory, which means the continuance of the unity in the great coalition; second, order behind the lines of our Armies; and, third, fair and untrammelled election of Governments, dynasties and parliaments alike. . . .

Now I come to the question whether the Government are supporting in Europe Governments of the Right or the Left. . . . I am conscious that behind me there is complaint that we are supporting to a considerable extent Governments of the Left. Opposite me there are complaints that we are supporting Governments of the Right. . . . In trying to pursue our policy in the state of tension

such as Europe is in, we are really not dominated as a Cabinet by a desire to set up any particular Government of the Right in this place or Government of the Left in the other. . . . What do we try to do? It is to give countries the best chance of expressing their own wills in their own ways freely. We are not concerned whether that expression of will in the end is to the Right or to the Left. . . .

The Government of Belgium was elected and was the legal Government of Belgium in 1940. It was constitutionally appointed and was supported by a majority of the duly elected Belgian Chamber. After the country collapsed the Government came here. There happens to be a provision under the Belgian Constitution, which is rather far-seeing in these matters, to the effect that, if the Sovereign is incapable of performing his functions the Government can act for him. The Sovereign was, in this case, unable to perform his functions, and the Government came here and functioned for him. . . . Their legal and constitutional position is, as far as I know, absolutely unassailable. When Belgium was liberated they went back. We assisted them to go back. Was that wrong? The two Houses of Parliament were at once re-assembled. Was not that democracy? . . .

When the Belgian Parliament was called together M. Pierlot first rendered an account of his stewardship abroad and then resigned. In the meanwhile, both Parliaments, the King being away, had elected Prince Charles as Regent. . . . The next thing that happened was that many attempts were made to find an alternative Government but they were not successful. Eventually, M. Pierlot was pressed and he accepted the task of forming a new Government, which was composed of members of all the parties, including representatives of the Communists and the Resistance Groups, the great majority having been in Belgium throughout the war. I do not know what was wrong about that or what other Government could have been formed. This Government was constitutionally appointed by the Regent and was supported by the overwhelming majority of the two Houses of Parliament. More recently, there have been other developments. The Communists have left the Government, but M. Pierlot still has the support of all the other parties who represent the overwhelming majority of the population.

. . . The hon. Member for Ebbw Vale said it was an unpopular Government in Belgium. How does he know? I do not pretend to know, but I know that it is a Government supported by the elected Chamber, which represents the people. That must remain so until the Chamber can be democratically elected again. That is the basis on which we are trying to work.

. . . I can only say that we shall support the Government that has the support of the majority, and we can only judge of that by the elected Chamber. . . .

We in this country believe in democracy. We have already stated that when the time comes to express the popular will in Jugoslavia it ought to be done in a really popular way. There should be candidates—I say that word in the plural—and the people should be allowed to express their views. That is the policy for which we stand in these countries. . . .

There is another matter to which I must refer, and that is about Italy and Count Sforza. . . .

Italy is a country with whom we have recently been at war, and which surrendered unconditionally, and—let us face it—whose record in the present struggle, under Mussolini's guidance, was a most shameful one, not only towards ourselves and France but towards Greece and Albania. There was not a sentence in the speech of the hon. gentleman which showed any realization of that fact, or of the fact that those countries were subjected to aggression carefully calculated—but, as it turned out, this aggression was a miscalculating policy. We have now accepted Italy as a co-belligerent but that country is not an Ally. She remains a base for the operation of our troops. In my submission to the House, we are perfectly entitled to emphasize our views about the appointment of any particular statesman by that country. . . . We do not feel, for a number of reasons, that Count Sforza would be a particularly

happy choice as Foreign Secretary. He did tell us some time past that he would pursue a certain course on his return to Italy—I am not dealing with the Royalty question at all, but I may say a word on it later—and he did not pursue it. According to our information he has been working against the Government of Signor Bonomi, who himself has given us loyal support and has fulfilled all his obligations towards us. Knowing that, I really do not see that there is anything wrong in our saying that we would prefer not to have as Foreign Secretary a man who has been working only lately against a Prime Minister who has been perfectly loyal to us.

... We are entitled to observe what happens in Italy, after the experience we have had in that country. We observed that, on his return, he (Count Sforza) rapidly began to work against the Government of Marshal Badoglio which at that time the Allies supported, and later he proceeded to do exactly the same against the Government formed under Signor Bonomi. We have said that, in those conditions, we should not be very happy to have as Foreign Secretary somebody who had behaved thus. We expressed our view, that, in all the circumstances, we should be happier without that particular appointment and I cannot see why we should not be allowed to say that.

... I wish to say something about the Greek Government, which has not been quite such a matter of controversy as others today. The present Greek Government is a coalition of all the parties. We asked them to join and continue in the reconstruction of their country. In view of the supplies we are sending, and the sacrifices this country has made, we are entitled to make that appeal, and ask them to set aside their internal differences, as we have done, for a while longer until the task of rebuilding their country and stabilizing their national finances is carried through. ... We have no intention of interfering with the right of the Greek people to choose freely both the regime and the system of Government they prefer. That is for them to decide. We have tried to set Greece on her feet by supplies of which she was in dire need, and we will enable her to make a free choice in due course. ...

UNITED STATES

Statement by the Department of State, Washington, December 5, 1944

The position of this Government has been consistently that the composition of the Italian Government is purely an Italian affair except in the case of appointments where important military factors are concerned. This Government has not in any way intimated to the Italian Government that there would be any opposition on its part to Count Sforza. Since Italy is an area of combined responsibility, we have reaffirmed to both the British and Italian Governments that we expect the Italians to work out their problems of government along democratic lines without influence from outside. This policy would apply to an even more pronounced degree with regard to governments of the United Nations in their liberated territories.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Václav Nosek, Vice-President, Czechoslovak State Council, London, December 6, 1944

I may say that all democratic and progressive people abroad are well aware of their great responsibility towards the people at home, and that they are making a sincere effort to see that the change-over to normal, democratic conditions should come about in our country peacefully, in accordance with the wishes of the people at home and to the advantage of all the peoples who go to form our Republic. That was why the Czechoslovak Government and State Council drew up the decree concerning the provisional exercise of legislative and public power on the liberated territory of the Republic. This decree, to put it briefly, concerns the new State and

public administration, and the National Committees. The decree lays down that, in accordance with the fundamental principle of Article I of the Constitution, the people represent the sole source of all State power in the Czechoslovak Republic, and local, district and regional National Committees will be set up by means of elections as the provisional organs of public administration in every sphere.

A provisional National Assembly to which the new Government will be responsible will be elected from the National Committees.

The decree lays down that the provisional period is fixed as beginning on the day when a certain part of Czechoslovakia is liberated from enemy power and ends on the day which shall be determined by the regularly elected National Assembly.

We regard this decree as one of the fundamental decrees which should facilitate a peaceful change-over to normal conditions. It gives the legal basis for selecting representatives of the widest classes of the people for the administration of affairs in the liberated country. It gives the legal basis for creating a new democratic people's State and public administration. It gives the legal basis for the people to remove traitors and collaborators from all offices and institutions through the medium of the National Committees and replace them by fresh men who have proven their worth in the struggle for national liberation.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, December 8, 1944

... Before I come to particular countries and places let me present to the House the charge which is made against us. It is that we are using His Majesty's Forces to disarm the friends of democracy in Greece and in other parts of Europe, and to suppress those popular movements which have valorously assisted in the defeat of the enemy. ... Certainly, His Majesty's Government would be unworthy of confidence if His Majesty's Forces were being used by them to disarm the friends of democracy in Greece and other parts of Europe.

The question however arises, and one may be permitted to dwell on it for a moment, who are the friends of democracy, and also how is the word "democracy" to be interpreted? My idea of it is that the plain, humble, common man, just the ordinary man who keeps a wife and family, who goes off to fight for his country when it is in trouble, and goes to the poll at the appropriate time, puts his cross on the ballot paper showing the candidate he wishes to be elected to Parliament—that is the foundation of democracy. ...

But this man, or woman, should do this without fear, and without any form of intimidation or victimization. He marks his ballot paper in strict secrecy, and then elected representatives meet and together decide what government, or even, in times of stress, what form of government they wish to have in their country. If that is democracy I salute it. I espouse it. I would work for it.

... But I feel quite different about a swindle democracy, a democracy which calls itself democracy because it is Left Wing. It takes all sorts to make democracy, not only Left Wing, or even Communist. I do not expect a party or a body to call themselves democrats because they are stretching further and further into the most extreme forms of revolution. I do not accept a party as necessarily representing democracy because it becomes more violent as it becomes less numerous. I cannot accept any of these as democracy. One must have some respect for democracy and not use that word too lightly. ...

During the war, of course, we have had to arm anyone who could shoot a Hun. Apart from their character, political convictions, past records and so forth, if they were out to shoot a Hun we accepted them as friends and tried to enable them to fulfil their healthy instincts.

... To those who try to establish the point that the men who went out into the hills and were given rifles or machine guns by the British Government have by fee simple acquired the right to govern vast complex communities such as Belgium or Holland—it may be Holland next—or Greece, I say I repulse that claim. They have done good service and it is for the State, and not for them, to judge of the regards they should receive. It is not for them to claim ownership of the State, which cannot be admitted.

... We have to assume the burden of most thankless tasks and in undertaking them to be scoffed at, criticized and opposed from every quarter; but at least we know where we are making for, know the end of the road, know what is our objective. It is that these countries shall be freed from the German armed power and under conditions of normal tranquillity shall have a free universal vote to decide the Government of their country—except a Fascist regime—and whether that Government shall be of the Left or of the Right.

There is our aim—and we are told that we seek to disarm the friends of democracy. We are told that because we do not allow gangs of heavily armed guerrillas to descend from the mountains and install themselves, with all the bloody terror and vigor which they possess, in great capitals and in power, that we are traitors to democracy. I repulse that claim too. . . .

It would be pretty hard on Europe, if, after four or five years of German tyranny she was liquidated and degenerated and plunged into a series of brutal social wars. If the friends of democracy and its various defenders believe that they express the wishes of the majority, why cannot they wait for the General Election; why cannot they await the free vote of the people—which is our sole policy in every country into which British and American armies are advancing? . . .

I hope I have made the position clear, both generally as it affects the world and the war, and the Government. I have no fear at all that the most searching inquiries into the policy we have pursued in Europe—in Belgium, in Holland, in Italy and in Greece—the most searching examination will entitle any man into whose breast fairness and fair-play enter, to accuse us of pursuing reactionary policies, of hampering the free expression of the national will, or of not endeavoring to enable the countries that have suffered the curse of German occupation to resume again the normal, free, democratic life which they desire and which, as far as this House can act, we shall endeavor to secure for them.

NETHERLANDS

J. A. W. Burger, Minister for Internal Affairs, in Liberated Holland, December 15, 1944

A return to democratic forms of government must be effected without delay. Some measures to that effect as for instance concerning the functioning of Parliament, can only be taken after complete liberation of the country. But others as for instance the reinstitution of town councils need not, in my opinion, wait for that. . . .

In order to effect this we must find a formula making possible such a convocation without holding new elections which are not yet feasible, yet at the same time replacing those members who, during the occupation, proved untrustworthy by new and preferably younger members qualified to take their place. We must therefore look for an interim solution as we must do later for Parliament. But we must not wait unduly before putting such a solution into effect.

GREAT BRITAIN

A. Henderson, Financial Secretary to the War Office, reply to a question in the House of Commons, December 20, 1944

The Allied Commission is composed of a headquarters and representatives in the field working in close contact with the Italian Government. In the territory restored to the jurisdiction of the Italian Government the functions of the headquarters and its representatives are to ensure that the Armistice terms are implemented, and secondarily to advise the Government in the administration of the country, particularly in respect to the needs of the Allied Armed Forces. While the Italian Government is responsible for economic, financial or other policies in these territories the Allied Commission acts as adviser and guide. In those forward areas which are not under the jurisdiction of the Italian Government but which are under Allied Military Government the Allied Commission is responsible to the Supreme Allied Commander for all administration.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 20, 1944

We seek nothing for ourselves in Greece at all. We seek neither strategic advantages nor economic advantages nor any other advantages of that kind at all. There is nothing in the least inconsistent in what my right hon. friend has said and what I am saying now. In this action we are taking we have no ulterior motive whatever. We really have not. I do not see why hon. members are so eager to think we have some sinister purpose.

Of course, it is true we have an interest in the Mediterranean. That has never been denied by anyone, but I say that we took this action above all, and only, to try to bring food and supplies to Greece, because we knew of the condition in which we should find Greece. We had no ulterior motive. I should like to try to show a little of what we have been doing. Let me say this. If Greece had been largely a self-supporting country, if she had been in a condition where she could have provided her own people with food, it is quite likely we should not have done it. We might have said, "We will help chase the Germans out," but certainly we should not have gone in with this vast organization to try to supply food for the people of Greece. But we knew that in normal conditions Greece was quite unable to feed herself. We knew that the harbors and all means of transport had been utterly destroyed and that unless we could get food and supplies in there was no chance of the Greek people escaping starvation and of allowing Greek industry to be restarted.

... Now I come to answer the hon. gentleman on the subject of the King. He said that we were trying to impose the King on the Greek people. That really is not so. . . . It was on the advice of the Prime Minister and myself, given personally, that the King is still in this country. It is very likely that he would have taken that decision on his own account—I cannot say—but our advice was strongly that he should remain in this country, because we were perfectly conscious that his arrival in Greece might certainly be the cause of a political controversy which we wanted to avoid. That is not imposing the King, with British bayonets, on the Greek people. . . .

The hon. gentleman said that the British Government were throwing the weight of British Ministers against a Regency. The answer is that we are not; we are not against a Regency, and we are not throwing our weight against a Regency.

... What is the position of the King? As I understand it it is this. He feels that before he can make a decision on a matter of this kind he must get recommendations from the leaders of the parties in Greece. . . .

He has not gone to Greece at our request. He awaits the advice of his Ministers, and so far as I am aware if they give that advice he will take it. . . .

Let me try to sum up. We want to bring the present conflict to an end as speedily as possible, by whatever means can be devised.

Apart from the tragedy of the loss of life, we must bring it to an end, otherwise we cannot get supplies to Greece and there will be tragedy of starvation. . . .

We shall use all the means at our disposal to ensure that this conflict is not made the excuse for a lasting vendetta, either of the Right against the Left, or of the Left against the Right, and that when the conflict is over neither side shall be allowed to try to eliminate the other. Our aim is to maintain law and order and establish a Greek Government broadly representative of all opinion in Greece, including EAM, and enable that Government to establish its authority throughout the country. Our desire is to see such a Government re-formed at the earliest possible date. The first task of that Government will be to get relief going again, and food for their people. The second task will be to organize a free and fair election. If our help is needed it will be available, and if our Allies will come and help that help will be valuable. We ask nothing of the Greeks. It is our wish to bring our troops away as soon as is practically possible. We only ask that order shall be established so that the people shall be fed with supplies, the greater part of which we have ourselves collected. This is an unhappy phase in Anglo-Greek relations. I hope that this chapter will soon be closed, that there will be once again that friendship in which we have taken a pride and that the Greek people and our own people will be united together.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, speech at the Athens Conference, December 26, 1944

. . . Do not let anyone have in his mind the idea that Great Britain desires any territorial advantages from Greece. We do not want an inch of your territory. We seek no commercial advantage save those which are offered by Greece to all the nations of the world. We have not the slightest intention of interfering with the way in which a normal and tranquil Greece carries on its affairs. Whether Greece is a monarchy or a republic is a matter for Greeks and Greeks alone to decide. All we wish you is good, and good for all.

. . . We hope that thus the voice of the Greek people shall be fully expressed in the same way as we express our voice in England and in America by the method of elections based on a secret ballot, so that every man, rich or poor, has an equal right to cast his vote of citizenship. All we want from the Greeks is our ancient friendship. All we seek is that you should live happy and free, and become prosperous and take your place in the Council of the United Nations worthy of the Greeks who broke the Italian power and fought so bravely against the overwhelming might of Germany. I exhort you to believe that I speak on behalf of His Majesty's Government and that I speak the truth from my heart.

. . . My hope is, however, that the conference which begins here this afternoon in Athens will restore Greece again to her fame and power among the Allies and the peace-loving peoples of the world, will secure Greek frontiers from any danger in the north, and will enable every Greek to make the best of himself and the best of his country before the eyes of the whole world, for all eyes are turned upon this table at this moment, and we British trust that whatever has happened in the heat of fighting, whatever misunderstandings there have been, we shall preserve those old friendships between Greece and Great Britain which played so notable a part in the establishment of Greek Independence.

NORWAY

Johan Nygaardsvold, Prime Minister, broadcast to Norway, London, December 26, 1944

Two years ago I stated that the present government would turn in its resignation as soon as the King and government are back again in Oslo. There are several reasons for this decision. First and foremost it seemed to me that the Government which has been in Great Britain for nearly five years now should be relieved by a new government immediately after the return home. The mandate this government received from a unanimous Storting in 1940 would then be fulfilled, in my opinion. Further, there are also many practical questions which arise, for example, matters which come under the various departments and where it will be an advantage if people who have been home all this time are permitted to set to work immediately on the solution. This government reaffirms therefore that it will submit its resignation at the first meeting held in Oslo Palace after the liberation is completed.

How the new government is to be formed and who shall be members of it, or what its first mandate shall be, are questions on which I neither can nor wish to say anything. The present government realized that there may be various difficulties connected with the formation of a new government without the collaboration of the Storting. From home we hear divided opinion as to whether the old Storting should be called together or not, because of what happened during the so-called Storting negotiations in 1940, and because of the more serious sins of certain individuals. But this need not be regarded as any final hindrance. There are, of course, alternates who may be summoned if it is contended certain Storting members have acquitted themselves so questionably that they hereafter should not be permitted to sit in the parliament.

In such event it would be the old Storting's task to give the new government the necessary power, and probably also appoint a committee to investigate various matters in connection with the outbreak of the war as well as that which has happened since the government received full authority at Elverum and later to present a report on this to the new Storting. But the present government has not wanted to enter into discussion on these matters nor make any final decision regarding them. As we see it, the decision should be held in abeyance until there has been an opportunity to confer thoroughly with representatives of the home front's various groups after our return to Norway.

Another important matter is the elections. The government's definite contention is that elections to both the Storting and municipal governments must be held as soon as it is technically possible. My personal belief is that the usual periods can be shortened with the exception of that given for the challenging of registered voters, a right which will undoubtedly be used more this time than ever before. . . . All those who have been compelled by the Germans to move from home districts as well as those of our countrymen who are in German prisons must be given a chance to participate. We have large numbers of seamen on the high seas who must naturally be given full opportunity to vote. Probably new technical devices can contribute towards hastening the elections simultaneously as speedy court action with regard to traitors clears up the situation. All parties should, of course, be interested in seeing a democratic election carried out as soon as possible, so in this connection I can foresee no difficulties other than the unavoidable technical ones. The government will do its part to assure that all matters aimed at bringing about an election as soon as possible after the liberation will be ready beforehand.

Prevention of Future Aggression

GENERAL STATEMENTS

GREECE

Philip Dragounis, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, statement to the press, Cairo, August 9, 1944

... Greek Macedonia and Thrace, the only rich provinces of our otherwise poor country, have to be effectively protected in the future against any new attempt of invasion from the north. Their populations cannot live in peace under constant threat of Bulgarian aggression. Three times in thirty years, 1913, 1918, 1941, they have suffered untold outrages at the hands of the Bulgarians. This has to be stopped by the great Allies of Greece once and for all. The Greek northern border must be made strong and defensible. Salonika as the capital of Greek Macedonia must be permanently covered against any sudden attack from north or from west.

Albania must cease to be a ready-made bridgehead for Italy to invade at any moment our peninsula. We cannot live free at home without thoroughly closing the gates. After this war we must be put in a position to dominate our own gates. . . .

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address to the Rotary Club of Philadelphia, December 13, 1944

... Today the world is faced by two main problems: the first immediate problem of winning the war by complete and crushing victory over Germany and Japan. The second fundamental problem leading out of victory, to create such an international unity of principles and purpose as to make it possible to create a world peace which would become one and indivisible, just and secure, human and democratic, for all the nations of the world—great or small.

... Experience has proved that with modern scientific progress no war can be localized and no isolation is therefore possible. In fact wars, wherever they start, and however local they may appear to be at the outset, gradually involve practically all nations and directly affect all peoples the world over. Hence, total world war can only be prevented by the creation of a total world peace, and security can be established only on the basis of world-wide international confidence. Confidence is not a feeling that can be imposed by force or by good salesmanship. It issues from a human instinct which either does or does not sense the existence of freedom from fear. That in itself requires that all nations and peoples be given unmistakable proof that they may enjoy life under the rule of laws of justice applied to all nations—great and small, and equal right of appeal to the principles of freedom, justice and security.

THE FUTURE OF ENEMY STATES

JUGOSLAVIA

Josip Smoljaka, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia, article in *Nova Jugoslavija*, published in liberated Yugoslavia, June-July, 1944.

Democratic Yugoslavia is ready to shake a friendly hand of such a new Italy and, paraphrasing the bard of Italian liberation, to greet her with the words:

"Ripassate l'Isonzo, e torneremo fratelli!" ("Get back across the Isonzo, and we shall be brothers again!")

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at a luncheon of the Council of the Anglo-Netherlands Society, London, July 24, 1944

No punishment, however hard, no retribution, however thorough, and indeed, no surrender, even unconditional, will completely eliminate the dangers of future aggression by those two hawks of death, Germany and Japan. Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that when Hitler and his Asiatic counterpart have been finally overthrown the peace of the world will be thereby assured against their successors. Hitler is too symptomatic of the German *Herrenvolk* to allow us to believe for one instant in any such theory.

In the long history of aggression in which war became avowedly the national industry, first of the Prussians and then of the Germans, that people has always found its war lords, under whatever title they chose, to lead the German hordes willingly, and with the full approval of the nation at home, on a path that spelt doom and destruction for their neighbors. Hopes of glory, promises of *Lebensraum*, any other pretense—those have been easily propounded and eagerly believed by the German people. Hitler is simply a symbol of this lust for power and when the symbol goes the spirit which created it has still to be finally removed. This time we must be sure that it will be utterly crushed and powerless to rise again.

Hitler is just a link in the chain of German war lords, and this time we must make quite certain that the chain is finally broken. We can only make certain of this if a close, constant lasting collaboration in the political, economic and military fields is maintained by the United Nations throughout the world. I do not underestimate the difficulties. But they have been overcome in war and they can and must be overcome in peace.

NORWAY

Wilhelm Morgenstjerne, Ambassador to the United States, address in Minneapolis, August 30, 1944

We know today that the Germans are already planning the next war. There is convincing evidence of that fact. We know that they are planning to go underground, to keep their organization, and to emerge again as soon as they think their hour has come! And we know only too well, from repeated experiences, that the German people will stand ready, as always before, to follow blindly their false and criminal leaders.

It is high time, no, the time is overdue, that we should cease to make any distinction between Nazis and Germans, between so-called "good" Germans and "bad" Germans. Where are these good, decent Germans? Where have they been during these five awful years, while their armies attacked and raped their neighbors, and killed and robbed and tortured millions of innocent people? Why were they absolutely mum while Jews and Poles and Greeks and Norwegians and many, many others were indiscriminately murdered, while Lidice and Tebevaag and numerous other towns were razed, and innocent men and women crowded into death-chambers and gassed?

Where is the voice of that decent, democratic Germany of which we are so often told?

It is no use saying that the Germans are not organized, that they do not have the leadership, nor the arms, to oppose those in power. We know now by the example of Norway and the other subjugated countries, that where there is a will there is a way, and that with the weapons of the will and the spirit any tyrants and mechanized barbarians can be challenged and balked. We know that if the indignation, the moral wrath of a nation is only strong enough, it will blast its own way through all obstacles. . . .

Another war, more horrible than human imagination can ever visualize, will break out in another ten, twenty or thirty years from now, if we do not see to it that Germany and the other

PREVENTION OF FUTURE AGGRESSION

aggressors are kept under strict supervision and control as long as necessary to protect those who come after us. I do not say how long, I say as long as necessary. . . . If we fail, the blood and untold suffering of another war will be on our hands. Together we of the United Nations must impose a strong and hard peace on the aggressors. . . .

Did it ever occur to you that those who speak of a "just" peace always mean a soft, a lenient peace?

I fail to see the logic of such reasoning. A "just" peace, of course, would mean a peace which does to the Germans all that they have done to us. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It would mean a peace implying plunder and rape and wholesale, wanton destruction. It would mean indiscriminate murder and torture of the most revolting, Middle Ages kind. But in that sense we do not want a "just" peace. We do not want to stoop to the level of the Germans.

What we want is a peace of stern retribution and punishment, under the law, for the guilty; a return of the aggressor's loot; a redemption, as far as at all possible, of the destruction, the iniquities, the vile perversions of justice, the brazen mockery of truth and decency which have taken place in all occupied countries during the reign of terror of the German hordes. And before all, we want a peace of unshakable determination that this shall never happen again! There is imposed on us—who have seen and learnt—the solemn obligation to our children and their children, to prevent the German people from ever again having it within their foul power to assault, and to impose their barbarian atrocities upon their civilized, freedom-loving neighbors.

If we fail in this our supreme task, if from a feeling of instant relief and misguided softness we fail to put out forever the smoldering fire of resurgent aggression, and hurry back to a fool's paradise of false security and normalcy, then our men shall indeed have fought and died in vain.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1944

. . . After this war, as in the past, Czechoslovakia will strive to collaborate with all her neighbors to the extent that she encounters good will and the conditions that would make such collaboration possible and fruitful. This applies primarily to Austria and Rumania. Once these states have solved their main international problems I see no reason why Czechoslovakia should not be able to follow her prewar Good Neighbor Policy toward them.

Events have not yet developed to the point where it is possible to indicate exactly our future relations with Germany, Hungary and Italy—that is, with the countries directly responsible for the present suffering of the Czechoslovak people and of the other nations of Europe. They will depend mainly upon the thoroughness and sincerity with which those nations execute the necessary internal changes, upon the nature of their new régimes and upon the reality of their efforts to make good the devastation they have caused. They also will depend, of course, upon the conditions imposed on those states and on a host of other circumstances which cannot yet be foreseen. . . .

CHINA

K. V. Wellington Koo, Ambassador to Great Britain, broadcast, New York, October 12, 1944

One of China's war aims is, by destroying Japanese militarism, to safeguard international peace together with other nations.

U.S.S.R.

Marshal Joseph V. Stalin, Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Committee of Defense, at the Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of

Deputies of the Working People, in Honor of the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Moscow, November 6, 1944

To win the war against Germany is to accomplish a great historical task. But winning the war is not in itself synonymous with insuring for the nations lasting peace and guaranteed security in the future. The thing is not only to win the war but also to render new aggression and new war impossible, if not forever then at least for a long time to come.

After her defeat Germany will of course be disarmed both in the economic and the military-political sense. It would however be naive to think that she will not attempt to restore her might and launch new aggression. It is common knowledge that the German chieftains are already now preparing for a new war. History reveals that a short period of time, some twenty or thirty years, is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might.

What means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part, and if war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

The question is the more in place since history shows that aggressive nations, as the nations that attack, are usually better prepared for a new war than peace-loving nations which, having no interest in a new war, are usually behind with their preparations for it. It is a fact that in the present war the aggressive nations had an invasion army all ready even before the war broke out; while the peace-loving nations did not have even a fully adequate army to cover the mobilization.

One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbor "incident," the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific islands, the loss of Hongkong and Singapore, when Japan as the aggressive nation proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. Nor can one regard as an accident such a distasteful fact as the loss of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltics in the very first year of the war, when Germany as the aggressive nation proved better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union.

It would be naive to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and the Germans, their superiority over the British, the Americans and the Russians, their foresight and so on. The reason here is not personal qualities but the fact that the aggressive nations interested in a new war, being nations that prepare for war over a long time and accumulate forces for it, are usually—and are bound to be—better prepared for war than peace-loving nations which have no interest in a new war. That is natural and understandable. If you like, this is a law of history which it would be dangerous to ignore.

It is not to be denied accordingly that in days to come the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression, unless of course they work out special measures right now which can avert it.

Well, what means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part, and if war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

There is only one means to this end, in addition to the complete disarmament of the aggressive nations: this is, to establish a special organization made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations to uphold peace and safeguard security; to put the necessary minimum of armed forces required for the averting of aggression at the disposal of the directing body of this organization, and to obligate this organization to employ these armed forces without delay if it becomes necessary to avert or stop aggression and punish the culprits.

This must not be a repetition of the ill-starred League of Nations which had neither the right nor the means to avert aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorized world organization having

FORCE AND LAW IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE

at its command everything necessary to uphold peace and avert new aggression.

Can we expect the actions of this world organization to be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the great powers which have borne the brunt of the war against Hitler Germany continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and accord. They will not be effective if this essential condition is violated.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President, Provisional Government of the French Republic, speech before the Consultative Assembly, Paris, November 22, 1944

The fact that the perpetual aggressions of Germany have forced us, throughout the centuries, to devote so much thought and so many efforts to our continental defense, does not prevent us today from understanding and perceiving to what extent our future is linked with that of the Mediterranean Basin.

It was here that Italy's ambitious hostility was revealed during the worst moments of our distress. We want measures to be taken, so that this will never occur again, not only because of the harm this has done us, but also because Italy's ambitious hostility is contrary to the very nature of things, and events have proved it to be disastrous for Italy herself.

Moreover, it was on the shores of the Mediterranean that once and for all, we founded our African Empire. It is in this basin that our friendship with the Balkans, Turkey, the Arab world, and Egypt exists, it is part of our history and we believe it is essential to our future. Lastly it is because of this sea, that we were able to establish in the past, and will be able to establish in the future, the major part of our exchanges with the Great Russia.

This is why we intend to settle with Italy the causes for dispute and the wrongs she has done us. In no way do we wish to prevent

the development of our Transalpine neighbor, but if we arrive at a settlement in terms, as there exists for the most part a settlement in fact, we can establish normal commercial relations with the Italian government and people—from which we hope a sincere reconciliation will result.

The Mediterranean is what it is; its history and geography exist and suggest the importance of that normal friendship, which although it has sometimes been injured and offended, is nevertheless useful, if not necessary, between these two countries, Italy and France, that are so close together by their frontiers, culture and blood.

FORCE AND LAW IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE

BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas, President, statement, November 11, 1944

In a country with the characteristics and huge territorial extension of Brazil, its armed forces should not be considered as an instrument of expansionist or aggressive aims. They will serve mainly as schools of discipline and order. . . . Peace will not mean Utopia or disarmament but common vigilance by all nations to guard their frontiers and vital interests.

NEW ZEALAND

C. A. Berendsen, Minister to the United States, broadcast, New York, December 2, 1944

. . . We in New Zealand believe that the preservation of peace, by force when necessary, is a fundamental necessity for the post-war world. It is the one problem upon the solution of which depends the solution of every other postwar problem. . . .

Measures for Prosperity

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Stafford Cripps, Minister of Aircraft Production, speech at Belfast, August 18, 1944

The economic stability of this country after the war is not merely our personal and private concern, it is a world concern to all those people who desire peace. No one can doubt the contribution that we are capable of making in such a direction, we must not deprive ourselves of that capacity by the weakness of our economic position.

I have said that this new situation will demand a greater volume of exports if we are to maintain our previous standards of living, but we are all of us aware that the people of this country are determined to better their standards. Nor can there be any doubt that with drive and initiative we can provide these better standards. There are two possible ways of dealing with this very natural and proper demand by the people. The first is to redistribute the internal wealth of the country so as to get a greater measure of equality in incomes, as we have done with some success by taxation during the war; the second is to increase the overall productive wealth of the country so that there is more for everybody. We want to apply both these methods for we shall need them both if we are to attain our objectives. . . .

What are those objectives? We can already see them being formulated in the series of White Papers which have been produced and in many other subject matters which are known to be under consideration. First of all, of course, we have to get back to the 1938 standards before we can surpass them, and we are at the present time a long way below those standards owing to war conditions and enemy action.

A very large building program will be the first necessity to get back the houses, factories, schools, churches, places of entertainment and other buildings that have been destroyed by the enemy and to make good the deficiency of building and repair during five years of war. That alone is a very great task and one that must be urgently carried out. Indeed we have, as an expedient, to do a great deal of temporary building in order to get any houses at all for our men to live in when they come home from the fighting. This heavy burden in the postwar years is part of the price that we must pay for being in the front line of the aerial battles. Then, in addition, we must step up all kinds of civilian production, changing over from wartime to peacetime manufacture. . . .

The Government's social security plan which will shortly be published in a further White Paper will mean a better standard for many people, as does the Workmen's Compensation legislation which has been forecast. Family allowances and an all-in medical service for the people are two further important improvements in living standards.

The Education Act, which has now been passed, is the first great measure of postwar progress to go on the Statute book and entails a great deal of improvement in the standards of education, just as the planning and housing proposals envisage an improvement in living and amenity standards. But these forward steps will of course necessitate a decent level of wages and salaries if people are to be able to take full advantage of the improved facilities.

. . . You will observe, therefore, that we must increase our exports for at least three reasons, and at the same time produce all that we can for our home market.

These reasons are:—

- (a) To maintain our pre-war standard of living;
- (b) To give a firm basis for our international position as a pillar of peace in the world;
- (c) To help to provide those increases in standards of education, health, housing, etc., for which we are already planning or have planned.

UNITED STATES

James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, address before National Press Club, Washington, September 27, 1944

As a rich and powerful nation we have responsibilities not only to ourselves but to the whole world. If we do not maintain employment and prosperity at home, we will not be able to do our part to maintain employment and prosperity abroad.

Relief will be required and should be extended to those peace-loving countries whose economic life has been shattered by war, but no world settlement that provides only a place on the relief rolls to nations willing to work for their livelihood as well as to fight for freedom will be adequate to ensure a just and enduring peace. That is not the sort of freedom from want that the free and peace-loving nations are fighting for. Only through increased production, increased employment and increased trade can freedom from want be achieved.

UNITED STATES

Lauchlin Currie, Deputy Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration, statement before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Trade and Shipping of the Committee of the House of Representatives on postwar planning, Washington, September 28, 1944

I should now like to turn to the government policies which I believe will provide a sound basis for our foreign trade. . . .

The postwar world will be united in two objectives, namely, to prevent still another and more destructive war and to maintain full employment and raise the standard of living of the people. We have seen some of the factors which make it important for this country, as a matter of self-interest, to promote foreign trade in the interests of full employment and production. Pacts to ensure military security, financial stability and other similar and necessary purposes can be successful only if they are accompanied by full employment and production and a rising standard of living in this and the other countries of the world.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October 1944

It is not merely a question of restoring things as they were before. Ideas have not stood still. Our people participated in Europe's first religious and social revolution in the fifteenth century and always have been in the forefront of progressive European developments. They will not be content with the mere renewal of the democratic measures and political liberties they knew before 1938, but will demand a more effective fulfilment of democratic principles in economic and social spheres. President Roosevelt's slogan "freedom from want" will have to be applied not merely to nations as a whole but to the internal economic life of each individual state. It seems unlikely that this principle can be carried into practice by social legislation without some structural changes. But the principles of individual property, private enterprise and freedom of trade will not be violated, even though a certain degree of

economic intervention and étatisation, for instance in armament industries, proves desirable. . . . Czechoslovakia will maintain all her connections with the great industrial and commercial countries of Europe and America. Attention is being given to the question of what kind and extent of control over heavy industry and over the exploitation of mineral resources, in particular coal mining, will be demanded by the majority of the people. There is also the problem of whether land reform should not be revived and improved. But I say quite openly that the path which Soviet Russia took after the last war is not the one which will be followed in Czechoslovakia. Our conditions are completely different from every point of view, and we shall not abandon our old method of evolutionary adaptation and our old policy of balance between the east and the west. Our geographical position does not permit us to change this century-old policy violently.

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, speech at the Mansion House, London, October 4, 1944

. . . I should like . . . to turn to an entirely different subject—the relation between government and industry, commerce and finance after the war. You will not expect to find me greatly concerned to test each issue of policy by asking whether this is true private enterprise, or that is good socialism. I am even tempted to think that those who make extreme judgments in these matters overlook one not unimportant motive in human conduct—the ordinary desire to do a job properly for its own sake. An honest ship well found is an honest ship whether its ultimate owners are a large and scattered body of shareholders, or a public authority. Pride of craftsmanship and enterprise are not the sole prerogative of private or of public trade. Whatever may be the ultimate shape of our economic structure in this country, it is quite clear that after waging a terrible war we shall have too much to do to waste time on sweeping up all private enterprise and turning it into some other kind of enterprise. Private enterprise has a public responsibility. I believe this to be true at any time, but in any case I am certain that it is true for the very difficult conditions of resettlement of industry and trade in the immediate years after the war. We must all recognize this new partnership and develop it to the full. It will be the duty of government to exert itself to achieve conditions in which private enterprise can play its part worthily and well; it will be a big part. But those conditions cannot be achieved unless private enterprise is willing genuinely and regularly to consult with government on the main lines of policy, and accepts the determination of government to take a much closer interest in the general lines of industrial and commercial policy than it has taken in the past.

A gathering like this would not seriously wish for any other policy in the situation in which we shall find ourselves. The interest of government in private enterprise does not mean interference by government at every stage. The closer the voluntary consultation, the less frequent will be the need for interference.

I need hardly remind you of the bearing of taxation policy upon industry and trade after the war. I tried to give some evidence of my own appreciation of this fact in my budget last April. It is part of the public responsibility of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in these days that he must pay continuing attention to the relation between taxation and industry. But, speaking quite plainly, it will be much easier to ensure that that attention has fruitful results, if trade and industry recognize their public responsibility by close and free consultation with government.

Finally, I want to say a very brief word about our external financial position after the war. We shall emerge with heavy overseas obligations, but at the same time our credit throughout the world will stand very high. I hope I am not being unorthodox in

suggesting, at such a gathering, that the basis of national credit is the character of the people, their courage, their determination and skill, and above all their productive efficiency. I do not think that anyone need be apprehensive about our possession of these real assets. Now that means that our financial indebtedness can be translated into physical terms of production. I tell you, and I speak under a sense of responsibility, that I believe we can see our way through. We can meet our obligations in a realistic way; that is by producing goods that other countries will want. The process will take time, but it depends in the main, not upon skilful financial adjustments, but upon the willingness of our own people to recognize that, as they fought their way to freedom, so they can work their way to security and progressive improvement in all their material conditions. It depends also upon recognition by our creditors that they have a common interest with us and must collaborate. They must be reasonable and not seek to treat war debts on the footing of ordinary commercial obligations. Practically the whole of our external obligations incurred during the war are to our Allies and associates in the war. We have incurred a debt to them—but have they not also incurred some kind of a debt to us which they too can pay, by their confidence in us which has stood a much sterner test and by their practical co-operation with us?

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Stafford Cripps, Minister of Aircraft Production, speech, at Manchester, November 5, 1944

. . . In broad terms . . . the task that lies immediately ahead of us falls under five heads:—to restore and improve our social capital in the form of buildings of every kind and transport and power services.

To restore and increase our industrial capital, machinery, machine tools, etc., especially in the civilian and exporting industries.

To readjust our labor position so that we build up the skilled labor and technical force in our civilian and exporting industries.

To expand very greatly our export markets.

To achieve an overall increase in production for internal purposes compared to our pre-war output.

. . . There are certain general conditions especially as regards the export market which are vital to our future prosperity.

The first is international peace and security. Into that I will not go this afternoon except to say that we all devoutly hope that the outcome of the Dumbarton Oaks conference may be to establish an organization and to engender a spirit of determination which will secure us what we all desire.

The second is an expanding world economy. That is to say, not merely an expressed desire but active policies internationally and nationally in the different countries aimed at creating the maximum of exchange of goods between the various countries. No restrictive and crippling practices as we witnessed between the wars but instead an active policy in precisely the opposite economic direction.

These things we cannot attain unless we are prepared to take some risks. Co-operation means mutual forbearance for the common good. We all want the common good; we must be prepared to make our subscription towards it as a nation.

These are general international conditions. Now let us examine our own internal national situation and see what is required there.

. . . I want to put before you concisely the seven or eight main necessities of the situation as I see them—without going into the rival political solutions which have been suggested as regards some of them.

First. I do not believe that we can accomplish this job without a very considerable degree of planning both as regards our internal and external markets. Someone must lay down for the country as a whole which are the most urgent needs and must be able to direct

MEASURES FOR PROSPERITY

our resources into the meeting of those needs. . . . That someone must be the people through their Government, no other body is able to determine the priorities or to see that the things we want are made and not the things that are unnecessary.

. . . The second point . . . is that we must look at all our productive industry, not from the point of individual profit but from the aspect of the national interest, and the two things may not and will not in some cases lead us to the same conclusion.

. . . If necessary we must reconsider the structure of our industrial organization and take even the most drastic steps if it is necessary to bring about an efficient reorganization. Third, we must take steps, especially with regard to those civilian industries which have been partially or wholly eclipsed during the war, to reconstitute them on a completely modern and up-to-date basis. . . . It may well be that in many cases they cannot be properly reconstituted without a large measure of national assistance, and that alone would demand of us that we as a people take part in their reorganization. . . .

Fourth, we must create within our industries, especially the older ones, a conscious team spirit driving for progress and development. That team is not only the directors and managements, but the workers as well. We shall never reach the highest points of efficiency unless we can create that spirit, and we shall not create that spirit until the workers are given the opportunity to make their fullest contribution. . . .

Fifth, I would say that the relationship between scientists and technicians on the one hand and industry on the other must be altered.

Science and engineering are not nowadays a sort of appendix to industry which in times of difficulty can be cut out, they are an integral and essential factor in progress, in fact upon them progress depends. . . . This applies both to the research and the administrative side. . . .

Sixth, I would like to emphasize the need for a new approach to problems of management. These are today far more complex than they were even a few decades ago. Management should now be a profession, there is really no more right for an unqualified person to manage a factory than for an unqualified doctor to perform an operation. . . .

Lastly, I would mention the whole question of the distributive methods in the export markets. We must have a more effective and economical organization of export salesmanship and we must get away from the "take it or leave it" technique which ruled when we were the workshop of the world and firms regarded it as a privilege to the customer to be allowed to trade with them. . . .

We have succeeded in surviving and in coming within sight of victory during this war because we have subordinated every personal interest to the interests of the State. In many cases that has been done voluntarily, in others it has been forced upon the unwilling individuals for the sake of the community as a whole. What I have tried to point out to you this afternoon is that the need for that self-control will be no whit less when the war is over, if we are to make good its depredations and our people are to enjoy the better life that has been promised to them.

This is a task for the whole nation and it is for the citizens of this country to insist that everyone in the Government, in Parliament, in the industries, and in the administration, works wholeheartedly in the public interest to restore and to increase our prosperity as a nation.

AUSTRALIA

Sir Frederic Eggleston, Minister to the United States, broadcast, November 26, 1944

The communities of Southeast Asia are, from the economic point of view, only half developed. For the most part the people live in the direst poverty. There is no reason that I can see why the wealth

of this vast area and of these vast masses of people cannot be developed in the same way as the wealth of Western countries.

Australians hope that, as a result of this war, a sufficient security system will be established on a world trade basis in which we can take our part and to which we can make our contribution. But no security system is ever 100 percent secure. It is intended to remove fear, but fear is often the consequence of want and unless we can make some progress in the conquest of poverty, the strongest security system may be strained.

The peoples of the Pacific are at present unorganized. They are living on the margin of subsistence; they have no capital and cannot save any from current consumption. They must have foreign capital if they are to organize their production. Their masses must be educated, trained for new occupations; they must complete the development of their primary equipment, their roads, their railways. They must harness their rivers and develop the enormous energy latent in them. But if they can be assisted to do this, and if by this means their standards of living are improved and their purchasing power increased, would not the economic activity of the whole world be stimulated?

Australia has identified herself with the thesis that full employment in all countries, and particularly in great countries, will be the most important element in a stable world economy. A long range phase of this policy is the raising of the standards of living and purchasing power of the masses in undeveloped countries.

AUSTRALIA

Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, Canberra, November 29, 1944

. . . Australia and New Zealand have agreed to press strongly for an international agreement by which member states will bind themselves to pursue domestic policies aimed at full employment, and which will provide for use of existing organizations, such as the I.L.O. or, if necessary, establishment of new agencies for exchange of information and consultation with each other on employment policy. . . .

. . . The introduction of an employment agreement should take precedence over the introduction of other international economic agreements, and these other agreements should make the maintenance of high levels of employment and an improvement in world living standards their primary objectives.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, broadcast to Poland, London, December 6, 1944

We are tied together not only by the common will to fight and conquer, but also by the common desire to rebuild an independent Polish Republic on the foundations of real democracy, of right, of respect for the rights of citizens and individuals, whatever their origin, nationality or faith, and on the foundation of such economic and social changes, which would assure to every citizen employment, just share of national prosperity and access to education.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, at a meeting of the Polish National Council, London, December 13, 1944

The State will take over the function of leadership and supervision of the main branches of economic life, in order to guarantee fulfilment of those economic plans. Some branches of industry will be nationalized. A planned economic system will be established for all the main branches of national economic life. Nevertheless the State will encourage private enterprise. There must be a thorough rebuilding of the agricultural structure.

RECONVERSION AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

INDIA

Field Marshal Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, address to Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, December 14, 1944

... Peace will not and certainly should not bring for India any relaxation of effort. We shall have beaten off the external powers of evil, we have still many internal evils to lessen or remove and very much constructive work to do, in order to bring the peoples of India to a proper standard of living and India herself to her proper position in the world, as keeper of the peace and as a leader of prosperity, thought and learning in the East.

RECONVERSION AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

CANADA

J. A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce, in the House of Commons, July 28, 1944

... As we approach, and later enter, the postwar period Canada is bound to experience a fall in exports of those kinds of goods that represent purely wartime trade, and every effort must be made, without delay, to see that the volume of our commercial exports increases as rapidly as possible. Every possible support must be given to the enterprise and sales efforts of Canadian exporters.

A considerable number of countries will emerge from this conflict with their financial resources greatly impaired. Particularly during the transition period from war to peace, trade with many countries is likely to be uncertain either because of unsettled conditions in those countries, or because of measures taken by them to control trade and exchange. As a result Canadian exporters would be quite justified in being hesitant to offer goods because of the risks involved or because private financial institutions are reluctant to grant the necessary credit facilities. In this way valuable and inherently sound export business may be lost at a time when it may be imperative to develop overseas markets for the output of our greatly expanded productive capacity.

... Before the war some form of export credit insurance was made available to their exporters by governments in many countries. Our information indicates that there were some eighteen or more countries which operated export credit insurance schemes of one type or another. The essence of export credit insurance is that the exporter enters into an export sales contract with an importer in another country and is able to insure himself on a premium basis in respect of the payment risks that are involved. The Export Credit Insurance Corporation that is to be set up in Canada is intended to develop for the assistance of Canadian exporters an insurance business of this kind, and it is the intention that it shall operate on a self-sustaining basis, but that it shall be essentially non-profit-making. ...

POLAND

Jan Kwapinski, Deputy Prime Minister, broadcast to Poland, London, July 30, 1944

... In the social and economic sphere, one of our chief tasks, will be the reconstruction of an agricultural system.

We have prepared a basis for this new construction which provides that the State take over property and estates over 50 hectares (125 acres) in order to reconstruct an agricultural system. All land taken over by the State will be assigned for the purpose of parcellation and agricultural improvement. Forests will be national property with the exception of common lands and those belonging to local authorities. We have drawn up plans for the State to take over key industries and factories from German hands. An industrial self-government will be called into being. In the social sphere, drafts have been prepared for laws dealing with insurance for all workers in town and country and the safeguarding of self-government to

the insured man. The government has paid great care to the question of postwar relief for the war ravaged population of Poland in understanding with Allied governments and international institutions dealing with questions of relief and rehabilitation. Our aim is to ensure that the Polish people should be master on their own land and should so shape its life that poverty and fear of want in the future should vanish once and forever from Polish soil and that prosperity should be assured to the largest possible number of Polish citizens.

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, President, address at Third People's Political Council, Chungking, September 5, 1944

I shall deal next with the economic problems which today includes two aspects, economic stabilization and economic development. ...

The bumper crop this year and the prospective increase of supplies to be imported after the reopening of the international transport route will not only help to stabilize commodity prices, but they will also solve the difficulties attending economic reconstruction. Hereafter the Government will continue to do its best in assisting and supporting industrial production, devoting equal attention to the development of state-owned and private enterprises, equalizing the people's burden and strive to co-ordinate financial and economic policies so as to hasten economic reconstruction based on the Principle of People's Livelihood.

UNITED STATES

James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, report to the President, September 7, 1944

The effectiveness of any plans for the transition from war production to peace production will depend upon our ability to provide jobs for the workers who will be displaced by the reduction in war production.

The fear of prolonged unemployment following V-E Day has been exaggerated. The prosecution of the war against Japan will demand the continued production of great quantities of war materials. Basic industries, such as steel and textiles, will not be affected. We will speedily return to civilian production. The pent-up demand for goods will come from a people who have the money with which to buy them.

But it is inevitable that in some particular industries and in some communities there should temporarily be reduced employment. This is more likely to occur where the curtailment is in Government-owned plants engaged entirely in war production and having no plans for civilian production.

In order to meet this situation I have appointed a committee consisting of representatives of the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, the Defense Plant Corporation, and the Surplus War Property Administration. They are at work interviewing the contractors. Their objective is to ascertain whether or not the contractor will exercise his option to buy or lease the plants. If he is not interested, then the committee, having determined to what uses the plant can be put, will inquire whether local capital or some corporation or individual can be interested in purchasing or leasing the plant—of course, subject to the policies prescribed by law.

The primary purpose is to help the manpower situation. The presence of a representative of the War Manpower Commission on this committee will enable that agency to know what progress is being made in arranging for the operation of these plants. If such operation does not seem probable, the War Manpower Commission, in advance, can make plans to secure jobs for the workers when their employment is terminated.

It is obvious that any restrictions upon the sale or leasing of these plants that will delay their conversion to civilian production will

MEASURES FOR PROSPERITY

cause unemployment. In the Government-owned plants there are several million war workers. If they are not employed until other plants can be built or other machinery installed, they will be out of work for a long period. The plant equipment of these Government-owned plants must be put to work promptly if jobs are to be provided.

UNITED STATES

Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, address before the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, September 26, 1944

Recently the Army announced its partial demobilization plan to be placed into effect following the defeat of Germany and prior to the defeat of Japan. The plan has been well received; it was prepared with the co-operation and approval of the men in service. Selective Service is vitally interested in this plan of demobilization. The plan includes continued induction of men through Selective Service selection. It remains our obligation to select the manpower needed and to forward men for induction.

In demobilization the local boards have a real interest in the welfare of the men they have selected from their communities to serve on the battle fronts. They were instrumental in the man's induction; they likewise have a responsibility in fitting the discharged veteran back into the community. The local boards have a sincere desire to keep faith with their fellow citizens. They are tremendously interested in demobilization. The plan of demobilization must work, not just to release men from the Army or Navy but beyond that to the ultimate placing of the man back again with his family and his job and to insuring his rights and benefits. Demobilization as a plan must not fail. It must not add burdens to the lives of the men who will return as the nation's heroes. It must succeed!

The Congress, in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, created a Veterans' Placement Service Board of which the Director of Selective Service is a member. In this act the Congress declared its intent that there should be an effective job-counseling and employment placement service for veterans so as to provide for them a maximum of job opportunity in the field of gainful employment.

As for the veteran who wants his old job back, the law provides that he is entitled to reinstatement in his former position or in one of like seniority, status, and pay, provided:

1. Such position was in the employ of a private employer, the United States Government, its territories or possessions, or the District of Columbia;
2. Such position was not a temporary one;
3. He left the position subsequent to May 1, 1940, to enter upon active military or naval service in the land or naval forces of the United States;
4. He satisfactorily completed his period of training and service and received a certificate to that effect;
5. He is still qualified to perform the duties of such position;
6. He makes application for re-employment within forty days after he is relieved from service, and
7. If such position is in the employ of a private employer, the employer's circumstances have not so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to reinstate the veteran to such a position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay.

The law goes further to protect the veteran after he has been restored to his job. When he returns to the payroll:

1. He shall be considered as having been on furlough or leave of absence during his period of service;
2. He shall be restored without loss of seniority;
3. He shall be entitled to participate in insurance or other benefits offered by the employer pursuant to established rules and practices relating to employees on furloughs or leave of absence in effect with the employer at the time such person entered military or naval service, and

4. He shall not be discharged from such position without cause for one year after restoration.

The Selective Service System is organized to carry out the responsibilities of this program. The 6,443 local boards scattered throughout the nation in every county and every sizeable city have attached to them one or more re-employment committeemen who will assist the veteran in obtaining reinstatement in his former job or will aid him in contacting the proper agency or in taking the proper steps to find a new job. . . .

UNITED STATES

James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, address before National Press Club, Washington, September 27, 1944

The success of neither our production program nor our stabilization program will eliminate the problems of readjustment when V-E Day comes.

Congress has properly said that when production is no longer needed for the war effort, it shall not be continued merely to furnish business to an employer or jobs to employees. The overnight reduction of 40 percent in the requirements of the War Department will necessarily seriously affect our economy. The procurement agencies are taking steps to promptly settle with contractors, remove government property from their plants and thus hasten the resumption of civilian production. Advanced notice is being given to contractors and the contractors will be required to communicate that notice to employees.

All information about cancellations will now be cleared through one office—that of the Production Executive Committee. From time to time meetings of various agencies will be held so that the reconversion plans of an agency will be known to other agencies. The war controls of War Production Board, of the War Manpower Commission, and other agencies will be lifted as quickly as possible, consistent with the all-out prosecution of the war against Japan.

When on V-E Day the War Department reduces its requirements 40 percent because thereafter there will be a war on only one front, it must then be determined whether there should be a corresponding reduction in the munitions of war we produce and through lend-lease furnish to our Allies. The seriousness of the problem is apparent when you realize that our lend-lease expenditures for all purposes for the first six months of this year amounted to \$5,794,000,000. The problem, however, involves not only dollars, but the extent to which we and our Allies should change from war production to civilian production, and what our respective contributions to the war against Japan should be. This can be determined only by the heads of governments.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1944

The tasks of the new government will be immense. Economic life in all its forms—trade, handicrafts, agriculture and industrial production—has been ruined in large measure by the Germans and will have to be set on its feet. Work will have to be found for all our workers, and we shall have to arrange for the return of those who have been forcibly snatched from their families and sent to work in Germany or in the Todt formations. We shall have to reorganize properties which have been thrown into disorder by German interference, whether through "Aryanization", Germanization or confiscation. The Czechoslovak Government abroad is fully cognizant of all these tasks and is preparing a far-reaching plan to meet them. It will have to intervene not only in the sphere of economics, but also of social policy, education and cultural policy in order to repair the damage done during Germany's five years of occupation and deliberate destruction of values.

RECONVERSION AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, address at the Prefecture of Lille, October 1, 1944

After the war, reconstruction; and because we begin this reconstruction under very severe material conditions, we shall only bring to it greater daring, effort and will.

Yes, this time we ourselves shall have to win, the victory of resumption of work which alone can pave the way for the victory of the reconstruction of France.

But, French men and women that we are, we have well understood that the effort that we shall make together shall not lead us back to our starting point; no, no, we do not wish to return to that political, social and moral order which brought us to the rim of the abyss, we want a different order. . . . All together, and in solidarity.

We desire certain simple and basic things about which I wish to speak briefly today before my fellow citizens of Lille.

First, in a world grown so small, we have a common duty, the development of what we possess on our soil, in our sub-soil and in our Empire.

We want this development by our joint efforts to be as full as possible, for in the world of today where so many are suffering no one has the right to allow his resources to be poorly employed.

We, therefore, want this development by our joint efforts of all we have in this world and, to achieve this, there is no other means than what is called planned economy. We want the State to guide, for the benefit of all, the economic effort of the entire nation, so that the life of each French man and woman may become a better one.

In the situation we are in today, we can no longer tolerate those concentrations of interests called "trusts" throughout the world. They may have suited a certain period in which the earth's resources were brought into use, but they no longer meet the needs of a reformed economic organization, just as in the past military feudalism ceased to meet the needs of defense when it became necessary to engage in national rather than in local defense.

For this planned economy, for this development by our joint efforts of all the country's resources, certain conditions must be fulfilled, and the first is obviously that the community, in other words, the State, must take over the direction of the great sources of common wealth and supervise certain other activities without, of course, excluding those great levers of action: men of initiative and fair profits. Within this system it is essential that everyone should henceforth be not so much bound to his job as associated in the undertaking in which he participates.

That is why, though the manner and the degree of co-operation between those who work and those who manage may differ according to the nature and the importance of the concern, this co-operation must be established in an organic manner between workers and managers without, of course, causing any interference whatsoever with the activity of those who have the responsibility of managing the concern. In this regard, as you know, the Government has already made certain basic decisions. We shall not be able to carry out this program everywhere at the same time, nor as everyone well understands, in a few minutes, but we shall put it into effect, this national system of French economy, this organized association within concerns among all associated therewith.

Yes, but toward what end? So that with a better exploitation, in a more effective and more industrious manner, of everything that is ours on this earth, each inhabitant of France and of her Empire as well, may live a better life in greater dignity, in security in his work and in his life.

UNITED STATES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, statement on reconversion, October 3, 1944

I have signed S. 2051, a bill "to amend the Social Security Act, as amended, to provide a national program for war mobilization and reconversion, and for other purposes."

I have signed the bill because it is important, as this bill provides, that the Office of War Mobilization should be promptly expanded and given clear statutory powers to direct and supervise the tremendous task of reconversion in all of its numerous and related phases. . . .

Just before its recent adjournment the Congress passed H. R. 5125, setting up a Surplus Property Disposal Board and defining its powers, and S. 2051, the bill now before me, which expands the Office of War Mobilization into an Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion and places within it the Office of Contract Settlement, the Surplus War Property Administration, and the Retraining and Re-employment Administration.

So far as the bill goes, it is quite satisfactory. It applies the lessons which we have learned during the war as to the need of continuing co-ordination of related activities to the problems of reconversion to peace. It does not and cannot, of course, eliminate the problems and difficulties of reconversion, but it goes far to expedite and facilitate their solution.

But I feel it my duty to draw attention to the fact that the bill does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion. When I signed the G. I. Bill on June 22nd last, I expressed the hope that "the Congress will also take prompt action, when it reconvenes, on necessary legislation which is not pending to facilitate the development of unified programs for the demobilization of civilian war workers, for their re-employment in peacetime pursuits, and for provision, in co-operation with the states, of appropriate unemployment benefits during the transition from war to peace." The bill is not adequate to obtain these ends.

Provisions, which were in the bill as it passed the Senate, to provide transportation for war workers from the place of their employment to their bona fide residence or to the location of new employment arranged by the workers were omitted in conference. So also were the provisions, in the bill as it passed the Senate, ensuring appropriate unemployment compensation to federal workers.

Moreover the bill fails to prescribe minimum standards to govern the amount and duration of unemployment benefits which should be paid by the states to all workers unavoidably out of a job during the period of transition from war to peace.

We have rightly committed ourselves to a fair and generous treatment of our G. I. men and women. We have rightly committed ourselves to a prompt and generous policy of contract settlement to aid industry to return to peacetime work. We have rightly committed ourselves to support farm prices at a fair level during the period of reconversion. We should be no less fair in our treatment of our war workers.

I am glad to know that the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee has announced that his Committee will give consideration to further amendments of the Social Security Act after recess and I hope that the deficiencies which I have pointed out in the bill before me will be promptly rectified.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jan Becko, Minister of Social Welfare, addressing the Czechoslovak State Council, London, October 12, 1944

. . . It must be borne in mind that more than one-third of Czechoslovak skilled manpower has been taken to Germany or German-occupied territory. Furthermore, for six years the whole educational and training system in Czechoslovakia has been adjusted to the needs of the German war machine and tens of thousands of adults

have been directed to new occupations. Restoration of the former industrial and commercial potentials of the Republic will involve the tremendous task of re-education of whole classes, especially when the entire national economics will be reorganized on the basis of central planning. It will be necessary to carry out general national registration of manpower, mobilization and, if necessary, compulsory enrolment for labor service will be proclaimed.

GREAT BRITAIN

Hugh Dalton, President of the Board of Trade, in the House of Commons, October 20, 1944

... I would like to give a brief explanation of the way in which planning is proceeding from day to day and week to week in relation to what is called the "switchover"....

From my own point of view I have two principal concerns. One is that the civilian population shall, as soon as possible, get larger supplies of necessary goods. I only wish that I could take steps to increase those supplies very much more quickly than is possible. The reason why it is not possible to do so is extremely simple. It is because it is the deliberate policy of the Government, with the support of this House, to make in 1944 the maximum impact upon the enemy and to go all out to win the war, if not this year then as soon as we can next year. ... I constantly keep in front of my right hon. friends, and in particular, the Ministers of Labor and Production, the various needs of the civilian population, and also the importance of reviving our exports as soon as possible. ... It is a necessary condition for getting an export drive that we should give the civilians a bit of a lift-up, so that they may realize that something is coming to them right now. ... Subject to that, the export drive comes before anything else in the economic field so far as our postwar prosperity is concerned.

... I have put before my two right hon. friends and any others whom it may concern, a list of the requirements of the civilian population. ... They principally relate to the supply of clothing, footwear, household textiles, including sheets and blankets, furniture—and so it goes down a list which is fairly obvious to any hon. member. Whenever there is a release of workers from war production we always consider how far the requirements of the civil population can be assisted by a transfer of labor or by the switchover of some particular factory or plant from war to peace work. ...

My hon. friend spoke also of the disposal of factories and referred to a statement in the press by Sir Philip Warter. ...

Much attention has been given to this matter, and the final decision of the Government is that these Government factories are not, except in very exceptional cases, to be sold. They are to be retained; the Government will remain the owner of the factory, and will be the landlord in relation to whoever may be the tenant. When these factories are not required any further for the production of munitions, or for any other Government purpose, they will be allocated not in accordance with any competitive bidding for rent but in accordance with the contribution that can be made to employment in the area where the factory is situated, having regard, in particular, to the need for a diversified and balanced industry. A preference would be given, therefore, other things being equal, to someone bringing a new industry into an area rather than merely wishing to add one more unit to an existing industry. Account would also be taken of the importance of the industry from the point of view of the export trade. Regard would be had to war potential in the future; that is to say, in some cases consideration would have to be given to whether an arrangement could be made which would permit, if need should arise, of the switching back of the factory without undue difficulty to munitions production. Regard would be paid to certain other considerations, such as getting a quick start with peace production and giving preference, again other things being equal, to an applicant who was able to get on with the production that was desired to be carried on in the fac-

tory without a long process of structural changes and semi-rebuilding which would take time.

... I am urging my right hon. friends at the Supply Departments to let me have as early notice as possible of factories which are no longer to be needed beyond a certain time for war production—we survey the list of applicants for that factory or for similar factories, and it is not difficult to make a choice between them. ...

I want to turn to another matter which my hon. friend mentioned. I was very glad to hear what he said about utility production, in which there are great advantages. ... I am a very great believer in this policy, partly because you put your limited quantity of material to the best use, and partly because, unless you have a definitely specified and recognizable article, you cannot make a complete success of price control. You cannot fix a maximum price for an article unless you can define it and identify it, and as an aid to effective price control, utility production has been of the very greatest value.

... I judge that one of the best means of fighting inflation is to continue an effective system of price control through a postwar period which we cannot now exactly measure, but which can be defined as a period when shortages will continue due to the effect of the war and what follows after—a period when, if we did not have price control, demand would be very much greater than supply, and prices would be forced up sky-high. Out of that would grow all the inflationary chaos and misery of which we had so much experience at the end of the last war. One of the most effective means of preventing this is price control, particularly when applied over a range of the necessities of life under standardized utility production. ... I am convinced that we must continue utility production, though possibly with many changes—we may extend the range of utility goods. ...

We have been struggling up to now with a great scarcity of materials for furniture and other things, owing to the claims of the war. But we are now coming to a point where, in some directions, there will be a slightly more plentiful supply of some metals. I am anxious to see that these supplies are put to good use. Whether it is for furniture, such as metal bedsteads, or whether it is for other lines of civilian production, I shall do my best to make full use of any metal which now becomes available. I hope that this will illustrate that the process of planning is going on all the time. We are constantly adjusting our demands, our sights, so to speak from day to day, in the light of the war situation. I hope we shall have the continued support of this House for any suggestions designed to make planning for the future switchover as smooth and as efficient as possible.

GREAT BRITAIN

R. S. Hudson, Minister of Agriculture, speech at the Rotary Club, London, November 1, 1944

... I would like to try and show you why I personally believe that, far from there being any conflict between the export industries and home agriculture, it is vital to the future prosperity of our country that the two should march forward hand in hand.

... Let us look realistically at the situation in which we shall be placed after the war. No one, I think, would deny that it will be very different from that which obtained before the war and still more from that which obtained in the nineteenth century.

The first and most important change will be that from a creditor nation we shall have become a debtor nation. No longer shall we be able to rely on the accumulated wealth which our ancestors had built up overseas. ... For nearly every ton of food and raw materials which we want to import we shall have to export goods in payment. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer told us a few weeks ago we shall not only have to maintain the value of our exports, but increase it by at least 50 percent if we are going to maintain the standard of living of our people. ... I need not remind you

that the industrial and manufacturing capacity of most of the free countries in the world has been vastly increased during the war. This capacity is at present largely devoted to weapons of war and to munitions. But when peace returns, that capacity will have to be shifted to the production of peaceful goods. . . . Conditions will be very different from the days of the nineteenth century when we were one of the few sellers and the world was full of buyers clamoring for our wares.

That is one change. But another, almost equally important, is what is going to happen to the terms of trade. Are they likely to be as favorable to us after the war as they used to be? Are we still likely to be able to get food and raw materials at the same cheap, cut-throat prices? Personally, I think that in the long run this is unlikely. No doubt a good many of you have read the report and resolutions of the Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs. Two of the resolutions passed there unanimously by forty-four of the free nations of the world seem to me to be of fundamental importance in connection with our trade position after the war. First, it was agreed that while inherent natural and economic advantages in any area should determine farming systems adopted and commodities produced, the agricultures of the different countries should aim at three things: First, at maintaining soil fertility at levels which will sustain yields and ensure adequate returns for labor; second, at protecting crops and livestock from major pests and diseases; third, at favoring steady employment throughout the year. The aim in fact must be, not only to produce food and raw materials as cheaply and efficiently as possible for the consumers of the world, but also to give economic and biological security to all primary producers. . . .

There is no need for me to point out to you as businessmen that to deplete the soil, which is the capital of agriculture, must in the long run be unsound. One of the elementary principles of any business enterprise is the provision of adequate allowances for depreciation. This is important enough when you are dealing with buildings or machinery, which can be replaced when they are worn out. How much more important when you are dealing with land, which once lost cannot be replaced. Obviously it is not only sound business practice, but plain common sense, to take steps to maintain the health and fertility of the soil. . . .

The adoption of mixed farming systems is bound to mean some rise in the costs of production, as well as a change in emphasis as regards the commodities produced and as regards those available for export.

This movement is likely to be reinforced by the second resolution at Hot Springs to which I referred. This was a unanimous decision that, after the war, each country must do its best to raise as rapidly as possible the nutritional standard of its people. That means that more livestock and livestock products will be required, and that there will be a concentration on the production of things required at home rather than on products for export.

Both these factors will take time to have effect. But I think that in the long run they are likely to lead to a rise in costs, and so in prices, of food sold on the world market. I think, therefore, that in the twentieth century the terms of trade, far from being more favorable to us than in pre-war days, are likely if anything to turn against us. As against this, we must remember that, if primary producers get more for their products, they will have more money available with which to buy industrial goods. Thus the market for industrial goods may in this way be increased.

You will not be surprised, after what I have said, if I tell you that in my view we are likely to be faced after the war with great difficulties and that it will need all our energies, the energies of each one of us, to overcome these difficulties, and to make sure that our standard of living is not only maintained at its pre-war level but goes on rising. That we can do so I have no doubt. But only, as I believe, on certain conditions. The first is that we make use to the greatest possible extent of our own natural resources here at

home. These natural resources are the land, what we can get from under the land which is mainly coal, together with the skill and industry of our workers. Secondly, that we concentrate especially on trading with those countries that are particularly ready to trade with us. We should certainly make a start with our Dominions and Colonies.

I hope that, from what I have said, it is by now clear to you why I told you earlier that I believed there was no antagonism between agriculture and the export industries. Export we must and will, after the war. But exports are not, as some people tend to think, an aim in themselves. They are a means to an end—that is to enable us to import the things which we need. . . . For a time, at any rate, the resources put at our command by our exports are unlikely to cover everything we require. For a time, therefore, we shall be compelled to cut down on things other than necessities. We want both food and raw materials. But many of the raw materials we most require we cannot produce here at home, whereas the farmers and farm workers in this country have shown that much of the food we need can be grown here. If, therefore, we must economize, it seems only sensible to do so on imports of food rather than on imports of raw materials.

. . . The point that I am making is that for some time our overseas income will be limited, and will not enable us to import all that we should like to. So long as it is limited, we must concentrate on importing those essentials which we cannot produce here at home. Agriculture can make an important contribution, by enabling us to economize for the time being on food imports and bring in more raw materials for our industries. In due course, as our overseas financial resources are increased and as our standard of living rises, I believe that we shall be able to absorb not only the food which countries overseas wish to send us, but also the food which a healthy and well-balanced agriculture in this country should produce—and produce, too, at prices that will compare not unfavorably with average world prices.

You can well understand, therefore, how glad I am to see a growing realization among businessmen of the close inter-relationship there should be between agriculture and industry and of the extent to which each must rely on the other. . . .

I believe that in the postwar era industry and agriculture will each have their part to play, and that in playing it each will be of the greatest help to the other. Together they can, I think, ensure that our nation will continue to prosper and rank as one of the great economic powers of the world. In opposition, they will in my view spell out a dismal and precarious future for our country.

CANADA

J. L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance, before the Huron County, Ontario, Federation of Agriculture, November 14, 1944

. . . Our postwar economic problems are not going to be easy. Our experience during the war has shown us conclusively how far we were from a satisfactory state of economic affairs when war began. . . . We have found that we could practically double industrial production and increase agricultural output by half despite the mobilization of three-quarters of a million of our best young men in the forces. Our future employment problem is highlighted by this huge number of servicemen and perhaps by an equal number of war workers for whom useful peace-time jobs must be found. It will take all our intelligence, imagination, courage and skill to make full and proper use year after year of the huge productive capacity which we have discovered in this country. . . . This increase in our productive capacity is, of course, responsible in part for the magnitude of the problem which we face in securing full employment. On the other hand, however, it means that success in achieving full employment will provide us with a higher standard of living than would have been possible before the war. It is a challenge and an opportunity we must accept. . . .

MEASURES FOR PROSPERITY

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, statement, Leyte, November 23, 1944

As Manila fibre is a vital war material and abaca flourishes in this island, I am taking steps to immediately rehabilitate this industry. There is an opportunity to modernize abaca production in Leyte to enable this province to produce the high grade fibre that Davao used to export. For three years Leyte has been deprived of the textiles it imported for its use. I am making arrangements so that without delay we may secure such materials from the textile factories of America.

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, speech to the National Savings Assembly, London, December 7, 1944

... The main instruments of the Government's policy have been national service, taxation, rationing controls and price controls. ...

But the White Paper* is perhaps of greater significance to you as an indication not only of things done, but of things to do. It is a grim record of drafts on the national capital. Losses of shipping and of housing; worn out industrial equipment and transport; realization of overseas assets, and new overseas liabilities incurred, which can only be supported by the restoration and expansion of export trade. The Movement was aware of the existence of these tasks: it is now aware of their magnitude, and of the heavy responsibility which rests upon its shoulders.

But that is not the whole story. We must not be content merely with repairing the physical and economic ravages of war—great as that task will be. After making good we must make better. We must not only replace what our towns and countryside have lost: we must also develop our housing and our educational facilities and a variety of other social activities further than ever before. Industry must not only overtake arrears of repairs and renewals but greatly improve and extend its plant and equipment. All this implies very considerable capital expenditure and that expenditure must be financed by savings. I would especially remind you that the great bulk of the capital expenditure required by schemes of reconstruction and social development has to be incurred by local authorities. Now, as I expect you know, the Government has undertaken that it will provide for the local authorities whatever loans they need to finance their extensive capital programs. If the Government is, in its turn, to be able to find that finance in a sound and orderly manner, it must be able to command the largest possible volume of savings. If any of you doubted the need for National Savings in the future, these doubts must now be dispelled. We count on you to face and undertake the further campaign which lies in front of you, with the same resolution as you have given to the five years of the war Savings Campaign.

... During the war, you have made no bones about telling the public that the nation needs their savings, not so much for objects which will turn out to be of private benefit to the individual investor, as for objects of national importance which will benefit the country as a whole. Equally, after the war, some of the objects to which we must needs apply the savings of the people will not be of immediate and personal benefit to the individual saver. I have already said that savings will be needed to finance the expenditure of local authorities on schemes of social development. That is a nation-wide need and is a call to each individual citizen irrespective of what his own local authority's plans may be. May I give you two more instances of that? There is the relief and rehabilitation of liberated Europe, the cost of which we have agreed to share with our Allies. There is also—and the importance of this question to the nation as a whole cannot be stressed too much—the necessity to expand our export trade, and therefore to curtail consumption

*Statistics relating to the War Effort of the United Kingdom, Cmd. 6564.

at home in order to ensure that the necessary resources are available for production of goods for export.

Now I realize that these are reasons for saving which may not be very obvious to the individual member of the public, unless the Savings Movement is prepared to state them with conviction and drive them home by convincing and persuasive argument. That is just what I ask you to do. ...

INDIA

Field Marshal Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, address to Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, December 14, 1944

From the brief review you have had of them by your President from his commercial angle and by myself from my official point of view, I trust you will have gathered confidence in our ability to keep the economic front stable, and in fact to strengthen it, until Japan is beaten. If so, India will be in a very favorable position to face the problems of the postwar world. ...

India cannot go back to the spinning wheel, and must develop her industry, but she should consider well these and other examples of the price that may be paid in human health and life for too hasty or too greedy industrialization.

... I should like to make a few remarks on the relative importance of agriculture and industry in the postwar development of India. I feel that there may be a tendency in our plans to stress industrial advance at the expense of agriculture. There is some reason for this. Industrialization shows quicker and more obvious results, enriches a country and enables it to spend more, both on luxuries and on social services, such as health, education and communications. Also, I am afraid, men of business have more influence than farmers in the direction of State affairs. But industrial expansion should not, and must not in India be accomplished at the expense of agriculture, which is still the employment of about three-quarters of the ever-rising population. It is essential that in your postwar organization the Indian farmer should be assured of prices for his produce that will both improve his own standard of living and will encourage him to produce the additional food needed for the proper nutrition of the existing population and of its normal growth.

CANADA

J. L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance, in a year-end statement, Ottawa, December 29, 1944

... I do not believe ... that it will be possible for some time yet to divert men and materials to the production of a greater volume of civilian goods.

... Even after Germany is defeated the danger (of a runaway price rise) will not necessarily be past, for when that time comes consumers will be anxious to make the purchases they have deferred and will have plenty of money in their pockets, whereas war-created shortages and war-inflated costs cannot possibly disappear overnight. In order to avoid a repetition of the unprecedented price inflation and subsequent collapse that followed the 1918 Armistice not only in Canada but in the United States and the United Kingdom, effective price control must be maintained until the need for it has disappeared. ...

REMOVAL OF ECONOMIC BARRIERS AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: TRADE AGREEMENTS

UNITED STATES

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, closing address to the Bretton Woods Conference, Bretton Woods, N. H., July 22, 1944

I am gratified to announce that the Conference at Bretton Woods has completed successfully the task before it.

It was, as we knew when we began, a difficult task, involving complicated technical problems. We came here to work out methods which would do away with the economic evils—the competitive currency devaluation and destructive impediments to trade—which preceded the present war. We have succeeded in that effort.

The actual details of a financial and monetary agreement may seem mysterious to the general public. Yet at the heart of it lie the most elementary bread and butter realities of daily life. What we have done here in Bretton Woods is to devise machinery by which men and women everywhere can exchange freely, on a fair and stable basis, the goods which they produce through fair labor. And we have taken the initial step through which the nations of the world will be able to help one another in economic development to their mutual advantage and for the enrichment of all. . . .

There is a curious notion that the protection of national interest and the development of international co-operation are conflicting philosophies—that somehow or other men of different nations cannot work together without sacrificing the interests of their particular nation. . . .

. . . Indeed, we have found on the contrary that the only genuine safeguard for our national interests lies in international co-operation—that is to say, through united effort for the attainment of common goals. This has been the great lesson taught by the war, and is, I think, the great lesson of contemporary life—that the peoples of the earth are inseparably linked to one another by a deep, underlying community of purpose. This community of purpose is no less real and vital in peace than in war, and co-operation is no less essential to its fulfilment. . . .

What are the fundamental conditions under which the commerce among the nations can once more flourish?

First, there must be a reasonably stable standard of international exchange to which all countries can adhere without sacrificing the freedom of action necessary to meet their internal economic problems.

This is the alternative to the desperate tactics of the past—competitive currency depreciation, excessive tariff barriers, uneconomic barter deals, multiple currency practices, and unnecessary exchange restrictions—by which governments vainly sought to maintain employment and uphold living standards. In the final analysis, these tactics only succeeded in contributing to world-wide depression and even war. The International Monetary Fund agreed upon at Bretton Woods will help remedy this situation.

Second, long-term financial aid must be made available at reasonable rates to those countries whose industry and agriculture have been destroyed by the ruthless torch of an invader or by the heroic scorched earth policy of their defenders.

Long-term funds must be made available also to promote sound industry and increase industrial and agricultural production in nations whose economic potentialities have not yet been developed. It is essential to us all that these nations play their full part in the exchange of goods throughout the world.

They must be enabled to produce and to sell if they are to be able to purchase and consume. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is designed to meet this need. . . .

It would make loans only when these could not be floated through the normal channels at reasonable rates. The effect would be to provide capital for those who need it at lower interest rates than in the past, and to drive only the usurious money lenders from the temple of international finance. For my own part, I cannot look upon the outcome with any sense of dismay. Capital, like any other commodity, should be free from monopoly control, and available upon reasonable terms to those who would put it to use for the general welfare.

The delegates and technical staff at Bretton Woods have completed their portion of the job. . . . These proposals now must be submitted to the legislatures and the peoples of the participating

nations. They will pass upon what has been accomplished here.

The results will be of vital importance to everyone in every country. In the last analysis, it will help determine whether or not people will have jobs and the amount of money they are to find in their weekly pay envelope. More important still, it concerns the kind of world in which our children are to grow to manhood. It concerns the opportunities which will await millions of young men when at last they can take off their uniforms and can come home to civilian jobs.

This monetary agreement is but one step, of course, in the broad program of international action necessary for the shaping of a free future. But it is an indispensable step in the vital test of our intentions. We are at a crossroad, and we must go one way or the other. The Conference at Bretton Woods has erected a signpost—a signpost pointing down a highway broad enough for all men to walk in step and side by side. If they set out together, there is nothing on earth that need stop them.

CHINA

H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister of Finance, speech at China-American Council of Commerce and Industry dinner, New York, July 27, 1944

As you will recall, China is a signatory to the Mutual Aid Agreement. The Chinese Government has laid down the basic principles of legislation to carry it out. Last August, the Chinese Government adopted a resolution to the effect that our laws on foreign trade and investment shall be revised along liberal principles and modern commercial practices. The State will undertake only those enterprises which are reserved by law. Most of them will be enterprises which cannot be operated privately with profit. Free private enterprises will be encouraged by the Government and protected by an independent judiciary.

. . . I am happy to say that the International Economic Association of China, organized a year ago . . . is also aiming at the promotion of international economic co-operation. . . .

We have taken all these steps because we believe in encouraging international co-operation in the economic field. . . .

In the postwar world which is now rapidly emerging, a prosperous China will not only be a good market, but will also be a necessary condition for the maintenance of peace in the Far East. With closer co-operation between us, we can look forward with courage and confidence.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Ladislav Feierabend, Minister of Finance, article published in the Mexican Magazine *El Economista*, August 1944

Our country has a deep interest in international currency stabilization and in the creation of an International Monetary Fund which will be instrumental in achieving this desired end. . . .

International monetary stability can hardly be achieved without an adequate solution of the problem of long-term credits, the fluid and satisfactory evolution of which can in turn, be assured only by general stability of currencies. This is the reason why the Czechoslovak Delegation supported so strongly the establishment of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Moreover, due to the fact that our country was entirely occupied before the actual shooting began, the Germans succeeded in liquidating for their benefit, nearly all our assets abroad emanating from our active trade balance. And because we had neither colonies, shipping nor investments outside of continental Europe, we have practically no economic assets in friendly free countries. At home too,—as I have mentioned above—the Germans succeeded in robbing and destroying. Therefore, we will be obliged to begin to set our house in order with whatever assets we will be able to obtain from abroad in order to import raw materials, capital goods and

other instruments without which we would be unable to offer employment to our citizens and assure them of a decent standard of living. The reconstruction loans which will be made available for us by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development will enable us to overcome the passive balance of payment without having to introduce drastic measures curtailing our imports, so harmful to the orderly development of international trade.

We feel, however, that the international assistance given in this way to the weaker members will be beneficial to say the least, to the economies of the more fortunate countries as well. It will enable them to maintain their production and employment on a high level.

... The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development as established in Bretton Woods, will prove to be strong pillars for the future peace. A lasting peace cannot be based—it seems to us—merely on a written paper agreement. A permanent and enduring peace requires certain permanent international institutions which will be able to assure the co-operation among individual independent states and nations and which would have the potentiality to solve the difficulties of a given situation while there is still time to do so, namely, before all the bridges are burned and a new war begins. By stating this, we are not referring only to political institutions. We Czechoslovaks, especially, have had a very bitter experience in that our peace and our independence was not secured even though based on the League of Nations. We have had opportunity to learn that political organizations are not in themselves adequate for maintaining an enduring peace. We recognize that besides political also economic organizations must be established. The Conference in Bretton Woods established such institutions. We are sure that the Fund and the Bank, as set up, will have a prominent place in promoting the peace and prosperity of the world and also that these two institutions will ease our country's efforts to make a new beginning in her economic life.

UNITED STATES

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and Petroleum Administrator for War, statement on the signing of the Agreement on Petroleum, Washington, August 8, 1944

This Agreement on Petroleum represents the successful culmination of an effort extending over a long period. It marks a great step forward in international oil relations and introduces an advanced technique in dealing with international oil affairs. I have long cherished the hope that such a basis for co-operation might be reached. It augurs well for stability and order in the period ahead. Now we must work for the expansion of this Anglo-American Agreement so as to embrace all countries interested in the petroleum trade.

UNITED STATES

Department of State, statement, Washington, August 10, 1944

The Department of State announced on July 18 that it has accepted an invitation from the Government of the United Kingdom to take part in exploratory conversations on post war rubber problems with the Governments of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

It was made clear at the same time that the drafting of a tentative program of studies would be considered and also the desirability of establishing a committee to keep the rubber situation under review.

Officials of the three governments assisted by members of various branches of the industry have now concluded these conversations which were held in London between August 1 and August 9. A comprehensive survey was made of the rubber situation covering both natural and synthetic rubber and of the related problems.

In the course of these discussions a full exchange of views took

place and a large measure of agreement was reached on the broad outlines of the rubber position and on the nature of the problems that lie ahead. It was recognized that these problems were matters of common concern to the three governments.

A first program of studies has been prepared and arrangements for carrying out these studies are being made.

Consideration was also given to the best way, having regard to existing circumstances, of securing continuing examination and further discussion of the problems likely to arise with respect to rubber and rubber substitutes and it was agreed to resume the conversations in the near future.

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, letter to President Roosevelt on international cartels, September 13, 1944

... The elimination of the restrictive practices of cartels is an objective that consistently follows from the liberal principles of international trade which this Government under your direction, has constantly sought to implement through the trade agreement program and other aspects of commercial policy. It is also an objective which consistently follows from this country's traditional and long-standing program designed to protect the consumer against monopoly and to preserve individual enterprise on a freely competitive basis. . . .

UNITED STATES

Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, September 15, 1944

It is almost impossible to overrate the radical character of the cartel movement. In their effect, cartels are attempting to usurp alike the function of the state and the function of the market. All who happened to be concerned in the making, marketing or using of a commodity caught up in a cartel are subject to a private government. A license to enter an industry, once the prerogative of the state, has fallen to this self-appointed private authority. It decrees the terms under which all who enter are to carry on—capacity, products, territories, market domain prices—a scheme of regimentation replaces the play of economic forces. A single party, the producer-seller, decrees the terms of the bargain under which a ware is fabricated and marketed. The consumer is stripped of all the protection afforded him under the competitive system; in the economy he becomes a disenfranchised person. . . .

The economic consequences of cartels could be illustrated with almost endless examples. I shall not dwell upon them as I think it is already clear that cartel control means the end of competitive enterprise as we have come to know it. But I do want to point out specifically some of the political evils that follow from cartels. Cartel activities often conflict with international policy and interfere with the work of government in the field of foreign relations. The Good Neighbor Policy is one of the fundamental principles of our relations with Latin America. While our government was expending every effort to bring about the conditions of sound and mutually advantageous co-operation, cartels were hindering these efforts. Latin America was turned over by private cartels as a colony to hostile foreign interests. By giving German industry virtually a free hand in Latin America, and by agreeing not to compete, American cartelists made possible the creation of a German sphere of influence. Nazi propaganda, espionage and subversive activity all stem directly from the unhampered German penetration. When South America sought to purchase drugs, metals, precision equipment and munitions from the United States, private cartel treaties had already provided that American concerns could not engage in this trade. Not only was the healthy development of South American trade and industry checked, but even

today we struggle desperately to overcome the political consequences of cartel activity in South America. . . .

The manner in which German industry used cartels to promote Nazi aims is now well known. Cartels became the instrument by which Germany built up her own war machine at the expense of restrictions placed upon war industries throughout the rest of the world. The problem of these cartel contracts with German firms is now particularly timely. As we approach the occupation of Germany we will have to decide what should be done with the great German monopolistic firms. Something of the same problem existed after the last war, but we failed to face and solve it. We should have learned during the last war that most of our shortages of critical material resulted from cartel control. But we frittered away in the years following the peace the chance to create a world-wide order assuring freedom of international restrictive agreements, and cartels flourished as never before in the decade following the first war.

When the Germans lose the present war, their firms which are parties to cartel contracts in such strategic items as beryllium, synthetic rubber, magnesium, plastics, military optical instruments, synthetic nitrogen, pharmaceuticals, electrical and radio equipment, will undoubtedly announce that this war was not of their choosing and that they are only commercial enterprises. They will probably urge that their business operations should not be punished for the sins of the Nazi government.

We must not be fooled again. We will have to exercise strict supervision over these firms; remove key Nazis from their guiding posts; and work out and enforce some suitable plans which will break the back of these German monopolistic firms. The purpose should not be to destroy German economic life, but to put its industries into a form in which they will no longer constitute a menace to the civilized world.

UNITED STATES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, letter to Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, September 29, 1944

It is in the national interest of the United States, as well as the joint interest of the United States and the other peace-loving nations, that the destruction and devastation of war be repaired and that the foundations for a secure peace be laid. I understand that you are also preparing to submit for my consideration major proposals along these lines. In varying degrees every workman, every farmer and every industry in the United States has a stake in the production and flow of manufactured goods, agricultural products and other supplies to all the other countries of the world. To produce the largest amount of useful goods and services at home, we should export and import as much as possible.

Any marked improvement in the economic well-being of the United States will not only improve the economic well-being of the other peace-loving peoples of the world, but will also aid materially in the building of a durable peace.

With this objective in mind, you should continue to take such action as is necessary or desirable in accordance with the powers delegated to the Foreign Economic Administration and in conformity with the foreign policy of the United States as defined by the Secretary of State.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

V. Majer, Minister of Commerce, addressing the Czechoslovak State Council, London, October 9, 1944

"The two contracting parties of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Agreement agree that they will develop their economic relations to the greatest possible extent and mutually furnish each other every kind of economic aid after the war." We must expect that the Soviet

Union's part in world trade will be considerable. Czechoslovak industry will certainly be able to satisfy many of the needs of the Soviet Union, and we in our turn shall need many things from the Soviet Union. During the period in which Soviet economy is being restored and built up again, our industry will be able to furnish both consumer goods and equipment for reconstruction. The goods particularly in question are textiles, glass, furniture and equipment, crockery and cooking utensils, and precision instruments. The Soviet Union on its side can furnish us with a number of raw materials and other commodities—iron ore, non-ferrous metals, naphtha, flax, furs, phosphates, potassium salts, valuable woods and perhaps motor vehicles.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States, speech at the Annual Convention of the Investment Bankers Association, Chicago, November 28, 1944

. . . There are two things that have burned deep into my thought, as we have lived through these scorching times. The first is that peace is not merely a matter of a few people sitting round a table and signing peace terms. Nor it is enough to erect international machinery to deal with disputes and to stop physical aggression. No machinery, however perfectly designed, will run without power; and no international machinery can be expected to work without due regard for the motive force of finance and economics. . . .

The other thought constantly in my mind is this. If we are really determined to rally the forces of peace in self-defense against a recurrence of this tragedy, there is no one thing more essential than that your country and mine should continue to work together. I know that to be a British interest; I believe it is also an American interest; I have no doubt it is also in the largest sense a world interest. . . .

Our stake in postwar international trade is so high because our prodigious efforts have imposed a strain on our financial position which in normal times would have been judged quite intolerable. Our external obligations have been mounting all the time. . . .

Our external obligations and our internal needs have grown to such a point that, if we are to handle the situation, we can only do it by a great increase in our export trade. It will not be enough merely to get our foreign trade back to the level of 1938, when we had overseas investments and shipping profits, which have mostly disappeared. Merely to maintain our imports at their pre-war amount, we shall have to increase their volume by at least fifty percent over that of 1938, which means, at present prices, nearly trebling their value. Even this allows nothing for the repayment of war debts we have incurred.

It is worth noting, as we pass, the difference, which is the obvious result of circumstances, between the American and British approach to the problems of international trade. You want to export in order to take up the slack which cannot be absorbed in meeting the needs of the American consumer.

That is a perfectly proper and natural desire, which no one has any right to question. We, on the other hand, must export if we are to get the imports which are the food of our people and the raw material of our factories. If we don't export, we don't eat. And we can't work.

. . . No other country in the world, and certainly none that ranks as a great power, is nearly so dependent upon her foreign trade as Britain.

While therefore you think primarily in terms of exports, we think essentially in terms of imports. To you, imports are a secondary interest, in the sense that their main significance to you is the degree to which they are necessary to your export trade. To us, exports are really a means to an essential end; the end, of course, being imports, without which we should have to close the shop.

It follows that an increase in the volume of our exports *must* be

beneficial to the trade of the rest of the world. For you can rely on us to use every dollar we earn in exports to purchase the imports we cannot do without. And so the crux of the matter between you and us is how to adjust your need to find overseas markets for your surplus goods with our need to obtain the wherewithal to buy what is indispensable to our national existence. That is putting the problem in very simple form; but I do not think the general picture is untrue. And certain points are pretty plain.

The prosperity of the world depends upon the prosperity of all. It is just as important to the rest of the world that America should be prosperous as it is to America that the rest of the world should be economically in good health. It is as essential for you as it is for us that our peace partners should be strong. It is not going to help us to see again ten million men unemployed in the United States. Nor is it going to help you to see Britain economically crippled through lack of purchasing power abroad.

... The moral of all this, as I see it, stands out clearly enough. We have two alternative policies from which to choose. We can turn the economic life of the world into a wild scramble, leaving the less fortunate or less well-equipped to go to the wall—or national bankruptcy—in whatever way they choose.

... That is one policy; and no one who gives the time to work it out will wish to put his name to such a program. The other policy is one of co-operation. ...

Long-term finance, for example, provided it is wisely administered, can do much to help the rehabilitation of the world. After the last war, American and British bankers competed in granting international loans, with the result that they and the public lost a great deal of money. Should it not be possible this time to marry your money and experience with ours, and by so doing, limit our joint risk, save our joint capital, and ensure that the money we both lend is spent constructively?

Such a policy of co-operation would proceed on a totally different plan from that of economic isolation. For whereas the "scramblers" would be mainly interested in securing for themselves as large a share as possible of existing markets, the "co-operators" would be much more interested in ways and means by which those markets might be expanded and enlarged. They would see the chief economic hope of the world in trade development. In the benefits of that all would reasonably share. From those benefits none would be unreasonably excluded. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, November 30, 1944

Let me remind the House that it is no part of the Lend-Lease Act to provide general relief, or to prepare for postwar reconstruction, or to aid our export trade. That great Act has stood us and our Allies in good stead, and in recent conversations we have neither asked nor expected any assistance which is not strictly within its terms and provisions. Nevertheless, as the war proceeds, the nature of the aid which forwards its prosecution most effectively, though unchanged in major matters, gradually changes in detail. Accordingly, so that we can play our full part in continuing the struggle, a program of Lend-Lease aid against Japan, after the defeat of Germany, has now been planned with the American administration, to maintain our fighting power against Japan. Without any reduction in our proportional effort, we shall be able, along with the United States, to release some of our manpower to produce somewhat more for civilian consumption. Some improvement in the variety of the civilian diet will be made possible. We shall be able to do more to build temporary and emergency houses. We must, necessarily, for the most part, depend on our own efforts in this field, but in addition to those efforts resulting from the planned and proportional program, we anticipate aid from American sources, not only in materials but also in complete houses, to

meet some of our needs for temporary and emergency houses for war workers in war areas.

These items are being closely examined, with the help of experts sent out by the Ministry of Works during the tenure of Lord Portal. It is too soon to say on what scale the possibilities of physical production and of shipping will allow this most generous assistance to be realized in practice, but it is not too soon to say that the principle is recognized that the provision of emergency shelter for bombed-out war workers is an essential condition of a fully effective contribution to final victory, and, therefore, a war need eligible for Lend-Lease assistance.

Finally, we have been able to reduce the Lend-Lease program, so that there will be no obstacle to the efforts which we ourselves must begin at once, and intensify after the defeat of Germany, to increase the export trade which will be absolutely vital to us when, at the termination of the war, the present system of Lend-Lease necessarily and properly comes to an end. ... As I said, the defeat of Germany will make possible reductions in the Lend-Lease program. In certain fields we have been able to anticipate those changes and to work on the basis of the new program from the beginning of 1945. Thus, from that date, we shall no longer receive shipments to this country under Lend-Lease of any manufactured articles for civilian use which enter into export trade, nor of many raw and semi-fabricated materials, such as iron and steel and some non-ferrous metals. Consequently, in accordance with the White Paper of September, 1941, we shall then be free to export a wide range of goods made from those materials.

Naturally, we have not used in export, and do not propose to use, any critically scarce materials, except where the export is essential to the effective prosecution of the war, but till the German war is at an end, however, there can, of course, be no significant release of resources. The defeat of Japan must still continue to have the first call on our resources after that; but after the defeat of Germany, it will be both possible and necessary to turn over an increasing part of our resources to civilian production, including the export trade. As a result of the recent discussions with the United States Administration about our Lend-Lease program, following the defeat of Germany exporters will then be subject only to those inevitable limitations dictated by the needs of the war against Japan.

There is not of course—and never has been—any question of our re-exporting in commerce any articles which we have received under Lend-Lease. Nor, in general, shall we receive in this country under Lend-Lease, finished articles identical with those which we shall export. Such articles will be paid for by us. Where we continue to receive any raw materials, the quantities supplied under Lend-Lease are limited to our domestic consumption, for the manufacture of munitions and the maintenance of our essential wartime economy. We shall pay cash for any additional supplies which we might wish to take from the United States for export purposes. Thus, one uncertainty about future conditions has now been removed. It should be possible for exporters, henceforward, to make plans with the assurance that they will be able to give effect to those plans with the least possible time-lag, when the defeat of Germany releases manpower, capacity and materials.

I should like to add one word. The White Paper on reciprocal aid* lately published, and the President's last Lend-Lease report, provide vivid evidence of the extent to which the community and interdependence of effort between the two great Atlantic communities has now proceeded. Never, I think, has there been a more thorough understanding of the facts of the economic position, and the problems of Great Britain and the United States of America on both sides than we have now been able to reach. If men of good will start out from the same premises of agreed fact, they do not necessarily find it impossible to reach the same conclusion.

*Cmd. 6570.

UNITED STATES

Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, before the Subcommittee on Foreign Trade and Shipping of the House of Representatives Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, Washington, November 30, 1944

The principal economic goal of this country—of workers, farmers, businessmen, and Government—is the maintenance of full employment and prosperity, free from excessive fluctuations, with steadily rising levels of income. If we could achieve this we should have made a colossal contribution to the solution of our own and the world's problems of security and prosperity. If our national income continues to move back and forth between \$60,000,000,000 and \$150,000,000,000 there is little prospect of success for any international economic program. There is unanimous agreement that the object of public policy and private endeavor must be to assure that the productive capacity of this country, which we have proved in time of war, shall continue to be maintained for the satisfaction of the needs of peace.

The maintenance of high levels of income and employment will result in part from the need of the rest of the world for the goods and services which this country can supply. The markets of the world have always absorbed a substantial part of our output. In addition, the devastation which has fallen on the war-torn areas, has increased the need of those countries for the food, clothing, and machinery which this country can supply to them. Other parts of the world have had their production suspended or diverted into emergency channels because they were unable to obtain many of the goods which they would have used in peace-time for industrial and agricultural development. They too will need many things.

To a limited extent, we shall make some of these goods available as relief for immediate distress arising out of the war. The Congress has already authorized the appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 as the contribution of this country to the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This will meet only a very minor part of the needs of these countries. No one would propose that the bulk of the long-term needs of the world for American goods should be met by direct contributions. Other countries must, therefore, have the means of paying for the goods which they require from us, either in the form of goods and services sold to this country, or by the temporary deferment of payment through the extension of credits. Therefore we shall need to extend short-term credits to countries which are unable immediately to produce for export in amounts adequate to pay for their imports and longer-term credits for many of the capital goods which those countries will need for reconstruction and for economic development.

This, however, is only part of the picture. To some extent the export opportunities to which I have just referred are of a non-recurring nature and they would not by themselves operate to sustain a large market for American products over a long period of time. If we are to receive repayment for credits extended, and if we are to maintain the foreign markets which are required for a high level of employment and activity in this country, both we and other countries will have to re-examine and revise our past policies under which international trade was put in shackles and production was restricted or diverted into costly and uneconomic lines.

The difficulties and dangers of the postwar situation will be acute. There has been enormous destruction of plants and transport. Governments everywhere have taken detailed charge of economic affairs in order to prosecute the war effectively and have learned the techniques of economic warfare. Many countries have had to dispose of their foreign assets and other sources of their earnings from abroad and will find it difficult or impossible to make payment abroad for the things that they must have. This country, like the rest, will be faced with problems of great magnitude and difficulty in the reconversion of industry and the readjustment of agricultural production. In these circumstances it would be easy

for each nation to attempt to meet its immediate problems by reducing its imports, forcing its exports, and thus endeavor to throw upon others the burden of absorbing its potential unemployment. It will not only be easy to drift into these policies, but it would be inevitable, unless we plan together to expand prosperity in all countries.

Our own problems of reconversion will be diminished and reconstruction and further economic development of the rest of the world will be hastened if our capacity for producing capital goods can be utilized to satisfy the needs of other areas. In large part this is a problem of opening the channels of international capital movements and reviving the flow of foreign investment. The market for capital equipment has always depended on long-term credit. The need for this credit will be greater than ever because of the devastation of war.

The wise investment of United States capital abroad benefits the United States and the world at large. It provides an immediate market for United States products and, by developing foreign countries, increases the purchasing power of the peoples of those countries for foreign products including those of the United States. It contributes directly to economic expansion, to full employment and to high levels of national income both here and abroad.

The international flow of long-term capital has been disrupted for years, by war, political uncertainty, and past excesses and abuses. It is unlikely that large sums of money will be invested abroad unless constructive action is taken. This means action to make private investment possible, and action to fill in the gaps by governmental assistance when private investment, at reasonable rates, is not forthcoming.

One such step was taken by the Conference at Bretton Woods at which plans for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were worked out and an agreement drawn up which is now before the United Nations for their consideration.

Private foreign lending must be on a basis which protects the interests of both investors and recipients of the capital if it is to revive and serve its purpose. The Bank is designed to promote this condition, in part by making direct loans itself, but mainly by guaranteeing loans, placed through regular private investment channels, which meet certain standards approved by the Bank. Such loans would need to be scrutinized both from the standpoint of their investment soundness and their broad economic aspects. Loans would not be guaranteed if they imposed onerous or unreasonable conditions upon the borrower, or if the Bank considered them undesirable from the standpoint of the investor.

The Bank would eliminate certain risks and spread widely those risks which could not be avoided and it would do this in ways which supplement and support, rather than compete with, private investment. The risks, under the Agreement, would be spread internationally among the member countries.

The Bank would greatly help in regularizing the flow of investment, in reducing wide fluctuations therein, and in raising the levels of economic activity in the nations of the world.

A second step is the supplementation of the resources of the Export-Import Bank which, since 1934, has assisted in financing the export of agricultural products, industrial machinery and other capital goods by underwriting short-term credits and making long-term loans for construction and development projects. It has operated principally in collaboration with and through private American banks, manufacturers, exporters, and engineering firms. The present funds of the Bank are very small in relation to the extensive needs and they are, to a large extent, already utilized. The Bank now has available for new operations only about \$200 million.

The Export-Import Bank has proved a most useful instrument by which this Government could aid in counteracting the economic dislocations arising out of the war. It is now being asked to make loans for the reconstruction of devastated plants and transport systems, for restocking, and for the rebuilding of trade. The needed

expansion of its activities would not be in competition with, but as a supplement to, those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It can, moreover, continue to be useful in financing medium and short-term United States foreign trade, and in other operations not directly within the province of the International Bank. The Export-Import Bank, finally, is a going institution with ten years of experience and can be of special assistance in meeting immediate and urgent needs pending the establishment of the International Bank, which will necessarily require time.

The United States Government has before it at present requests for loans from several foreign governments. The Export-Import Bank is the logical agency through which to extend whatever financial aid this Government proposes to extend directly to other countries in the transitional and postwar period. If the Bank is to make some of these loans however, it needs to be relieved of the ban on loans to governments which are in default to this Government.

It would be equally desirable to remove the ban imposed by the Johnson Act on private lending to governments in default to this Government. That Act, as well as the provisions of the Export-Import Bank statute just referred to, was directed at governments in default on debts arising out of the first World War. Conditions have changed greatly since this Act was adopted but it still stands in the way of extension of urgently needed loans to the principal European governments and is therefore a barrier to American participation in the rehabilitation of international trade. The unavailability of private capital, due to the Act, increases the need for government loans for reconstruction and other purposes.

A second broad field in which national action and international collaboration are requisite, both for the restoration of long-term investment and of current foreign trade, is the assurance of orderly relations and stability in the foreign exchanges. Foreign investment and financial transactions that are spread over a period of time require reliable currency units and the assurance that interest and principal can be converted into the lender's own currency as they fall due. Exporters are not inclined to export unless there is reasonable assurance that they will get paid in money of definite value which can readily be transferred into their own currency. If trade does not move because of faulty currency and exchange conditions, production is slowed down or hindered, and workers are unemployed. We need to be sure therefore that we have a foreign exchange mechanism adequate to carry the load imposed on it by the world's investment and trade requirements.

An exchange rate by its nature concerns more than one country. Orderly and satisfactory international financial relationships are impossible unless nations have some understanding in this field and work together toward common ends. Machinery for such co-operation would be provided by the International Monetary Fund, the proposed Agreement for which was drawn up at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods last July.

This plan represents the joint efforts of the technical experts of forty-four nations to define the "rules of the game" in the field of currency and exchange. It is the outcome of discussions between these experts over an extended period.

The Fund is designed to provide machinery for making the currencies of its members as freely inter-convertible as possible. Such inter-convertibility would be at established rates and would make possible the conduct of foreign trade and other financial transactions with a minimum of risk and difficulty arising from the existence of different currency systems. The plan proposes a system wherein traders would be able to buy or sell in any market of the world, wherever this can be done to the greatest advantage. It discourages arrangements whereby trade is artificially restricted or channeled here or there, but instead aims toward the establishment of a broad multilateral trading system wherein trade can expand and its full benefits be realized.

Other countries are waiting to see what action the United States will take with respect to this proposal, the formulation of which has been sponsored to a large extent by this Government. Our action will be considered as an indication of whether the United States is going to participate in a co-operative approach to international economic questions in the postwar period.

The measures which I have discussed so far are largely in the nature of facilitating devices affording assurance that trade will not languish because of exchange instability or because of the absence of means of covering temporary gaps in the international balance of payments. More than financial measures alone are needed, however, if we are to realize over the long pull the potential benefits of an expanding world economy. The pre-war network of trade barriers and trade discriminations, if allowed to come back into operation after this war, would greatly restrict the opportunities to revive and expand international trade. Most of these barriers and discriminations are the result of government action. Action by governments, working together to reduce these barriers and to eliminate these discriminations, is needed to pave the way for the increase in trade after the war which we must have if we are to attain our goal of full employment.

In order to achieve this, we need to continue and to extend the efforts that we have made, through the reciprocal trade agreements program, to encourage an expansion of private foreign trade on a non-discriminatory basis. As a preliminary step, the special wartime controls of trade should be demobilized as rapidly as the wartime shortages, which gave rise to those controls, disappear. With respect to long-run adjustment of the pre-war network of trade barriers and discriminations, we are presented with a unique opportunity for constructive action in co-operation with other countries. Conversion from war to peace must occur in every country. The direction of that reconversion, the kinds of investments which businessmen will make, will depend in major part on the foreseeable regime of public regulation of production and trade. We therefore propose to seek an early understanding with the leading trading nations, indeed with as many nations as possible, for the effective and substantial reduction of all kinds of barriers to trade. The objectives of such an endeavor would be:

- To eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce;

- To make exchange restrictions on commercial transactions unnecessary, and to enable the financial arrangements proposed at Bretton Woods to have their full effect;

- To achieve the progressive elimination of quotas, embargoes, and prohibition against exports and imports;

- To reduce import tariffs;

- To lay down fair rules of trade, with reference to government monopolies and state trading, including trade between countries where private enterprise prevails and those where foreign trade is managed by the state;

- To create an international trade organization to study international trade problems and to recommend practical solutions.

We propose, in other words, that this Government go on with the work which it has been doing during the last ten years, even more vigorously, with more countries, and in a more fundamental and substantial way. The contribution of the United States to such a major effort for the reduction of trade barriers would obviously have to be in large part in the field of reduction in our tariff, since in peace-time the tariff is the principal measure that we have employed for restricting imports. It is our purpose in the Department of State to press forward as firmly as we can in the general direction I have outlined, consulting fully with the appropriate committees of the Congress. If exploratory discussions with representatives of other governments give encouragement to our efforts, a trade conference of the United and Associated Nations should be held at the earliest practicable date for the negotiation of an agree-

ment for the reduction of all kinds of barriers to trade. This agreement would of course be submitted to the Congress for its consideration.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Earl of Listowel, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma, in the House of Commons, December 7, 1944

... The long-term object of the commercial policy of His Majesty's Government ... has already been laid down in Section 4 of the Atlantic Charter and repeated in Article 7 of the Mutual Aid Agreement concluded between ourselves and the United States in February, 1942. I would only remind the House that in the first of these agreements we are pledged to pursue a policy that will secure equal access for all nations to every form of international trade. This expression of principle becomes more specific in the second agreement. There, we undertake, when the time comes to settle up what we owe under Lend-Lease, to include provision for agreed action by ourselves and the United States of America, and by any other country or countries that may, at that time, care to come in, for the expansion of international trade, for the elimination of discriminatory treatment in commercial agreements, and for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. The same Article goes on to say, in practical spirit, that conversations dealing with these subjects will be begun at an early date.

... I am glad to be able to inform your Lordships that in spite of the war we have not allowed this matter to drop. In the last two years there have been exploratory discussions at the official level both in London and in Washington, and we shall continue in this way to prepare the ground for Governmental action. I hope that this may perhaps convince my noble friend Viscount Wimborne that, for some years past, we have, in fact, been very deliberately planning for the postwar expansion of our export trade.

... We also pin our hopes on a postwar revival of international trade. We realize ... that a substantial and sustained increase in the flow of commerce depends on raising standards of living, and improving purchasing power throughout the world. A world-wide exchange of goods is impossible without world prosperity. We are therefore doing what we can to reverse the disastrous drift—which was seen between the wars—towards isolationism and self-sufficiency. ... May I ask the House in general to give us some credit because we are still trying to win the valuable prize of freer trade, both for ourselves and for our neighbors, difficult and uncertain though its attainment may be; and because we have not resigned ourselves to the lesser but more certain advantage of an exclusive system of bilateral trade?

... I should like to emphasize ... that war requirements must remain the first demand upon our industrial resources until both Germany and Japan have been defeated. I think that this priority would be acknowledged in all quarters of the House. We must put first those supplies that our fighting men need to bring a speedy victory on the Continent and in the Far East, and this overriding necessity will inevitably slow down the recovery of our export trade. We should not expect, at any rate until after Germany has been knocked out of the war, any substantial conversion of industry to production for export or civilian consumption.

Nevertheless, preparations are already being made for the earliest practicable resumption of manufacture for export. Last July the President of the Board of Trade invited manufacturers to submit requests for facilities for peace-time production. ...

The Board also wishes now, immediately, to encourage the manufacture and dispatch of trade samples to potential markets abroad, and it will give immediate consideration to export licenses for bona fide samples, especially when the quantities involved—and quantities, of course, are thought of in terms of precious raw materials—are small. This raises in a specific but topical case the important

and general issue of export restrictions and control. I can assure the noble Viscount that although controls are necessary we want only necessary control. Nobody desires unnecessary interference with business, or control for control's sake; but restrictions on manufacture are inevitable so long as shortages of labor and materials continue, and during this period, the duration of which we cannot exactly foresee, but which will probably last for some time, there must be some authority to decide on the priority between conflicting claims on our productive resources.

A necessary condition for the expansion of our exports will be the relaxation of the present export licensing restrictions on many classes of goods. Our aim will be to remove these restrictions as rapidly as the claims of war production and other essential needs, such as the primary requirements of our own civilian population, will permit. ... It is impossible at this moment to forecast the exact date when supplies of various commodities will improve sufficiently to make possible the abolition of all restriction. This depends on many unpredictable factors, and naturally varies according to the commodity; but it does seem certain that the supply position at some time of semi-manufactured raw materials, such as steel, and of many consumer goods and engineering products, will improve fairly rapidly. ...

Ever since the outbreak of war with Germany, the main purpose of our exports has been to meet the essential needs of our Allies and to provide neutrals with those goods which we have to give them in exchange for our own essential requirements. During the transitional period, while serious shortages continue and we are still engaged in the war against Japan, we cannot ignore considerations of this order. Moreover, there will be a new obligation to see that the basic relief needs of liberated territories are satisfied. A certain measure of direction of exports to particular markets will therefore have to continue over a limited field of essentials in short supply. For the steadily-widening field where such considerations do not apply there seems no reason on purely currency grounds for preferring one market to another. We shall want to encourage exports to all overseas destinations, provided of course that we are paid for them. We shall be anxious to export to sterling countries to enable them to use the sterling which they hold and in this way gradually to liquidate our debt in various parts of the Empire, but it will be no less important to export to other countries in order to pay for our essential imports. In short, we shall try to do business wherever we can find a sound and willing buyer, whatever the currency in which we shall receive payment.

UNITED STATES

Harold I. Ickes, Secretary of The Interior and Petroleum Administrator for War, before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, December 8, 1944

Economic considerations alone are sufficient to call for a world understanding on oil. It is because I have long felt so strongly on this point that I have hoped that there might be a sound, just, workable international agreement on oil, starting with Great Britain. This seems to me to be the logical start because we and Great Britain, between us, have larger interests in foreign oil resources than all other nations.

In the report of a year ago today, which I have referred to, this statement was made by representatives of the oil industry.

"The international oil problem is of such major dimensions that the Government of the United States should not only take action with respect to promoting the interests of its own nationals, but should also assume leadership in assuring the collaboration of other nations and the co-ordination of oil policies among nations. ... To the extent that the policies of different nations can be reconciled in terms which best serve the interests of world peace and economic development, the interests of all countries and all peoples will be

promoted. . . . A sound foreign oil policy for the United States will envisage not only the adoption of well conceived principles, but also their implementation through machinery of international understanding. . . . A large part of the known oil reserves involved in international trade are owned, controlled or under concessions held by nationals of the United States and Great Britain. It is desirable, therefore, that the two Governments take the lead in achieving an agreement on basic principles consistent with what is outlined above. . . ."

We did come to have conversations with the British. There were meetings on what was called a technical level in April of this year, and there were meetings on a cabinet level in July and August. Out of them came the Anglo-American Agreement of which I am certain you have seen mention in the newspapers. Before I conclude, I would like to discuss that Agreement briefly.

Secretary Hull was the chairman of the American delegation, but I, as the vice-chairman, presided at every meeting except the first formal one. So, in speaking of the Agreement, I speak as one of its creators. Participating with me was the Deputy Petroleum Administrator, Mr. Ralph K. Davies.

Summing it up briefly, and at the risk of oversimplification, the Agreement on Petroleum Between the United States and the United Kingdom recognizes that all nations need oil; that, for the foreseeable future, there will be plenty of it, worldwide; and that oil resources should be developed and made available on a basis of fairness and good neighborliness. The Agreement provides for the setting up of an International Petroleum Commission, with recommendatory powers only, to study and advise on international oil problems. And the two nations agree to initiate an international conference for the purpose of effecting an oil agreement among all peace-loving nations.

Mindful of the mistakes of the past in the way of wasteful production of cannibalistic competition and of a not too altruistic regard for the interests of weaker nations, the negotiators undertook to build on a better foundation for the future. They agreed that oil should be produced with due consideration of such factors as available reserves, sound engineering practices and relevant economic factors. They agreed that the development of petroleum resources should go forward in such a way as to encourage the sound economic advancement of producing countries. They agreed that adequate supplies of petroleum should be available in international trade to the nationals of all peaceable countries at fair prices and on a nondiscriminatory basis. They went on record in support of the principle of equal opportunity in the acquisition of future exploration and development rights. They pledged themselves mutually to respect all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights, and to discountenance any attempt to interfere with these contracts and rights. They agreed that neither government should impose any restrictions which would be inconsistent with the high purposes of the Agreement.

By virtue of the Agreement, not only would greater security be assured for the concessions American operators now own, but the application of the principles of this Agreement would operate to open freely to U. S. enterprise areas in which they have not heretofore been able to compete. Thus, not only would there be protection for the present, but a widening area for future expansion would be made available.

We felt that we had a genuine occasion for satisfaction when this Agreement was concluded. The discussions had been carried on in a spirit of mutual trust and good will, and amicable conclusions were reached on matters that could well be the seeds of future trouble. We thought that we had worked out what might well be a pattern for other commodity agreements, designed to fortify peace and promote world harmony. . . .

The Petroleum Industry War Council referred the document to its National Oil Policy Committee. Individually and co-operatively, the members of the committee went to work, aided by their own

lawyers and by Judge Manley Hudson of the Permanent Court of International Justice, who was retained as special counsel. Last Saturday, the members of the committee convened in Washington to try to correlate and agree upon all of the suggestions that had been made during the previous six weeks. After a four-day session, they did agree upon a set of suggestions and submitted them to the meeting of the full Petroleum Industry War Council day before yesterday. The Council adopted the committee's recommendations without a dissenting vote.

Naturally it is too early to say how fully the industry's proposed revisions will be accepted by the Government and by the British. I can say, however, that there is no difference between Government and industry on the question of preserving state rights, making the proposed international commission a purely advisory and recommendatory body, and avoiding anything that might even suggest a cartel.

So I think that we are on the way toward evolving an oil agreement that will be satisfactory to the petroleum industry and satisfactory to, and in the interest of the general public. It will be necessary, of course, to submit any revisions to the British for their consideration, but I am hopeful that no serious objections will come from that direction.

I wish now to summarize what I believe should be the oil policy of the United States. I believe, as I have said, that we need to encourage the exploration for oil domestically; that we should use wisely what we have; and that we should assure ourselves—lawfully and peacefully—of access to foreign oil resources. We should do this, so far as that is possible, through our tried and proven system of free private enterprise, with the Government performing such functions as are in the general public interest. We need a policy of this kind—a positive, creative policy—because we need, and shall probably always need oil. Whatever the possibilities of synthetics, we still face the fact that the cheapest and best oil—so far—is natural oil. I want to be sure that we always have enough of it, where we can get it, when we need it.

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

GREAT BRITAIN

R. S. Hudson, Minister of Agriculture for England and Wales, speech at a meeting of the Ulster Farmers' Union, Wellington Hall, Belfast, August 16, 1944

. . . In five years as you know we have increased production of food from our soil in terms of food values by over 70 percent, while looking at it from another standpoint—the amount of shipping space saved—the figure amounts to over 120 percent. The plough of course has been responsible. Actually we have almost exactly reversed the acreage of arable and permanent grass. In 1939 there were just under 13,000,000 acres of arable and about 19,000,000 acres of permanent grass. By 1944, the arable had become 19,200,000 acres and permanent grass had dropped to under 12,000,000. A remarkable and significant change. One which I hope and believe has to a large extent come to stay, at all events for any period that matters to most of us in this room. At the same time the area actually under crops has increased by about 6,000,000 acres. Northern Ireland has worthily played her part. Indeed you have increased your tillage acreage by about 80 percent, compared with about 70 percent in England and Wales and 40 percent in Scotland.

. . . We are now witnessing the beginning of the total destruction and annihilation of the Nazi hordes. We hope that it may not now be long before the last of these self-styled Aryan supermen bite the dust for ever. There is a feeling of optimism abroad. A feeling of victory in the air. And there is also a feeling that when we have achieved victory it will be possible to let up from our great

endeavors of the last few years. That is a very natural feeling after nearly five long years of weary war. But . . . there can be no let up so far as food production is concerned. We shall need to go on growing all the food we can in this country for many years to come. . . .

You will probably most of you have read about the Conference on Food and Agriculture which was held at Hot Springs last year. One of the most striking facts which that Conference stressed was that the world would be faced with a general shortage of food. They pointed out that for a number of years there was bound to be an acute shortage of livestock and livestock products and of oils and fats generally and that it was even likely that there would be a lack of sufficient bread grains and rice to meet the world's requirements.

The reasons for this shortage are fairly obvious. To start with, the agricultural systems of a large number of countries throughout the world have been thrown out of gear and it will take many years for them to recover. At the same time there will be for some time a need for food to feed the starving peoples of Europe. . . .

The Conference at Hot Springs recognized this and recommended that the nations should plan their production programs on a realistic basis which would put the relief of hunger first. This means quite clearly that we, in these islands, must go on producing food from our own soil to the greatest extent that we can. We must keep our imports down to essentials and release to others in greater need our claim for a greater share of the slender food resources of the world. We must also remember that we may not be in a position for some years after Germany is defeated to buy food from abroad on the same scale as in pre-war years. . . .

It was for these reasons that last year we started in England and Wales on a four-year plan which would carry us up to the summer of 1947. During this period we shall have to maintain, and if possible to increase our tillage acreage; we shall have to maintain and if possible to increase milk production; and we shall have to try and build up and improve the quality of our livestock.

. . . From a number of points of view it is vital that we should start increasing still further and above all improving our livestock, particularly our cattle, in the near future. As I mentioned earlier it is believed that the shortage of food will be particularly acute in the case of livestock and livestock products. Moreover livestock and livestock products represent the most expensive forms of imports and the more we can dispense with the costlier items the better. . . .

I know that here in Northern Ireland you are particularly concerned on the livestock side with pigs and poultry. Clearly here again the more we can increase production the better. But what we can do in this case is largely dependent upon the prospects of obtaining increased quantities of feedstuffs. And as I have already indicated, I personally do not think the prospects of obtaining any appreciably greater supplies from abroad over the next few years are very bright. We shall, therefore, have to depend chiefly on what we can grow from our own soil; and this in turn largely depends on how soon we can use crops for feeding to livestock instead of for direct human consumption. I would only say that I am anxious that farmers should be able to expand pig and poultry production as soon as circumstances permit.

That . . . is the picture which as I see it faces agriculture for a number of years after the war in Europe is over. It means going on working hard. But it means also that farmers throughout the United Kingdom will have a further breathing space in which to build even firmer foundations for the future prosperity of their industry.

During the last five years much has been achieved. We have learnt over a large part of the country the art of arable cultivation; we have drained and ditched the land and in many cases put it in better heart; we have reclaimed large areas of derelict land; we have improved the farming knowledge of a great number of

farmers; we have increased vastly the mechanization of the industry. All these things have contributed immensely to the increased capacity of the industry to stand on its own feet. Now it seems likely that we shall have a number more years in which to advance still further towards the goal which we all desire to see, that is a healthy and well-balanced, stable agriculture.

I am sure that provided we take advantage of the experience and knowledge we have gained during the last five years, and provided that we are determined to build on that knowledge and experience and learn still more during the coming few years, agriculture should be able to face the future with calm confidence.

Let us therefore march forward together along the road that stretches before us. We may have to toil and sweat and not take the ease which many of us feel we've earned. But let us remember that by our work during those years we are laying the foundations upon which in the future the agricultural industry in this country will rest.

CANADA

C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply and of Reconstruction, at the annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Toronto, October 26, 1944

. . . Such statistics as I have been able to gather indicate that the achievement of our objective will demand 1,000,000 jobs more than were to be had at the outbreak of war. I do not regard 1,000,000 new jobs as an impossible objective. Much has happened since 1939 which makes for new and useful employment. Canada has expanded greatly in that period — in industrial activity, in farm production, in mining and in lumbering. New factories and industrial plants have been built to a value in excess of \$1,300,000,000. We have manufactured or brought into Canada machine tools to the value of \$140,000,000. That new capacity and those new tools must be kept in use to provide new jobs.

. . . I am confident that mining will furnish its share of new jobs.

. . . I see no reason why our forests cannot absorb all the manpower that may wish for employment in that work. The pulp and paper industry is operating at capacity and expanding, and here again the demand for the product is growing.

. . . Farming, Canada's largest employer of labor, will do its share. The same is true of our fisheries.

During the war period the government has been the principal buyer of the output of our factories. That being the case, the government has built and operated, either directly or through crown companies or "management fee" contracts, a substantial part of our industrial capacity. . . . The government cannot compete with private industry in marketing goods through ordinary trade channels, either at home or abroad. Therefore it must be the objective of the government in the reconstruction period to dispose of government-owned war plants, which cost some \$900,000,000 to private industry, except for such plants as can be advantageously operated by the government to fill nation-wide want, such as the synthetic rubber plant at Sarnia.

The government will dispose of these plants in a manner best calculated to provide new employment for Canadian workers. Here again, I am confident that our war plants can be, for the most part, converted to peacetime uses. The war has demonstrated that Canada is dependent on outside sources for too many components of our finished products. We in Munitions and Supply have been for some time making an effort to bring into Canada types of production that will round out our industrial pattern. In this we are meeting with considerable success. Shortly after the end of the war in Europe, I think that we can look forward to having many products manufactured here in Canada that are now being imported. . . . All types of industry talk to me in terms of expansion rather than of curtailment. That is another reason why

the prospect of finding 1,000,000 new postwar jobs does not seem impossible.

We all know that industry cannot continue to manufacture unless a market can be found for its product, either at home or abroad. There should be no lack of markets for a considerable time after the war. To make up five years of deferred maintenance in our transportation systems, our power plants and even our homes involves consumption on a scale that Canada has never before witnessed. As a matter of first importance, there must be a comfortable home for every family in Canada. That will require the building of some 300,000 new homes. Public works that are normally carried on from year to year by our cities and provinces, such as the building and repair of highways, must be resumed on a scale that will make up for the lag caused by the war years. Our cities and provinces are in excellent financial position and can provide the required funds in the field that is normally theirs. The federal government also has its list of public works required now but deferred on account of the war. All this means a large scale revival of our construction industry which at the moment is doing very little and which in normal times is one of our largest employers of labor.

I have spoken of postwar markets within Canada. In addition, we will continue to need markets abroad for the products of our farms, our factories and our forests, mines and fisheries. Here again the opportunities are great. Through her part in the war, Canada has obtained an enviable reputation among the allied nations. We have been able to render to most of them substantial help in their hour of greatest peril.

... Federal legislation enacted during the war years, particularly during the last session of Parliament, will assist greatly in our work of reconversion.

... Canada intends to take an important part in transport by air and thus provide an occupation for many of our returning airmen. During the war the importance of research has been amply demonstrated. ... I am confident that research can play as important a part in reconstruction as it has played during the war years. The adaptation of war inventions to peacetime uses opens an important avenue of postwar employment. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Stafford Cripps, Minister of Aircraft Production, speech at Manchester November 4, 1944

... It is essential that we should maintain and expand our engineering industry in this country. Not only our future basis for the so-called defense industry demands such an expansion over pre-war standards, but our national economy and the need for greater exports adds emphasis and point to that demand. ...

Another general proposition—indeed a vital need for the nation—is that we must do our utmost to increase the volume of our exports in the engineering field. This is an absolute necessity if we are to maintain our postwar standard of living in this country.

But in the engineering industry in particular exports have a particular connection with the volume of internal trade. Let me take an instance again to illustrate this fact. If we cannot obtain internally a live market for the most modern and up-to-date cotton machinery, we shall have a much smaller chance of selling it in the export market in competition with other countries like, for instance, America, where there is a large home market.

This means that the policy of our domestic users is an essential factor in our export trade. ...

On this subject of exports, it is worth bearing in mind that, broadly speaking, the exports of the engineering and allied industries are more profitable to us as a country than any others.

It is calculated that not more than about 10 per cent of their price on the average represents imported raw materials, so that

much the greater part of their value is represented by the work and skill of our operatives and managements. ...

During this war, as during the last war, the industrialization of what were before the war agrarian or very lightly industrialized countries has gone forward by leaps and bounds. In many of these countries, the simple forms of machinery will be manufactured internally after the war and the general tendency will be for the export markets to become more and more markets for the more highly specialized and elaborate forms of machinery and machine tools.

... I would venture to draw from these general considerations certain deductions as to the general direction in which we must move if we are to attain the expanding industry we all desire.

First we must make up our minds that the era during which we were the "workshop of the world" has completely passed away. We are now only one of the workshops of the world and there is no longer any need for any customer to buy their goods in Great Britain, there are many alternative markets. We cannot therefore pursue the "take it or leave it" policy which used to mark a number of our industries. We have to compete for our markets and we must be fully conscious of the fact that we can only win those markets by meeting or even anticipating the precise and particular needs of our customers both as regards quality, design and price. ... In other words we must put a premium upon enterprise.

... The possibility of our cashing in upon such enterprise in the export market depends to no inconsiderable degree upon the response of our home manufacturers. Unless they are prepared equally to use new devices and new machinery, we shall not have the essential home market upon which to base our export trade. ...

Third comes the need for a much greater volume of technical and scientific staff in our industries. I have in the last years had a great experience of the acute shortage of such highly qualified staff. ... Here I would like to emphasize the fact that there is a great and permanent opening in the aircraft industry for young men who have or who are prepared to acquire the necessary qualifications. ...

But aircraft is only one example. If we are to keep ahead, to meet the demands of competition and to cater more and more for the highly specialized and high quality machinery that is likely to be demanded, then we must through the engineering and allied industries do more to encourage and educate our young people.

... The complexity of modern problems in the engineering industry does not allow of their solution by the hand to mouth methods of the last century. All advance must be based upon the application of fundamental research, which is the task of our universities and research institutions, to the problems of manufacture. It is this applied research and development which is the task of industry itself and which so far we have failed to tackle in the complete and wholehearted way that is necessary. ...

I believe it is essential wherever possible to combine practical experience with theoretical education. The ideal I think is a really good apprenticeship scheme which allows the apprentice—if he is fit for it—to acquire the highest technical qualifications in the theoretical field up to university and even post-graduate standard. It can thus be assured that the theoretician has a practical background without which his value to industry is much less.

As some of you may have seen, the Government has just launched a scheme for a post graduate college in aeronautical engineering to which we hope we shall draw a large proportion of people who have started life as apprentices in the aircraft or other engineering firms. ...

Lastly I come to the need for efficiency in our factories. ...

If we are to have that co-operation which is essential for team work and which is the basis for efficient production, we must remember that methods of management have to change with changing conditions, just as machinery has to be replaced by more modern and up-to-date machines.

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The workers demand and must be given a place in industry which takes account both of their humanity, their experience and their intelligence.

This has been done to some extent through Joint Production Committees and no doubt these will develop so as to give the workers more and more influence upon the methods of production and organization of industry. . . .

But these are all general considerations and though of great importance in your planning of the future, they do not perhaps deal so directly with the immediate problems of what has been called the transition stage from war to peace. . . .

It seems pretty clear from the present trend of policies that private enterprise will be in charge of industry during this transition, subject to such controls as may be necessary to even out the difficulties of world or national shortages or confusion of markets.

It will certainly be a great opportunity for private enterprise to show what it can or cannot do, and equally certainly it will fail unless there is a great deal of enterprise and unless the major consideration is the interest of the country, and not of the individual.

. . . A great deal is now being done by the Board of Trade, which is responsible for all this postwar work, to inform particular industries of their future prospects and to make available the small quantities of labor and material that may be necessary to prepare for the changeover when it comes.

. . . Industry has no doubt during the last five years got itself accustomed to an all wise and beneficent Government telling it what to do, financing it and purchasing all its products, and as a result our engineering and allied industries have made a first class job of war production. Now they are asked to use their own initiative and their own enterprise. All that has been claimed for private enterprise is to be put to the test and it is up to private enterprise to show that it can succeed in giving full employment and prosperity to the country in the future.

INDIA

Field Marshal Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, address to Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, December 14, 1944

The financing of progress such as India must make is a very complex problem. One fact is inescapable. If you want progress—and India not only wants it but must have it—you have got to pay for it. No financial jugglery can produce for a nation in the long run greater wealth than that with which it has been endowed by nature in resources of minerals and such like, or which the skill, enterprise and hard work of its population have earned. It is the business of a nation's financial advisers to see that its wealth is fully mobilized, wisely used and so distributed as to benefit the greatest possible number of the population. They cannot create additional permanent wealth; though they can by a bold financial policy make for a limited period overdrafts on the annual income of the Government to finance projects which will eventually increase the national wealth and enable the overdrafts to be repaid.

By their policy of taxation the heads of the Government can prevent the profits of industry becoming concentrated in the hands of the few and from being used for luxury rather than to finance further progress. But they have no magician's wands, no sleek rabbits of sudden additional wealth in the hat. The prosaic tools of their trade are income-tax tables, slide-rules and books of financial regulations. Hard work, hard sober thinking and sound judgment are the qualities by which they obtain results, not conjuring tricks.

. . . In the old canons of so-called orthodox finance the budget had to be balanced from year to year. Financial experts now admit the soundness of planning for five, ten or even fifteen years ahead. But remember this, if you are going to plan ahead you must have

confidence in the stability of your Government for at least that number of years; and you must realize that the bill has got to be paid some time.

Our immediate difficulty in planning is to estimate what sums are likely to be available in the period after the war. There is a natural tendency on the part of Provinces to seek information from the Center on the amount they may expect to be allotted to them from Central Revenues; and an equally natural reluctance on the part of the Center to commit itself to definite figures when there are so many uncertain and incalculable factors. We will do what we can to give guidance to the Provinces; but for the immediate future our system of planning must be to see what we require for each of our many needs: for improvements in agriculture, for developments in industry, for the betterment of health, for the advance of education, for the increase of communications, and so on. This is the method on which we are working; we have already a plan for Education, a plan for roads, and shall shortly have a plan for Public Health, when the Bhole Committee report. We have many hydro-electric and irrigation projects in hand.

. . . One uncertain factor in the finances of postwar planning is, as you will realize, the scale of postwar taxation. India may be a poor country, but I do not believe she is unbearably bowed down at the present by war taxation. I hope that when the war against Japan is over, India will decide to declare war—relentless, unremitting war, with the whole nation united—against the savage enemies of peace; poverty, disease, dirt, ignorance. If so, she will have to maintain a war scale of taxation.

Before I leave this subject of postwar development, I will mention very briefly two points. The first, which was mentioned by your President, is the matter of sterling balances. I share his entire confidence that these debts will be honored. But that does not of course mean to say that India will at once after the war receive a payment of so many hundred millions in cash. She could not spend such a sum in the international market if she did. The manner of payment of international debts incurred during the war will require much discussion and negotiation. I am quite confident that in these negotiations, the value and magnitude of India's contribution to the Allied war effort will be recognized; that her needs will be considered; and that the manner of liquidation will be arranged to meet her planned development. I do not see that political considerations need affect the settlement.

CHINA

Supreme National Defense Council, Guiding Principles for Economic Development, Chungking, December 28, 1944

The task of China's economic reconstruction must be undertaken along the line planned in the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen so that economic developments under a general reconstruction plan will eventually lead to the establishment of an economic system prescribed in the Three Principles of the People.

In the future all possible measures should be taken to encourage free enterprise insofar as they are not inconsistent with the principle of the "regulation of capital." Various means should also be devised to attract foreign capital, which is to be utilized in China in the spirit of fostering international economic co-operation on the basis of equality and reciprocity, provided that such co-operation does not prove detrimental to our sovereign rights or the realization of our economic plan. In this manner it is hoped that free enterprise will furnish an impetus to the economic development of China and help hasten the consummation of our reconstruction plans.

Following are the guiding principles:

I—The industrial development of China should be carried out

along two lines: (1) by private enterprises and (2) by state enterprises.

II—In order to facilitate the division of labor under a general plan for economic reconstruction the following provisions concerning economic enterprises are to be observed:

(1) The kinds of state monopolies should not be too numerous. Such monopoly includes (a) postal service and tele-communications, (b) arsenals, (c) mints, (d) principal railroads and (e) large-scale hydraulic power plants.

(2) Private capital may engage in any enterprise other than state monopolies.

(3) The Government may, on its own account or in co-operation with Chinese or foreign capital, engage in enterprises which private capital is not fully capable of developing or which the Government regards as being of special importance, such as large-scale petroleum fields, steel plants, air and water transportation.

(4) All enterprises which are operated by the Government in co-operation with Chinese or foreign capital should be organized in the form of business corporations. The Government, apart from exercising such administrative supervision as provided by law, is entitled to participate in the management of all matters relating to the business, finance and personnel of such corporations solely in its capacity as a share holder.

(5) With the exception of state monopolies, all enterprises operated by the Government, whether with or without the co-operation of Chinese or foreign capital, insofar as they are of a commercial character, should, as regards their rights and obligations, be treated in the same manner as private enterprises of a like character.

III—The establishment of any important private enterprise should, according to law, be submitted to the examination and approval of the Government on the basis of the general plan for economic reconstruction. (Important matters to be considered include: location of the projected plant, production capacity, kind and quality of output, issuance of shares and bonds, etc.)

To all private enterprises that conform to the general plan for economic reconstruction the Government should give special encouragement including financial aid and transportation facilities, so that they may achieve their scheduled programs.

IV—No restriction shall be placed on the percentage of foreign shares of capital in any Sino-foreign enterprise. In the organization of such a corporation it shall not be made a fixed rule that the general manager be a Chinese, although the chairman of the board of directors must be a Chinese.

V—State enterprises may contract foreign loans or seek foreign investments through competent Government organs provided that they first be approved by the Government on the basis of the general plan for economic reconstruction. Private enterprises may also directly undertake such negotiations, provided that similar approval of the competent Government organs is obtained.

VI—All enterprises in China which are directly financed and operated by foreign nationals on their own account should observe Chinese laws and regulations. In the case of certain special enterprises which would require special authorization for the establishment and operation, special charters or franchises may be granted to foreign nationals upon application to and approval by the Chinese Government.

VII—Persons in the Government service are forbidden to participate in the operation and management of any enterprise that falls within the scope of their supervisory functions.

It seems inevitable that the existing laws and regulations concerned will in some cases be found to be in conflict with the above stated principles. Such cases should be referred to the Legislative Yuan for revision with a view to harmonizing all existing legislation on the subject.

SOCIAL SECURITY

GREAT BRITAIN

Lord Woolton, Minister of Reconstruction, in the House of Lords, July 20, 1944

... The question that faces us is this: How can we best secure the commercial prosperity and the social stability—and they must run together, we shall not get commercial prosperity unless we get social stability—of the nation? How can we best get this? The answer is difficult, but this I am quite clear about: we can dismiss the idea that we are going to do it by a restriction of expenditure. Cutting out of waste there must be. We must reduce the number of people who regulate and control our personal lives and our commercial enterprises, but, in the end, it will not be merely by an economy campaign, but by the expansion of our trade and the development of our national resources, both human and material, that we shall regain our position in the commercial world. The root of the matter is to be found in the amount of business we can do, and not in the amount of money that we can avoid spending. But what we spend must be nationally productive. We must avoid the creation of a state of affairs in which the overhead charges of getting ideal conditions are such as to prove beyond the earning capacity of the country. On the other hand, our social structure must be one that gives the conditions that will make possible the maximum of production—and production moreover, of such a high standard of efficiency that it will be competitive in the world's markets.

... Wealth is produced by work, and to enable the people of this country to give the maximum amount of work we must secure for them those conditions that will enable them to work well. Those of us who have had experience in industry know that if we can get healthy factories with plenty of air and light, reasonable hours of work, adequate holidays and recreational facilities and some reasonable sense of security among the work-people, so that they know they will not be thrown into unemployment if things should happen to go a little badly, then we secure a happy and contented staff, a high level of production, and we have a good chance of making a commercial success out of our enterprise. It all involves the spending of money, it all involves overhead expenses, but these charges are productive charges. That, I think, is the modernist's view about industrial conditions as opposed to the older views of two or three generations ago.

... I am anxious to show that there is this close association between improving the general social conditions of the country and improving the earning power of the country. To make these improvements, even at some cost, may be a beneficent and humane action on the part of the State, but I believe that it is one which will be commercially profitable. To do these things, however, is not the same as to promise a new heaven on earth for our soldiers when they return, and I am glad that the noble Earl said what he did on that point. The statement that our fighting men are fighting for better conditions of life when the war is over is an inadequate estimate of their patriotism; I agree with the noble Earl there. They are fighting to beat the enemies of this country, and that is enough. But they do share the hopes which we at home have too, that there will be a better and a fuller life afterwards, a life in which the individual is less liable to the malevolent effects of outrageous fortune and of mischance. I think that it is the unfairness of misfortune which has created so much social instability. We who are in the Government believe that by an extension of a system of contributory insurance—I emphasize the word "contributory"—the magic of averages may come to the rescue of the individuals who suffer from misfortunes which arise from ill-health or from the failure of employment.

The future as I see it—perhaps I am not quite at one with the noble Earl here, I do not know—is not going to be a bed of roses for any class in this country. Our potential wealth is very great,

UNITED STATES

James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, address before National Press Club, Washington, September 27, 1944

As we keep our soldiers fit for fighting and care for them when they can no longer fight, so after the war we must strengthen and expand our social security system to make and keep our citizens fit for working and fit for living. No one American should be denied access to those minimum standards of living because he is too young to work or too old to work; or because through no fault of his own he is unable to work.

GREAT BRITAIN

G. M. Garro Jones, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Production, speech at Aberdeen, October 27, 1944

... We ask the world to recognize . . . that the return to prosperity can be accomplished only by co-operation and mutual trade.

Although the accumulated scarcity of civilian goods will give us a period of grace for a few years, inexorably the situation will develop until the world will be confronted squarely with the great alternatives, namely:—

1. Efficient production supported by a higher standard of living at home and abroad, or
2. Unemployment on a greater scale than men have known in their history.

The present British Government has made its choice. I am glad to be a member, however unimportant, of a Government which has pledged itself to choose the first, with all that it implies. The policy of full employment has been accepted as the first objective of peace. An essential accompaniment of that policy is already being laid in the Social Security scheme. But do not misunderstand the object of the Social Security scheme. It is one of two necessary pillars to support our economic structure. The pillar of Social Security will be useless without the other. It would not bear the load. The Social Security commitments are an assurance to the British people, given to them at the start of a long journey. The Government invites the people to join in an effort of production for peace comparable to the crusade of war, an effort which will invoke acceptance of changes in industrial policy, and by those Security proposals they assure the people that provision will be made for any upon whom misfortune calls, whether in the form of temporary unemployment, old age, or sickness.

But at the same time they take drastic measures to ensure that a high level of employment and wage will be maintained. That is the other pillar of policy. Without it no insurance scheme could remain solvent for five years. If we allowed unemployment to grow, it would mean that less national wealth was being produced, with fewer people producing it, and an ever greater number of people falling out of production and having to be maintained by the labor of the rest.

Opinions differ as to the best policies to be adopted to ensure full employment. . . . But there are some fundamental principles which must be recognized. . . . There are five great partners in Industry—Labor, Finance, Management, Science and the State, the last the senior partner representing the people.

... Each one of those partners has an essential part to play. There is room for some difference of opinion on the exact role of each, but whatever Party is in power will have to recognize and bring to bear the full power of each of those partners in the new era which will open with victory.

I say a new era not in any spirit of false optimism, but because I believe that out of the bitter experience between the two wars, and out of the tremendous conflict which is now moving towards its close, the great majority of the people of this country have learned something. . . .

but the truth is that we have spent our substance. We have spent on this war the savings of years. We have been able to conduct the war—a very long war now—and to pay for our vast Armies and their equipment by borrowing from one another and from our friends. The debt will remain when the war is over, and we shall all have to work very hard and with the full employment of an extended capacity in this country if we are going to meet the obligations of that debt. However, hard work is nothing new to the people of this country. . . . If we so will it as a nation, then I believe that we shall overcome, in due time, the burden of this debt. I do not believe that we shall be any less happy because we all have work to do. I think the nation will be happier if it can retain the national spirit that it has now, and the feeling that all the time we are working not only are we working for our private profit or our wages but that as a result of our labor the country is benefiting.

We must, however, have the conditions which will contribute to a full expansion of individual capacity, and I am therefore a little less fearful than the noble Earl about the expenditure of money on Social Services. I believe that they will come to pay a very handsome dividend both to the Exchequer and to human happiness. I do not judge that there is very much disagreement between myself and the noble Earl as to these general principles, but I am sure that I must be irritating him a little, because he must be saying, "But have you counted the cost?" The answer is that we have: I can assure him that the Government have constantly before their mind the question of how much these things are going to cost. The Chancellor of the Exchequer today is daring enough in war, but, believe me, he is no spendthrift.

Moreover . . . whatever plans we have we are submitting them to Parliament. This is not a question of the Government rushing into Social Service expenditure and coming to Parliament and saying, "Here is our legislation." We have very deliberately adopted the system of producing White Papers. The object of the White Paper is to enable a frank discussion to take place in Parliament before we embark on legislation; and before Government credit is too deeply involved we listen to the views of Parliament. Parliament is therefore in no danger of being rushed into expensive commitments without a full knowledge of the expenditure which it is incurring, and the responsibility whether we do these things, and when we do them, must properly rest squarely on the shoulders of Parliament.

I do not want to enter today on the broad issues of taxation policy. . . . A noble Lord referred to the fact that during the war taxation is performing a double purpose: it is financing the war very considerably and it is reducing the spending power of the public. Without this check, we might easily—I think we should certainly—have been led into very high prices and into inflationary danger. I can assure the House that the Government are fully alive to the importance of reducing taxation when the war is over in order to encourage personal and industrial initiative and enterprise. But I beg the noble Earl, when he considers the social charges to which he has drawn attention, to recognize the great change which has taken place in the distribution of both income and taxation during the last few years. . . .

If we are to have State schemes of social betterment they cannot be financed by taxing the rich to a greater extent than they are taxed now, and anyhow there are not enough of them left to pay for these schemes. The cost will fall, broad based, on the public at large, who will be the recipients of the benefits of these schemes. It will be for them—and I refer now particularly to the observations of the noble Earl on the subject to which he directed most attention, that dealing with social insurance—it will be for them when the social insurance scheme is published to see, through their representatives in Parliament, whether they are willing to meet the cost, in contributions and in taxation, that will be necessary in order that they may have these benefits. . . .

... We can harness to production for peace the same zeal and the same energy, using first the wide range of knowledge that has come to us from contemplation of our past errors, and, secondly, the strong will that was tempered in the fires of our suffering. If we can do that the people of this country will indeed enter upon a new era and lead mankind to come with them towards a nobler destiny.

COMMUNICATIONS

UNITED STATES

James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, address before National Press Club, Washington, September 27, 1944

At the present rate of ship construction, a large postwar surplus of world shipping seems inevitable. With our huge stake in shipping, shall we watch this surplus result in international cut-throat competition or shall we participate in an orderly international procedure for adjusting the world supply of ships to the world demand for ocean transportation? Industry should now agree upon a policy and submit that policy to government.

And what about air transportation? Before the war all of our domestic airlines were using only 350 transport planes. Today the Army and Navy have more than 12,000 transport planes.

After the war thousands of planes can be converted to commercial use. We have transport equipment scattered over the world. We have trained personnel with which we can develop an air transport system larger and better than any other nation. We know there will be a tremendous increase in overseas passenger traffic by air. Again, there must be established international procedure to regulate that air traffic. And again, industry must agree upon a policy and government must give fair and sympathetic consideration to its proposals.

GREAT BRITAIN

Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport, in the House of Lords, October 4, 1944

... It is inevitable that these wartime ships will leave the world's Mercantile Marine after the war in a very unbalanced state. The two things were inseparable; if we were going to do the war job well we were bound to be faced with this after-war problem, and we must not shirk it. The return to normal peaceful commercial conditions will be difficult. In fairness to all maritime nations, we have to see that no one is put in a better position than the others to return to commercial trading. No one must have a flying start. At the same time, each of the United Nations rightly wishes to bear its due share of the common tasks arising out of the completion of the war.

It was with these considerations in mind that the Government entered into the "agreement on principles" as to the continuance of co-ordinated control of shipping which was published last week as a White Paper.*...

All the Governments that signed the agreement have accepted as a common responsibility the provision of shipping for all military and other tasks necessary for, and arising out of, the completion of the war in Europe and the Far East and for the supplying of all liberated areas as well as all the United Nations generally and territories under their authority. An organization is already at work elaborating in greater detail the means by which the participant Governments will collaborate in the day-to-day measures necessary for the completion of their common tasks. We regard this agreement as an important measure towards that international collaboration which we hope to see as widely extended in the postwar period as it has been while the Government of the United Nations have been striving together for victory.

*Cmd. 6556.

The agreement covers only the transitional period of the war with Japan and its immediate aftermath. It is not directly concerned with postwar shipping questions as such, but it had a direct bearing on these problems. On these we shall be able to see our way more clearly as the transitional period progresses. ... The agreement secures in effect that all shipping, whether or not under the flag of one of the contracting Governments, will be operated in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations. If, as is possible, it should prove at a later stage that there are more than enough ships to meet immediate and essential purposes there is a provision in the agreement for release of shipping for commercial trading by common agreement between the Governments

"in accordance with a mutually acceptable formula which shall not discriminate against the commercial shipping interests of any nation, and shall extend to all the contracting Governments an equitable opportunity for their respective tonnages to engage in commercial trades."

... With the full support of my right hon. friend, the First Lord of the Admiralty, I have been in touch with the shipping industry, as he has been in touch with the shipbuilding industry, with a view to relaxing where we can the severe wartime restrictions on the types of vessels our yards have been allowed to build. This relaxation will allow the construction of types of vessels suitable for peace-time needs. ...

I should perhaps make it quite clear that control of shipbuilding will have to remain at least until the end of all hostilities and that construction on private account will still have to be controlled by licenses. Furthermore, there are still shortages of raw materials and finished products, and to this extent vessels must still be built with a certain amount of austerity in their equipment and fittings. ...

There are certain principles which can already be laid down. First of all "this country must continue to serve the world with a large and efficient Merchant Marine." It is difficult to be more precise at this stage but I would say that our Merchant Navy must be at least as large as before the war and so much larger as British enterprise and efficiency can make it in a world from which we hope artificial obstacles to trade will have been removed. A Merchant Navy is, of course, essential to this country for two major reasons. In the first place shipping services provide a large part of the foreign exchange resources with which this country must balance her payments. ... In the second place, the war has shown once again how essential to the very existence of our country is a merchant fleet to bring in the food and munitions that we need. Our own tonnage, severely depleted by war losses, would have been inadequate to meet those needs but for the valuable assistance we have received from our shipping Allies and ultimately from the huge shipping program of the United States.

The prosperity of our shipping and that of the other maritime nations will depend mainly upon the success of the plans being made for the extension of world trade in general. Indeed, until these plans are further advanced it is too early to determine in detail what will be necessary to secure the welfare of the shipping industry or the shipbuilding industry, which closely depends upon it. ... We are ready to collaborate with other like-minded governments in establishing conditions under which the shipping of the world can be efficiently and economically carried on. We shall therefore seek to secure, in collaboration with other countries, the establishment of conditions of fair competition so that the trade of the world will be carried by the ships of those countries who are able to do so to the best advantage of producers and consumers alike in all countries.

... In the conditions which we hope to establish the factor determining whether British shipping will regain its former place in world trade will be the enterprise of British shipowners. ... They must not seek merely to resume the services that they carried on before the war, but we hope that they will seize new opportunities, such, for example, as that of carrying trade formerly carried in

enemy ships. We shall welcome every sign that the shipowners are seeking new and more efficient methods both of constructing and running their ships. For this reason we particularly welcome the recent establishment of the British Shipbuilding and Research Association whose general object is to promote research in shipbuilding and allied trades. . . .

Now for a few moments I wish to speak of the postwar position of the officers and men of the Merchant Navy, who have throughout rendered such splendid service. . . .

As noble Lords are already aware, I received from the industry some time ago, their first outline plan for a scheme of continuity of employment for our seamen after the war. There have been a number of unofficial talks with representatives of the industry on this plan, but consideration could not be pressed forward until the Government reached conclusions on the principles of the Social Security plan. Now that these have been published, the project is being re-examined in the light of the Social Security proposals. It was necessary to await these before we could proceed further. I have also received from the Merchant Navy Training Board, which includes representatives of all sides of the industry as well as of my Department and the Ministry of Education, proposals for the future training of those who wish to enter the deck department either as officers or ratings. These proposals represent a very considerable advance on anything that has hitherto been attempted in training and selection for the Merchant Navy. The Training Board is now considering what similar arrangements should be made for the engine room and catering departments, and I have no doubt that their proposals will similarly represent a very real improvement on what has been done in the past.

Turning to shipbuilding, the welfare of that industry will depend largely upon the prosperity of the British shipping industry, which in turn will depend mainly upon the volume of seaborne trade. The future of our shipyards will also depend on the readiness of the shipbuilding firms to go out and seek orders at competitive prices for the building of ships of foreign owners—once a very important item in our export trade. We are very much alive to the national importance of this industry, which employed nearly 90,000 workers before the war and employs considerably more now. Its importance is due to two major factors parallel to the two factors I have mentioned in relation to shipping. First, we must have a large shipbuilding industry as a means of national security and, secondly, the building of ships for overseas owners can make a very valuable contribution to our export trade. These two factors are very closely connected. We cannot maintain a shipbuilding industry large enough for our defense needs solely on orders from British owners. We must have a very considerable and steady flow of foreign orders. This means, of course, that the equipment and layout of our yards must be the best possible—and must be kept constantly abreast of every development. There will be no room for backward or restrictive practices on the part of management or labor.

. . . My right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty is fully alive to the desirability of evening out, as far as possible, the total load on our shipyards by adjusting the naval building program to the variations in merchant demands. It cannot be expected that the increased wartime capacity can be kept busy by regular peace-time demands. The amount of shipping that the world's trade requires is unlikely to expand indefinitely, and must impose a limit upon the number of orders for new ships. The whole question of the prospects of the shipbuilding industry is now under close review and in due course the Government will make a further statement. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Privy Seal, in the House of Lords, October 12, 1944

. . . The main purpose of the new Aviation Minister will be to

provide conditions affording the greatest amount of employment in civil aviation and the aircraft factories. What the factories did for military aviation gives us the right to suppose that they can do the like for civil aviation. If they do, then we have nothing too much to worry about.

. . . In appointing a Minister of the highest qualifications and the highest rank, and in deciding to create a separate Ministry, the Government have given the clearest possible indication of their view of the future of air transport; and it is a big one. The immediate duty and the opportunity before our aviation industry is dramatically revealed by the fact that 55 nations are meeting in conference at Chicago, and of these 55 nations only four are engaged in the manufacture of aircraft and engines, so that it will be seen that four nations must supply the civil aviation requirements of the other 51. We must take our share in that industry; we must have our share of that manufacturing output. We must see to it that our design is good enough and our production big enough to ensure for Britain what we were denied in the motor car industry—a fair share of the world market. We shall work under the stimulus of American rivalry. That country is making an immense effort in civil aviation, an effort which must be paralleled here. . . . We propose that international regulation should be imposed on civil aviation controlled by an international authority. That authority would lay down technical standards and would regulate air transport on such matters as frequencies and rates of carriage. We seek to eliminate uneconomic competition. By "uneconomic competition" we mean wasteful and improvident subsidy races. We agree with the principle of international regulation of subsidies and we look forward to the day when such will be paid no longer. For this reason it is necessary to have a conference on regulations and arrangements. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Captain Harold Balfour, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Air, in the House of Commons, October 20, 1944

What the Government have done is to endeavor to give a broad lead by laying this White Paper,* which puts forward proposals for an international regulatory system. The hon. Member for Nuneaton based his speech on two main contentions. The first was control of subsidies, and the second the need for abandoning the principle of sovereignty in the air. . . .

On the first point . . . we want to abandon subsidies so soon as is practicable, and, provided that that process can be carried out by an international agreement, in such a way that this country does not suffer a disadvantage. We all remember the lessons, which we have had to learn bitterly, of unilateral disarmament in order to set an example to the world. Let us not fall into the same error when we seek to consider the possibility of unilateral abolition of subsidies. Let us lead with other nations towards an agreement that subsidies shall be abolished. . . .

Broadly speaking, we have taken the view in the White Paper that control of subsidies depends, as it were, on a three-legged stool. The first leg is control of frequencies. The second leg is control of rates, that is to say you will have to try to get some measure of rates in relation to speed, not the high rate you pay but the low rate you pay. There must be agreement whereby people will not be able to fly at more than X miles an hour for less than a particular sum. Otherwise you may enter into a world speed race which, in aviation, may be as costly as any other international race. Third comes the control of subsidies. We want control of subsidies. We have said so in the White Paper. If we fail because countries adopt subterfuges or methods of hidden subsidies, I believe that the three-legged stool can stand on two legs, control of frequencies and control of rates. That is why we put forward these three proposals,

**International Air Transport*, Cmd. 6561.

but it is on the first two, which I have just enunciated, that we lay importance.

Then, as regards the freedom of the air and the rights of national sovereignty over the air, we maintain that a nation shall have sovereign rights of the air over its own territory, and I believe that to put forward any other concept at the Chicago Conference would be very much like a lone voice crying in the wilderness. . . .

We can allow the doctrine of sovereignty of the air to continue with no menace to the rest of the world, provided that it is by a world-regulated free system. We say we want the maximum degree of freedom in the air, and in this White Paper we have laid down the four freedoms; first, the right of innocent passage, second, the right to land for non-traffic purposes, third, the right to drop passengers originating in the country of origin of the aircraft, and fourth, the right to pick up passengers in another country destined for the place of origin of the aircraft. We want to see the whole world accept these four freedoms, but we are not prepared to concede those freedoms except as part of an international regulatory system. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons, November 1, 1944

. . . We are fully conscious . . . of the difficulties of passing from a state of war, in which the demands for shipbuilding are necessarily abnormal and urgent, to a time of peace when they are bound to be less, if for no other reason than that naval work will make so much less demand upon the resources of the industry. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the British Navy will call for a continuing effort on the part of the shipbuilding industry for some time to come. Apart from the vessels required by British shipowners, we can surely, I think, look forward to a considerable volume of orders both from our Allies and from other foreign clients. . . .

It will be the aim of His Majesty's Government to reduce to a minimum the fluctuations of the demands on the shipbuilding industry, and examination of the various means by which this aim can be achieved is now being undertaken, including the fitting in, in the most flexible manner possible, of the naval program with the merchant program. . . .

At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Shipbuilding Conference and the General Council of British Shipping have been considering the problem of the transition period during which it is desirable that there should be some centralized control of the ordering of new ships. The joint committee appointed by these two bodies has produced a valuable report, which accepts the necessity for a continuance of licensing new construction during this transition period. His Majesty's Government agree with this view. In full consultation with my Noble friend the Minister of War Transport, and with the approval of His Majesty's Government, it has been decided to establish for the new phase, in place of the present wartime committee, a Shipbuilding Committee to advise the Minister and myself on all matters relating to priorities for building as between different types of merchant vessels and on the allocation of shipbuilding facilities between British, Allied, and neutral shipowners who may be placing orders. The committee will endeavor to promote co-operation between shipowners and shipbuilders in the ordering of new tonnage, and in arrangements for the well-being, efficiency, and stability of the shipbuilding industry. The committee will contain representatives of the Admiralty, the Ministry of War Transport, the shipbuilding industry, the shipping industry, and the shipbuilding operatives. . . .

As for the future of our international trade, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport . . . will have something more to say. The House may rest assured that the Government will lose no opportunity of furthering co-operation between

the maritime nations, with a view to removing obstacles to an orderly development of that trade, upon which depends, not only the future prosperity of the shipbuilding and shipping industries, but the basic industries of coal, iron and steel and engineering, and upon these in turn the standard of living of our people must largely depend. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Archibald Sinclair, Secretary of State for Air, in the House of Commons, November 1, 1944

The conversations between Commonwealth officials at Montreal were held in order to facilitate an exchange of views concerning civil aviation. It was not intended that final decisions should be reached at the meeting since the matters to be discussed were to be subject to further consideration by the Governments concerned.

There was agreement as to the paramount importance of co-operating with the other nations of the world in framing an International Air Convention and setting up an International Air Authority to regulate civil aviation in the interests of peace, security and the orderly development of air transport. Consideration was given to schemes for establishing air services on routes connecting the various parts of the Commonwealth and Empire so as to provide a complete system of Imperial communications.

Provisional conclusions were reached on a number of technical questions of common interest, including wartime routes, commercial routes, methods of operation, ground facilities, air navigation, radio facilities, meteorology, air-worthiness, equipment, standard practices and standardization.

The delegates agreed to recommend the establishment of a standing Commonwealth Air Transport Council to facilitate consultation and the exchange of information between the Governments of the Commonwealth and Empire countries. The conversations were inspired throughout by a common desire that the nations of the British Commonwealth should make their maximum contribution to an efficient and economic international system of air services. The results of the meeting have amply fulfilled the hopes which the Government entertained when they accepted the invitation of the Canadian Government.

GREAT BRITAIN

Philip Noel-Baker, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport, in the House of Commons, November 1, 1944

. . . What have the Government done, and what do they propose in order to fulfil the pledges given that this country shall continue to serve the world with a large and efficient Mercantile Marine? How do they intend to avert the disasters which befell the Merchant Navy after the last world war? The House will recall that a few weeks ago we laid a White Paper* which contained an international agreement on the principles by which a continued control of merchant shipping can be carried on during the transition period from war to peace. The making of that agreement is a very considerable and significant achievement. It provides that the present control of Allied shipping shall be absorbed into a new international control; that it shall continue through the transition period, that is to say, until six months after the end of hostilities with Germany or Japan, whichever is the later; and that, during this period, the shipping of every signatory country shall be used as a common pool to fulfil the common tasks of defeating the aggressors and of carrying out the tasks of reconstruction. The agreement sets up an international organization, the United Maritime Authority, to operate the shipping, and to supervise the general working of the control. Some of the nations which have signed will have too little shipping. Others will have more than

*Cmd. 6556.

they need for themselves. It is plain that there might have been a serious clash of interests, and if any nation had broken away, it might have hoped, in a period of shortage, to earn fantastic rates. Yet these nations have all agreed to stick together till the job is done. They have agreed that, if there should be a surplus of shipping not required for essential jobs, ships should only be released for free commercial trading on a mutually acceptable basis which is fair to all. . . .

In making this arrangement, the maritime nations have subordinated their short-term, national, conflicting, sectional interests to the general, broad, international interests which they all share. . . . Since the agreement was made two months ago the Planning Committee for which it provided has been set up. The institutions have been organized, and the first meeting of the Executive Board will be held in Washington in a few weeks' time.

. . . The United Maritime Authority . . . has a limited mandate. Its institutions have been created for a specific time. The Government do not intend that when that mandate has expired that shall be the end of all international co-operation in maritime affairs. They are resolved to work for general agreements on fair conditions in international shipping trade. They want to cut out the practices which sullied and distorted shipping before the war. . . . The Government are confident that, with our Allies, they will, in due course, succeed in making an agreement. We are confident that there are sanctions by which such agreements can be enforced.

. . . Of course, in every discussion on shipping, the fundamental question is always: Will there be an adequate volume of international trade? . . .

Every hon. Member will agree that the promotion and extension of international trade depends upon the fundamental general policy which the civilized Governments of the world pursue. . . . If the principles of the Atlantic Charter are applied we shall get rid of slumps and wars, which have been an unmitigated disaster to British shipping in the last thirty years.

In applying those principles we shall always be face to face in a thousand different fields with the issue which the United Maritime Conference had to face: Shall we pursue our narrow, short-term, sectional, national interests, which may be in conflict with the interests of other nations, or shall we pursue instead the long-term, overriding, common, international interests which all nations share and which they must promote by common action? The answer of our Government is clearly that the Government are resolved to do everything in their power to ensure that in these great matters the long-term common interest shall prevail. On whether they succeed, the future not only of British shipping but of western civilization will depend.

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Swinton, Minister of Civil Aviation at the Second Plenary Session of the International Conference on Civil Aviation, Chicago, November 2, 1944

We want the world to have in peace the full benefit of air travel. We want to satisfy legitimate national aspirations and at the same time to reconcile these aspirations with international co-operation.

We want to encourage enterprise and initiative and the development and application of all that science, design and craftsmanship and industry can give us. But we want to avoid disorderly competition with the waste of effort and money and loss of goodwill which such competition involves.

We want to discourage and when possible to end subsidies, open or concealed. We want to pool all our knowledge on many technical matters like meteorology, radio facilities, safety regulations, airfield construction and the like, technical indeed, but vital to the safety, efficiency, economy and success of civil aviation.

We want to agree the best and most practical and apply the results by international agreement, and as these things are not

static, to make them continuously the study of the experts of all nations working together, and to have an international body always in existence under whose aegis they will work and under whose authority the agreed results of their work will be applied.

. . . We should be able to achieve a Convention which would cover these many essential matters, and provide for their progressive improvement as times goes on. That in itself is a formidable task, but a great work tremendously worth while. . . .

Now I turn . . . to the prerequisites, as I see them, of a satisfactory and harmonious system of air services. Each country will wish to be responsible for the air services within its own borders.

We are concerned more directly with those which will span and serve the world. After much thought and much consultation His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have outlined, in a short White Paper,* the general principles and system, which they believe will effectively and fairly combine national aspirations with international co-operation.

. . . In entering into any convention or agreement we shall find that the countries who are or intend to be interested in international air services will insist on a fair share in the services and the traffic.

. . . We have therefore tried to work out a plan which would provide the services needed, serve the interests of the travelling public, and be fair as between one country and another.

First there is the question of frequencies, i. e., how many services we should have on a particular route. It is suggested that the number of services should be fixed in relation to the traffic offering—a broad equilibrium. I think this is a good formula, provided we do not apply it too rigidly.

. . . We want to avoid wasteful competition on the one hand, but to give ample facilities on the other. We must be elastic. If the general principle is accepted, practical traffic men and sensible governments (and I am sure we shall have both), will agree on its application.

Then there is the share each country should have in the services to be operated. That is to say its national quota.

Countries will insist on this as a necessary counterpart of frequencies. Any arrangement should be both fair and practical. We have suggested a basic distribution in proportion to the traffic (passenger, mail and freight) embarked in the respective countries.

. . . Then there is the question of rates. This is not so simple; but it is very important if we are to avoid waste and get rid of subsidies. We have suggested that minimum rates should be settled in relation to standards of speed and accommodation.

. . . I am convinced that only by common action on some such lines as I have indicated can we reduce and gradually eliminate subsidies, thereby putting civil aviation on an economic footing and incidentally relieving the taxpayer. Unrestricted competition is their most fruitful soil.

. . . When a convention has been drafted it has to be agreed by the governments of all the countries and, more important still, it has to be ratified. The process of ratification depends upon the constitution of each country. In some countries the government can adhere by executive action. In others, legislation or parliamentary approval is required.

We must therefore envisage and plan the course of action to be followed before an agreed Convention comes into force. I think it would be generally accepted that such interim action should be consistent with the Convention. There will have to be temporary arrangements pending ratification: bilateral agreements to which we have been accustomed in the past, but in the future it would follow logically and reasonably that such interim agreements should greatly simplify these interim negotiations because, if countries have agreed on the terms to be embodied in a Convention, those

*Cmd. 6561.

terms would naturally find their place in the temporary agreements.

If we can act in this way in advance of its formal ratification, the Convention will begin to live in practice and valuable experience will be gained. It will be useful if the interim international authority which I hope we shall set up records all these temporary agreements and follows their operation. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

The Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States, speech to the Radio Executives Club, New York, December 6, 1944

. . . It would be hard to overestimate the value of the work which radio may do, in both our countries, to educate public opinion both now and in the tasks of peace. For one thing is quite certain in the years that are to come. We may prepare the most admirable schemes for disarming the aggressor nations. We may set up the most perfect machinery for the prevention of war. We may reinforce that machinery with every sort of political and economic arrangement that the wit of man can devise. But unless all that we can do has behind it the power of an informed public opinion, all that we can do will not be enough. . . .

I need not remind such a gathering as this of the part which radio can play in preparing and informing public opinion, for that is too obvious to need emphasis. But what I do want to suggest to you is that the voice of radio, speaking to a purely national audience, is not enough. . . . What we shall need is an international opinion on these large problems of peace.

And the first step towards such an international opinion is that people should know what their neighbors are thinking across the sea or beyond the frontier. . . .

But I mentioned a condition—that on both sides there should be good will and a readiness to understand. That, gentlemen of the radio, is surely where you come in. You can do much to create the good will. You can do even more to promote a better understanding of the other fellow's case. . . .

Let us remember always that the message of radio reaches its listeners in their own homes, by their own firesides. It comes into an atmosphere more favorable to quiet thought than the turmoil of a great public meeting. The minds to which radio speaks are not dragged by the artifices of rhetoric or swayed by the passions of a mob.

I have spoken at some length on Anglo-American relations, for it is the angle with which I am most familiar. And I believe there is no single thing more important for the world's future than Anglo-American understanding. But that is only a part—though a very important part—of our postwar problem. We should never forget that common danger is the cement which holds a great alliance like ours together; and that too often in the past, when the cement has dropped out and the common danger has disappeared, the partnership has gradually and insensibly dissolved.

That must not happen this time. We have got to find a binding force equivalent in strength to the peril we have all faced together in these years. Unless we can do this, there is little hope that the United Nations will remain united to enforce over years whatever peace settlement they will make. And that unity is essential. With it, we can ensure peace; without it, we shall only live to know once again the remorse of failure and the bitter memory of sacrifice of which we should have shown ourselves unworthy.

So here is work for the international radio, not merely between the United States and Britain, but between all nations; conveying the American and British point of view to others and bringing back their point of view to us.

That will be no short or easy business. It will make great demands upon the wisdom and public spirit of those who direct the radio in all our lands. I hope and believe . . . that they will rise to

the magnitude of their task, and make this powerful contribution, which they alone can make, to the peace of the world and the happiness of all its peoples.

CANADA

J. A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister responsible for the Canadian Shipping Board, statement, January 9, 1945

. . . We are justified in expecting a period of several years after the end of the war during which the large demobilization, continued relief and rehabilitation movements, and the flow of international commerce will make strong demands upon the world's shipping resources. This is the period in which satisfactory adjustments on questions of major policy must be reached.

A helpful factor is to be found in the United Maritime Authority. Established under the agreement signed last summer, it provides that those among the United Nations, including Canada, who have chiefly contributed to allied shipping needs, shall accept and discharge, as a common responsibility, the provision of adequate shipping facilities during the final phase of the war. . . .

UNITED STATES

Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State, before the Annual Meeting of Association of American Colleges, January 10, 1945

The peoples of the civilized world—what we are accustomed to call the civilized world—are engaged in a continuing consultation through just such public channels of just such fundamental questions of their relations to each other—their "foreign relations". Modern electrical communication has created in fact the Parliament of Man of which Tennyson dreamed. And the circumstances that it sometimes exists, in Carl Sandburg's phrase, rather as a humiliating reality than as a beautiful hope, deprives its existence of none of its meaning. It is possible to dislike the Parliament of Man; there are those certainly who do dislike it—who would like to return to the old system of foreign relations conducted exclusively through the chancelleries in the secret codes. It is not possible to ignore it. The Parliament of Man is now convened in continuing and constant session without rules of order, limitations of debate or privileges of the house and those who refuse to take account of its proceedings may wake up to find that its proceedings have taken no account of them. . . .

The question, then—the principal question in the field of foreign relations in our time—is this: what will we do with that world? How will we live in it? How will we prevent war and preserve peace and attain the other basic objectives of our foreign policy in a world in which the substantial foreign relations of peoples are direct relations by direct and continuing communication with each other? How will we realize the tremendous promise of common understanding and mutual confidence which that world holds out? How will we avoid its dangers of bickering quarrels, whispered suspicions, inspired panics, fear?

There may be questions of greater importance to the future peace of the world than these. If there are I do not know them. If the direct relations of peoples to peoples which modern communications permit are relations of understanding and confidence, so that the men and women of the world feel each other's presence and trust each other's purposes and believe that the common cause of all the people everywhere is peace, then any reasonably intelligent organization of the world for peace will work. If, however, the direct relations of the peoples with each other are relations of doubt and suspicion and misunderstanding then no international organization the genius of man can contrive can possibly succeed.

Believers in the people have always felt that if the men and women of the world could reach each other across the apparatus

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of their governments they would recognize each other, and understand each other and find their common purpose in each other. It is now technically possible, or all but technically possible, to realize that hope, at least so far as the industrialized nations of the world are concerned. Is it possible to realize it politically and socially also? And if so, how? . . .

There is only one possible answer to this question from the democratic point of view—at least from the democratic point of view as we, in this country, hold it. The only possible protection against misuse of international communication, or misinterpretation of international communication, is not less communication but more. . . .

Those who believe in the people must believe that if the peoples of the world know each other and understand each other they will be able to deal with the distortions and the lies themselves. What is essential, then, is not to correct each mischievous inaccuracy, each intended falsehood, each outburst of divisive propaganda. What is essential is to see to it that the peoples of the world know each other as peoples that they understand each other as peoples. For if they know and if they understand they will fill in the gaps for themselves as they have been filling in the gaps for centuries—for countless generations. They will allow for the falsehoods as they have always allowed for them. They will trust in common human nature to set things straight.

Social and Political Problems

GENERAL STATEMENTS

POLAND

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Prime Minister, statement to the press in London, August 31, 1944

I don't minimize the factor of power and its importance for maintenance of peace and protection of humanity from a new calamity, but I fear that might may overshadow right and justice, particularly in such moments when in the absence of agreement and understanding between great powers, "justice" may be administered by force of one power on her weaker neighbors. In these circumstances such states as Poland cannot conduct their policy in the secrecy of diplomatic conferences, but must, to a greater or smaller extent as conditions permit, conduct it honestly and openly in daylight before the public opinion of great powers since on this public opinion will depend maintaining balance between power factor and moral factor and the harnessing of the former forever in service of peace and justice only.

NETHERLANDS

Hubertus J. Van Mook, Minister of Overseas Territories and Acting Governor General of the Netherland East Indies, press conference, October 16, 1944

Freedom of the press I consider even more important than freedom of the vote. . . It is my thought that in all the major news offices of the world there should be, not geographic consultants, but working native press members from the various countries of the world—newspapermen, carefully selected to be sure, who could interpret the news of their countries on a knowledgeable, impartial basis for worldwide dissemination.

This would make for true democracy and true "internationalism."

AUSTRALIA

Sir Frederic Eggleston, Minister to the United States, broadcast, New York, November 26, 1944

There is a heading in the Dumbarton Oaks Agreement called "Economic and Social Co-operation", but the chapter under this heading remains to be written. It is hoped that world attention will be concentrated on this phase of the World Organization and that a plan for the development of the undeveloped areas around the Pacific Ocean can be worked out.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Msgr. Jan Srámek, Prime Minister, broadcast to Czechoslovakia, London, January 1st, 1945

The task of freedom will be to wipe out the remnants of Nazism and racial teaching and assure, through the free vote of the people, the necessary changes assuring everyone's legal security, guaranteeing the right to work to re-establish man's respect for man and the dignity of human relationships. The Czechoslovak Government, from the beginning, maintained the right of the people at home to decide the Republic's future. The Government's task abroad has been to ensure the freedom of this decision and to take care that the isolated home country does not lose the opportunities ensuing from the political, and economic collaboration with the Allies.

The Czechoslovak Government achieved this through the strong inviolable Soviet Pact and the friendly relations with the great western Allies. Thus the country is safeguarded better than ever

before. We have been able to maintain unity at home and abroad, news from all parts at home reassure that in its basic aims the Czechoslovak Government has not diverged from the people's interests. In the liberated parts, we are building on the popular forces tested in the fight with the enemy and thus, again acknowledging the people's sovereignty. The State's, the people's future and freedom and prosperity, depend foremostly on our discipline, perseverance of work, and an united unbreakable national front. Thus we shall build the future laboriously and patiently.

NATIONAL AND COMMONWEALTH PROGRESS: SELF-GOVERNMENT

GREAT BRITAIN

Leopold S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, July 28, 1944

My hon. friend the Member for the Combined English Universities (Mr. Harvey) asked for an assurance that the promises we made two years ago should still hold good. I will readily give that assurance. His Majesty's Government stand by the proposals that we then laid before India and before the world in all their generous amplitude. We shall stand by them in the hour of victory as we did in the days of adversity. The shifting fortunes of war played no part in their inception and they cannot limit their fulfilment. But we also stand, and for the sake of India's peace we must stand, by the indispensable conditions which accompany them.

. . . The Government of India are consulting the Provinces, with whom the primary responsibility for agriculture rests, on a plan which is designed to double India's agricultural production over the next 15 years. In that plan are included extension of irrigation, the combating of the devastating spread of soil erosion, the improvement of seeds and of breeds of livestock, and the extended use of natural and artificial manure. Last, but not least, is research and the training of instructors. I might add that by no means least important in this connection is the extension of forest areas, both to combat erosion, and also to supply firewood and so save the appalling waste of some 200,000,000 tons of cow dung a year used for fuel. Let the House judge of the scale of what is in contemplation by the fact that the increase of forest area in view is 100,000 square miles, nearly double the total area of England and Wales. Again, the total capital cost of this agricultural plan is estimated at £750,000,000, with a recurrent cost of £50,000,000. I do not think that the Government of India can be charged with lack of courage and imagination in facing the problems of India's agricultural development.

These plans are to be carried out in co-operation between the Central Government and the Provinces, regardless of whether the Provinces are self-governing, or administered under Section 93. I think that in this respect there will be no difference. The Government were bound to turn to agriculture first and foremost, because it has always been and always must be the mainstay of the great majority of the Indian population, and it is in the prosperity of that population that India's growing industries must find their best and most assured markets. . . .

India is already the eighth industrial country in the world. Her industry and the trained skill behind it have been amazingly expanded to meet the needs of war. It stands to-day, undoubtedly, . . . on the eve of great industrial advance, which I hope will be accompanied by a corresponding social advance in the handling of major problems. . . .

The days have long gone when British industrialists tended to look upon India as their own preserve and to look upon Indian industry as an uneconomic intrusion in their domain. On the contrary, I have found, whenever I have discussed this problem with our own industrialists, a universal readiness to welcome India's industrial progress, and a universal desire to lend their co-operation in helping forward that progress, in the confident conviction that in the growth of India's prosperity there will always be an opportunity for British trade, provided that we supply India with what she needs, and not simply with what we have been accustomed to sell in the past. I am quite sure that the Indian industrialists who will shortly visit this country will meet from every quarter in British industry with the kind of reception I have just indicated. . . .

The reconstruction plans of the Government of India over and above the great agricultural scheme to which I have referred include, as an essential instrument for full industrial and agricultural development, a great increase in hydro-electric power. . . . India is a veritable paradise for the hydro-electric engineer, and something like 90 percent of her definitely ascertainable sources of power are still unused. Even more important is the power of the brain. A sum of £750,000 is to be allocated for establishing a series of research laboratories by the Indian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. To that sum the great firm of Tata is adding another £150,000. Many of the suggestions made by my hon. friend the Member for Cambridge University in the course of his most fruitful visit to India, are being taken up, and I look forward to the forthcoming visit of a number of distinguished Indian scientists as calculated to be of the greatest benefit to both countries.

The whole problem of industrial training, with which great progress has been made in the war, is being fully investigated. Behind that lies education. Sir John Sargent's proposals aim at the provision, over a number of years it is true, of universal education for all boys and girls from 6 to 14, at a cost rising from £7,500,000 to an eventual total of over £200,000,000 a year. Such a scheme can come to fruition only in the course of time. Teachers, of whom 1,800,000 will be ultimately required, could not be improvised, even if the requisite buildings were available. Again, the Health Survey Development Committee under Sir Joseph Blore is now studying the whole field of public health, nutrition, maternity and child welfare, housing and water supply, and malaria and other endemic diseases, and it is expected to report this year.

If these reforms are carried out, they must be brought within reach of the people scattered in India's 700,000 villages, and, therefore, a great improvement in India's roads, especially her rural roads, is an indispensable concomitant of reconstruction. A plan is being worked out, at a cost of £340,000,000, over ten years, for 400,000,000 miles of road. These are all big figures, and the Government of India have to take into account the financial possibilities and limitations. These, and even more the availability of trained staff and technicians, will inevitably extend the period over which these ambitious plans must be carried out. It is significant that the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, in his last Budget speech, anticipated that £750,000,000 might be available from revenue and borrowing for reconstruction over the first five years after the war, in addition to the reconstruction funds which some Provinces have accumulated, and to private capital investment and that important element of India's wartime saving represented by her accumulated sterling balances.

I have dwelt very fully on these plans for reconstruction, not because they can supersede, or even postpone, the need for finding a solution to India's problems. I quite agree with the hon. member for West Leyton (Mr. Sorensen) that there can be no question of using economic development to sidetrack the political issue. My right hon. friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Pet- hick-Lawrence) truly said that progress in other directions cannot

be fully sustained if there is a fundamental disequilibrium in the political structure. All I would say is that these reforms are essential to provide the material foundation of individual standard of living and of collective resources without which Indian freedom would mean very little, either at home or in relation to the outside world. At any rate, there could be no reason for not pushing ahead with these reforms while conditions for a political solution are maturing, so that, at whatever stage a new constitution comes into being, no time will have been lost in giving it the best possible start. Nor is it too much to hope that, in the light of the practical difficulties and the immense opportunities of Indian reconstruction, even political difficulties may find a truer perspective in relation to the immense political opportunity for Indian statesmanship.

I think I am voicing the general sentiment expressed in this Debate if I say that we look forward undoubtedly to the satisfaction of India's natural aspiration to the unfettered control of her destiny as a partner in the British Commonwealth, and a member of the comity of nations of the whole world, standing as the equal of any nation in the world. I am glad that the hon. member for Walsall (Sir G. Schuster) suggested that India must have an opportunity of playing a leading part in the future destiny of Asia and the world as the equal of China. We all look forward to that, but we also wish her to start off with a new chapter of her history under the most favorable auspices possible, at peace within herself, to begin with, secure from aggression from without, with some measure of unity, which is essential, able to play her part in contributing to the peace of the world and make her own contribution to the welfare, the culture and the thought of the world, and enjoy, in ever-increasing measure, prosperity, health and happiness.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, Vice President, radio address, Washington, July 30, 1944

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, which will also be the Constitution of the independent Philippine Republic, is our supreme law in peace and in war. Its legal validity cannot be successfully contested even with the invasion of the homeland by the enemy. . . . It is that Constitution that is keeping alive the faith of the Filipino people in their complete liberation and which will give the armed forces of victory the unstinted and overwhelming support of the people when our D-Day comes.

POLAND

Jan Kwapinski, Deputy Prime Minister, broadcast to Poland, July 30, 1944

We have prepared a most democratic electoral law decree which, based on the experience of our last twenty years, will assure free and clean elections in a manner even better than the election law of August 1922. Elections to legislative bodies carried out on this basis will provide full possibilities for the enactment of a new constitution in the spirit of a true democracy. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

The Duke of Devonshire, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Lords, August 1, 1944

. . . I propose in my reply to deal largely, but not exclusively, with that Colony (Nigeria). It is a great country, with 22,000,000 inhabitants, and we in the Colonial Office recognize fully that, in spite of all that has been done in the last fifty years—and a great deal has been done—very much remains to be done.

. . . Plans are being made for the building of new roads linking the Cameroons with the main road system of Nigeria so that the development of that extremely fertile but backward area may proceed. A road providing an outlet to the sea from the Central

Cameroons is already being constructed, with assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and an application is being prepared for two more roads, one to provide an alternative outlet and another to link the Cameroons road system with the main road system from the Eastern Provinces and to link up the Cameroons for internal trade. . . .

The question of roads and road construction is very closely bound up with that of general planning, and your Lordships will be interested to hear of the planning machinery which the Nigerian Government has set up. In the first place it has established an Advisory Committee on Economic Development and Social Welfare, including the three Chief Commissioners, to represent the Northern, Western, and Eastern Provinces, the heads of the Technical Departments, and unofficial representatives, both African and European. This Committee is of its nature only a surveying body. Under it the Government have in the first place established working sub-committees and, in the second, a new section of the Secretariat specifically and exclusively charged with the co-ordination of planning activities of all the Departments.

... Two sub-committees have been set up—one on rural land planning and development, and one on the economic development of the livestock industry. The noble Lord will be glad to know that definite planning is going ahead to bring about improvements. The sub-committee on rural land planning and development, consisting of the Director of Agriculture, the Chief Conservator of Forests, and the Director of Veterinary Services, with the Adviser on Rural Development as secretary, will be concerned with land utilization, land settlement, the general policy for improved agricultural practice, irrigation, and finally with the immensely important problem, to which the noble Lord paid some attention, of soil erosion. This concerns obviously not only the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments but also the Forestry Department, the Sleeping Sickness Service, and the Administration as a whole.

I can assure the noble Lord and your Lordships' House that both we in the Colonial Office and the Colonial Governments are fully alive to the desperate seriousness of this problem of erosion. . . .

The work of the sub-committee on the economic development of the livestock industry, consisting of the Directors of Agriculture and Veterinary Services, is based on the principle that it is useless to maintain intensive measures of disease control and to provide extensive water supplies if the more rapid increase and improvement in herds which result are not to be made use of economically. The sub-committee . . . will be concerned with the prevention of overstocking, the provision of greatly increased quantities of meat and dairy produce for the improvement of the native diet, and the development of the valuable export trade in hides and skins which is already well established. We envisage a long-term policy for the improvement of livestock, including selective breeding, the improvement of pastures and of housing for livestock, and the improvement of marketing arrangements, including fattening and transport, which in some areas is at present very inadequate. The noble Lord referred to transport, and he will accept my assurance, I hope, that that matter is receiving special attention.

The noble Lord also dealt with the question of tsetse fly and of the clearing of tsetse fly from the main cattle routes coming from the Northern Provinces. I can assure him that much attention has been paid by the Nigerian Government to that question. It was discussed in 1940 by the Residents' Conference of the Northern Provinces and also at the Chiefs' Conference. It was resolved that the clearing of fly from the entire length of all routes was impracticable at present, but that much advantage would accrue from clearing the bush for a distance of one hundred yards both above and below places where cattle routes crossed rivers or streams. In addition, it was resolved that well-defined stock routes should be established where these did not exist, passing as far as may

be through country which is free from tsetse. It was further recommended that by-passes at towns be provided, that wells be dug along routes which are at present waterless, and that resting places should be established where cattle could graze and where fodder could be provided. The Government have endorsed these proposals in principle, but owing to the lack of staff either for the initial survey of routes or for the supervision of clearing, work which involves very large scale operations cannot be embarked upon during the war, though in some areas native authorities have been able to carry out clearing work at river and stream crossings.

The noble Lord also touched on the question of refrigerated vans. I can report moderate progress only, but some valuable pioneer work has been carried out by the Nigerian Railways and the Veterinary Department in co-operation. The railways have designed and constructed three special cold-store wagons which they themselves provide with ice and which are much cheaper than refrigerating vans. Working with these the Veterinary Department have been able during the war to develop a trade—necessarily not a very large trade—in butter and cheese from the North for consumption in the South, and small quantities of beef and pork are also carried. That is a beginning. The development of a large-scale refrigerated meat industry in Nigeria is a much more complicated business which requires very careful consideration before capital—and to be any good it would have to be considerable capital—is sunk in it. At present the available market in Nigeria itself, with a small export trade to the Gold Coast, is not sufficient to carry the capital costs which would be required to establish the industry. The solution seems to be—I am sure the noble Lord would agree with this—a greatly increased consumption of meat by the inhabitants of the southern part of Nigeria, which would in itself be of immense nutritional advantage.

There are signs of an increasing demand for meat, and I have little doubt that this increase will continue when the African soldiers are demobilized. Here again I can give your Lordships the definite assurance that the Nigerian Government are fully alive to the importance of developing the trade in meat. Plans have been drawn up and are now under consideration by the Government for the establishment of a large abattoir in the Northern Provinces and for a dehydration and cold-storage plant. As the noble Lord, the Resident Minister, indicated in an aside, there is already a small production of biltong which has already taken place at Kano.

Then the noble Lord referred to cattle disease and the history of abating it. There, again, I can report very considerable progress. In recent years a very great deal of attention has been given to the immunization of livestock by the Veterinary Department. Every year large numbers of cattle are brought to the veterinary camps for rinderpest immunization, and the security afforded by the immunity which vaccination gives is encouraging cattle owners to build up improved herds. . . .

To return to the work of the Agricultural Department, my right honorable friend's Agricultural Adviser has returned from his recent visit to Nigeria with very encouraging reports of the Department's agricultural plans. . . . I should like to say something of its plans for postwar development. They involve very considerable expenditure both capital and recurrent. The plans provide for the extension of the Agricultural Department to provide adequate agricultural services for the whole territory. This will involve a considerable increase in the European staff and a very much larger increase in the trained African staff.

In order to provide adequate numbers of trained African staff, greatly increased facilities for training will be required, and the Commission on Higher Education which has recently visited West Africa will no doubt be putting forward recommendations as to the form which these training facilities should take. Up to the end of 1942 the Department had already trained 23 African Assistant Agricultural Officers up to a standard approximating to that

of the diploma of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, 157 African agricultural assistants and a number of junior assistants or demonstrators to work under the native administrations. The Director's development program calls for a much larger total staff of African assistant agricultural officers and agricultural assistants. In addition to the training of staff the Department is planning the establishment of farm schools with settlement schemes for the pupils on completion of their training. Two such schools are already in operation.

The plan also provides for the expansion of agricultural research, the appointment of additional research officers and in particular the extension of the palm oil research station at Benin which has made such an admirable start with a very inadequate staff. The plan also provides for the inauguration of a stock farm in the Eastern Provinces for solving the problems of animal husbandry and the improvement of native crops. The noble Lord, Lord Rennell, referred to the importance of getting food crops off the land. That question is being gone into. These research problems to which I have referred will form part of the plans for the establishment of research facilities for West Africa as a whole which the West African Government will be considering in consultation with the Development Adviser for West Africa. As regards the palm oil research station I think that the extreme importance to the economy of Nigeria and especially of Eastern Nigeria of improving the efficiency of the palm oil industry is generally recognized. The noble Viscount, Lord Trenchard, dealt with that question and mentioned that the industry is threatened. I can assure him that that is very fully realized. This of course will involve not only technical research but an examination of the whole economic structure of the industry. As the noble Viscount knows very well, it is a very curious and complicated industry. The plan provides for the further development of the marketing section of the Department set up earlier in the war and for the expansion of the produce inspection service to cover all the principal exports. At present the exports covered are palm kernels, palm oil, groundnuts, cotton and cocoa.

Provision is also made in the plan for the speeding up of the extension of mixed farming by increasing the funds available for loans to farmers. Hitherto, some 2,200 mixed farms have been established and the experience so far gained suggests that an expansion at an increased rate will be fully justified. The plan also envisages the provision of funds to enable farmers to purchase machinery for handling and preparing agricultural produce. Much good land in the neighborhood of rivers could be brought under cultivation by means of irrigation and drainage schemes. A brief survey of the possibilities has recently been made by the irrigation and drainage engineer of Sierra Leone and it suggests that without considering schemes of an ambitious nature a great deal could be achieved in this direction at comparatively small cost. Nigeria cannot afford to neglect these great and untouched resources and it is to be hoped that it will be possible to make a start with this work as soon as trained staff becomes available.

The noble Lord, Lord Winster, laid great stress, and rightly, on the importance of co-operative working and marketing. . . . We are very fully alive to the importance of co-operative marketing and a new Co-operative Department has just been set up in the Gold Coast. I quite agree with every word the noble Lord said and I am glad he stressed it as he did. The Department of Agriculture is also responsible for fisheries work and the Senior Agricultural Officer has been engaged for some two years on a survey of the marine and inland fisheries in Southern Nigeria. Fishery development is very important both from the economic and from the nutritional point of view and the necessity for developing a fishery service is now generally admitted.

Then the noble Lord also raised the question of acquiring for the West African Colonies some of the surplus Army stocks of transport vehicles which should be available in great numbers

after the war. . . . This matter is under active consideration at the moment. It is certainly desirable that Colonial Governments should have a chance of securing the use of the surplus vehicles and the Resident Minister and the West African Governments have already been giving consideration to the types of equipment which it is desirable they should obtain in this way. The Colonial Office is maintaining close touch with the Government departments which will be responsible for the disposal of surplus vehicles and other equipment. I can assure the noble Lord that it is being very carefully looked into.

The noble Viscount, Lord Trenchard, dealt with the grouping of Colonies and the formation of larger groups. I am not in a position to give anything like a definite answer this afternoon, but I can assure him that our minds are working along those lines. The mere fact of the appointment of a Resident Minister to deal with all West African Colonies, the fact of the establishment of the Governor's Conference in East Africa and the appointment of a Development Officer and a Joint Planning Officer for West Africa as a whole shows that we are certainly not tending towards a break-up but that the tendency is all the other way. Further than that I cannot go at the moment.

. . . A Committee has been going very carefully into the whole question of the future training and recruitment of staff. The Committee has not yet reported but my right honorable friend will be guided to a very large extent by the findings of the Committee. . . . I can say, however, that plans for proper training on an adequate scale after the war are under very careful consideration and are being actively examined. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

P. V. Emrys-Evans, Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Commons, August 1, 1944

Comprehensive plans for the postwar development of Basutoland have recently been submitted by the High Commissioner and are now under consideration. They include the provision of five new hospitals, extensions to existing hospitals, and the provision of 72 health centers throughout the territory; the general development of African and European education, which will entail the building of new schools and the recruitment of more teachers, the establishment of a social welfare Department; an extensive housing and public works program including the construction of new roads and bridges; and the establishment of secondary industries. Some of these plans will be put into effect immediately, while other will await the postwar period.

Similar plans are being made for the development of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with especial reference to education, medical services and the improvement of agriculture. In Swaziland, in addition to the recent purchase of land for native settlement, plans are in preparation for education, medical services, agricultural development and the continuance of the existing geological survey. It is expected that assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940, will be forthcoming.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, statement after taking oath of office, Washington, August 1, 1944

The freedom of the Filipino people is my goal and the permanence of that independence once achieved I will strive to secure.

GREAT BRITAIN

Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, reply in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

The present policy of the Cyprus Government is to establish representative institutions in the sphere of local administration in

Cyprus before extending them to the central machinery of government. A beginning was made last year by the restoration of elected municipal councils. Proposals are now under consideration for establishing a similar system of local administration through elected councils in rural areas. If, as I hope, these councils prove a success, it will be possible to contemplate the constitution of a legislative council with unofficial elected representation. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, reply in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

In Fiji a Reconstruction Commissioner has been specially appointed and there are plans under consideration in particular for land settlement and the development of health and education services. Other plans are in preparation. In the British Solomon Islands surveys of mineral, forest, and soil resources are about to be undertaken with assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act as soon as the necessary expert personnel can be found. Plans for the economic future of the territory will be based on the results of these surveys. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands little economic development is possible owing to the extremely small area and barren soil of these coral atolls, but plans are in mind for the improvement of educational facilities, including higher education, and for medical and technical training to provide the essential background which will enable the local administrations to be more fully developed.

CHINA

H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and currently Minister of Finance, address in U. S. Senate, Washington, August 24, 1944

The question has sometimes been asked as to whether China will emerge from this war a democratic nation capable of collaborating with other democracies, and whether the Chinese National Government commands the support of its people. It would be very rash of me were I to tell you that everything is perfection in China. We, like most other nations, have difficulties and weaknesses, and our difficulties and weaknesses have been accentuated by the strain of seven long years of war, accentuated by China's total mobilization for total contribution to the common war effort. But I assure you that the Chinese Government is irrevocably committed to a democratic program and that China is on the way towards full development as a modern democracy.

. . . It is because the Chinese people are convinced that the National Government is capable of, and definitely committed to, carrying out the democratic program as laid down by Dr. Sun that they have stood solidly behind it and its leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, during nearly two decades of national revolution and war against aggression.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Proclamation of the Slovak National Committee and by the National Committees, Banská Bystrica, September 1, 1944

We desire a brotherly co-existence with the Czech nation in a new Czechoslovak Republic. The constitutional, social, economic and cultural questions of the Republic will be definitely settled by a mutual agreement of the elected representatives of the Czech and Slovak people in the spirit of democratic principles, progress and social justice.

Besides political liberation, our aim is to secure a better and happier life for the socially weaker stratas of our nation, in the interest of the Slovak worker and farmer. In the interest of an increased standard of living of the nation, we stand for a just distribution of our national income and for a new adjustment of property rights and tenure of farmland, in favor of the small land-

holder. The workers shall receive a wage which would be proportionate to increased productivity and in this way he could enjoy a share in the fruits of his toil. . . .

All the democratic and progressive factors and movements of the Slovak nation which have been carrying on the continuous struggle against the present fascist regime in Slovakia and against its Nazi German allies, today created a Slovak National Council as the supreme organ of Slovak resistance at home.

Therefore the Slovak National Council, as the only body qualified to speak in the name of the Slovak Nation, this day takes over the legislative and executive powers of all Slovakia and will carry out these powers until the Slovak Nation will appoint its legitimate representative by a democratic process.

Our resistance at home, as it has been carried out until now, in full accord with the Czechoslovak Movement abroad, wishes to continue in unity and co-operation and to conclude our struggle with victory.

POLAND

Wladyslaw Raczewicz, President, broadcast to Poland, September 1, 1944

The line of our internal policy is also clear. Our attitude being a sincerely democratic one, we have declared a program of far-reaching reforms and have promised elections to the legislature on the basis of new democratic freedom. We are not defending the perfection of given articles of our constitution as they stand, but no State, apart from a dictatorship, can change its statutes by decree issued by its administrative authorities, let alone by a declaration of stray societies or organizations. A new constitution can be introduced only by the nation, through chosen representatives chosen in free election, expressing the free will of the people unhindered by any foreign occupation. The basis of a democratic system must be in compliance with the will of the nation. This is the principle which guides our State authorities who are devoting all their effort outside the prosecution of the war to maintaining contact with our homeland and binding themselves organically to it. That is why the legal State authorities of Poland can be sure that, not only from the viewpoint of law, but also on the basis of actual fact, they are the sole body entitled to speak in an international form, in Poland's name.

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, President, address at Opening of People's Political Council, Chungking, September 5, 1944

Today, I wish especially to raise one point which concerns the success or failure of our war effort. That is, our country must have national unity. A unified China is needed for the winning of the war—a unified China is needed for postwar reconstruction and international co-operation. . . . We, therefore, united ourselves and started the resistance, disregarding sacrifices. Our war against Japan is not only for securing our national existence and international justice, but it is also for guaranteeing our national unity.

CHINA

General Hsiung Shih-hui, Secretary-General of the Central Planning Board, Chungking, September 5, 1944

Politically, the Government will develop all representative organs of the people, promote local self-government, practice government by law, and lay a strong foundation for democracy.

Economically, attention will be paid to stabilizing commodity prices, expediting transportation with the outside world, tightening control of materials, widening the scope of levying taxes in kind, and stabilizing national finance.

NATIONAL AND COMMONWEALTH PROGRESS: SELF-GOVERNMENT

GREAT BRITAIN

Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, speech to a group of RAF personnel from the West Indies, September 6, 1944

... To judge from occasional public pronouncements there appear to be in the world outside people who think the relationship of a Colony to the Parent State is still that of a chattel to its owner, available to be sold for cash or distrained on for debt. But I am sure those who support an idea so antiquated and unreal are few in numbers, certainly there are none in this country. There is over here, not a party, not a group, not an individual, who would accept this thesis or listen for one moment to any proposal based upon it. We think of the future of the Colonies as belonging first and foremost to them; our task is to help them to achieve the maximum of self-government and prosperity.

Despite the difficulties of war we are today pushing ahead with that policy in the West Indies. Difficulties of overseas supplies, difficulties of technical personnel, difficulties which are inherent in war (and alas, will not disappear as if by magic even when the war is over), have slowed down our progress, but already concrete results have emerged, and even more are plans ready so that when these war difficulties do finally disappear, full and rapid progress can be made.

On the political side many changes have come about; perhaps the most important is the new constitution in Jamaica which will give to you Jamaicans a great new opportunity of which I hope you will avail yourselves to the full. If we have been pursuing this policy even in the black days of war, you can trust us to maintain and strengthen it in the brighter days that lie ahead, and in doing so we believe that after the war the ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies far from growing weaker will in fact be ever strengthened by a continual growth of mutual sympathy, mutual respect and mutual interest.

NETHERLANDS

Charles O. van der Plas, Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands East Indies in Australia, broadcast, Washington, September 25, 1944

Because of its cultural diversity, the future Indonesia will be the much-needed bridge between Asia and the western world.

Because of its desire to fight for the great western political and social ideals, it will serve as a strong barrier in the turbulent Pacific against aggression directed at the western world, first for our gallant and generous ally, Australia, but in the second line also for New Zealand, Oceania and America.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October 1944

... The pre-Munich frontiers of Czechoslovakia have been shown to be a primary condition for her existence as an independent state. Without her natural frontiers and without the territory which she lost at Munich she is a distorted body incapable of independent political and economic life.

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, President, Message to the nation on "Double Tenth" anniversary, Chungking, October 10, 1944

It is necessary for us to realize that in this war against aggression, what is needed is a nation which can stand on its own feet and undertake its own responsibilities, and not a nation which has lost the spirit of independence and has to rely upon others.

NETHERLANDS

Hubertus J. van Mook, Minister of Overseas Territory and Acting Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, broadcast, Washington, October 12, 1944

In the reconstruction of their relations with the Netherlands Indies, with Indonesia, the spirit of partnership that has been gradually growing during this century will come to full maturity as a result of the common ordeal. We know that the age of exploitation has gone and that the Indies will need all they can earn for their own reconstruction.

But the mutual benefits are of a deeper and more lasting nature than mere direct profits. The growing nation that is Indonesia needs the assistance of our organizing capacity, our knowledge and our understanding. Our common task has a scope that frees us both from the narrow confines of our respective countries. To human justice which existed in the Indies before the Japanese invasion will be a great goal, but greater still will it be to fit the Indonesians for a self-governing nationhood for which they possess the capacities, though they still lack the unity and the experience.

GREAT BRITAIN

Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons, October 18, 1944

His Majesty's Government have recently had under further consideration the question of the relations between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In considering this question, they have fully taken into account the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1938-39, and they have also taken the opportunity to discuss the present situation in the three Territories with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland during their recent visits to this country. It is recognized that there should be the closest possible co-ordination of the policy and action of the Governments of the three Territories in all matters of common interest and it has been agreed with them that concrete and positive steps should be taken to ensure that this co-ordination is effective and comprehensive. With this end in view, it is proposed that a Standing Central African Council covering the three Territories should be established on a permanent basis and that a permanent Inter-Territorial Secretariat should be set up. The Council will be consultative in character and its general function will be to promote the closest contact and co-operation between the three Governments and their administrative and technical services. Its precise functions and constitution will be matters for consultation between the three Governments, but it is contemplated that it should deal with communications, economic relations, industrial development, research, labor, education, agricultural, veterinary and medical matters, currency and such other matters as may be agreed between the three Governments. It is contemplated also that permanent standing committees of the Council should be set up to deal with communications, industrial development, research and such other matters as may be agreed upon and that, in addition, *ad hoc* conferences should be held under the aegis of the Council to deal with technical and special subjects. It is intended that the leading unofficals in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be closely associated with the work of the Council and its committees.

His Majesty's Government realize that the Southern Rhodesia Government still adhere to their view that the three Territories should be amalgamated. While, however, His Majesty's Government have, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that the amalgamation of the Territories under existing circumstances cannot be regarded as practicable, they are confident that the present scheme will, by ensuring a closer contact and co-operation, make an important contribution to the future prosperity of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

I am also glad to have this opportunity of making a statement on constitutional development in Northern Rhodesia. I discussed the reform of the Northern Rhodesia constitution with the Governor during his recent visit to this country and as a result it has now been decided by His Majesty's Government that the time has come to increase the unofficial membership of the Legislative Council. The number of nominated unofficial members will accordingly be increased from one to five, three of whom will represent the interests of the African community. The Council will then consist, in addition to the Governor as President, of nine official members, eight elected unofficial members and five nominated unofficial members. The Governor will be provided under the constitution with the necessary reserve powers. It is intended that African interests in the Legislative Council should be represented by Africans as soon as a suitable basis of representation can be built up. Provincial African Councils have recently been established in the Territory, and, when these have had sufficient experience, an African Central Council will be set up consisting of delegates from the Provincial Councils. It is the intention that in due course African members from this Central Council should sit on the Legislative Council to represent African interests. In the meantime African interests will be represented by members directly nominated by the Governor. For the present these members will be Europeans; but, on the occurrence of a vacancy or vacancies at any time during the interim period before the representatives of African interests can be appointed from the African Central Council, it will be open to the Governor to select for nomination one or more Africans, if he considers that African interests would benefit from such a course.

UNITED STATES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, message to the Filipino people, Washington, October 20, 1944

Our plans for the dignity and freedom of the people of the Philippines have been ruthlessly—but only temporarily—brushed aside by Japanese acts of exploitation and enslavement. When the Japanese invaders have been driven out, the Philippines will take their place as a free and independent member of the family of nations.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, proclamation, Leyte, October 20, 1944

... But I did not come back to the Philippines merely to see the re-establishment of the constitutional government which existed here before Pearl Harbor.

During the time that our government was compelled, by circumstances, to carry on in Washington, first under the leadership of President Quezon, and then under mine, it expanded the scope of its activities to include some of the prerogatives possessed only by independent nations. For the American Government did not only recognize the Commonwealth Government as the lawful government of the Filipino people, but also gave it the consideration accorded to governments of countries possessing the attributes of absolute sovereignty.

This more advanced government is the one which I have brought back to you. It is even more than that. We have the word of America that our country which has been ravaged by the war will be reconstructed and rehabilitated. Steps have already been taken to this end. With the return of normal conditions, law and order will be fully re-established and democratic processes of constitutional government restored. It will then be my duty to report these facts to the President of the United States with the request that Philippine independence be proclaimed prior to the date originally set in the Tydings-McDuffie Law. The President

of the United States with whom I conferred a few days ago authorized me to announce to you that this request will be granted.

FRANCE

Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs, statement, Paris, November 1, 1944

We must have a new Constitution that will strengthen the structure of the Government. The people insist on that, and they will not care whether it is called the Third Republic or the Fourth. "Republic" is the word that Frenchmen are concerned about.

You ask whether we can accomplish the drastic social and economic reforms that we have in mind without civil war or revolution. I am convinced that we can. I claim some credit for inventing the phrase "revolution by law", and I believe that we shall succeed in making revolutionary changes without violence. After four years of terrible repression, the country is calm and orderly in the upheaval and release of liberation. This in itself is a sign of the temper of the people. We in the Resistance movement learned that the majority definitely wanted the state rebuilt on modern lines, but on the foundation of our own civilization and our own tradition.

AUSTRALIA

Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, speech at Canberra, November 29, 1944

We feel a special responsibility for non-self-governing territories in the region in which we live, and in neighboring regions. We feel that great constructive work can and should be done by Governments responsible for territories in the South Seas and in the South-east Asia region to provide for mutual assistance, exchange of information and collaboration in particular problems such as health, transport, economic development and native welfare.

We endeavored to give a lead in this matter of regional collaboration by proposing in the Australian-New Zealand Agreement establishment of a commission to advise the various Governments responsible for territories in the Pacific islands. On the present occasion we decided, so far as our two Governments were concerned, that the South Seas Commission should consist of representatives of all Governments and administrations in the region and that there should be a permanent secretariat as well as research and functional bodies established by the Governments on the advice of the Commission. We considered that provision should be made for associating with the work of the Commission existing research and functional bodies, and that in order to provide a suitable forum for discussion of Pacific islands problems there should be held regularly a South Seas Conference which might comprise nominees of Governments represented on the Commission, and of international organizations concerned with welfare problems, for example, the I.L.C. and Food and Agricultural Organization. We would think it appropriate that among these nominees there should be representatives of scientific bodies, missionary bodies and native peoples. We also considered that wherever practicable native peoples should be enabled to take part in the work of the Commission and its agencies.

We are hopeful that there will be early action to set up a South Seas Commission in 1945. Since there are three other Governments with territorial interests in the area concerned, Australia and New Zealand are about to consult with other Governments as to the Constitution and establishment of the Commission.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Václav Nosek, Vice-President of the State Council, London, December 6, 1944

The activities of the present Government abroad will also come to an end, and the time is not far distant when a new Government

will be appointed in the liberated territory by the President of the Republic on a different basis from that of the present Government abroad. It will be a Government formed on the basis of the national front, composed in such a way that all the sections of the nation which in the home country have contributed most to the liberation of our Republic will be represented in it. The composition of the Government will be primarily determined by the will of the people, as expressed in the elections to the National Committees.

INDIA

Field Marshal Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, address to Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, December 14, 1944

I have given you some reasons to conclude that the war has strengthened rather than weakened India and has given her the greatest opportunity she has ever had, if . . .

If—and this is of course a crucial if—India can solve her political problems and present a united front to what will be, for at least some years to come, a stern, difficult, troubled world. If she is still tossing with the fever of political faction, or if her political doctors decide that she must undergo a major surgical operation such as Pakistan, she may miss the opportunity that is hers to take, but can be taken only by a nation at health within itself and fit for a struggle that will test every nerve and sinew—the struggle for greater well-being and greater happiness in this great land.

Whatever the future constitution may be, the events of the past thirty years have shown us that it must provide adequately for the defense of the country; and Indian leaders will do well to consider this closely.

If I may be permitted to assume for the moment the role of medical adviser to political India, my advice would be something like this: "I do not believe that your condition calls for a serious operation, I should certainly try all other possible remedies first. But I do not think that that 'Quit India' mixture or those *Satyagraha* pills have done you much good. I should suggest your leaving off medicines altogether, and you may find that you are not as ill as you think. Perhaps some fresh air and work in the fields would do you good."

In other words, I do not believe that there are now real differences in principle between India and Britain, or that the communal problem, difficult though it is, is insoluble. But also I do not believe that we can solve our problems by mutual recriminations and by harping on past grievances and mistakes. Our best hope lies in working together, without trying to lay down detailed conditions or to decide everything before we begin work.

To return to the medical metaphor for a moment, I think the first requirement for a return to health is a faith cure, a belief in the good intentions of the British people and in their genuine desire for a settlement and for the welfare and self-government of the Indian people. I can certainly assure you that I should not be here if I did not believe in those.

It is commonly said that our current and postwar problems can only be solved by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term is seldom or never defined. I am afraid that to some a National Government may mean a government in which their own particular party is in power. I think of a National Government as one formed to meet a national crisis in which "none are for a party but all are for the State" to quote Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

I contend that we have such a Government now, a preponderantly Indian government, which in spite of all the criticism and abuse heaped on it is doing an essential job of work for India, and is doing it on the whole extremely well. It is making the mistakes, it is showing the shortcomings, inevitable in carrying out a very complex task of administration in difficult times. But it is accomplishing the main tasks: it is supporting our war effort to the entire satisfaction of the military commanders; and it is making a genuine

and not unfruitful attempt to look ahead and prepare for postwar conditions. I think India should be grateful to her countrymen in the Government for the courage and skill they are showing. I here express to them my thanks for their work.

This does not mean to say that some other National Government—national by my definition, but based on the support of the main political parties—might not be more serviceable to India's needs. Not because such a Government would necessarily be more efficient than the present government, but because the efforts we have to make, now and in the future, demand considerable sacrifices. The average man is not willing to surrender comfort and income for the benefit of those poorer than himself or of future generations, unless he is coerced by a dictatorship, or led by those in whom he has great confidence. If it were possible to form such a National Government during the war, it would quite clearly and quite definitely have to function under the existing Constitution, no material change of which is possible during the war. And its primary task would have to be support of the war effort, not by mere lip-service which is useless, but sincerely and wholeheartedly.

It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by His Majesty's Government "to solve the deadlock." But remember that His Majesty's Government has made two attempts in the last decade. . . .

The previous rejections of their offers must naturally make His Majesty's Government chary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it.

GREAT BRITAIN

Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, statement in reply to a question in the House of Commons, December 20, 1944

In December, 1938, Sir Mark Young, in a statement before the Legislative Council [of Tanganyika] laid down certain principles which guided the policy of the Government as regards the expansion of non-native settlement. As I have already stated on a previous occasion, these principles continue to be the accepted policy of this Government. They provide that within the limits necessarily imposed by factors such as the available land and labor supply, the encouragement of non-native settlement should be regarded as an integral part of the plans for advancement of the general prosperity of the country, subject always to the condition that the kind of settlement in view is such as to give a reasonable assurance of being economically successful and of contributing to the general development of the Territory. The Central Development Committee, reporting in 1940, accepted non-native settlement as an essential feature in the consideration of the wide schemes of development put forward in their report. What that Committee had in mind, to use their own words, was "the encouragement of settlement by non-natives who are prepared to accept the general policy of steady advancement of the standard of living of all inhabitants, not only their own." It is the view of the Government that successful settlement by non-natives on these lines would provide one of the most potent influences in helping to raise the standards of African life. It goes without saying that all plans for the expansion of non-native settlement must be conditioned by a scrupulous regard for the rights and interests and the future needs of the African population and must make due provision for the potential development of possible new types of African Land Settlement.

. . . The possibilities of success in non-native settlement must clearly depend to a considerable extent on postwar conditions, all of which cannot yet be clearly foreseen; many of them will be affected by factors lying outside the scope of local action. It is apparent, however, that whatever these conditions may be, preliminary steps should now be taken to set up an organization in this

country which will make the fulfilment of this policy possible as soon as peace returns.

The Postwar Planning Committee has recommended the setting up of a Land Settlement Board and the appointment of a Land Settlement Officer, and steps are now being taken to give effect to these recommendations. A Land Settlement Officer has actually been appointed. Furthermore, sub-committees of the Postwar Planning Committee have been at work in the areas most likely to be effected and have been asked to investigate and report on the availability of suitable land for non-native settlement and to give such details as are possible as to the areas available, the nature of the country, water supplies, accessibility to markets and other factors affecting the suitability of the land for settlement. They have also been asked to report on the availability of land for special types of native settlement. These enquiries are not yet complete. They will be co-ordinated and continued by the Land Settlement Board whose first task will be to assess the suitability of the land available for the purpose in view, within economic range of the main transport system and of such extensions of that system as may be found feasible, and to report on the conditions under which it may be hoped that such settlement could be established with a good prospect of success as a contribution to the economic development of the country. The Board would also be asked to report on the number of persons for whom accommodation could be found in the available areas.

A good prospect of economic success and of a development which will contribute to the general prosperity and welfare of the Territory are essential conditions in the fulfilment of this policy and it is apparent that the expansion of non-native settlement on sound lines must be gradual. Any attempt to force the pace regardless of the availability of markets, labor supplies and other conditions which together make up what might be termed, in this connection, the absorptive capacity of the country, would involve the grave risk of economic failure which would be disastrous to the future of the Territory. It must also be clearly understood that, while the Government would be justified in providing reasonable initial assistance to settlers, particularly so as to ensure the admission of suitable settlers who might not otherwise be possessed of sufficient capital there could not be any question in Tanganyika of continued subsidization of any non-native settlement which experience proved to be uneconomic. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, statement in reply to a question in the House of Commons, December 20, 1944

Measures for increasing the efficiency of the Labor Department in Mauritius have already been taken. These include the following:

- (a) The new Director of Labor is not now employed on other duties unconnected with his own Department, and is able to devote his whole time to the work of the Labor Department.
- (b) The senior staff of the Labor Department have been increased to three effective officers instead of one, in addition to six labor inspectors instead of five.
- (c) The staff of the Labor Department are now decentralized, each senior officer being allotted a group district.
- (d) Poor Law Administration has been handed over to a supervisor under the general supervision of the Director of Labor.
- (e) A special officer has been appointed to assist in the establishment of trade unions and in the re-establishment of industrial courts.
- (f) Progress is being made in setting up a works council in each undertaking.
- (g) The peripatetic Industrial Court is now fully in operation.

(h) The Labor Advisory Board has been constituted a Wages Board to advise on minimum wage rates and hours of work.

In addition to these measures, the Governor proposes to appoint an Indian Magistrate as an extra Assistant Director of Labor, and to improve the status of inspectors who will reside in their districts when accommodation is available. Further reorganization proposals are under close examination in the Colony, and arrangements have been made for the early visit of an experienced Trade Union official to Mauritius. Labor issues cannot wholly be isolated from the general plan of administrative reform which is taking shape but which is dependent for its success upon finance and personnel which are not yet available.

CHINA

President Chiang Kai-shek, message to the people, Chungking, December 31, 1944

In regard to political matters, we must prepare for the convening of a People's Congress within this year, to adopt and promulgate a constitution. . . . I hold that so long as political democracy, as provided for in the Three People's Principles, and constitutionalism, as provided for in the Quintuple Power Constitution, are not brought in to effect, the revolutionary work of our National Father remains incomplete, and I have not fulfilled my duty to the nation.

As a result of nearly eight years of armed resistance, the Three People's Principles have sunk into the hearts of the people generally and their sense of civic responsibility has been much heightened. Therefore I do not feel that it is necessary to wait until the end of the war to call a People's Congress. I am ready immediately to propose to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that as soon as the military situation has become so stabilized as to enable us to launch counter-offensives with greater assurance of victory, we should convene a People's Congress to adopt a constitution, which would enable the Kuomintang to transfer the power of the Government to the people. Therefore we must in this year employ our entire strength to beat back the enemy, and also to introduce a constitutional government, with the entire nation solidly bound together. Only thus can we realize the Principle of Political Democracy and the ten-year plan for economic reconstruction, in accordance with the Principle of People's Livelihood. We should exert our efforts together to accomplish the dual task of achieving victory and of getting up a constitutional government at the same time.

POLAND

Polish Telegraph Agency, authorized statement, London, December 31, 1944

The Polish Government protests emphatically against this attempt on the sovereign rights of the Polish Nation made by the Lublin Committee who have illegally assumed the title of the Provisional Government.

The Polish Nation will never recognize any authority or any totalitarian forms imposed on Polish national territory and will not cease to stand for the genuine independence of Poland.

Polish peasants, workers and intellectuals are carrying on the struggle against the German invader at home and abroad. The direction of this struggle rests in the hands of the Polish Government. This Government is recognized as the legal representative of the Polish Republic by the United Nations, by countries associated in this war and by neutral states.

After the clearing of the whole territory from German occupation and after the evacuation of all foreign armed forces from Poland the Polish people will be able in free and democratic elections to choose the political system for their country and to elect a Government in accordance with their own will.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, New Year's address, January 1, 1945

But France understands that fate is again giving her a chance to have access—through an increasing war effort—to the eminent place which has been hers for many centuries, and which she must retain for herself and others—the place of a power without whom nothing can be decided, neither victory, world organization nor peace. . . .

Victory will find France free. Except for the necessary restrictions of war, each Frenchman and each Frenchwoman has recovered possession of his or her identity, and the possibility of thinking, saying and believing what he or she pleases. Our people, the collectivity of 42 million French men and women, will again begin to exercise their right to vote. Unless the circumstances of war oppose this, the municipal and departmental elections will be held next spring. Of course, these elections will be temporary, and will be valid only until the return of those who are absent. These elections will take place in a spirit of human dignity and freedom of opinions, which must mark the choice of citizens in a nation like ours, accustomed to democracy, and all the more resolved to recover it since she suffered so greatly from having lost it. The elections will be held under the aegis of a single protection—that of the Republican State which is exercised by the Government and its appointed and responsible representatives. . . .

In view of all that remains to be done to save ourselves, re-establish ourselves, and strengthen ourselves, internal discords, quarrels, and insults are unjust and harmful. In the French community, all Frenchmen, peasants, workers, the middle class—as it was once called—rightists, moderates, or leftists, have their place and must retain it. There are not too many of us to reconstruct war-torn France.

POLAND

Resolution passed by Polish National Council, London, January 5, 1945

On December 31, 1944, the so-called Committee of National Liberation, acting so far on part of the Polish territory, decided to change its name to "Temporary Polish Government." This is an attempt at new violation of the sovereign rights of Poland, and an usurpation which has as its aim liquidation of the independent existence of the Polish State. Depending only on compulsion and taking advantage of support by a foreign power, this self-appointed groups of persons, so far unknown to all, are trying to force upon the Polish nation a government which has nothing in common with the wish of the nation.

Poland is not a soil belonging to no one, on which forms of government must be established from the beginning. The Polish State, revived after the last World War, has been in existence continuously since 1918, and the temporary residence of the Government outside the frontiers of Poland during this war has not touched this continuity in any way.

The Polish Government abroad during the war is the rightful representation of the Polish State recognized by all the United Nations and neutral nations, and from July 30, 1941, was recognized in that capacity also by the Soviet Union. This Government has been able to rebuild the Polish forces abroad in the course of this war.

These forces by their numbers greatly surpass the armed war effort by many other nations. These forces have fought by the side of the Allies since 1940 almost on all fronts, on land, on sea and in the air, and with their sacrifices and victims have won admiration of all the nations fighting against the common enemy—Germany.

Under the leadership of that Government the greatest mass underground movement has been created which from the beginning

of the war has been and is still engaged in consistent furious fight with the German aggressor. The movement has produced their own leadership which is loyal to the Polish Government in London.

The Warsaw uprising which lasted over two months proved effectively to the whole world that the entire population of over a million without exception, showed the greatest sacrifices in the fight for independence and safety of Poland.

Under these circumstances the Lublin Committee, as the "will of the nation," is an attempt consciously to mislead world opinion all the more as they consider that, during the present state of constraint inside Poland, no one without risk of repression can really express his will.

For these reasons the National Council of the Polish Republic as the only representative of the Polish nation acting freely, categorically states that the self-imposed nomination of the Lublin Committee as "Provisional Polish Government" has no real and rightful meaning and that all acts and decrees of such a "Government" are void of all legal rights.

At the same time the Polish National Council declares that endeavors to create a real and independent Poland is and never will cease to be the aim of the efforts of all Polish citizens and that the Polish nation will never recognize the power imposed on them forcibly as the Polish Government.

NATIONALITY AND MINORITIES, MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

JUGOSLAVIA

Josip Smodlaka, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia, in *Nova Jugoslavija*, published in liberated Yugoslavia, June-July 1944

... Once these Italian-language islands on South-Slavic national territory are given the right to use their language in public affairs and schools, a right which is guaranteed to all national minority groups by the laws of new Yugoslavia, all other interests of the Italian minority in Yugoslavia will find more complete satisfaction within Yugoslavia than they would within Italy. . . .

In the new democratic Yugoslavia the unobstructed right of minorities to use their own language in schools and public life already is guaranteed quite apart from any international control. If international guarantees to minorities are created in Europe, Yugoslavia will gladly adhere to them—on condition, of course, that other nations too accept the obligations. It must not happen again that South Slavs, where they are in a minority, be deprived of their rights—as was the case in Italy—while foreign language minorities in Yugoslavia enjoy not only broad rights, but also special privileges, as Italians did in Dalmatia from 1918 to 1941.

The democratic policy of new Yugoslavia provides also for procedures and institutions within municipal self-governments which will enable minority groups of any considerable number to use their languages in public affairs and schools. This is of particular importance for large cities like Trieste and Fiume which must be given back the municipal autonomy Italy took away.

But there is another aspect of this problem, the economic, already referred to, which calls for methods other than linguistic to be applied toward a constructive solution. Yugoslavia will re-establish the shattered organic connection of Trieste and Fiume with their hinterland upon which depends their economic development. . . .

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hubert Ripka, Minister of State, statement to Swedish and Swiss journalists, London, September 14, 1944

Radical solution in the form of organized transfer from Czechoslovak State territory of the majority of the so-called "Sudeten"

Germans seems to me unavoidable. My figures might not be quite exact but in my opinion there were only 800,000 German nationals in the country whose attitude towards the Republic has been a positive one or who had refrained from doing anything that could have been in conflict with their duties as citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic. About two million persons of German nationality would have to leave Czechoslovak territory for good. If there is going to be an international solution, accepted by all States, of the problem of national minorities, Czechoslovakia will adhere to the rules. If not, Czechoslovakia will grant no collective national rights to her German minority, who, however, will enjoy fully the rights of the individual citizen.

All the four Great Powers which are interested in European affairs—Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and the United States—have been duly informed about Czechoslovak intentions. From the national point of view, the final decision in this as in any other internal problem depends on the Czechoslovak people at home, but there is no doubt about their feelings and intentions.

The removal of such a huge percentage of the population of Bohemia and Moravia entails certain economic disadvantages. Unfortunately, dealing with Germans, you cannot have security for your State and all the economic advantages at the same time. On the other hand, the economic importance of the German-inhabited areas of the Republic has notably declined in recent decades. Most of the industries important from the point of view of international trade have tended to purely Czech and Slovak districts. Predominantly German-owned industries let their machinery become obsolete and thus went out of competition. It is true that the German minority in Czechoslovakia, especially its members belonging to the Jewish faith, had an important role to play in international commercial relations, but it was Hitler himself who solved, in his own inhuman way, this part of the problem.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October 1944

The punishment of the Czechoslovak Germans is connected with the solution of our minority question. After the First World War, in accordance with the idealistic tendencies of the time, a clause in the Peace Treaty imposed upon the Czechoslovak Republic the protection of national minorities. It is generally recognized that, as was noted above, Czechoslovakia treated all her minorities, including her Germans, more generously than any other European state in her position. The Germans in Czechoslovakia enjoyed all the rights proceeding from the Constitution on the one hand and from the treaty for the protection of minorities on the other. At the first opportunity, nevertheless, the great majority of them became Nazis. They abused their position in the state, they abused the democratic freedom of its institutions and they deliberately became the instrument of a foreign Power in working to break up the Republic which was their home. Under the enemy occupation they became a Prussian tool for the brutal and sanguinary oppression of the Czech nation, surpassing in their hate and hostility anything known in all the long centuries of German domination.

Experience has shown that the system established by the minorities treaties can be abused by an imperialistic state to promote its policies of expansion. Nazi Germany did just that. No nation—and least of all a small one like Czechoslovakia—can in future afford a policy which would lay itself open to this sort of disruption by an alliance of enemy forces without and traitorous elements within. Czechoslovakia wishes to avoid any recurrence of the situation which led to Munich. She is therefore considering the transfer of the greatest possible number of her German inhabitants, especially those who have publicly declared their solidarity with German National Socialism, who have worked for it and identified themselves with it, accepting Nazism as their faith and behaving

accordingly. If this were not done a most serious civil war would sometime be inevitable.

Czechoslovakia will not deny the right of domicile to anyone who has remained faithful to the Republic, kept its laws and help defend its independence. The protection of the democratic and human rights of every citizen are guaranteed in Czechoslovakia forever. This applies to those members of the minority races who may remain within the Republic. There is no doubt, however, that the Czechoslovak people do not believe that the internal conditions which prevailed before Munich can be re-established after the war.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, broadcast, London, October 28, 1944

We must get rid of all those Germans in Czechoslovakia who plunged a dagger in the back of the Czechoslovak State in 1938. Similar treatment will be meted out to all collaborationists in the Czech lands and in Slovakia and to all those who lost faith in the State, in democracy, freedom and in glorious tradition.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, statement at a meeting of the Polish National Council, London, December 13, 1944

The Government will have special consideration for Polish citizens of the Jewish faith, who have borne the greatest and most painful losses in the fight against the invader and who proved that they could not only suffer but also fight against the Germans. An example of this is the Battle of the Ghetto in Warsaw in 1943. Renewing our expressions of sympathy for the oppressed and words of condemnation for the hangmen, the Government declares that, in accordance with many previous declarations, all German laws directed against Jews in Poland are null and void. The Government will do all it can to make good the great harm which has been done by the German barbarians and to change the situation in accordance with the best traditions of Polish tolerance.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

POLAND

Jan Kwapinski, Deputy Prime Minister, broadcast to Poland, London, July 30, 1944

... We have prepared a law which will ensure all citizens of the Republic universal education at all stages and possibility of attaining the highest level of culture.

UNITED STATES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, address before the Conference of Rural Education, Washington, October 4, 1944

There are many things which we have learned in this war. Among the most important are those which we have learned through our Selective Service System about the health and education of the youth of our nation. We have found that among those examined for selective service 4½ percent of all registrants for selective service have not gone beyond an elementary school education.

That is why this Conference on Rural Education assumes such great importance in our planning for the future. For while we plan for the welfare of our returning veterans first, and for the continued prosperity of our war workers, we must also lay plans for the peace-time establishment of our educational system on a better basis than we have ever known before.

CHINA

Dr. Chu Chia-hua, Minister of Education, report before the Government officials, Chungking, December 11, 1944

(1) Maximum effort with concentrated energy should be directed to the stabilization of educational enterprises. We should not only endeavor to make the life of the faculty and staff members and students secure, but also give the matter our immediate attention.

(2) The movement for the enlistment of the intellectual youth has a most important bearing on the future course of our war, and should be pushed still further and be made a complete success.

(3) One of the emergency measures for wartime education is the proper disposal of students and faculty members in the war areas. Continued and extensive efforts should be made to facilitate the egress of patriotic youths from enemy occupied regions. The Ministry of Education will see to it that measures be taken to solve such problems as satisfactorily as circumstances permit.

(4) The Ministry will exert all possible efforts to improve the quality of education so as to rebound to academic progress as well as the intellectual advancement of the students.

(5) We must foster our traditional spirit of respect for learning and the scholars, so that we can catch up with the progress of the modern world.

(6) Our allies, like the United States and Great Britain, are greatly interested in cultural co-operation with China. We sincerely welcome such co-operation as mutually beneficial. We wish to express our hopes for similar co-operation with the Soviet Union, France and other United Nations. We firmly believe that international cultural intercourse can promote scientific progress and enable all the peace-loving peoples of the world to understand fully one another's mode of living, thus helping bring about peace and brotherhood in the world.

INDIA

Field Marshal Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, address to Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, December 14, 1944

One direction, however, in which it seems to me that we can make progress at once, without waiting for peace or for blueprint, is in training the many technicians and experts India will require—in farming, in engineering, in electricity, in chemistry, in fisheries, in building, and so forth. It has been very patently brought home to me even in a year's experience as Viceroy, how woefully short India is not only in persons trained in the applied sciences but in institutions and facilities for training them. I hope that young India will apply its abilities and energies towards these practical branches which will be of such value to India; and possibly a little less to the profession of the law, in which I understand India is already quite reasonably well staffed.

GREAT BRITAIN

Arthur Henderson, Financial Secretary to the War Office, in the House of Commons, December 21, 1944

... It is clear that the first step to be taken before German schools can be re-opened is a thorough purge of teachers and educational administrators and the elimination of Nazi text-books. When this has been done and sufficient acceptable teachers are available, schools will be progressively re-opened, as and when the military situation permits, priority being given to elementary schools.

Those should be the goals of this Conference on Rural Education. Rural teaching, country teaching, the teaching given in the small schools at the farm cross-roads and in the little villages and towns has played a greater part in American history than any other kind of education. . . .

It is for all of us Americans to see that the building of that future does not lag because the country schools are without the means to carry on their essential work. . . .

I have pointed out before that the gap between educational standards in the richer communities and those in the poorer communities is far greater today than it was 100 years ago.

We must find the means of closing that gap—by raising the standards in the poorer communities.

I believe that the federal government should render financial aid where it is needed, and only where it is needed—in communities where farming does not pay, where land values have depreciated through erosion or through flood or drought, where industries have moved away, where transport facilities are inadequate or where electricity is unavailable for power and light.

Such government financial aid should never involve government interference with state and local administration and control. It must purely and simply provide the guarantee that this country is great enough to give all of its children the right to a free education. . . .

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, statement, Leyte, November 23, 1944

Following closely military operations that are rapidly destroying the Japanese military power, the Government of the Commonwealth will restore to the people all the school facilities obtaining before the war. Special emphasis will be given in the schools to instill in the mind of the youth the principles of democracy, liberty and human dignity. As soon as the central office of the Department of Public Instruction is re-established in Manila, a complete educational survey will be undertaken by experts that I will bring from the United States with the purpose of making our system of public instruction up-to-date and enable the people to cope with the new responsibilities that will be ours in the new world of freedom that will be established after the war. Every effort will be exerted to extend our established cultural relations with the United States and Latin America.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 1, 1944

... I agree with every word . . . said on the problem of books, of getting our books and information about our ways of life today well spread abroad in Europe. . . . It should be an urgent effort of ours to see that our own contribution in literature, this country's contribution, should be made available to Europe as rapidly and as speedily as possible. . . .

I also liked what the hon. gentleman said on the question of intellectual contacts with Europe, and especially on this question of languages. Both the Prime Minister and I discussed this question at Moscow with Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov; . . . the question of contacts between our two countries on a literary and a language basis. There is no doubt that a very great effort is being made in Russia today in the teaching of English, and we have to get going to see that we do not drop far behind in a comparable effort on our part. We are taking steps here, but it is difficult to exaggerate the limitations which exist today owing to the language barrier. It is also difficult to overestimate the importance of meeting them. . . .

Territorial Problems and Declarations on Specific Countries and Territories

JUGOSLAVIA

Josip Smolaka, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia, in *Nova Jugoslavija*, published in liberated Yugoslavia, June-July 1944

One must be totally blind to fail to see that conditions in Europe have changed basically since 1919-1921 when Yugoslavia was forced under the dictate of superior might to accept the amputation of a part of her national body. The frontier adjustment between us and Italy will now be carried out under very different circumstances. The London Pact by which hundreds of thousands of Slavs were bargained off like cattle has lost its validity. While the hands of its victorious powers were tied at that time because of obligation to their ally, Italy, this time a victorious new and free Yugoslavia will be found alongside of our great allies—Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States of America—who in the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran Pact have granted to every nation the right to freedom and self-determination. Today Italy is not a victor, nor can she act as a creditor, not even on the basis of an immoral pact. Today she has to appear as culprit and debtor before the world's justice. Inasmuch as the four great victorious powers have renounced any annexation for themselves, Italy cannot expect to be granted after this war possession of foreign territory. . . .

A precondition for lasting peace is a just boundary drawn between the two states, a boundary that will correspond to the natural and national conditions, and to the economic interests of their inhabitants, and—most important of all—to the will of the majority of the people involved. The new borderline must stretch from the northernmost point of the Adriatic Sea, where the Balkan Peninsula meets the Apennines and, turning further north, leave to Yugoslavia the Isonzo Valley minus the Furlan Basin. Here nature defined the realm of two peoples with great clarity and ultimateness. . . .

The question of the city of Trieste (an old Roman colony in ancient Illyria with the strange original name of *Tergeste*, very similar to the Slovenian *trzište*, meaning "market-town") is, without doubt, the most important disputed boundary question between Yugoslavia and Italy. Yugoslavia does not claim this big town, which has a majority of Italian-language citizens, on the basis of national rights. Though Trieste is encircled by a Slovenian population, the Italian character of the city is unquestionable. Yugoslavia does not wish to dispute it. The interests of Trieste, notwithstanding its Italian character, depend on the closest collaboration with Yugoslavia. But for its language and culture which are Italian, Trieste belongs in every other respect to the Yugoslav side of the Adriatic: as much by its geographic position and lines of communication with its hinterland as by its maritime-commercial traditions, which developed out of its position and by its economic interests which are common with Yugoslavia. Moreover it is also tied to Yugoslavia by blood relations, because, as one can read in Meyer's Encyclopedia of that period, at the end of the 19th century the population of Trieste consisted mostly of citizens of South-Slavic descent who spoke Italian.

Trieste is the natural sea outlet for northern and western Yugoslavia as well as for the entire Danubian Basin with which it can be connected only *via* Yugoslavia. By annexing Trieste Italy satisfied for a time her nationalistic sentiments in that city, but disappointment with Italian rule followed soon thereafter. Yugoslavia will bring new commercial prosperity to that city. At the same time she will guard against provoking the dissatisfaction of the

Triestans in other respects. Triestine Italians must in their autonomous city under Yugoslav sovereignty feel nationally as satisfied and secure as though they were living in their own independent state. When, according to this Yugoslav program, Trieste is guaranteed that it can conduct its business independently and retain its national and cultural character given to it by the majority of its citizens, and that, on the other hand, it can again become the principal seaport on the road between Central Europe and the East, then it is difficult to think of a combination in which Trieste could find more beneficial conditions for its future, be it in the economic or educational and cultural field.

Municipal autonomy should also be returned to Fiume. Free Yugoslavia will not follow in Fiume the Fascist methods of D'Annunzio and Mussolini, and will not permit a repetition of the errors of 1918, when some short-sighted Croatian nationalists thought that the abolition of Fiume's municipal authority would best serve Croatian interests and Yugoslavia and tried forcibly to exclude the Italian language from the city's governing bodies. To new Yugoslavia, established on democratic foundations, the autonomy of Fiume cannot do any harm. Nor can any harm come from any broader autonomy, such as Fiume enjoyed under Hungary. In Fiume, the Italian language can retain whatever place the majority of citizens decide. That goes also for schools which will be, according to Yugoslav laws, Italian for Italian children and Croatian for Croatian children. Yugoslavia does not care to denationalize Fiume but is anxious to have satisfied citizens in a city that for economic reasons is as necessary as Fiumeans. With the establishment of the city's autonomy, with the unobstructed use of the Italian language and with commerce which died out under Italy revived, demands of Fiume and its citizens will be much more effectively satisfied than if in accordance with Count Sforza's dreams, a new Danzig is created in the heart of the Croatian Littoral. . . .

The only way to secure a sincere and lasting peace between Yugoslavia and Italy is to unite with Yugoslavia the nationally mixed territory, constituting a geographic and economic entity in which the Slavs predominate numerically, with a complete guarantee of language rights to the Italian minority.

U.S.S.R.

Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, statement, July 25, 1944

The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. has been entrusted by the Soviet Government to make the following statement:

The Red Army, successfully advancing, has reached the State frontier between the Soviet Union and Poland.

Pursuing the retreating German armies, Soviet troops, together with the Polish Army operating on the Soviet-German front, have crossed the Western Bug River, have crossed the Soviet-Polish frontier and have entered the limits of Poland. Thus a beginning of the liberation of our long-suffering brother Polish people from German occupation has been made.

Soviet troops have entered the limits of Poland filled with one determination: to rout the enemy German armies and to help the Polish people in the task of its liberation from the yoke of the German invaders and of the restoration of an independent, strong and democratic Poland.

The Soviet Government declares that it considers the military operations of the Red Army on the territory of Poland as opera-

tions on the territory of a sovereign, friendly, Allied state. In connection with this, the Soviet Government does not intend to establish on the territory of Poland organs of its own administration, considering this the task of the Polish people.

It has decided, in view of this, to conclude with the Polish Committee of National Liberation an agreement on relations between the Soviet Command and the Polish Administration.

The Soviet Government declares that it does not pursue aims of acquiring any part of Polish territory or of a change of social structure in Poland, and that the military operations of the Red Army on the territory of Poland are dictated solely by military necessity and by the striving to render the friendly Polish people aid in its liberation from German occupation.

The Soviet Government expresses its firm confidence that the fraternal people of the U.S.S.R. and Poland will jointly bring to a conclusion the struggle of liberation against the German invaders and will lay a firm foundation for friendly Soviet-Polish collaboration.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Duke of Devonshire, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Lords, August 1, 1944

... I am not in a position to say this afternoon what is to be the ultimate future of Mandated Territories, but ... I can assure your Lordships that the Cameroons will not be administered half-heartedly, as if anticipating that some day they will be returned to the Germans. I cannot speak for future Governments, but it seems to me utterly unimaginable that any future Government, of whatever complexion, would entrust to the slaughterers and butchers of Europe the responsibility for the well-being of anyone in the world. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

... We all feel deep regret and also anxiety as friends of Argentina, that in this testing time for nations she has not seen fit to declare herself wholeheartedly and unmistakably and with no reserve or qualification upon the side of freedom, and has chosen to dally with the evil, and not only with the evil, but with the losing side. ... Nations must be judged by the part they play. Not only belligerents, but neutrals, will find that their position in the world cannot remain entirely unaffected by the part they have chosen to play in the crisis of the world. ...

GREECE

Philip Dragounis, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, statement to the press, Cairo, August 9, 1944

... Greece's fate is linked to Turkey's in many significant ways. ... They both earnestly abandoned forever any territorial claims at each others expense and they are determined to keep a common frontier.

The two peninsulas of Greece and Asia Minor, linked as they are by the Aegean Sea with the islands and straits, constitute a single geographical, economic and political unit. On this crossing of roads, the most important for the whole of humanity, by land, by sea and by air on the meeting of three continents, our two peninsulas form a bridge and also a barrier according to circumstances.

Anyhow as long as this unity is accepted by the peoples inhabiting this vast area an era of prosperity is assured for all of them and also for the other peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. ...

U.S.S.R.

Statement of People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, August 29, 1944

In connection with the events in Rumania, the Soviet Government considers it again necessary to confirm its statement made in April of this year that the Soviet Union does not have any intention of acquiring any part of Rumanian territory or of changing the existing social order in Rumania or of infringing in any way the independence of Rumania.

On the contrary, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to establish, together with the Rumanians, the independence of Rumania by liberating Rumania from the German-fascist yoke.

The Soviet Supreme Command considers that if the Rumanian troops will cease military action against the Red Army and if they will pledge, hand in hand with the Red Army, to carry on the liberation war against the Germans for the independence of Rumania, or against the Hungarians for the liberation of Transylvania, then the Red Army will not disarm them and will preserve fully to them all armaments, and with all means will help them to fulfil this honorable task.

However, the Red Army may cease military action on the territory of Rumania only after the German troops in Rumania, which are carriers of suppression and slavery for the Rumanian people, will be liquidated.

The aid of Rumanian troops to the troops of the Red Army in the matter of the liquidation of German troops is the only means to the speedy cessation of military action on the territory of Rumania and to the conclusion of an armistice between Rumania and the Allied coalition.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hubert Ripka, Minister of State, statement to Swedish and Swiss journalists, London, September 14, 1944

There can be no breaking-up of Czechoslovak territory. The territory of the Czechoslovak Republic is Czechoslovak territory. There are only two solutions possible: either to incorporate Bohemia and Moravia in the German Reich—that is Hitler's solution—or to allow the whole territory to be part of an independent State. The frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia remained unaltered throughout the centuries like the Pyrenean and a very few more State frontiers in Europe. This is not a mere lucky chance, it is one of the natural necessities in European politics. The fictitious character of the frontiers created at Munich has been clearly demonstrated by the fact that, deprived of its old frontiers, the Czech lands could no longer exist in any form.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, September 28, 1944

... It would be affectation to pretend that the attitude of the British and, I believe, the United States Governments towards Poland is identical with that of the Soviet Union. Every allowance must be made for the different conditions of history and geography which govern the relationship of the Western democracies on the one hand and of the Soviet Government on the other with the Polish nation. Marshal Stalin has repeatedly declared himself in favor of a strong, friendly Poland, sovereign and independent. In this our great Eastern Ally is in the fullest accord with His Majesty's Government and also, judging from American public statements, in the fullest accord with the United States. We in this island and throughout our Empire who drew the sword against mighty Germany, we who are the only great unconquered nation which declared war on Germany on account of her aggression

against Poland, have sentiments and duties towards Poland which deeply stir the British race. Everything in our power has been and will be done to achieve, both in the letter and in the spirit, the declared purpose towards Poland of the three great Allies.

Territorial changes on the frontiers of Poland there will have to be. Russia has a right to our support in this matter, because it is the Russian armies which alone can deliver Poland from the German talons; and after all the Russian people have suffered at the hands of Germany they are entitled to safe frontiers and to have a friendly neighbor on their Western flank. All the more do I trust that the Soviet Government will make it possible for us to act unitedly with them in the solution of the Polish problem, and that we shall not witness the unhappy spectacle of rival Governments in Poland, one recognized by the Soviet Union and the other firmly adhered to by the Western Powers. I have fervent hopes that M. Mikolajczyk, the worthy successor of General Sikorski, a man firmly desirous of friendly understanding and settlement with Russia, and his colleagues may shortly resume those important conversations at Moscow which were interrupted some months ago.

... It is my firm hope, and also my belief, that a good arrangement will be achieved and that a united Polish Government will be brought into being, which will command the confidence of the three great Powers concerned and will assure for Poland those conditions of strength, sovereignty and independence which we have all three proclaimed as our aim and our resolve. ...

Every problem—and there are many; they are as legion; they crop up in vast array—which now faces the nations of the world will present itself in a far easier and more adaptable form once the cannons have ceased to thunder in Europe and once the victorious Allies gather round the table of armistice or peace. I have every hope that wise and harmonious settlements will be made, in confidence and amity, between the great Powers thus affording the foundations upon which to raise a lasting structure of European and world peace. I say these words on the Polish situation; and I am sure that our friends on both sides will realize how ! and anxious has been the study which the Cabinet have given to this matter, how constantly we see representatives of the Poles, how frequent and intimate our correspondence is with Russia on this subject.

I cannot conceive that it is not possible to make a good solution whereby Russia gets the security which she is entitled to have, and which I have resolved that we shall do our utmost to secure for her, on her Western Frontier, and, at the same time, the Polish nation have restored to them that national sovereignty and independence, for which, across centuries of oppression and struggle, they have never ceased to strive.

... For my part, I have always felt that the heart of the French nation was sound and true, and that they would rise again in greatness and power, and that we should be proud to have taken a part in aiding them to recover their place in the van of the nations and at the summit of the cultural life of the world. ...

I have repeatedly stated that it is the aim, policy and interest of His Majesty's Government, of this country of Great Britain, and of the Commonwealth and Empire to see erected once more, at the earliest moment, a strong, independent and friendly France, I have every hope that this will soon be achieved. The French people, working together as they must do for their lives and future, in unity of purpose, with sincerity and courage, have a great chance of building a new and undivided France who will take her rightful place among the leading nations of the world.

In my last statement to the House, I spoke of the importance of including representatives of France in all the discussions affecting the Rhine frontier and a general settlement of West Germany. Hitherto, by force of circumstances, the French Algiers Committee could not be a body representative of France as a whole. Now, however, progress has been made. Naturally, that body has

new elements, especially amongst those who formed the Maquis and resistance movements and among those who raised the glorious revolt in Paris, which reminded us of the famous days of the Revolution, when France and Paris struck a blow that opened the path broadly for all the nations of the world. Naturally, we, and, I believe, the United States and the Soviet Union, are most anxious to see emerge an entity which can truly be said to speak in the name of the people of France—the whole people of France. It would now seem possible to put into force the decree of the Algiers Committee whereby, as an interim stage, the Legislative Assembly would be transformed into an elected body, reinforced by the addition of new elements drawn from inside France. To this body, the French Committee of National Liberation would be responsible. Such a step, once taken, when seen to have the approval of the French people, would greatly strengthen the position of France and would render possible that recognition of the Provisional Government of France, and those consequences thereof, which we all desire to bring about at the earliest moment. I close no doors upon a situation which is in constant flux and development. The matter is urgent, however, for those, of whom I am one, who desire to see France take her place at the earliest moment in the high councils of the Allies. We are now engaged in discussing these matters both with the French and with other Allied governments, and I am hopeful that, in the near future, a happy settlement will be reached to the satisfaction of all concerned. ...

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October 1944

... In addition, we are deeply interested in removing the obstacles standing in the way of sincere and lasting collaboration between the Poles and the Soviet Union. If there is to be complete security against the *Drang nach Osten*, Poland must play an active part in co-operation with Czechoslovakia and Russia. In negotiating the Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact we kept in mind the need for collaboration with Poland. If Poland associated herself with the common anti-*Drang-nach-Osten* policy, then there would be an opportunity to carry into effect the principles laid down in the joint Polish-Czechoslovak declaration of November 11, 1940.

The military collapse of France in 1940 did not alter the fact that she belongs to the concert of European Powers and that we need her participation in European reconstruction. After she has been rehabilitated internally, she certainly will regain her former position and will play her equal part in determining the development of Europe. This is Czechoslovakia's belief, and she views sympathetically the efforts of France to gain recognition of the rights which belong to her as a member of the family of European nations. We have an equally positive attitude toward Jugoslavia. Like France, she fought on after defeat to win back her freedom and to establish internal unity by all the means at her disposal. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, November 14, 1944

... It is not surprising that ... France, which after all these years has suddenly regained her freedom, should be like a man emerging from a darkened room into a blaze of light, dazed for a moment and grateful still to his friends for a measure of understanding and encouragement. Let us interpret this in the terms of France's position as a great Power. It was indeed appropriate that the three Allied Powers, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and ourselves, were able to invite France, on this very Saturday, to take her place with us as a permanent member of the European Advisory Commission. The new situation which

was thus created and the work that must flow therefrom was naturally the subject of discussion between us in Paris. Of these discussions, I will only say now that both the French Ministers and ourselves regarded them as eminently satisfactory.

I would conclude with this confident message to the House. France's determination to work together with her Allies expresses I am sure, the heartfelt wish of the French people, and it is the will of the people which is the only sure foundation of a foreign policy in a free land. France will recover. Before now in her history she has shown powers of recuperation which have astounded the world. It is my belief that she will do this again, and she can be assured that in her endeavor she will have the constant friendship, understanding and help of the British peoples everywhere.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, speech before the Consultative Assembly, Paris, November 22, 1944

... If up until now we have been able to engage in this great struggle, with only our New Caledonia bases, our islands of Oceania and a few battleships, nevertheless we intend to be in a position to assume an increasing share in the common effort. Not long ago we created the Indo-Chinese union, and the loyalty of these countries toward unhappy France, in spite of their own misfortune, the traditional friendships we have in China, force us to consider that it is our duty to win back all that was wrested from us by the enemy, and we wish to state now, that we are ready to bring our contribution in all the international organisms of the Far East, whose aim would be to maintain peace there. We are ready to do this, and accept all responsibilities.

AUSTRALIA

Sir Frederic Eggleston, Minister to the United States, New York, November 26, 1944

The story of Japan shows that unless there is international co-operation for the establishment of a peaceful order, stability will not be achieved. In particular, it is an international interest that China should be prosperous and the productive power inherent in its masses devoted to improving consumption standards. China is the strategic center of gravity in the Pacific and unless it is stable, order in the Pacific will rest on trembling foundations.

BELGIUM

Paul-Henri Spaak, Minister for Foreign Affairs, speech in Belgian House of Representatives, December 6, 1944

Although there should be as close as possible an entente with Holland, and although I wish that new political, economic and military ties should bind us with our neighbor, I know only too well that our political friendship with Holland, however, perfect it may be, is not sufficient to insure a really satisfactory solution to the big problems of political security and economic prosperity which confront Belgium.

... As to France, she is indispensable as a great power. World politics need French logic, French reason and French clarity. And we who live next to her in the same corner of Europe, sharing with her, in this century, her defeats and her triumphs, victims of the same enemy, we must guarantee ourselves against the return of a similar danger. In a more simple way, I would say no world organization, no European organization, and especially no occidental Europe can be conceived without a strong France. ...

... It is on Great Britain's policies, and I have no reason not to say it, that we have tried to reform our own policies. It is to Great Britain that we owe to a large extent our independence in

1830, our recovered freedom in 1918 and our miraculous liberation in 1944. This impressive repetition of happy and decisive interventions allows us to state today more strongly than ever that the essential constant in our foreign policy is British friendship. ...

Everybody hopes that Russia will play in tomorrow's world politics a role to which she is entitled by her sacrifices and her place in the world. No durable peace is possible, no solid guarantee can be established against the German danger without the help of Russia. The agreement between the big Allies who are winning the war must be maintained in peace.

It is the wish made by the small nations who will find in that friendship the essential element of their security.

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address to the Rotary Club of Philadelphia, December 13, 1944

At present, Poland is asked and pressed to give up 48 percent of her territory to Russia in exchange for promises of gains at the cost of Germany in the west.

A nation is not a temporary house on wheels which from time to time can be pushed eastwards or westwards—as may suit its powerful neighbors. A nation which for many centuries has been born, has lived and developed upon a clearly defined territory and has grown roots there, has a birthright to it, and may not be forced out of it with impunity.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, December 15, 1944

... We still recognize the Polish Government in London as the Government of Poland, as we have done since they reached our shores in the early part of this war. This course has been continued up to the present by all the rest of the United Nations, excepting only Russia which is the power most concerned and the power whose armies will first enter the heart of Poland. It is a source of grief to me that all these forces could not have been joined together more speedily against the common foe.

I cannot accept the view that the arrangements which have to be proposed about the frontiers of the new Poland are not solid and satisfactory, or that they would not give to Poland that "abiding home" of which I spoke to the House in February. If Poland concedes Lvov and the surrounding regions in the South, on the line known as Curzon Line A, which my right hon. friend the Foreign Secretary will deal with in more detail later on in the Debate—if Poland makes this concession and these lands are joined to the Ukraine, she will gain in the North the whole of East Prussia west and south of the fortress of Königsberg, including the great city and port of Danzig, one of the most magnificent cities and harbors in the whole of the world, famous for centuries as a great gathering place of the trade of the Baltic, and, indeed, of the world. This will be hers instead of the threatened and artificial Corridor, which was built so laboriously after the last war, and Poland will stretch broadly along the Baltic on a front of over 200 miles. The Poles are free, so far as Russia and Great Britain are concerned, to extend their territory, at the expense of Germany, to the West. I do not propose to go into exact details, but the extensions, which will be supported by Britain and Russia, bound together as they are by the twenty-years' Alliance, are of high importance. Thus, they gain in the West and the North territories more important and more highly developed than they lose in the East. We hear that a third of Poland is to be conceded, but I must mention that that third includes

the vast tract of the Pripet Marshes, a most desolate region, which, though it swells the acreage, does not add to the wealth of those who own it.

Thus I have set before the House what is, in outline, the offer which the Russians, on whom the main burden of liberation still falls, make to the Polish people. I cannot believe that such an offer should be rejected by Poland. It would, of course, have to be accompanied by the disentanglement of populations in the East and in the North. The transference of several millions of people would have to be effected from the East to the West or North, as well as the expulsion of the Germans—because that is what is proposed: the total expulsion of the Germans—from the area to be acquired by Poland in the West and the North. For expulsion is the method which, so far as we have been able to see, will be the most satisfactory and lasting. There will be no mixture of populations to cause endless trouble, as has been the case in Alsace-Lorraine. A clean sweep will be made. I am not alarmed by the prospect of the disentanglement of populations, nor even by these large transferences, which are more possible in modern conditions than they ever were before.

... Nor do I see why there should not be room in Germany for the German populations of East Prussia and of the other territories I have mentioned. After all, 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 Germans have been killed already in this frightful war, into which they did not hesitate, for a second time in a generation, to plunge all Europe. At the present time, we are told that they have 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 prisoners or foreigners used as slaves in Germany, who will, we hope, be restored to their own homes and lands when victory is gained. Moreover, we must expect that many more Germans will be killed in the fighting which will occupy the spring and summer and which we must expect will involve the largest and fiercest battles yet fought in this war.

... It seems extremely unlikely that the evil and hateful forces in Germany who plotted, planned and began this war, will have the power to resist the decisions of a peace or armistice conference, at which the principal victorious Powers will be assembled. The prospects of final victory have, in the time that has passed since these matters were first discussed at Teheran, become for the Allies solid and spacious. Therefore, as I say, it has always been said by the Poles, when I have been discussing the matter with them here, "We know what we have to give up; what certainty have we of receiving compensation in other quarters?" They have much more certainty of it now than at this time last year. In fact, I cannot see any doubt whatever that the Great Powers, if they agree, can effect the transference of population.

I find great difficulty in discussing these matters, because the attitude of the United States has not been defined with the precision which His Majesty's Government have thought it wise to use. . . . We know, however, that the Government and people of the United States have set their hearts upon a world organization to prevent the outbreak of future wars, and that this world organization will be fatally ruptured by a quarrel between any of the three most powerful Empires which compose the Grand Alliance of the United Nations. . . .

I am particularly careful not ever to pretend to speak in the name of any other Power unless so directed beforehand and I hope the House will make allowances for the care with which I pick my words upon this point. All I can say is that I have received no formal disagreement in all these long months upon the way in which the future Poland seems to be shaping itself—or is being shaped—but no doubt when the time comes the United States will make their own pronouncement on these matters, bearing in mind, as they will the practical aspect which they assume and also that failure on the part of the three greatest Powers to work together would damage all our hopes for a future structure, a world government which, whatever else it may fail to do, will at any rate be

equipped with all the powers necessary to prevent the outbreak of further war.

It is asked, why cannot all questions of territorial changes be left over till the end of the war? I think that is a most pertinent question and it is, in fact, the answer which I and the Foreign Secretary gave in almost every case that has been presented to us. Well, Sir, I understand the argument. The armies, it is said, may move here and there, their front may advance or recede, this country or that may be in occupation of this space of ground or the other, but it is at the peace table alone that the permanent destiny of any land or people will be decided. Why cannot that be said in this case? It can be said in every case, or almost every case, except in that of Poland. So why should Poland be excepted from this general rule? It is only for Polish advantage and to avoid great evils which might occur. The Russian armies—I know nothing of their intentions, I am speaking only of what is obvious to anyone who studies the war map—will probably, during the early part of next year, traverse large areas of Poland, driving the Germans before them. If, during those marches, fierce quarrels and fighting break out between large sections of the Polish population and the Russian troops, very great suffering—which can still be avoided—will infallibly occur, and new poisoned wounds will be inflicted upon those who must dwell side by side in peace, confidence and good neighborliness if the tranquillity of Europe is to be assured or the smooth working of the world organization for the maintenance of peace is to be created and maintained.

All these matters are among the most serious which could possibly be examined as far as our present lights allow. Our British principle has been enunciated that, as I have said, all territorial changes must await the conference at the peace table after the victory has been won, but to that principle there is one exception, and that exception is, changes mutually agreed. It must not be forgotten that in the Atlantic Charter is I think inserted the exception that there should be no changes before the peace table except those mutually agreed. I am absolutely convinced that it is in the profound future interest of the Polish nation that they should reach agreement with the Soviet Government about their disputed frontiers in the East before the march of the Russian armies through the main part of Poland takes place. That is the great gift they have to make to Russia, a settlement now at this time which gives the firm title of mutual agreement to what might otherwise be disputed at the Peace Conference. I must, however, say, because I am most anxious the House should understand the whole position, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government in a way which I believe would probably be held binding by our successors, that at the Conference we shall adhere to the lines which I am now unfolding to the House, and shall not hesitate to proclaim that the Russians are justly treated, and rightly treated, in being granted the claim they make to the Eastern frontiers along the Curzon Line as described.

The Foreign Secretary and I have labored for many months, we have spared no labor of travel, no risk of political rebuff and consequent censure, in our effort to bring about that good understanding between the Poland whom we still recognize and the mighty Ally which has so heavily smitten the German military power. We have never weakened in any way in our resolve that Poland shall be restored and stand erect as a sovereign, independent nation, free to model her social institutions or any other institutions in any way her people choose, provided, I must say, that these are not on Fascist lines, and provided that Poland stands loyally as a barrier and friend of Russia against German aggression from the West. And in this task of course, Poland will be aided to the full by a Russian and British guarantee and assistance and will also, I cannot doubt, though I cannot declare, be aided by the United States acting at least through the world organization which we are determined to erect—that she and the whole of the

United Nations are determined to erect—for the salvation of mankind toiling here below from the horrors of repeated war.

Another great war, especially an ideological war, fought as it would be not only on frontiers but in the heart of every land with weapons far more destructive than men have yet wielded, would spell the doom, perhaps for many centuries, of such civilization as we have been able to erect since history began to be written. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 15, 1944

. . . There has been a great deal of discussion about Eastern Poland, but hardly a word about the Corridor. I have taken the view for many years . . . that it is impossible for the Polish State to have an independent national life with the Corridor system perpetuated. . . . I say to the House that, quite independently of this Polish-Russian problem at all, long ago I think I am on record as having said this. The only way to solve the problem was that East Prussia should go to the Poles and that the population of East Prussia should be shifted out. That is the only way to get a permanent settlement. . . .

POLAND

Polish Premier Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, interview given to the London *Sunday Times*, on Prime Minister Churchill's December 15th speech on Poland, December 17, 1944

We have no grand ideas of expansion. We are trying only to preserve the unity and integrity of the Polish State. We have put forward our claims against Germany and demanded incorporation into Poland of East Prussia, Upper Silesia and parts of Pomerania, and we appreciate the positive attitude of the Allies, including Soviet Russia, who promised us help in this matter. We do not want to expand our frontier in the West to include eight to ten

million Germans. That is, we do not want either Breslau or Stettin. We are claiming only our ethnical and historic Polish territories which are under German domination.

I believe we could base the future of a country faced with such enormous difficulties only on international treaties of explicit character. My Government intends, therefore, to do its utmost to obtain, first of all, formal Allied guarantees for the re-establishment of the Polish State. When we have secured that, we can undertake the discussion of frontier adjustment.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, statement in the House of Commons, December 20, 1944

. . . I am happy to inform the House that a new Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement superseding the Agreement of 31st January, 1942, was signed in Addis Ababa yesterday by the Ethiopian Prime Minister on behalf of the Ethiopian Government, and by Earl De La Warr on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. The text of the new Agreement will be laid before Parliament as soon as possible.

. . . It is our firm conviction that this new Agreement, freely negotiated between two sovereign States, will lead to a further period of friendly and confident collaboration between Great Britain and Ethiopia. . . .

Miss Rathbone: May we have the assurance that the Agreement really carries out the legitimate desires of the Emperor of Ethiopia for safe-guarding his frontiers and future security. Has it been a willingly accepted Agreement?

Mr. Eden: I do not know what more I can say to the hon. lady than that it has been a freely negotiated Agreement. So far as the sovereignty of the Emperor is concerned, that is not touched, and under the Agreement certain large reserved areas previously administered by our military authorities revert to him.

International Organization

GENERAL STATEMENTS

AUSTRALIA

John Curtin, Prime Minister, in a speech before the Australian Parliament, July 17, 1944

Small nations as well as great have their part to play in the maintenance of peace. In many cases their geographical locations in important strategical areas make them potential battlegrounds. A new system of world security must safeguard the weak as well as the strong, but the weak must recognize their responsibility for doing what they can towards the defense of their territories by co-operating in a wider system of regional security in areas in which they and their territories are situated.

CHINA

H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister of Finance, Bretton Woods, N. H., July 23, 1944

China wants to see a world organization firmly established so as to bring about permanent peace whereby peoples throughout the world can live amicably with each other without fear of attacks by their neighbors and can enjoy life and pursuit of happiness.

China wants to co-operate with the rest of the world not only to organize for the restoration of peace and prosperity but to insure that this peace and prosperity will be lasting.

In order to achieve this, we must not only see things from our own point of view seeking our own benefit and interest, but we must give and take, live and let live.

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, statement, Washington, July 24, 1944

The successful completion of the important work of the Bretton Woods Conference is another step toward the goal of the United Nations and Nations associated with them in the war for a peaceful, secure and happy world in which all peace-loving Nations will co-operate for their mutual benefit. Once again these Nations have met and discussed in a most friendly spirit problems vital to the economic security of each and every one of us. The faith expressed in my address to Congress on the Moscow Conference has never diminished. I was therefore not surprised by the splendid co-operation of the U.S.S.R. and all the other countries in the work of the Conference and by their willingness to contribute to its success. The results of the Bretton Woods Conference are another demonstration of the fact that the Nations which love peace are working together, every day and every hour, without fanfare or drums, to provide opportunities and create facilities for the attainment by all of an increasing measure of security and prosperity.

CHINA

H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister of Finance, broadcast, July 27, 1944

The Chinese people hope and pray that the United Nations will be truly united and the unity of purpose and solidarity of effort on their part must be considered the polar star of their policy.

While we are engaged in this most terrible war in human history, we are courageous enough to face the problems of war, and we must be equally courageous in facing the problems of peace. All peace-loving nations in war as well as in peace must stand and fall

together and live up to the dictum, "One for all and all for one." If this war is not to be fought in vain we should on the one hand fumigate the Axis powers so that the germs of aggression will not survive. But on the other hand, we, the United Nations, should purify ourselves so that we will be personally immune from such germs. In the past centuries wars have been concluded with the negotiated distribution of spoils for the national gain of individual nations, but let this war be concluded with the distribution not of spoils, but of responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and co-operation.

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

... We shall presently once again have to deal with the problem of France and Germany along the Rhine, and from that discussion France can by no means be excluded. It is evident from what I have said that I look forward to the closest association of the British Empire, the United States and the Russian and French representatives in the settlement of these important European problems. We are an alliance of united, peace-loving nations who have been forced to take up arms to defend our fundamental rights, and we must not fail in the hour of victory to make the arrangements necessary to continue the peace that we shall have so dearly bought. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, August 2, 1944

... I would like to say a word about our other Western Allies—Belgium, Holland, Norway, the small countries which have been with us since the beginning of the struggle, and with whom we share so much in tradition and practice and with whom we are determined to work closely after the war, all the more closely because of our association during the war. We mean to work with them, as with others, to make a solid basis for the reconstruction in Europe and to ensure together that we play our part as good neighbors, so that Germany cannot again start to frighten nations out of their neutrality, or to absorb them with tactics with which we have been familiar in recent years. ...

UNITED STATES

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, broadcast on "World Statesmen," New York, August 3, 1944

... The United States has not seen a foreign foe on its soil for more than a century and a quarter, thanks to the flat map. But the flat map is no longer a going concern. So we have to start working at the business of keeping the peace; at the business of helping to work with other nations so that no one of them shall break the peace; so that everyone can be reasonably sure at all times that the men in all the countries working with the concrete mixers are building dwelling houses or peaceful factories, not rocket emplacements.

Practically everyone in the world wants a system of international peace. But not everybody has made up his mind to do the things that have to be done if war is going to be prevented. The maintenance of peace does mean use of force from time to time. It does mean that while looking out for yourself, you give the other fellow a chance to live and sell his goods. It does mean settling quarrels by law, instead of by fifth columns and rocket bombs. It means making international agreements about a lot of things,—air and

communications, and commerce and trade. Some of these were not agreements you thought you had to make in earlier days; but those were the days when you could put up your fence on your flat map and forget about the man on the other side of it.

You are living with that man now; at long distance, but at close range. You and he, and millions of people like us and like him, are neighbors, whether they like it or not. We cannot escape the task of building a system of good neighbors.

CANADA

W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, August 4, 1944

... We must indeed preserve a large superiority of power on the side of peace. We shall have that power among the United Nations from the hour of victory. We must keep it in the first place to disarm our enemies and prevent a revival of barbaric militarism in their countries. We must keep it also not only to meet dangers from other quarters which might arise, but to further constructive solutions of the problems which give rise to such dangers.

... We should be able to make a better start now. The four greatest states among the United Nations have joined in the Moscow declaration, and there can be no doubt that the rest of the United Nations fully endorse its terms. In the organization of power it is for the most powerful states to take the lead. This is a correct application of the functional idea of international organization. The outlines of the plan which are now emerging involve a constitution generally similar to that of the League of Nations, including an assembly in which all member states would be equally represented and a council consisting of representatives of the greatest powers, together with a few other members. Great emphasis is being placed on the authority of the council as the central agency for watching over the peace of the world and initiating action to remove threats of war and other causes of serious disagreement or dissension. ... The co-operation of the greatest powers is necessary to maintain peace. They must co-operate not only with each other but also with other states of lesser power. Especially among our European allies the memory of the Munich agreement of the autumn of 1938 is still vivid. In the circumstances which prevailed then, the Munich agreement may have been the best means of postponing war with Germany. In it, however, two great powers bought from Hitler and his Italian partner, at the expense of a small country, time to prepare themselves for war. Unless the smaller countries can play their due part in the new international system, there will be ever present the fear that great powers may settle their differences at the expense of the smaller countries. The mere existence of such a fear would in time greatly prejudice the whole scheme. ... I have emphasized the necessity of basing world security on the maintenance of a large superiority of power. Between the two wars too many people in too many countries placed too much faith in general promises like those in the Kellogg pact, in expressions of good will, in constitutional mechanisms. The world has been disillusioned, but the reaction in the other direction can go too far. If the new world system is conceived in terms of power alone, peace may be kept for a time, but not for long. If it is to last and broaden out from precedent to precedent it must embody a dynamic idea and ideal. The concentration on security and on the need to marshal overwhelming force to meet threats to security is not enough. Security from war is indeed essential, but real security requires international action and organization in many other fields—in social welfare, in trade, in technical progress, in transportation and in economic development. The general aim must be to lower the temperature of nationalism, while preserving its good features, and thus to diminish national rivalries and reduce the importance of frontiers. This requires that there should be a wide and fruitful area of collaboration, including the continuance of part of the elaborate sys-

tem of wartime co-operation which we have built up among the allies under stress of danger. ...

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, statement, Washington, August 14, 1944

Since the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed three years ago today, significant advances have been made in international collaboration. Some examples, in addition to military conferences, are the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942; the Meeting of American Foreign Ministers of that same month; the Food and Agriculture Conference; the Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation; the Moscow, Teheran, and Cairo Conferences; the International Labor Conference; the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education; the Financial and Monetary Conference; and the forthcoming informal conversations on peace and security.

There is sound reason for believing that the present effective collaboration of the United Nations, which began in the midst of a terrible war for survival, will be continued and strengthened in the future for the maintenance of peace and security.

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, opening remarks at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, Washington, August 21, 1944

... The series of conversations which we initiate today marks another step toward establishing a lasting system of organized and peaceful relations among nations. We meet at a time when the war is moving toward an overwhelming triumph for the forces of freedom. It is our task here to help lay the foundations upon which, after victory, peace, freedom, and a growing prosperity may be built for generations to come.

The very character of this war moves us to search for an enduring peace—a peace founded upon justice and fair dealing for individuals and for nations. ...

Unity for common action toward common good and against common peril is the sole effective method by which, in time of peace, the nations which love peace can assure for themselves security and orderly progress, with freedom and justice. In the face of what modern war means to the physical and moral being of man, the maintenance of such unity is a matter of the highest and most enlightened self-interest. In the final analysis it is, first and foremost, a thing of the spirit.

Peace, like liberty, requires constant devotion and ceaseless vigilance. It requires willingness to take positive steps toward its preservation. It requires constant co-operation among the nations and determination to live together as good neighbors in a world of good neighbors. Peace requires an acceptance of the idea that its maintenance is a common interest so precious and so overwhelmingly important that all differences and controversies among nations can and must be resolved by resort to pacific means.

But peace also requires institutions through which the will to peace can be translated into action. The devising of such institutions is a challenge to the wisdom and ingenuity of men and women everywhere. That is why the United Nations, in the midst of a relentless prosecution of the war, have been working together to create the institutional foundations for a just and enduring peace.

These foundations must support arrangements for peaceful settlement of international disputes and for the joint use of force, if necessary, to prevent or suppress threats to the peace of breaches of the peace. They must also support arrangements for promoting, by cooperative effort, the development of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations and essential to the maintenance of security and peace. These are basic problems of international organization.

Substantial progress has already been achieved through the Food

and Agriculture Conference, the Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation, and the Financial and Monetary Conference. These and other similar steps are indicative of the profound desire of the United Nations to act together for advancing the well-being of their peoples. They have been achieved by united effort of more than forty nations, large and small.

The governments represented here are fully agreed in their conviction that the future maintenance of peace and security—the supreme objective of international co-operation—must be a joint task and a joint responsibility of all peace-loving nations, large and small. They solemnly proclaimed this conviction in a declaration of their Foreign Ministers at Moscow on October 30, 1943. It cannot be emphasized too often that the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a system of order under law, must constitute the foundation of any future international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

In the Moscow Declaration each government also assumed its share of responsibility for leadership in bringing about the creation of an international organization for this purpose through joint action by all peace-loving nations. Success or failure of such an organization will depend upon the degree to which the participating nations are willing to exercise self-restraint and assume the responsibilities of joint action in support of the basic purposes of the organization. There must be agreement among all whereby each can play its part to the best mutual advantage and bear responsibility commensurate with its capacity.

It is generally agreed that any peace and security organization would surely fail unless backed by force to be used ultimately in case of failure of all other means for the maintenance of peace. That force must be available promptly, in adequate measure, and with certainty. The nations of the world should maintain, according to their capacities, sufficient forces available for joint action when necessary to prevent breaches of the peace. . . .

It is the sacred duty of the governments of all peace-loving nations to make sure that international machinery is fashioned through which the peoples can build the peace they so deeply desire. The President is confident, and I share his view, that this thought will govern the deliberations which you are now undertaking.

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at the Dumbarton Oaks International Security Conference, Washington, August 21, 1944

The discussions which open today arise out of Article 4 of the Declaration of Moscow, in the framing of which Mr. Hull played such a notable and prominent part. We have listened with admiration to the wise and powerful words with which, speaking with the full authority and on behalf of the President, he has initiated our labors, and we are, I know, all profoundly grateful to him for his indefatigable efforts in the cause of international understanding. Of him it may well be said that he embodies in his own thought and person the qualities which have been responsible for the creation and the development of the country which he represents.

To the Soviet Government too we all have reason to be grateful. It was, I think, on M. Molotov's initiative that the decision to hold these discussions was taken; and it was evident from their attitude at the time of the Moscow Conference that the Soviet Government attached the highest importance to the establishment of a system designed to prevent a recurrence of Nazi and Fascist aggression.

My Government, for their part, have from the outset favored such discussions as these and have done their best to facilitate them. We have expressed our provisional views in the papers which have been circulated, and are most happy to find that in the papers of all three Governments there is such a large measure of agreement.

There seems, in fact, to be a general will on the part of what

are at present the three most powerful States in the world to achieve some kind of World Organization, and, what is more, to achieve it soon. That should itself be a good augury for the success of our labors.

Chinese statesmen also have declared their wish to join in the establishment of such an Organization, and I am confident that the subsequent discussions with the Chinese Delegation will show that there is a community of aim on the part of the most populous and ancient of our civilizations. We shall thus, I hope, be able to achieve agreement on principles between officials from States comprising about half the inhabitants of the globe, and from States moreover whose combined power and determination is now playing so prominent a part in overthrowing the sinister forces of evil, which only a few years ago came near to dominating all mankind.

The victory of the United Nations, whenever it comes, must be complete, the military defeat of the aggressors must be made clear beyond all doubt, and most of all to the German people themselves, and those responsible for the wanton outrages that have horrified the civilized world must receive their just retribution. On that basis we may hope to build more securely for the future. In 1919 there was a widespread feeling in many western countries that force was in itself an immoral thing: now there is a much more widespread conviction that it is only by the victors remaining both strong and united that peace can be preserved. We have, I believe, learnt many salutary lessons during the last few years.

We are met here to plan a system which will enable individual nations to co-operate effectively for the common good. Individual nations, small and great, must be the basis of our new World Organization; and our problem is to construct a machine which will give to each of them the responsibilities commensurate with its power. This is no light task, but it can be accomplished. No one wishes to impose some Great Power Dictatorship on the rest of the world; but it is obvious that unless the Great Powers are united in aim and ready to assume and fulfil loyally their obligations, no machine for maintaining peace, however perfectly constructed, will in practice work. On the other hand, even Hitler has surely learnt by now, what we have ourselves long known, that it is not by riding roughshod over the smaller powers that the vital interests of the larger can in the long run best be protected.

Another lesson I submit we may learn from experience is that we should not attempt too closely to define what is perhaps undefinable. As I have already said, no machine will work unless there is, at any rate on the part of the Great Powers, a will to work it; and equally even an imperfect machine may function satisfactorily provided such a will exists. We might do well, therefore, to concentrate on certain guiding principles and on certain basic institutions, rather than on a set of detailed regulations, which, however ingeniously drafted, will probably have to be revised in the light of subsequent experience.

Again, if there is a danger of excessive legalism, there is also a danger in believing, or at any rate in giving the impression, that because we may be able to agree, first as between ourselves and later as between all the United Nations, on some theoretically perfect organization for maintaining peace, peace will therefore indefinitely and automatically be maintained.

One other consideration I would put before you: we must remember that peace, in the negative sense of absence of war, is not enough. No world system can endure unless it permits of growth and unless it tends to promote the well-being of humanity as a whole. Hence, however, we may fit the various non-political world organizations into our general system, we must attempt to discover means whereby the expanding force of modern scientific discoveries is turned into constructive rather than into destructive channels. For this reason we must arrange for at least a measure of co-ordination between the various functional organizations now created or to be created, and in some way gear them to our world international machine. All I would emphasize here is that we should

always recognize that, if there is acute political instability, no economic or social organizations will function successfully, and, on the other hand, let us never forget that acute discomfort in the economic and social field will constantly hamper the smooth operation of the best political plans. In other words, freedom from fear and freedom from want must, so far as human agency can contrive it, move forward simultaneously.

In conclusion, I must for my part emphasize that the working party from the United Kingdom is recruited from the humble official level. From that it follows that, so far as we are concerned, these talks are necessarily exploratory and non-committal. Within these limitations we will make the best contribution we can, and I can pledge every one of us to devote his best energies and such knowledge and experience as he possesses to the search for agreed recommendations for submission by our Governments, if they approve them, to all the other United Nations. We may take comfort in the fact that, as will be seen from the memoranda already circulated, there is already much common ground.

Let us also not forget the time factor. Events are moving fast and peace may come sooner than some expect. It would be folly to delay the construction of at least some framework of future international co-operation until the problems of peace confront us with all their insistency. Moreover, the time even of officials is limited. If therefore we are to establish the points on which there seems to be provisional agreement, we must work fast and well.

Much depends on our efforts, and some give and take will probably be required. Let us go forward with a full sense of our responsibilities, not only to our own nations, but to the world at large. Let us go forward above all with the determination to produce a scheme worthy of the men and women of the United Nations who are giving their all to make possible the construction of a better world.

UNITED STATES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, informal remarks at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, Washington, August 23, 1944

You have a great responsibility. In a way, it is a preliminary responsibility. But after all we learn from experience, and what I hope is that in planning for the peace that is to come we will arrive at the same good co-operation and unity of action as we have in the carrying on of the war. It is a very remarkable fact, that we have carried on this war with such great unanimity. . . .

And we have got to make, not merely a peace but a peace that will last, and a peace in which the larger nations will work absolutely in unison in preventing war by force. But the four of us have to be friends, conferring all the time—the basis of getting to know each other. . . .

And so I am very hopeful that it can be done because of the spirit that has been shown in the past in getting together for the winning of the war. But that is the spirit that we have learned so well in the last few years. It is something new, this close relationship between the British Empire and the United States. This great friendship between the Russian people and the American people—that is new. Let's hang on to both friendships, and by spreading that spirit around the world, we may have a peaceful period for our grandchildren to grow up in.

All I can do is to wish you every possible success in this great task that you have undertaken. It will not be a final task, but at least it gives us something to build on, so that we can accomplish the one thing that humanity has been looking forward to for a great many hundreds of years. . . .

POLAND

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Prime Minister, statement to the press in London, August 31, 1944

The problem of Polish-Soviet relations was presented to public

opinion as limited to the dispute between the Poles of the Polish Government in London and the National Liberation Committee in Lublin. It has been forgotten that question concerns the settlement of relations between the Polish State and the U.S.S.R., that it concerns one-half of Poland and eleven million of her citizens, that it concerns the future political system of the Polish State, its full sovereignty and independence, that it concerns the permanent settlement of relations in Europe such as will guarantee harmony and is closely linked with the foundations of future lasting peace. The problem cannot be settled only on the basis of a so-called dispute between Poles and only between Poles. It would be also a mistake to think that personal difficulties are the main obstacle.

. . . My journey to Moscow, to which Marshal Stalin consented and to which I was encouraged by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, has given us an opportunity to find out what was the attitude of the Soviet Government and what were the tendencies of the Committee of National Liberation. However, the U.S.S.R. signed an agreement with the Committee of National Liberation after the date of my departure from London and after powers which my colleagues had given me had been drafted and before my arrival in Moscow. Thus I had to return to London to work out a new program. This new program of such momentous importance for the future of Poland has been forwarded to our people at home and approved by the Polish Underground Parliament. Now it has been forwarded to Moscow as the unanimous decision of both Governments and our home country. In drafting this program we were actuated by the following motives: First, the anxiety to retain full independence and sovereignty of Poland. Secondly, the sincere desire to establish lasting and friendly Polish-Soviet relationship including a Polish-Soviet alliance, both during the war and after the war. Thirdly, to provide a basis for international collaboration by posting solution of the Polish test case, in addition to friendship with the Soviet Union on a permanent alliance between Poland and Britain, Poland and France, and Poland and Czechoslovakia, and on the most intimate relations between Poland and the United States, and thus secure the world against further aggression.

POLAND

Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, President, broadcast to Poland, London, September 1, 1944

Our deep love of freedom and independence not only made us rise in defense of these values but also made us respect the right of other nations to possess them. Therefore, German attempts to draw us into the orbit of their aggressive plans and into common war against the Soviet Union were in vain. We wanted peace and we wanted to develop our State amid good relations with our neighbors. This remains the cornerstone of our foreign policy today. After the war we want an organized system of security and we want to enter this system as an active member with equal rights. We want peace not only for ourselves but also for the whole world, based on the power of law and not on the principle of "Might is Right".

GREAT BRITAIN

Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, broadcast, Manchester, September 3, 1944

The building of an international organization of nations which can secure all its members from the threat of aggression and war is a tremendous aim. If we have to live again in a disturbed and uncertain world, with the echoes of the quarrels of great nations ringing in our ears and aggressors sharpening their weapons in dark corners, we shall have neither wealth nor leisure nor peace of mind to spare to make happy lives for ourselves here at home. The achievement of solid international security is the primary aim of the peace. Let us by all means be cautious about it, not aiming at the moon and hitting the haystack, not getting too far away from

the existing realities of national power and wealth. But, I would add, let us not be so cautious or realistic that we forget what we are setting out to achieve. We want an absolute ban upon lawless aggression, and we want it for all time. The Fascist and Japanese aggression, those curses upon Europe and the East, must be prohibited for all time. History has amply proved that there is only one way to achieve such an aim, and that is by a just system of world relationships and forces under international control sufficiently powerful to enforce it.

... A police force, whether it is armed with truncheons and tear gas or with bombers and tanks is only a police force if it is at the disposal of one unified public-spirited will. The authority behind that will must be constituted out of the general will of a number of constituent powers. But it must be capable, when all the deliberation is over, of speaking with a single voice and of swiftly enforcing its will for peace and justice.

I do not know, nobody knows, how long it may be before we succeed in achieving such an organization. We are trying at Dumbarton Oaks to reach agreement on an important step forward along this road. I know that we cannot expect to reach the end of the road in a day. But I know also that some abandonment of the traditional idea of separate unqualified national sovereignties is a necessary condition of the successful maintenance of permanent peace. It was one of the fundamental maxims of Roman law, it is one of the basic ideas of all law, that no man shall be a judge in his own cause. When we have reached the point of accepting in all honesty and sincerity the maxim that no nation can be a judge in its own cause, we shall have taken the essential step towards the outlawry of war.

We have great and complex economic problems to solve in working out schemes for money and trading relationships between the nations, for distributing the supplies of the great basic commodities on which the world depends, and avoiding the catastrophic booms and slumps of the past. But when all the brilliant schemes have been worked out, there still remains one thing needful, the same thing of which I have already spoken, a readiness on the part of the individual nations to subordinate their own interest in some particular matter to the common interests of the nations as a whole.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, address in the Palais de Chaillot, Paris, September 12, 1944

It is really not necessary to explain how and why this will of our nation gives it the right—yes, the right—to state its rights, in the settlement of the war. Therefore, we wish to believe that finally this right will no longer be contested, and that the official isolation of France—of which all those who speak and act in its name have suffered—will be replaced by the same kind of relations, which it has been our privilege and custom to entertain with other great nations. But by succeeding in remaining in the struggle, France did not only help itself. By so doing, France has made just and possible the association in the work which will ensure the security of all, and the world organization in a state of peace.

A state of peace, indeed, for without it, it is impossible to see how security, world organization or peace could be validly and permanently established. Yes, we believe it is in the supreme interest of mankind, that the provisions which will regulate the future of defeated Germany must not be discussed nor adopted without France; because it is a fact that France is the nation which has been the most concerned with this disagreeable neighbor and nothing efficient can be accomplished without the assistance of the principal person concerned.

We believe that none of the European problems of today and tomorrow can be solved without France, because France is so deeply

integrated into Europe, that everything which concerns a portion of the Old World directly concerns France—and vice versa; and because the French have a truly remarkable experience of European problems, and also to be frank, because many Frenchmen are gifted with truly remarkable common sense. And also we believe that it will not be possible to regulate the political, economic and moral conditions under which the man of tomorrow will live, without taking into consideration the 80 million men, who are living under the French flag. Moreover, many men believe, that any important human construction would be weak, if the seal of France were not upon it.

AUSTRALIA

Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, in a speech before the Australian Parliament, September 17, 1944

The preponderance of the world's armed strength now lies in the hands of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. The military strength of each of these powers is so great that any security system which did not have the full backing of all three would have little chance of success. It follows that it is basic to the success of any world organization that each of the three great powers must be ready to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and a means must be found of composing any differences among the big Three. Moreover, the three great powers must act unitedly against any aggression or threats to peace by any other nation. While this may sound what is called "power politics", it is only bare common sense if we consider the experience gained in the working of the League of Nations.

There is also another side to the problem. The community of nations consists of small and near great powers in addition to the big Four. The second part of the problem of world organization is to make sure that these leading powers will pay due regard to the old but still cherished doctrine of equality of states. They should allow fair representation to smaller powers on any world organization and so gain their confidence and support. No sovereign state however small will want to think its destiny has been handed over to another power however great. Therefore, a successful world organization requires an enthusiastic contribution from smaller powers both in counsel and in material support. We must remember that a so called small power may in certain areas and in special circumstances have great if not decisive influence. Every nation, quite irrespective of its size or population, has a stake in preserving peace.

FRANCE

Georges Bidault, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, press conference, Paris, September 22, 1944

France has no intention of cloistering herself inside a closed economic system. We wish to be present and shall be present on all shores of the seven seas. We believe in world organization, but it is a heavy task we have to complete because it is necessary to remake an entire world. France remained at the side of free people despite Vichy's treachery and all our alliances remain in our hearts despite treason.

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Lords, September 26, 1944

... It is the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government ... that collaboration between the United Nations great and small, which has been so notable a feature in winning this war, should be maintained during the days of victory. We want to see all of them make their contribution, where possible, to a solution of the problems of the future, as they have made so great a contribution in surmounting the dangers of the past. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister in the House of Commons,
September 28, 1944

The future of the whole world, and certainly the future of Europe, perhaps for several generations, depends upon the cordial, trustful and comprehending association of the British Empire, the United States and Soviet Russia, and no pains must be spared and no patience grudged which are necessary to bring that supreme hope to fruition.

I may say at once, however, that it will not, in my opinion, be possible for the great Powers to do more, in the first instance, than act as trustees for the other States, great or small, during the period of transition. Whatever may be settled in the near future must be regarded as a preliminary, and only as a preliminary, to the actual establishment in its final form of the future world organization. . . .

It is right to make surveys and preparations beforehand and many have been made and are being made, but the great decisions cannot be taken finally, even for the transition period, without far closer, calmer, and more searching discussions than can be held amid the clash of arms. Moreover, we cannot be blind to the fact that there are many factors, at present unknowable, which will make themselves manifest on the morrow of the destruction of the Nazi regime. . . . I have spoken with exceptional caution about Foreign Affairs, and, I hope, without any undue regard for popular applause. I have sedulously avoided the appearance of any one country trying to lay down the law to its powerful allies or to the many other States involved. I hope, however, that I have given the House some impression of the heavy and critical work that is going forward and will lie before us even after the downfall of our principal enemy has been effected. I trust that what I have said may be weighed with care and good will not only in this House and in this country but also in the far wider circles involved.

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, formal remarks at the opening meeting of the Chinese phase of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, September 29, 1944

. . . I am fully convinced that the excellent work already done, and that which we are about to undertake, will carry us a long way toward complete understanding among our Governments and toward the wider understanding which the peace-loving peoples of the world so ardently desire.

We all realize that the successful conclusion of these exploratory conversations will constitute only the first step in the formation of the international organization which we seek to establish. Other steps must be taken as quickly as possible if we are to be prepared for the peace. . . .

It is also our hope that a full United Nations conference may be convened at an early date to bring to fruition the work which has been initiated in these conversations.

In all these deliberations we must never forget that millions of people throughout the world are struggling for an opportunity to live in freedom and security. Our great objective must be to create conditions which will make for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the advancement of human welfare, and to establish an organization for the effective realization of these high purposes.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October 1944

. . . It goes without saying that Czechoslovakia accepts the principles of the postwar system of security envisaged at the Allied conferences in Moscow and Teheran. As a small state she

desires to carry out in agreement with the other Allies, the obligations which arise from the decision there reached. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Lords, October 3, 1944

. . . I will now turn from the military to the diplomatic aspect of the international situation. . . . As your Lordships know, the change in our military fortunes has made possible a considerable change also in the character of British foreign policy. I do not mean a change in the fundamental aims of British foreign policy—they are unchanging—but in the immediate objective of that policy. . . .

In this present improved situation there are, as I see it. . . three main aims of British foreign policy. The first is to foster good relations between ourselves and our Allies and between our Allies and each other, to ensure that the United Nations are in fact what their name implies, united nations. The second aim of British foreign policy is to help to put the occupied countries on their feet, and to encourage national unity in countries which have been distracted by the strains which they have undergone. The third and last aim is to assist in preparations for ending this war and for building the postwar world. . . .

With regard to the first aim, that of fostering good relations between the Allies, fortunately our problems are very few. Our own relations with all our Allies are good. They have our confidence, and I believe that we have theirs. In particular, the relations between the three main Allies—the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America and Soviet Russia—are excellent. . . . I do not suggest that those three great Allied Governments—the United Kingdom Government, the United States Government and the Soviet Government—always agree on every point. Indeed, in my view, that would indicate a lack of frankness which would be definitely unhealthy. But there does exist a close and growing spirit of collaboration, both as regards war problems and as regards postwar problems.

The main difficulty in this sphere still remains, of course, the Polish question. . . . To this problem, as the House knows, the Prime Minister and my right honorable friend the Foreign Secretary have devoted an immense amount of work. I am quite certain that the House will agree with them that no trouble can be too great to find a solution of the Polish problem; for, as the Foreign Secretary himself said on Friday last, without a solution of that problem we can have no certain guarantee that Great Britain, the United States and Russia will be able to work together in complete harmony; and on collaboration between these three Powers the hopes of world peace in the future must depend. . . .

I now come to the second aim of British foreign policy—to help to set the liberated countries on their feet. Here too I think that the situation is encouraging. There are striking signs, which your Lordships will have noted, that in the countries which have been liberated up to now four years of German occupation have not destroyed the spirit of liberty, and that constitutional government is being rapidly resumed—more rapidly than perhaps we might have expected would be possible. In Belgium Parliament has already met, and we may be quite certain that the same will be the position in Holland as soon as the Germans are expelled. So firmly rooted are their ancient institutions in the hearts of those courageous peoples. Equally in France there are signs of a rapid recovery. General de Gaulle, whose leadership seems unquestioned throughout the country, has already set up an administration in Paris on a wider and more representative basis than existed before, and I understand that to fill the gap until the French prisoners of war return from Germany and elections can be held, he intends, in accordance with decrees already passed at Algiers, to set up a consultative representative body as an interim measure.

At that moment, as I understand it, the question of the recognition of the French Provisional Government can come up for consideration. . . .

I should now like to turn for a moment to Italy. . . . The Italian Government—which is formed . . . on the widest Anti-Fascist basis which is at present attainable—has shown a cordial desire to assist the Allies. Moreover, the Italian people . . . have shown extraordinary evidence of cordiality to the Allied cause. Finally the Italian army—or contingents of the Italian army—is at present fighting with courage and determination to free their country from the German yoke.

Therefore it may surely be argued that Italy is working her passage; and in the view of the Prime Minister and the President of the United States, and with the full agreement, I understand, of the War Cabinet, there is recognition that the time has come when there should be a further improvement and mitigation in our relationship with the Italian Government. . . . It is not a question—this is a point which was made, I think, by the noble Lord, Lord Rennell—of propping up the present Government; it is a question of giving a chance for democratic government to survive. When the Germans are driven from North Italy, which we all hope will be soon, no doubt the basis of the Government will be further widened; but to have chaos now would not in any way assist the objects which we all have in view. . . .

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address, at the luncheon of the Rotary Club of New York, October 5, 1944

To create a system of peace on a world scale—for only such a peace organization can endure—bold statemanship and human understanding will have to be strained to their utmost creative limits. The United Nations concept, that great idea initiated by the President of the United States, must survive and operate on the basis of the human principles for which all the nations of our Camp have declared that they are fighting.

War can only be won by use of power, but no lasting peace can be built on power alone. The principles of justice, fairness and equal rights of all peoples must constitute the foundations of peace, for only such a peace can justify the use of power to enforce it.

CHINA

V. K. Wellington Koo, Ambassador to Great Britain, speech at Dumbarton Oaks, October 7, 1944

We believe that this important series of conversations initiated by the United States Government has accomplished its purpose. The set of agreed proposals, when approved by the four Governments and finally embodied in a more complete form, will constitute a most valuable instrument for consideration and adoption by all the interested nations at a general conference.

It is our hope that this conference can be held in the near future so that the ardent wish of all the peace-loving peoples to see the establishment of a universal organization to safeguard international peace and security after the achievement of victory over our common enemy in the east and in the west can find early fulfilment.

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador to the United States, address at the Pulaski Day Dinner, New York, October 8, 1944

If the United Nations are determined to establish a just and durable peace, above all they will have firmly to discourage the imperialist tendencies of the mighty and protect and strengthen the weak.

All nations, great and small, must be equal before the law. World peace requires that all the United Nations should collabo-

rate in the task of establishing a just and durable peace, and—world peace being indivisible—all of them should bear their full share of responsibility for its maintenance.

We have learned through bitter experience that lasting security cannot be established on the basis of a precarious system of balance of power or by covenants unsupported by the firm determination to enforce their respect.

The future of world peace is in the hands of the United Nations. They will have to insist on the acceptance by all the Members of the United Nations Concept of the principles for which we have declared that we are fighting and to refuse to surrender any of them to any pressure, whatever its source.

CANADA

W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, in commenting on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, October 9, 1944

. . . Canada is vitally concerned that an effective international organization should be established for the maintenance of peace and security. It is generally recognized that agreement between the countries which have taken part in the discussions in Washington is an essential condition of success. Without the full participation of the greatest countries it would be impossible to establish an international system which could effectively maintain the peace of the world and achieve the necessary co-operation, not only in adjusting disputes and preventing war, but also in solving the great international problems of human welfare.

. . . Mr. Churchill . . . said: "It would not be prudent to press in a hurry for momentous decisions governing the whole future of the world." I endorse this opinion. There is still a hard road to victory that must be travelled, and victory itself is much more than the end of fighting. The war has brought great changes which will leave their permanent impress on the entire world. We are living in an era of great and rapid transition, and it would be folly to think that we can now determine with precision the forces which will shape the world to come.

It is scarcely necessary for me to say that, before any final commitment is entered into with respect to the participation of Canada in a general international organization, there will be the fullest opportunity for discussion in the Parliament of Canada.

UNITED STATES

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, statement outlining tentative plans for world security organization, as drafted at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, October 9, 1944

All of us have every reason to be immensely gratified by the results achieved at these conversations. To be sure, the proposals in their present form are neither complete nor final. Much work still remains to be done before a set of completed proposals can be placed before the peace-loving nations of the world as a basis of discussion at a formal conference to draft a charter of the projected organization for submission to the governments. But the document which has been prepared by the able representatives of the four participating nations and has been agreed to by them as their recommendation to their respective governments is sufficiently detailed to indicate the kind of an international organization which, in their judgment, will meet the imperative need of providing for the maintenance of international peace and security.

These proposals are now being studied by the four governments which were represented at the Washington conversations, and which will give their urgent attention to the next steps which will be necessary to reach the goal of achieving the establishment of an effective international organization. . . .

The road to the establishment of an international organization capable of effectively maintaining international peace and security

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

will be long. At times, it will be difficult. But we cannot hope to attain so great an objective without constant effort and unflinching determination that the sacrifices of this war shall not be in vain.

CHINA

Wang Chung-hui, Secretary-General of the Supreme Defense Council, Chungking, October 12, 1944

... The outstanding feature of the proposed international security organization is the fact that the principal authority to keep peace should rest with the Security Council. This will ensure promptness in action which is essential to the suppression of acts of aggression. ...

The proposals provide for the creation of a Military Staff Committee to advise the Security Council on the use of force to prevent aggression and to direct military movements and operations in case military action is taken. The proposals further call for an international agreement on the proportioning of the armed forces the member states should send in case of military action so that no nation can shun its responsibilities.

... In the new organization all important decisions of the Assembly are to be made by two-thirds majority and others by simple majority. Such stipulation, he believes, will facilitate smooth and prompt handling of all matters.

The tentative proposals had laid down a firm foundation for a powerful world security organization, although there are still some questions which remain to be solved by the United Nations at the forthcoming general conference.

NETHERLANDS

Hubertus J. van Mook, Minister of Overseas Territory and Acting Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, broadcast, Washington, October 12, 1944

Internationally ... the problem of collective action has only been solved in the prosecution of the war. Peace will find the several nations in extremely different conditions, rich and poor, powerful and less powerful, with a high and a low standard of living. Adjustments that remained in suspense during the fighting years will have to be made, relations between free countries and liberated countries will have to be renewed. Impoverished countries will have to begin their upward struggle again.

In this vast and intricate process I am sure you will find the Netherlands seriously hurt, but determined and willing to play their part, convinced of the necessity of international agreement, free from envy or resentment, but expecting the United Nations to shoulder the task together. ...

CHINA

Wei Tao-ming, Ambassador to the United States, speech to the Board of Education, New York, October 30, 1944

Because of scientific developments the world has shrunk so small and the peoples have been brought so closely together that we are now like one family under one roof. It is of the utmost importance for us to live harmoniously together and such is our ultimate aim in this war. Although a great step has already been taken in the concrete proposals recently made for a world security organization, its success will depend upon the whole-hearted co-operation among the member nations. Such co-operation can only be achieved through perfect understanding and it is obvious that cultural exchanges will make a great contribution towards this goal.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jan Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressing the Historical Society of Trinity College, Dublin, November 1, 1944

Whenever we were victorious this result was achieved more by the preponderance of the spirit than by physical strength. My father, the late President T. G. Masaryk said: "Mankind strives for unity, but does not strive for uniformity; world-federation, not world-power; *consensus gentium*, not slavery of nations and races; the organization, not the conquest of Europe."

Those words, indicate the development which we are pursuing now, during the final phase of the present war. The preponderant strength of the Great Powers who are bearing the main burden of the struggle need not cause any concern to the small nations. They will maintain their position in the world if they take their stand upon spiritual activities, moral staunchness and courage, and if they rely more upon the resources of the spirit than upon physical strength.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, speech before the Consultative Assembly, Paris, November 22, 1944

It is through negotiations only, that international regulations may be established, and France will participate in their establishment, because she has appraised them.

Moreover, we may only conceive of such regulations, if, this time, at last, they ensure on the banks of the Rhine, the basic security of our country, as well as that of Belgium, Holland, and in a large measure the security of England, which we have long sought to guarantee.

Moreover, we believe that this will be the final occasion which will reveal the unity of Europe, in which we believe, and which, we ardently hope, will be staked by precise acts between the three poles of Moscow, London, and Paris.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, reply to President Wladyslaw Raczewicz when the new Polish Cabinet took its oath of office, London, November 29, 1944

In the most urgent field of foreign policy, our labors will follow the directions drawn by the late General Sikorski. The Government will also take advantage of all the experience and achievements of former Premier Mikolajczyk. Particularly, my Government will spare no effort in trying to bring about a lasting understanding between the Polish Republic and her great Eastern neighbor, Russia, in accordance with the principles of international life fixed in the Atlantic Charter and with a view to safeguarding the most vital interests of two neighboring countries.

Fidelity to alliances and international agreements will continue to be a leading principle of Polish policy. Particularly will this policy be based on our alliance with Great Britain, to whom the whole world owes a great debt of gratitude and admiration for her unflinching stand against German aggression and her victorious war effort, undertaken to free the world from tyranny. My Government will also do everything in its power to maintain and deepen our alliance with France, whose rebirth to new greatness and power is greeted by her Polish friends with deep emotion and joy.

We consider one of the chief aims of our policy the developing of a deep and lasting friendship with that great democracy, the United States, whose powerful war effort has tilted the scales of victory. The friendship of the Polish Nation for the United States is made more conscious, if possible, by the fact that many Americans of Polish origin are taking part in the American war effort, that they fight in American ranks in all war theaters and are forging arms for all the fighting democracies.

We shall be anxious to maintain and strengthen close co-operation with our brotherly neighbor, the Czechoslovak Republic, co-operation which should extend to political, economic and cultural fields. We are linked to all the United Nations fighting the German

and Japanese aggressors in both hemispheres by a close brotherhood-in-arms, which we trust will develop into a lasting friendship in days of peace. . . .

We shall see to it that Poland will take her full part in the organization of a postwar world—a world based on freedom, law and justice, in which all nations will be free from fear and all men free from want. . . .

NEW ZEALAND

C. A. Berendsen, Minister to the United States, broadcast, New York, December 2, 1944

... We believe that it is possible to preserve the peace of the world, that it is possible to establish a system of collective security which will stand the test of time. There is much that I would like to say, if time permitted, on the minimum requirements of the structure of the organization that we are about to establish for that purpose, but the point I want to make is this, that in our opinion success depends to a much greater degree upon the spirit in which the nations of the world approach this problem than upon the mechanism that we establish for that purpose.

On the negative side the world must renounce the selfish and futile policies that may be shortly described by the term appeasement, national self-interest, real politics, balance of power, and all such outworn and discredited shibboleths. On the positive side we believe that three things are essential. Firstly, there must be an earnest attempt to achieve a more equitable distribution of the good things of life amongst the nations of the world. Secondly, the right thinking peoples of the world must band themselves together to enforce peace—they must regard an attack or a contemplated attack on one of their number as an attack on all—they must be prepared to resist, to defeat, and to punish any attempt by one nation or group of nations to apply force against another nation or group of nations, except through, and under the authority of, our future peace organization; and finally we believe that the problem is one for the man and woman in the street just as much as, if not more than, it is a problem for Governments; that no such effort can be lasting or effective unless it is based upon the approval and the determination of the peoples of the world, and that to achieve that popular approval and determination, the organization must be founded upon simple, clear and firm principles which can be understood and accepted by all. . . .

... If the right thinking peoples of the world are indeed prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to achieve international economic justice, if they are indeed prepared to meet lawless force with lawful force whenever necessary, if they are resolved to be guided by the principles of justice, honor and human decency rather than selfish national interests, then we can forever abolish this insensate, this agonizing and destructive catastrophe of war. . . .

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, broadcast to Poland, December 6, 1944

All Poles earnestly and sincerely desire good-neighborly and friendly relations with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, whose magnificent war deeds in the East of Europe have turned the scales of victory to the side of the United Nations. . . .

The Government believes that all controversial matters between Poland and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics will be solved on lasting, just and honorable conditions, safeguarding the interests of both sides. Our whole nation unanimously desires to be an element of lasting peace and good-neighborly friendship with nations which, like ourselves, have passed through the hell of German aggression. Poland desires to be among the free nations of the world and an element of peace, freedom and progress in every sphere of life. She deserves that her rights should be respected, that her

future should be secured and that our future generation should live and work in peace and happiness. When the era of the bloody German flood will end, when aggression is checked and rendered impossible in the future—we will do all we can to make Poland play her due part in the brotherly family of the peace-loving nations of the world.

SOUTH AFRICA

Field Marshal Jan C. Smuts, Prime Minister, speech at opening of United Party Congress at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, South Africa, December 6, 1944

... The establishment of a world organization for security against war is already in hand and at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference a far-reaching step in advance has already been taken. The adhesion of both the United States and Russia to the new plan ensures its success. Their absence from the League of Nations in its early years was the primary cause of its failure. The great powers will now in all earnestness range their immense responsibility, force and prestige behind the security organization and a step will thus be taken toward a peaceful international society which may mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind. The League of Nations will thus find its fulfilment in an even more powerful bulwark of peace. That great achievement is in sight and may in, and by, itself completely justify all measureless sacrifices of the greatest, most costly and most devastating of all world wars. The rule of law backed up by the solemn sanctions of authority and power will thus come to cover the whole world. It will be the greatest thing in history and I hope to see it yet.

POLAND

Tomasz Arciszewski, Prime Minister, statement at a meeting of the Polish National Council, London, December 13, 1944

My Government sincerely adheres to the policy of an understanding with the Soviet Union and desires to do everything in its power—continuing the efforts of previous Governments—in order to bring about such an understanding, which could become a guarantee of a really friendly and lasting settlement of relations between two neighboring states. This understanding must be based on respect for the rights and vital interest of both sides. It must also be an understanding which will not evoke a feeling of injury and injustice among the Polish people. . . .

I also want to draw your attention to the recent conference at Dumbarton Oaks, which dealt with the organization of postwar security.

It would be too early to foretell the results achieved there and although we cannot share in some of the tendencies in the drafts worked out by the three great powers, nevertheless, we consider it an important fact in itself, that the question of a solution so important to world peace has been attempted.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hubert Ripka, Minister of State, broadcast to Czechoslovakia on the anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty, London, December 14, 1944

... The Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty forms the basis of the country's external security and fundamental contribution to the unification of national forces. The alliance with the Soviet and friendship with the west was welcomed by all classes of the Czechoslovak people in complete accordance with their convictions and with sincere joy.

Thanks to the treaty, administration of the liberated territories has been handed over to the Government Delegate, Nemec. The Slovak uprising is also being furthered by the fact that special supplies have been made available.

Thanks to the treaty, Czechoslovakia's interests are receiving effective support. Future Czechoslovak prosperity will be fostered by economic collaboration with the USSR and also with close relations with Central, Southeastern Europe, the west and overseas. Already in the first year the active balance is being shown. Besides strengthened relations between the Great Powers, European security is fostered by regional treaties like the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty which forms a parallel to the British-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties. The Czechoslovak Government welcomes the Franco-Soviet Treaty as a step to European consolidation and help in the application of the Czechoslovak policy for an all-European synthesis.

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, December 15, 1944

... We have our twenty-years' treaty with Russia. We understand, and we believe that they understand and other nations understand, how much the future peace of Europe is going to depend upon our ability to work together and to understand each other. We remember that in three great wars we have fought together on the same side in the end, although we may not have begun as Allies, and that after each of them we have fallen apart. We know that if that happens again, the prospects for the peace of Europe are very frail indeed. ...

GREAT BRITAIN

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, reply to a question in the House of Commons, December 20, 1944

His Majesty's Government were consulted before negotiations began on the Franco-Soviet pact and they replied that they welcomed the idea of a Franco-Soviet pact similar to the Anglo-Soviet Treaty as an additional link between the Great European Allies. ... The preamble to the Franco-Soviet Treaty ... expressly records the joint conviction of the two Governments that the maintenance of peace in the future will require the closest collaboration with all the United Nations and their joint determination to collaborate in the creation of an international system of security. It seems clear that there is therefore no question of any conflict between the Franco-Soviet Treaty and the future World Security Organization, which all parties are agreed in wishing to establish.

FRANCE

General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, speech before the Consultative Assembly, at the end of the debate on the Franco-Soviet Pact, December 21, 1944

The pact for alliance and mutual assistance, which France has just concluded with Soviet Russia, fulfils a tendency, which was made natural and traditional in both countries by the trials of their European policy. It constitutes an act of unity, sealed between two great powers of the Continent, not only for waging war until total victory, but also for acting in such a way that once Germany is defeated, she will be incapable of doing any harm. Lastly, this pact has been signed through which Russia and France manifest their will for a close collaboration in all measures leading to the status of future Europe. ...

For France and Russia, to be united is to be strong; to be separated is to be in danger. Indeed, there lies in this, a categorical imperative of geography, experience and common sense. I can affirm that this truth which has been forced upon both nations by all they have lived through, has prevailed during the Moscow negotiations. The two governments have come to the conclusion of the necessity for a special association between Russia and France.

According to the two contracting parties, this is the first stage in building the edifice of Victory, and tomorrow that of security. In the world of today, where, it is said, that a rather special realism presides over the relations among nations, reason dictates treaties.

But because the two principal powers of the European continent, who are directly exposed to danger from Germany; free of any competition of interests, in any part of the world; interdependent for their reconstruction, because of the destruction they have both suffered; and capable through military institutions of acting together at all times against the aggressor, have decided to unite one to the other, according to definite terms; it is obvious that neither one nor the other foresees the world organization or even security, without the contractual help of nations who in the present war are fully engaged in the same effort. The basis and terms of the agreements which may be concluded by France with anyone of these nations, obviously depend on the conditions under which each nation will be placed in relation to us, the enemy and the rest of the world, as these conditions have a decisive influence on what they will be able to do. But I may formally say beforehand that these agreements seem natural and desirable to us. ... This France cannot imagine for tomorrow either victory or security in the face of Germany, without an effective alliance with London.

It is no less obvious that definite ties are necessary with the States of the continent such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, who were, are, and would still be in danger of becoming the appointed victims of Teutonic ambitions.

The trial that has been suffered in common, with all that it contains of lessons and experience, must not end without the establishment of a general system of co-operation and security, at least from the strategic and economic viewpoints. Such a system should obviously include, and in the front rank, the United States of America, whose major efforts on the western front of Europe, as well as in the Pacific theater have added admiration to friendship in the hearts of the French people. Without their powerful help one cannot see how the victory of today and the lasting peace of tomorrow would be possible.

To this collective task, France intends to help all she can, according to her genius, tradition and ability. It appears that even the combination of events, which has gradually proved to all that one cannot proceed without France in the settlement of world affairs, has also proved, at the same time, that it is impossible to win the victory which will permit this settlement without France. In both of these fields France claims all her responsibilities.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jan Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, broadcast to Czechoslovakia, London, December 31, 1944

Our foreign policy of 1945 will be based on the solid unalterable massive foundation of our agreement with neighboring Soviet Union. We must fulfil fully, without hesitation, everything resulting from this foundation. People speak of the bridge between the east and west but we never offered ourselves as a bridge because the glorious Soviets and the western democracies do not need us. Our relations with the other neighbors will be according to the viewpoint of the Soviet pact. We want a strong democratic Poland which will collaborate with the Soviet Union. For another solution of the Polish question, we have no time. We want a decent democratic Hungary, collaborating with the Soviet Union which lives in peace with us. The same applies to Yugoslavia, Austria and Romania.

Our relations with the western Allies has not changed and will not change. We are grateful to Britain for her help when she and we stood alone. We appreciate immensely and are grateful for American interest and sympathy. We will need the help of the western democracies for economic and cultural reconstruction.

With new democratic France we have our traditional loyal friendship. Without a strong France there can be no European equilibrium. Such is our foreign policy for 1945. We hope it will suit you. My responsibility ends with the end of the war. Then you can arrange things as you like them.

UNITED STATES

Joseph C. Grew, Under Secretary of State, radio address, Washington, January 1, 1945

... Then, the peace, a peace such as has never yet been built by man. That statement, in itself, may sound like wishful thinking. But that thinking is based on the solid ground of such an upsurge of determination among the peoples of the world as has never before been seen in history—the determination that war, like slavery and torture and disease—must go. And we shall succeed—, have no doubt about that.

Now, in erecting our future world structure for the maintenance of security and peace, we need a new approach to this whole tremendous problem.

First, we must profit from the errors of the past. The flaws and weaknesses of our past ineffective peace machinery must be overcome, as they will be overcome. The peace structures of the past failed because they were superficial; they were like poultices prescribed for cancer—and you can't temporize with cancer.

Second, we must be prepared to make what in the past has been considered sacrifice. I do not mean a sacrifice of sovereignty. The thought of fashioning any kind of superstate is to us wholly repugnant, and no such thought has entered or can enter into our counsels. But we and the other nations devoted to peace must be prepared to join our efforts and a part of our armed forces not only for the common good *but for the future security of our own nation*. Is that too great a sacrifice to avoid the horrors of another world war, waged with the terrific and as yet unimagined scientific engines of destruction of both military and civilian life that will certainly be used if war comes again? Can any sacrifice be too great to avoid that sort of cataclysm?

Third, we must realize that whatever peace structure is erected, it will not satisfy everybody. We can only aim for what is desirable within the scope of what is attainable. But for the sake of our national way of life and our as yet unborn generations, let us be prepared to give whatever plan may ultimately emerge from the eventual United Nations Conference a chance to succeed, with implicit confidence that by the process of trial and error it will mature and prove effective. Whatever plan emerges from that momentous conference *must* be made to succeed, for the alternative is utter tragedy.

I believe with all my heart that if the American people will hold fast to the bright hopes and principles and ideals which have inspired them in the past; if they will refuse to allow their hope for permanent peace to be frustrated; if they will believe in themselves and not only resolutely face their own difficult problems but also seek to understand those of their allies, who want peace and security as much as we do; and if, above all, they will believe in the future world for which they have fought—they can have that world.

CHINA

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, President, address at New Year Dinner to Allied Military Leaders, Chungking, January 5, 1945

There is another point that I must emphasize. When we think of the eventual victory and the subsequent days of peace, I cannot help feeling that the one sure foundation of lasting peace lies in friendly co-operation among members of the family of nations. I believe that the traditional ties of friendship, together with our relations as Allies, will always stand the test of time after they

have been forged on the anvils of blood and fire. They will be strong, powerful and indestructible.

CHINA

Wang Shih-chieh, Minister of Information, statement, Chungking, January 11, 1945

The Chinese Government, and particularly Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, has all along maintained that a world organization must be set up before the end of the war. If one thinks that the temporary differences among the United Nations have to be solved before the establishment of a world peace organization, it will be to put the cart in front of the horse.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION; UNIVERSAL, REGIONAL AND FEDERATIVE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hubert Ripka, Minister of State, article in *New Europe*, New York, August, 1944

Small nations are chiefly reproached that they cannot defend themselves, particularly in modern warfare, against a powerful aggressor. But this is just as true of the great powers. No nation, whether great or small, can defend itself against a superior enemy when it has to fight alone. ... Then there is a theory that small nations cause wars. The last two wars broke out because of tensions between the Great Powers and not on account of the Serbs, the Belgians or the Poles. ... We observe that, thanks to the technical progress achieved throughout the last century, the world in which we live moves more and more toward the formation of blocs or larger units. But it would be a very grave error to draw the conclusion that small nations should be the first to disappear and allow themselves to be absorbed by great federal units. The large countries are just as much concerned as the small countries with the interdependence of states and the necessity for a more resolute and active international organization.

The question of how to organize the small states, how to group them, how to find a more definite and effective form of international collaboration in the economic and political fields is a particularly urgent one for the small nations, as well as for the large. In certain instances this collaboration could even take the form of federations. ... If the federal process is to become a reality, it can only be effected progressively and gradually. Before it is applied generally it would probably be developed in Central Europe ... solidly framed within an all-European federation.

MEXICO

Ezequiel Padilla, Foreign Minister, address made before the Inter-American Bar Associations' meeting in Mexico City, August 1, 1944

Isolation and neutrality are two words relegated to the arsenal of human selfishness. ... The nations of the world need an international tribunal representing all interests. This body should have at its disposal a military force superior to any one of its members in order to implement its decisions. ... First there should be a limitation of the sovereignty of all nations, then federation, and finally a unification of all the peoples of the world.

GREECE

Philip Dragounis, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, statement to the press, Cairo, August 9, 1944

... We hope that after the Greek disaster of Asia Minor we have entered a period of reunion under quite new auspices. Old rivalries

for conquest of both peninsulas under one ruler might be replaced now by close collaboration in the form of one federation of all peoples living in them for the common good of the whole region and the Middle East in general.

CUBA

Jorge Manach, Foreign Minister, statement in *La Prensa*, New York, August 22, 1944

All pacts, conventions or treaties concerning future international organizations should be preceded by a declaration of the duties and the rights of nations and a declaration of the rights and duties of individuals, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The Cuban Government believes that all nations are equal before the law. For that reason the future organization of nations ought to have a universal character. . . . The world organization ought to have a basis of legal equality among all sovereign states. . . . In the executive council which may be created, and which according to President Roosevelt will include the four major nations, an adequate number of other countries should be included, and the Cuban Government thinks that it should be sufficiently democratic to allow the smaller nations a voice.

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, President, in his capacity as President of the Executive Yuan, report before the People's Political Council, Chungking, September 16, 1944

Since the Moscow Declaration and the Cairo and Teheran conferences, the Chinese Government had been doing its best to promote closer Chinese-Russian relations, which was not only essential to China and Russia alone but also to the attainment of victory in the United Nations' war against aggression. Now that the Government had removed what had been regarded as obstacles to closer Sino-Soviet friendship, it was hopeful that the relations between the two nations would take a turn for the better. On the basis of this policy, the Government would strive to improve Sino-Soviet relations.

AUSTRALIA

Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, in a speech before the Australian Parliament, September 17, 1944

In this general outlook on the affairs of the Pacific and Southeast Asian regions Australia realizes that regional and local arrangements must be integrated to world organization. We must not forget that the western Pacific is a very special area. It is an area of great inequalities as it holds multitudes of people in difficult stages of political and economic development. Future stability depends on the development of the less favored people to a stage when all will be able to take a responsible place in a Pacific order. This task, in which Australia seeks a share, is one which will engage our resources to the full.

However, both in the development of the Pacific region and in its security full British and United States participation will be absolutely essential. This is why we have warmly welcomed President Roosevelt's statement in which he indicated how wide a region the United States contemplated when considering arrangements for future Pacific security from the American viewpoint. These arrangements would cover the use of bases over a large area, including former Japanese mandated islands captured by United States forces.

The concern of Australia and New Zealand is that the arrangements finally made should give a sure hope of a long period of stability in the western Pacific. That is the dominating purpose of the Australian-New Zealand Agreement.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Edvard Benes, President, article in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1944

Between the two extremes—between the abstract idea of the unification of all nations and the need of two or more states to associate themselves to achieve the maximum satisfaction of their more direct material interests—lies a middle way. This way is to harmonize the idea of human unity and the idea of vital interests by slowly developing from small units to larger ones. This is the way of mutual respect and mutual concessions and agreements, the natural process of mutual understanding.

No one will desire to restore the League of Nations in the form which proved ineffective. This fact led, soon after the beginning of the present war, to a discussion of the idea of federations as a possible solution of the question of postwar security. At this point the danger of blocs with opposing interests tended to create an atmosphere of new distrust. At the Moscow Conference the Soviet Union pointed out that the tendency to talk of federations sometimes created the impression that a new attempt was to be made to isolate the Soviet Union, or at least to create a single Central European zone which would act as a kind of cordon sanitaire between the western democracies and the Soviet Union.

It would be a new tragedy not merely for Europe but for the whole world if the Soviet Union were again driven into isolation and deprived of an influence on the course of European events. That is why what I have called the middle way has been chosen—the natural way which does not abandon the principle of federation for the future and meanwhile permits friendly agreements for mutual assistance and postwar collaboration such as the Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact. This agreement is not merely defensive, merely regional, merely based on self-interest. It leaves room for collaboration with all the Allied nations and in essence serves world peace and helps lay the foundations of the new world which is to be free from the fear of want and the fear of war, free from the curse of Nazism and Fascism in all their forms, a world based on principles of individual and national liberty. It does not mean that we shall be an instrument of Soviet policy, but it certainly means that we shall not be an instrument of anti-Soviet policy. Internally we shall be completely free, with quite different cultural, economic and social conditions than exist in Soviet Russia. And in our external affairs we shall not abandon our efforts to reach the same relations with Poland as we have established with Russia and to maintain our traditional relations with western Europe. This path fully accords with Czechoslovakia's national tradition of humanitarian democracy.

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Lords, October 3, 1944

I now turn to the third and last objective of British foreign policy, the making of preparations for the immediate postwar period and the rebuilding of the postwar world . . . the machinery of international collaboration on which general world peace, we hope, is to be built. The preparations for the immediate postwar period, as your Lordships know, are largely a matter for the European Advisory Committee, that body which was set up under the Moscow Agreement and has so amply justified our expectations. The main function of the European Advisory Committee was to work out Armistice terms for Germany; but it has tackled many other problems too, and agreement has been and is being reached on many of the main problems that face us in the immediate postwar period. I do not pretend that they have all been solved, but good progress is being made, and there is an evident desire among all concerned to reach agreed solutions.

At the same time, as your Lordships have already heard, talks on future world organization are going on at Dumbarton Oaks. . . .

Their function is not to reach final agreement between the Governments concerned as to the nature of a World Organization. They are talks at the official level only. They do not bind Governments. But much thinking has been going on in the various capitals as to the character of the organization which was to be instituted after the war, and the purpose of this meeting was to find out how much common ground in fact existed between the three Great Powers represented at the talks. The result, I think I can say, has been eminently satisfactory. . . . We now know that the United Kingdom, the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are thinking along the same line. I do not say that all the differences have been ironed out—that would be too much to hope—but they have undoubtedly been whittled down to a few outstanding points.

I would, however, make one point with regard to the World Organization. However effective the machinery which may be drawn up, it will only achieve its purpose if all the members of the organization truly desire its success and are prepared to make the sacrifices involved. Machinery in itself is nothing. . . . When victory is won, we shall be faced with what, to my mind, is a yet more difficult task—a task in which we failed on the last occasion; namely, to make democracy safe for the world. That requires a greater measure of wisdom, foresight, and self-dedication on the part of the peoples concerned. It means subordinating one's national interest to the general good. It may well mean denying ourselves certain measures of social advancement which are admirable in themselves in order that international organization may be provided with the means of preserving peace. It may well mean, too, the taking by Governments themselves of difficult and dangerous decisions on foreign policy in order to prevent a yet greater peril developing later on. All these things—and we must face the facts—are extremely difficult for democratic countries. Yet, on the capacity of democratic countries to face unpleasant facts, the survival of democracy as a form of government will undoubtedly depend.

CHINA

V. K. Wellington Koo, Ambassador to Great Britain, speech at Dumbarton Oaks, October 7, 1944

It is a matter for congratulation that the Government of the United States has arranged the present series of preliminary consultations for the establishment of an international system of peace and security. This is the great object set forth in the Four Nations' Declaration of October 30, 1943, at Moscow, and these discussions constitute another significant step toward the realization of our high purpose.

One part of the consultations has already taken place and yielded fruitful results. Today's meeting marks the beginning of another part which will complete the first phase in seeking an agreed set of proposals for approval by the Governments of the four signatory States to the above-mentioned declaration, and for recommendation to the other United Nations.

We of China, like you, Mr. Secretary of State, and like our British and American colleagues, attach the greatest importance to the work lying ahead of us and we shall participate in it with the guiding thought of contributing to its success. The lack of security which has been responsible for the present world catastrophe, made my country its first victim.

Just as the long years of resistance to invasion with all its attendant sufferings and sacrifices have been singularly painful for China, so the prospect of a new international organization rising to effectively maintain peace and justice is particularly welcome to us.

Our desire to see it come into existence is all the keener, not only because our appeals and warnings in the past did not always meet with the response they deserved, but also because, loyal to our traditional sentiment of peace, we have ever believed in the need and

the wisdom of collective effort to insure the peace and security of nations. Our common experience has made it clear to us all that the unity of purpose and the spirit of unreserved co-operation which have together yielded such striking results in our joint struggle against the forces of tyranny and barbarism are equally essential in our striving to build a system of durable peace.

All nations which love peace and freedom, whatever their size and strength, have a part to play in any security organization which is to be set up. We believe that such an organization should be universal in character, and that eventually all nations should be brought into it. In order to achieve full and permanent success, the new institution requires such general participation in its membership. The responsibility of member States in safeguarding international peace and security may vary according to their respective resources, but sovereign equality as reaffirmed by the Four Nations' Declaration of Moscow should remain a guiding principle of the new organization.

There is a consensus of opinion among the freedom-loving peoples of the world that all disputes between nations should be settled solely by pacific means. Resort to force by any member State should be proscribed except when authorized by the new organization and acting in its name in accordance with its declared purposes and principles. Any breach of or threat to the peace should be stopped or forestalled by the application of measures which may, if necessary, take the form of military action.

Since peace is the supreme interest of the world, vital for the well-being of all peoples, we think no effort should be spared in insuring its maintenance. But to be able to carry out the primary duty, we firmly believe that the proposed structure should have at its disposal an adequate force which it can promptly use whenever and wherever it may be needed.

In the light of past experience we believe that plans for the application of necessary measures should be worked out beforehand by appropriate agencies, and reviewed from time to time, taking into account changed and changing conditions in the world. In our view it is important that such measures, to serve as an effective deterrent to actual or potential aggression, must have certainty, definiteness and promptness of execution.

Provision should therefore be made to obviate the necessity of consultation and debate at the last minute, which, in the light of experience, would invariably cause delay and thereby lead to an aggravation of a situation already critical.

However, the world does not stand still; and international life, like life in other domains, must grow and develop. We should, therefore, make it possible to bring about such adjustments by peaceful means as may be required by new conditions. In order to facilitate the necessary pacific settlement, full provision should be made in the basic instrument of the new institution.

This is also true of international law. As the intercourse between peoples grows in complexity and the common interests of nations multiply and become more varied, principles and rules of conduct for their guidance need elucidation, revision and supplementation. For such work I can think of no more authoritative or better qualified body than the proposed new institution.

One more point I wish to bring forward before I conclude. While the safeguarding of international security is an essential condition to the general welfare and peaceful development of humanity, positive and constructive efforts are also required to strengthen the foundation of peace. This can only be achieved by mitigating the causes of international discord and conflict.

It is therefore our belief that the new organization should also concern itself in the study and solution of economic and social problems of international importance. It should be able to recommend measures for adoption by member States, and should also play a central role in the directing and co-ordinating of international agencies devoted to such purposes.

With the continuous revelation of the wonders of science and

the unending achievements of technology, a systematic interchange of ideas and knowledge will be invaluable in the promotion of the social and economic welfare of the peoples of the world. Similarly common effort should be made to advance international understanding and to uproot the causes of distrust and suspicion among nations by means of educational and cultural collaboration.

The few observations which I have just presented reflect the general views of the Government and people of China. I hope they are largely in harmony with your sentiments. We have come to take part in the consultations not merely to present our own views, but also to hear with an open mind the opinions of the other delegations. Above all, we are animated by the spirit of co-operation and by the desire to promote the success of our joint task.

The establishment of an effective international peace organization is the united hope and aspiration of all the freedom-loving peoples who have been making such heroic sacrifices in life, blood and toil. We owe it to them as well as to humanity at large to subordinate all other considerations to the achievement of our common object.

We of the Chinese delegation felicitate ourselves upon the opportunity afforded us of exploring this all-important problem with the eminent representatives of the United States and Great Britain. We are confident that with a common will to co-operate, with faith in our ideal, and with determination to share the responsibility, we cannot fail in our undertaking.

GREAT BRITAIN

Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in the House of Lords, October 11, 1944

... I would suggest that the peace system now envisaged in this document,* which has been published, is both more flexible and in some respects less legalistic than the League on certain occasions proved to be. ... This should facilitate the making of peaceful adjustments in the light of changing conditions, and also—this is equally important—it should render it possible for the new organization to tackle international problems before they degenerate into open disputes.

... Lord Cecil of Chelwood ... asked what organs of the proposed organization would deal with what he called "non-contentious" political problems. ... No detailed plan has yet been specially devised to meet these cases. That might well be a matter to be discussed at the United Nations Conference when it comes along. As I understand it there is nothing to prevent the General Assembly dealing with them. It could set up *ad hoc* organs for dealing with any of these problems.

Now I go on to the second point which we should note with regard to the proposed organization—a point already made by my noble relative Lord Cecil. It places the responsibility for international security four-square on the shoulders of the nations best able to bear it. As he said, that is the main essential for any successful peace system, and I believe it should make for rapid and effective action in preventing war. The third point which I would underline is that the proposals allowed for the supply to the organization of a really serviceable set of teeth—a thing that was not always available to the League as we knew it before the war. The military provisions which have been extremely carefully worked out, are intended to ensure that armed force can, if necessary, be brought to bear swiftly and effectively either to maintain or to restore peace. This, as we all know from very bitter experience, is absolutely essential if aggression is to be restrained. Indeed, the forces of International Law and order need to be so strong that aggressors will know they are bound to be beaten if they ever embark on a policy of violence. That is the only way by which aggression will

*Dumbarton Oaks Conversations on World Organization, 21st August-7th October, 1944. Statement of Tentative Proposals. Cmd. 6560.

be not merely defeated but, what is more important, averted. ...

Finally, I would refer your Lordships to the establishment of the Economic and Social Council. I believe that this should make it possible for the new organization, if it is adopted by the nations who will ultimately have to discuss it, to deal with vital social and economic questions even more effectively than the League was able to do. As your Lordships know, the League had no such central planning or co-ordinating organ in this particular sphere. Even so, its record of work was far from negligible. ...

I would certainly share the view expressed this afternoon that machinery is not of the slightest use unless there is the will to use it. The people of the world, if they are to support this proposed organization, must be fully informed about it. Unless their support is gained, the organization will fail. ... There is no wish, as far as I know, in any quarter—certainly no wish on the part of His Majesty's Government, and I am certain the same is true of other Governments—to present the people of this country or the peoples of our Allies with anything in the nature of a *fait accompli*. Now that this draft has been produced, we wish to have it fully ventilated and fully discussed.

In particular, this is a matter where the United Kingdom Government must move hand in hand with the Dominion Governments. The general ideas involved have already been the subject of full discussion at the meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers which took place this Spring, and we have kept in close and constant touch with the Dominions since that time. Already, as probably some of your Lordships will have read in the newspapers this morning, Mr. Mackenzie King, in an extremely important statement, has warmly welcomed the wide measure of agreement reached and has promised that these proposals will receive serious and earnest study by the Canadian Government. I am quite certain that that will also be the attitude of the other Dominion Governments. The more closely we can work with them in this—as indeed in all other matters—the better for the world, for I am quite certain that it is on the close collaboration between the nations of the British Commonwealth, within the framework of a world order, that the fate of the proposed organization will largely depend.

This moulding of a new instrument for the preservation of peace and security is a great task. ... The raw material of the instrument in fact already exists. It is at this very moment being tempered and strengthened in the furnace of war. It is for us and other peace-loving nations to see that we fashion it so well and use it so wisely that we preserve for our children those enduring blessings which we ourselves have never known.

CHINA

Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, Chungking, October 12, 1944

First, upon the creation of the United Nations' new organization after the conclusion of this world war China will be a permanent member of its Security Council. China should not look upon the securing of this position as a privilege but as an increase of her responsibility for the world. Since it is an obligation, we Chinese should hereafter strive with steadfastness and resolution to build a new nation, overtake those nations which have gone far in modernization and keep pace with the United States, Great Britain, the future France and other world powers, sharing with them the responsibility of maintaining world peace.

Secondly, the United Nations' new organization has as its principal authority the Security Council of the nations with five big powers as permanent members and six other nations as non-permanent members. As its name signifies, the Council has the weighty responsibility of maintaining peace and security. Some nations may have the wrong impression that the five big powers will dominate the world organization and manipulate the future world. But I myself see differently. The eleven nations on the Council will have only

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heavier responsibilities in regard to world security and will not be enjoying any special privilege or right and far less dominating the world.

CHINA

V. K. Wellington Koo, Ambassador to Great Britain, broadcast, New York, October 12, 1944

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference is over, and it has been a success. China finds its results satisfactory and is glad to have taken a part in it. The new blueprint for an international peace organization seems to us wisely conceived and highly practical. It has taken into account the experience of the League of Nations, adopting its good features and doing away with its defects. The plan is, of course, not yet complete and there are still some points under consideration. When these are settled, the new plan will give us a better machinery and a more effective method to safeguard the peace of nations.

I am happy to note that the American people are all manifesting a deep interest in this vital problem, irrespective of their political faith. It is my conviction that the co-operation of the United States is indispensable to the success of any collective effort to maintain peace in the postwar world.

We welcome more than ever this new endeavor to assure peace-loving nations the freedom from fear. We have always cherished peace and believed in the peaceful settlement, on the basis of justice and law, of all international disputes. This new institution, we think, will act effectively as the guardian of peace among nations. We welcome it for the Far East no less than for the world.

UNITED STATES

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Under Secretary of State, opening remarks at the meeting of representatives from a group of organizations sponsored by Americans United for World Organization and the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, October 16, 1944

The proposals which were agreed upon at Dumbarton Oaks . . . contain most of the essential framework of an international organization capable of maintaining peace and security, of advancing economic and social co-operation, and of promoting the conditions essential to peace and security.

The wide area of agreement achieved between the representatives of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, the Republic of China, and the United States is evidence of the broad harmony of purpose and intention which unites the four principal United Nations. . . .

It cannot too often be emphasized that the present proposals are tentative and as yet incomplete. . . .

The four signatories of the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, are in full agreement that the task of building an effective system of international peace and security is a joint responsibility of all peace-loving nations, large and small. The Dumbarton Oaks conversations were a first step in giving effect to that joint responsibility.

There will be no international organization unless and until the peace-loving nations of the world, now joined together in the prosecution of the war, agree among themselves upon what that organization should be. This will be done at a general conference of United Nations at which the charter for the proposed organization will be drafted. After that, the charter must be accepted and ratified by the Governments concerned, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

FRANCE

Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs, statement, Paris, November 1, 1944

I do not believe even in a five-power directorate that would

include France. There can be no prospect of wholehearted co-operation for peace unless a universal security system is set up at once and small nations as well as large are made to shoulder responsibility in proportion to their means and their power.

PHILIPPINES

Sergio Osmeña, President, broadcast, Leyte, November 1, 1944

The general security in that immense area [the so-called community of the Pacific situated on both shores of the most expansive of oceans from East to West] where more than one-third of the human race has its home is a vital factor in the establishment of a just and lasting peace which is to be the fruit of our efforts and sacrifices in this war.

URUGUAY

Juan Carlos Blanco, Ambassador to the United States, statement in *La Prensa*, New York, November 2, 1944

I have attentively followed the work of the representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the USSR, and China, and I believe they contribute a considerable force toward the sentiment for world security and peace. I am convinced that my country must collaborate in that work.

1. All the American nations have vital interests in these subjects and there should be completely frank discussions among them.

2. I favor an international organization to maintain peace and security.

3. I think that the society of nations created after the war should offer a plan which ought to be approved.

4. In all cases the new organization ought to be an improvement over the previous society of nations. Any retrocession would bring consequences too difficult to foresee.

5. I approve the plan to create an organization in which all the Allied and Associated nations will be equal in rights and duties.

6. I favor the creation of an executive council in which the nations will enjoy absolute equality. While the present plans call for the four major nations in this council, I also desire that France shall occupy a fifth position.

7. I think that it is indispensable that a sufficient number of American nations should be taken into the council.

8. I do not accept the creation of a super state unless that is necessary to have an international police force capable of impeding aggression and assuring peace.

9. The minor states shall be guaranteed in their independence, their territory and tranquillity.

10. I think that it would be desirable to establish in America a regional entente which would co-operate with the universal body.

11. I do not favor nationalistic economies nor protectionism contrary to world commerce.

12. Commercial preference should be given to those nations which compete with the principles of morality and which protect their labor.

13. Necessary measures should be taken for the moral disarmament of all peoples.

U.S.S.R.

Marshal Joseph V. Stalin, Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Committee of Defense, at the Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Deputies of the Working People, in Honor of the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Moscow, November 6, 1944

The Teheran Conference decision on joint actions against Germany and the brilliant realization of that decision are one of the striking indications of the consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition front. . . .

An equally striking indication of the solidarity of the front of

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the United Nations is to be seen in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on postwar security. There is talk of differences between the three powers on certain security problems. Differences do exist, of course, and they will arise on a number of other issues as well. Differences of opinion are to be found even among people in one and the same party. They are all the more bound to occur between representatives of different states and different parties.

The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that there are so few of them and that as a rule in practically every case they are resolved in a spirit of unity and co-ordination among the three great powers.

What matters is not that there are differences, but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of unity of the three great powers allow, and that in the long run they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. . . .

The same thing may be said of the differences at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. What is characteristic about this conference is not that certain differences were revealed there, but that nine-tenths of the security problems were dispatched at this conference in a spirit of complete unanimity. That is why I think that the Dumbarton Oaks Conference decisions are to be regarded as a striking indication of the solidity of the front of the anti-German coalition.

It is well-known, however, how futile the efforts of the fascist politicians to disrupt the alliance of the great powers have proved. That means that the alliance between the USSR, Great Britain and the United States is founded not on casual, short-lived considerations but on vital and lasting interests. . . .

BELGIUM

Paul-Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister, statement at a press conference, London, November 13, 1944

Much is said in the press about the creation of a bloc in Western Europe. I think the word "bloc" is ill employed here and that it may give rise to bad interpretations: the main thing is to secure lasting peace by collective security and universal organization. But I have noted that at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference the great powers considered that international security may have regional organizations as executive agents. Conceived in that spirit, I believe an agreement between the Western powers to be a possibility and a necessity.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, President of the Dominican Republic, statement, December 12, 1944

Our continent should be united for the study and solution of problems relating to the future organization of the world. . . . If the reorganization of the world is accomplished as many statesmen recommend, on the basis of regional agreements, then the American league of nations would play a magnificent role in universal accord.

BRAZIL

Pedro Velloso, Foreign Minister, statement, January 2, 1945

Alliances among the countries which participate in this war will not be restricted to the attainment of military victory, but will present bases of a new economic, political and juridical organization in a world built up with the sacrifice, blood and sweat of all of them. . . .

UNITED STATES

The Department of State, statement, January 8, 1945

As the result of a full exchange of views among the interested American Republics within recent weeks, agreement has been reached on the desirability of a Conference of the American Re-

publics collaborating in the war effort to consider war and postwar problems of common interest.

The Government of the United States has felt for some time that there is need for such a Conference, and it looks forward to it with the confident expectation that it will serve to strengthen the contribution of the American Republic to the achievement of our common objectives in the war, and at the same time to reaffirm their leadership in the constructive effort to win a secure and lasting peace. It will be the work of the Conference to implement the inter-American system in full support of these great objectives. At the same time, the Conference will have the opportunity to explore fully what measures of economic co-operation can be adopted, with a view to laying the foundation for the general improvement of basic economic conditions in the Americas, looking toward a rising standard of living throughout the Hemisphere.

Consultations are taking place with respect to the time, place and agenda for this Conference. It is anticipated that the Conference will be held about the middle of February.

VENEZUELA

Caracciolo Parra Perez, Foreign Minister, statement in *El Universal*, Caracas, January 19, 1945

The known efforts that Venezuela has made since the first days of our independent life, to strengthen the union of all our Republics and to give concrete form to the Pan American ideal, an evident result of which is the aim which our Government cherished to defend that union and those ideals with the sure determination as always and to endeavor that the system of continental solidarity be taken into account in the future, as an element of unquestionable efficiency, in the plans that are drawn up to sustain the general peace and to establish the community of nations over solid bases of co-operation and harmony.

Personally, I have believed since I was in Geneva, and continue believing, that the adoption of a form of organization in a certain way federative, would be the best method, if not the only method, of correcting one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Society of Nations.

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AUSTRALIA

John Curtin, Prime Minister, in a speech before the Australian Parliament, July 17, 1944

A handicap of the League of Nations was fear by the great Powers that they might be embroiled in war by actions and decisions of small States. A corrective against such a tendency must be provided in the shape of an assembly of nations where policy can be moulded by ascertaining the highest common denomination among opinions expressed. The Moscow Declaration lays down that world organization shall be based on the sovereign equality of States.

Another handicap of the League Covenant was its too rigid definition of occasions for action for prevention of war. The cause of peace can be better served by flexibility with power to make action effective. Responsibility to see that peace is maintained must be definitely assigned to a world organization which must have a combined naval, military and air staff to prepare plans and co-ordinate action.

GREAT BRITAIN

George Tomlinson, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labor, in the House of Commons, July 26, 1944

Over three months have elapsed since the close of the Inter-

national Labor Conference at Philadelphia, at which I had the privilege of leading the British Government delegation. I feel, therefore, that I am now sufficiently far from it, both in time and space, to be able to review some of the principle characteristics of the Conference and to give some estimate of its significance. . . .

The Philadelphia Conference was genuinely representative, not only of Governments, but of workers and employers. It has always been one of the essential characteristics of the I.L.O. that it is a tripartite body in which, through consultation between Governments, employers and workers, comprehensive programs of labor and industrial reconstruction can be worked out. . . .

Time and again, at the Philadelphia Conference, the importance of this tripartite system of representation became evident. Both in committees and in the plenary sessions of the Conference, the co-operation of Government, employers and workers was indispensable to the success of the Conference. . . . The Philadelphia Conference was, in a real sense, an historic conference. It was the first regular session of the International Labor Conference held since the war.

. . . At Philadelphia, representatives of the Government, employers and workers came together, after the testing years of war, to consider the action to be taken by the Organization in relation to the problems which would arise in the transition from war to peace and in connection with postwar reconstruction. Further, the conference took the opportunity to re-examine the constitution and procedure of the Organization with a view to rendering it better fitted to cope with the problems which lie ahead in the difficult times that face us. . . . This . . . resulted at Philadelphia in the adoption of a Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the I.L.O. . . .

The discussion which led to the adoption of this Declaration showed that there was agreement among all the speakers that the International Labor Organization must be maintained and that it should be developed in order to undertake its increasing responsibilities. It was agreed by all that if this organization had not existed, it would have been necessary to create it now. It was recognized that the world needs, more than ever before, an organization to bring together the representatives of Governments, employers and workers of the freedom-loving peoples of the world, to work for the promotion of the common well-being. . . .

Hon. members will not expect me to refer in detail to all the various recommendations and resolutions adopted by the Conference. . . . However, I should like to refer to one or two matters which are of particular interest. In the consideration of the declaration on the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization, the Conference had before it the views of those who thought the Organization should assume some responsibility for formulating and co-ordinating economic and financial policy, but it decided, wisely, I think, that the proper function of the Organization was to examine and consider all economic policies and measures in order to see whether they could be regarded, as promoting or hindering the attainment of conditions in which the fundamental objectives of the Organization could be achieved. The Organization will judge all policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, in the light of their effect on the well-being of the people, and will use its influence to ensure that the main object of such policy shall be the improvement of human conditions.

To this end the Declaration which I have previously referred to and which has been reported to the House, makes what I consider to be a first class declaration in this direction. It begins by saying—and this was part of its original constitution—that “labor is not a commodity.” . . . It also reaffirms that freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustain progress. . . . It also states that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to

prosperity everywhere, and if only we could make that a living faith it seems to me we should be on the high road to many achievements. Finally, it suggests in the first paragraph that the war against want should be waged with the same urgency as is the war that is being conducted at the present time. This Declaration, reaffirming the principles and setting out the new objectives, is not only worthy of the consideration of the House, but, I believe, is worthy of the support, and the active support, not only of the people of this nation but of people of goodwill throughout the world.

Interim provision has already been made for the association of the Organization with the Food Organization, with UNRRA and other international organizations, and the Governing Body, acting in accordance with a decision of the Conference, has appointed a committee to consider the whole question of the relationship of the I.L.O. with other international organizations. That committee will also review the constitution and finance of the organization in the light of present day circumstances. The Conference recognized that the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and the raising of social conditions require action in many fields to make these objectives attainable.

Perhaps the main preoccupation of all delegates to the Conference was the question of full employment. . . . One of the most heartening features of the Conference was the unanimity of representatives in their determination that we must never again acquiesce in the kind of unemployment from which so many countries suffered in the inter-war years, but that, on the contrary, Governments and peoples must take every practicable step to ensure that suitable employment is available for all those who desire to work. In the words of the Committee on Employment, on which I had the privilege to sit along with one of my colleagues in the Ministry:

“Policies to assure full employment constitute an indispensable condition for the successful solution of the problem with which this Conference is faced.”

. . . The assurance that sufficient jobs will be available must depend upon the willingness of nations to adopt whatever measures may be necessary and appropriate to promote employment—opportunity for as many men and women as may seek employment. The work of this Committee was not concerned with wider measures for ensuring full employment. . . . Its deliberations were concerned with the organization of employment in the transition from war to peace. Its business, in other words, was to consider organizational arrangements. . . . The organization is not right if it does not perform efficiently its function of bringing together available workers and available jobs in an orderly manner. . . . Organizational arrangements are, it is true, only part of the problem of full employment but, again in the words of the Committee, “They are of great potential significance for the postwar era.” . . . Three most valuable recommendations, and two resolutions . . . with the full support of the representatives of His Majesty’s Government, were adopted by the Conference. It is not possible to describe in more detail the provisions of these recommendations and resolutions, but I venture to hope that hon. members will study the provisions for themselves, when, I think, they will agree that they make a substantial contribution to the important problem of employment.

The recent International Monetary Conference was a further important step towards this aim. In their recommendations for present and postwar social policy the Conference expressed the great importance they attached to

“the establishment, at the earliest possible moment, of effective international machinery for settling balances arising out of international trade and other transactions, and for maintaining stability in rates of exchange”

and urged

“the authorities responsible for its application to have regard,

in framing and applying their policy, to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards."

... All of the recommendations of the Conference on this subject indicated the importance of international measures for the expansion of constructive economic activity to the achieving of the Organization's own objectives. The co-operation of the I.L.O. in these measures will bring the employers and workers of the world into close touch with all such measures. It will not only enable their experience and knowledge to be brought to bear on international deliberations, but will also give them, in their various countries, that sense of responsibility which is necessary.

In the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement, in which it is hoped that the Philadelphia Declaration will be included, the Conference recommended that the Governing Body should call a special conference of the Organization when, in its opinion, there is a danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels, for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment, and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored and to correlate the activities of the I.L.O. for the end of maintaining full employment with those of any other international agency or agencies which may be designated by the United Nations to have responsibility in economic fields. The Conference also proposed that there should be a regular exchange between Governments of information and statistics on uniform lines, for the purpose of assisting in the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being. Thus, the I.L.O., as a tripartite organization, seeks to take an effective part in the great work of world reconstruction and to bring all those affected into active relationship with Governments in this great task. . . .

The representatives of the occupied countries, however, pointed out that many of these proposals applied to countries which have not been devastated by the invader and there must first be relief and rehabilitation. Other countries, also, in which the conditions are primitive, have a long period of development to face before they can be expected to put into operation measures more suited to the most advanced countries. Having set out their long-distance proposal, it is necessary for the I.L.O. to have regard to these practical considerations and to provide the guidance and assistance that is required. . . . It is with that in mind that, as soon as circumstances permit, regional conferences in the East and elsewhere are proposed. It is in the interest of the whole world that educative measures of this kind should be taken.

I should like to refer to one other matter which was considered by the Conference. The British Government proposed that international joint committees should be established in the major industries of the world, such as coal, textiles, transport and the metal trade. Two objectives are in mind, first, to increase the machinery for international co-operation by bringing together those who have that close natural affinity which comes from working in the same occupation, and, secondly, to enable those in these great industries to mix together internationally for the discussion of their common problems and to assist in raising the conditions in the new areas of industrialization. I am glad to say that this proposal was adopted by the Conference, and that the office was instructed by the Governing Body to set up an Industrial Relations Department, among the duties of which will be the formulation of proposals for setting up such committees. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor, in the House of Commons, July 26, 1944

... Several speakers put questions to me about the future organization of the I.L.O. It is impossible for me to say what this will be, because the matter is under consideration by the Govern-

ing Body, which cannot give an answer to that question until it knows the shape that the new world organization will take. Whatever happens, the I.L.O., as I visualize it, is bound to dovetail itself into other forms of international organization. . . . From the British Government's point of view . . . we want to put the I.L.O. as high in the scale of world organisms as we can.

... I think it would be fatal if it were not a part of the world organism, because I am not, and I do not think the British Government are, daunted by the alleged failure of the League of Nations. . . . It is perfectly true—and let us acknowledge it—that the conscious moral force behind the League of Nations at that time did not exist. . . . But the fact that it did not exist, which weakened the League and produced this second war, has done more to develop the moral force which is now emerging and will ultimately lead us back to a better world organization.

... The development of communications and travel has made the world far smaller and far more dangerous to a small country, such as this country was a couple of hundred years ago. These things have caused the acceptance of responsibility. . . . No one country can police the world again. No one country can ever again, even from the point of view of wealth or taxable capacity, carry such a burden. Therefore, the sheer necessity of defence and the preservation of international law and order, are bound to drive nations on. . . . I noticed in the discussions at Philadelphia the idea that the I.L.O. should be independent and separate, with its own budget and all the rest of it. They must take rather a longer view than that, and must be prepared to fit into a greater world organism. . . . All I can hope is that there will be a great development of devolution afterwards, in order to bring this organization closer to the people themselves.

It was in that spirit . . . that the British Government proposed a meeting of joint committees of industries and trade and services.

... Those who have been associated with any kind of organization know that, if you can bring together people working in similar occupations they soon forget their race, and are talking their trade, and you produce a friendship which it is very difficult for war or anything else to break.

... In conference you educate both sides with the result that people admit they did not understand points on which at first there was difficulty. That brings me to a point which several Members have raised. Can you trust other nations? Do not let us be too self-righteous.

I do not think we are going to build up international confidence by approaching other nations in a spirit of unctuous self-righteousness. . . .

Mr. Petherick: . . . The right hon. gentleman is saying that he places considerable trust in other nations and that it is possible to build up some international organization on that basis of trust. I ask him whether he would apply that to the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese.

Mr. Bevin: Certainly, when this war is over and they are back in the comity of nations, and have paid their price, you will have to deal with these nations somehow or other as you did before. What we want to do is to purge from Germany and Japan the treaty-making cliques, those who break treaties every time.

I venture to suggest that we cannot ignore the existence of 80,000,000 people anywhere in the world. It will be found, as was found between the two wars, that sooner or later—it may be years, it may be after a long armistice or re-education—whatever steps you take, you will have to recognize their existence. We are already dealing with the Italians at this moment. . . .

I claim that treaties regarding labor matters will have to be accepted by this country on precisely the same footing as we have always accepted financial, commercial or diplomatic arrangements. When that is done, the I.L.O. will become an effective

instrument and we shall expect observance from those whose signatories have signed the treaties. . . .

I have been asked about the dependent territories. Steps that have been taken during the last four years have been reported to this House. They include the sending out of trade union officials, and of industrial relations officers, to stimulating organizations in the dependent territories. I must enter a caveat, however, that trade union organization is not manufactured from above, but must grow from the people themselves. With the best will in the world, we run the danger of creating from the top a sort of Fascist organism, with dictators, instead of letting a free organization grow up from the bottom. Where there is a social obligation in the dependent countries you can accept the principle of trusteeship—which we do. Then, whether you are subject to pressure or not in the actual Colony, you are, from the very acceptance of the trusteeship, under the bounden duty of giving effect to these international recommendations. . . .

I would conclude by saying . . . that it is the duty of this generation to hold on to every international organism which has survived this war and which goes to the future generation. We shall need them. Great will be the problems. One thing you get in the International Labor Office, which you get nowhere else, is people drawn from the workshop, the field and the factory, employers and workpeople, sitting in open and common assembly discussing international difficulties. I, somehow, feel that may be the road towards an international Parliament in the wider field. Wherever men and women can meet, with the same problem affecting in the same way the countries from which they come, applying their energies to find some solution, I think that institution is worth preserving and worth developing.

. . . In international commerce, in international law, in international labor or in international health—let us do nothing which will weaken these great organisms which are growing. They may become the penicillin of the peace effort and stop the gangrene from developing in our international life. Whoever has that terrible responsibility, whether it be our present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs or any other statesman, I feel, and those of us operating in other international fields feel, that it is our duty to try and evolve, organize, and develop every instrument that will help to put the crowning achievement on the result of this war, of building an organism that will bring the nations together in the end, and will give us something which will prevent a recurrence of what we have gone through in the last five years.

UNITED STATES

Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, report on the Philadelphia Conference of the International Labor Organization, Washington, September 6, 1944

After discussion in plenary session the Conference deemed this set of items to be closely interrelated, and its action was to adopt a series of resolutions and a declaration, which form a unified pattern. The elements of this pattern are:

1. The mitigation of poverty and unemployment is recognized as an important goal for the United Nations.
2. Wherever low levels of living exist locally they must be regarded as endangering prosperity and security everywhere.
3. The I.L.O., as the international instrument most concerned with the mitigation of unemployment and poverty, must be strengthened.
4. Human beings are not the creatures of fate; by taking thought and by making deliberate, humane and moral choices of action they may themselves abolish poverty and fear of want.

The declaration and the most important resolutions adopted that make up this pattern are designated as follows in the Record of Conference:

1. Declaration Concerning the Aims and Purposes of the I.L.O.

(also known as the "Declaration of Philadelphia" and the "Philadelphia Charter.")

2. Resolution Concerning Social Provisions in the Peace Settlement.

3. Resolution Concerning Economic Policies for the Attainment of Social Objectives.

4. Resolution Concerning Constitutional Practice.

5. Resolution Concerning Social Insurance in the Peace Settlement.

The first of these, the so-called Declaration of Philadelphia . . . holds that the raising of labor standards should not be regarded as a negative process of correcting abuses, but, the positive one of abolishing poverty, and declares that the central aim of all governmental policies is the attainment of conditions under which all men everywhere may pursue "their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity." The remaining clauses of the Declaration define the specific responsibilities of the I.L.O. in contributing towards the achievement of the goals defined in the early clauses. . . .

Resolutions 2 and 5 designated above, relate to the social provisions of the peace settlement. The former states that high levels of employment and the raising of standards of living are matters of international concern. It proposes that the peace settlement should be taken as an opportunity to secure international agreement on certain minimum labor standards. Resolution 5, also related to the social terms of the peace settlement, seeks to protect those who have been brought in to "Hitler's slave market." It proposes a method whereby social-insurance rights that would have been acquired by Axis nationals shall become the rights of those displaced persons who have been recruited to work for the Axis from occupied areas. . . .

The third resolution, on economic policies to attain social objectives, has a section on national policies and another on international policies. The national policies endorsed by the Conference recommend, among others, an orderly industrial demobilization, avoidance of inflationary or deflationary policies, discouragement of monopoly. On the international plane, UNRRA is endorsed, and the creation of other special, technical international instruments is urged (e.g., food, monetary). The international movement of capital should be promoted; world trade should expand on a multilateral basis; orderly migration should be established. . . .

The I.L.O. instructs the Director and Governing Body to carry out certain functions that cannot now be performed by the League of Nations (Official communication of documents to members, and vice versa). The Governing Body is directed to appoint a committee with the power to consider the relationship of the Organization to other international bodies, desirable constitutional changes, and methods of financing the Organization. Immediately after the Conference, the Governing Body selected this committee and, to permit the Organization to enlarge its activities, doubled the budget of the Office.

POLAND

Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador to the United States, address at the Pulaski Day Dinner, New York, October 8, 1944

The League of Nations has been blamed for failing to prevent the recurrence of a world war. But, if we study the Covenant of the League of Nations in the light of present events, we must surely come to the conclusion that both the ideals on which it was based, and the wording of its stipulations were both reasonable and realistic.

In all fairness, one must admit that the absence of the United States, the complacency of European statesmen, their wishful thinking and appeasement, and their inability to use coercion when it was necessary to enforce the League Covenant, were

reasons which contributed to make it impossible for the League to stem the rising tide of war.

Failure to organize united active military power which could be used whenever it became necessary to enforce the terms of the Covenant, caused it to become inoperative. After all, no law in itself can be effective if it is not enforced. No law can survive if it is applicable only to the weak by the strong.

... For the several years a scholastic discussion was pursued in League circles in search of a definition of aggression. The average school boy may not think it insuperably difficult to define an aggressor. Many statesmen, however, appeared to find it difficult to agree on a satisfactory formula. Finally, a good and clear definition of aggression was supplied by Mr. Maxim Litvinov at the Conference held in London in June and July 1933, between the Representatives of Soviet Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan. In the Agreement signed on July 3, 1933, in which it was stated that the signatories, "Mindful of the fact that the Briand-Kellogg Pact prohibits all Aggression," it was stipulated that:

"The aggressor in an international conflict shall, subject to the agreements in force between the parties to the dispute, be considered to be that State which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

- "1. Declaration of war upon another State;
- "2. Invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
- "3. Attack by its land, naval or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State;
- "4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;
- "5. Provision of support to armed bands formed in its territory which have invaded the territory of another State, and failure to take, in its own territory, all the measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection."

It goes on to state: "No political, military, economic or other considerations may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to. . . .

In the light of the present war, this important Agreement, freely entered into by a Big Power with seven lesser Powers,—deserves special attention.

UNITED STATES

Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, before the Subcommittee on Foreign Trade and Shipping of the House of Representatives Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, November 30, 1944

There is a close relationship among the various elements in our international economic policy. All are designed to contribute to the same end but each makes use of the tools most appropriate to the problem with which it directly deals. . . . Full success in each field will be dependent upon progress in all others, and advance in one will facilitate and quicken progress in the others. The problem which this poses for us is to be able to see our economic policy as one piece and to keep its various parts mutually consistent without falling into the danger of insisting that before we venture upon action in any one field progress must have been made in all others. There is no more real danger in the field of international economic collaboration than that we shall fall into futile debates of the chicken and the egg variety.

One safeguard against these dangers is to be found in provision for a central international organization which, without having primary responsibility for any one field, would be able to keep an eye on the picture as a whole. This we may hope to accomplish through the general United Nations Organization projected at

the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. One of the major organs of this body is the Economic and Social Council in which is vested, under the authority of the General Assembly, responsibility for facilitating solutions of international economic problems. Without losing their individual identity provision would be made for establishing close relationship between the Council and the various specialized agencies which will be required to facilitate international collaboration in the various fields including those to which I have referred above. Among these agencies we already have the well-established International Labor Organization, which brings to bear upon international economic problems in its sphere, the views of labor, management and government.

As a result of the Hot Springs Conference an interim commission of the United Nations has recently completed a proposal for an international organization in the field of food and agriculture. Similarly, the Bretton Woods proposals are expected to give rise to two other organizations, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We shall also need international organization as a continuing international forum on the problems of international trade, commodity arrangements, and private business agreements. Most of these bodies, it may be anticipated, will be fact-finding and advisory; the Fund and the Bank will have operating functions; all of them will have in common the objective of promoting those conditions and adjustments in the economies of all countries of the world which will be conducive to reaching and maintaining an expanding world economy. The advisory and consultative functions of the Economic and Social Council can help to insure that the activities as well as the objectives of all of the various specialized bodies are in fact harmonious and consistent with each other.

So far as machinery is concerned, we shall have envisaged as much as seems possible and practicable. Whether the machinery will work will depend mainly upon the economic policies which the nations of the world are willing to follow. The major contribution which the United States can make to the effectiveness of this machinery and to its own prosperity is the adoption of policies designed to facilitate its participation in world trade and finance in a manner commensurate with its power and responsibility.

NEW ZEALAND

C. A. Berendsen, Minister to the United States, broadcast, New York, December 2, 1944

... The organization that was established in 1919 to preserve the peace of the world did not fail for any mechanical reason. It did not even fail because this great country was unable to take part in that high enterprise, though the abstention of the United States was indeed a grievous blow from which we are glad and thankful to believe the world will be spared on this occasion.

In our view the League of Nations failed for one cause and one cause alone, and unless we can remove that cause in the future we may well fail again. In our view the League failed for moral reasons. The League failed because its members failed to do their duty; because far too many nations, in the conduct of their international relations, adopted the policy that if a nation's pledged word subsequently appears to be inconvenient it need not be kept, that expediency pays better dividends than principle, that national interests can be served without regard to international equity; that we need not bother very much about our neighbors so long as we are all right; that if we can save our own babies by throwing somebody else's babies to the wolves, that is a right and proper course to adopt. These are false and pagan principles—they can achieve nothing, literally nothing, but chaos. . . .

Annex: Documents

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS MONETARY FUND AGREEMENT and ARTICLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT. BRETTON WOODS, N. H., JULY 22, 1944

The texts have been published under the title, *United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference*, Bretton Woods, N. H., July 1-July 22, 1944, FINAL ACT AND RELATED DOCUMENTS, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price 25¢.

AGREEMENT ON CONTROL OF MERCHANT SHIPPING, AUGUST 5, 1944

The undersigned representatives, duly authorized by their respective Governments or Authorities, hereinafter referred to as contracting Governments, have agreed as follows:—

1. The contracting Governments declare that they accept as a common responsibility the provision of shipping for all military and other tasks necessary for, and arising out of, the completion of the war in Europe and the Far East and for the supplying of all the liberated areas as well as of the United Nations generally and territories under their authority.

2. The contracting Governments undertake to continue to maintain such powers of control over all ships which are registered in their territories or are otherwise under their authority as will enable them effectively to direct each ship's employment in accordance with the foregoing declaration. Subject to the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 9, this control shall continue to be exercised by each contracting Government through the mechanism of requisitioning for use or title.

3. The contracting Governments agree not to release from control any ships under their authority unless the total overall tonnage is in excess of the total overall requirements and then only in accordance with a mutually acceptable formula which shall not discriminate against the commercial shipping interests of any nation and shall extend to all contracting Governments an equitable opportunity for their respective tonnages to engage in commercial trades.

4. Neutral Governments having ships under their control in excess of the tonnage required to carry on their essential import requirements shall be invited to subscribe to obligations in respect of all their ships which shall ensure that their employment is in conformity with the general purposes of the United Nations.

5. The contracting Governments undertake to exercise control over the facilities for shipping available in their territories, by suitable measures on the lines of the United States and British Ship Warrant Schemes, and to take such other measures as may be necessary to secure that ships under all flags are used in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations. Other Governments acceding hereto shall give a similar undertaking.

6. Without prejudice to questions of disposition or title, the employment of such ships as may at any time be permitted to operate under enemy flag or authority shall be determined to serve the requirements of the United Nations.

7. (a) In order that the allocation of all ships under United Nations control may continue to be effectively determined to meet the requirements of the United Nations, a central authority shall be established, to come into operation upon the general suspension of hostilities with Germany. The central authority shall be organized in accordance with the plan agreed in the Annex.

(b) The central authority shall determine the employment of ships for the purpose of giving effect to the responsibilities assumed by each contracting Government in paragraph 1 to provide the tonnage required from time to time to meet current requirements for ships for the military and other purposes of the United Nations, and ships shall be allocated for those purposes by those Governments in accordance with the decisions of the central authority. So far as is consistent with the efficient overall use of shipping as determined by the central authority for those purposes, and with the provisions of paragraph 7 (c), each contracting Government may allocate ships under its own authority, wholly or partly to cover the essential import requirements of territories for which it has special shipping responsibilities.

(c) In general, ships under the flag of one of the contracting Governments shall be under the control of the Government of that flag, or the Government to which they have been chartered. In order to meet the special case of military requirements those ships which have been taken up, under agreements made by the United States Government and/or United Kingdom Government with the other Governments having authority for those ships, for use as troopships, hospital ships, and for other purposes in the service of the armed forces, shall remain on charter as at present to the War Shipping Administration and/or the Ministry of War Transport as the case may be, under arrangements to be agreed between the Governments severally concerned. (Any further ships required for such purposes shall be dealt with in a like manner.) The fact that these ships are assigned to military requirements shall not prejudice the right of the Governments concerned to discuss with the central authority the measures to be taken to provide shipping for their essential requirements within the scope of paragraph 1.

(d) The contracting Governments shall supply to one another, through the central authority, all information necessary to the effective working of the arrangements, e.g., regarding programs, employment of tonnage, and projected programs, subject to the requirements of military secrecy.

(e) The central authority shall also initiate the action to be taken to give effect to paragraph 5 and shall direct action under paragraph 6.

(f) The terms of remuneration to be paid by the users (Government or private) of ships shall be determined by the central authority on a fair and reasonable basis in such manner as to give effect to the following two basic principles:

(i) Ships of all flags performing the same or similar services should charge the same freights.

(ii) Ships must be employed as required without regard to financial considerations.

8. The principles herein agreed shall apply to all types of merchant ships, irrespective of size including passenger ships, tankers and whale factories when not used for whaling (but paragraph 7 (b) will not be applicable to ships engaged in coastal trades and short trades between nearby countries, the arrangements for control of which shall be appropriate to meet the requirements prevailing in each particular area).

The principles shall also be applied to the extent necessary, through suitable machinery, to fishing vessels, whale catchers, and other similar craft in those areas where special measures in respect of such craft are agreed to be necessary. A special authority shall be set up capable of apportioning between naval and commercial services such craft as are available in those areas.

9. The foregoing principles shall take effect on the coming into operation of the central authority, and shall remain in effect for a period not extending beyond six months after the general suspension of hostilities in Europe or the Far East, whichever may be the

later, unless it is unanimously agreed among the Governments represented on the duly authorized body of the central authority that any or all of the agreed principles may be terminated or modified earlier.

Done in London on the 5th day of August, 1944.

For the Government of Belgium: A. BALTHAZAR.

For the Government of Canada: VINCENT MASSEY, A. L. MacCALLUM.

For the Royal Hellenic Government: G. VASSILIADIS.

For the Government of the Netherlands: J. M. de BOOY.

For the Government of Norway: ARNE SUNDE.

For the Government of the Republic of Poland: J. KWAPINSKI.

For the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: LEATHERS.

For the Government of the United States of America: PHILIP D. REED, HUNTINGTON T. MORSE, WALTER A. RADIUS, JOHN M. ALLISON.

For the French Committee of National Liberation:

PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

TEXT OF TENTATIVE PLANS FOR A WORLD SECURITY ORGANIZATION AS DRAFTED AT DUMBARTON OAKS, OCTOBER 7, 1944

There should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

Chapter I

PURPOSES

The purposes of the Organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

Chapter II

PRINCIPLES

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the Organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.
2. All members of the Organization undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organization, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.
3. All members of the Organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.
4. All members of the Organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the Organization.
5. All members of the Organization shall give every assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6. All members of the Organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organization.

The Organization should ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter III

MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the Organization should be open to all peace-loving states.

Chapter IV

PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:
 - a. A General Assembly;
 - b. A Security Council;
 - c. An international court of justice; and
 - d. A Secretariat.
2. The Organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

Chapter V

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Section A

Composition

All members of the Organization should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

Section B

Functions and Powers

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the Organization or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. And such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. 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.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the Organization upon recommendation of the Security Council.

3. The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the Organization against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the Security Council, to expel from the Organization any member of the Organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4. The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges of the international court of justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court.

5. The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the Organization and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organization.

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

7. The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the Organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organization.

8. The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the Organization.

Section C

Voting

1. Each member of the Organization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

Section D

Procedure

1. The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

2. The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its President for each session.

3. The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter VI

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Section A

Composition

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the Organization. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats. These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

Section B

Principal Functions and Powers

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organization, members of the Organization should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

4. All members of the Organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

5. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the Organization.

Section C

Voting

(Note—The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.)

Section D

Procedure

1. The Security Council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each state member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the Security Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative.

2. The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions including regional subcommittees of the Military Staff Committee.

3. The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

4. Any member of the Organization should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the Organization are specially affected.

5. Any member of the Organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any state not a member of the Organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

Chapter VII

AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

1. There should be an international court of justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organization.

2. The court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organization.

3. The statute of the court of international justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable or (b) a new statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

4. All members of the Organization should *ipso facto* be parties to the statute of the international court of justice.

5. Conditions under which states not members of the Organization may become parties to the statute of the international court of justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter VIII

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY INCLUDING PREVENTION AND
SUPPRESSION OF AGGRESSION

Section A

Pacific Settlement of Disputes

1. 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, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Any state, whether member of the Organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

6. Justifiable disputes should normally be referred to the international court of justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the court, for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes.

7. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned.

Section B

*Determination of Threats to the
Peace or Acts of Aggression and
Action with Respect Thereto*

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

2. In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

3. The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organization to supply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval

or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organization.

5. In order that all members of the Organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organization there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organization national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph 5 above.

7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the Organization in cooperation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the Organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members.

8. Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph 9 below.

9. There should be established a Military Staff Committee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the Organization not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a state should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

10. The members of the Organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

11. Any state, whether a member of the Organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

Section C

Regional Arrangements

1. Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or

agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

2. The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

3. The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX

ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

Section A

Purpose and Relationships

1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

Section B

Composition and Voting

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen members of the Organization. The states to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such state should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

Section C

Functions and Powers of the Economic and Social Council

1. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:
 - a. to carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly;
 - b. to make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters;
 - c. to receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organization, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;
 - d. to examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned;
 - e. to enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council;

- f. to assist the Security Council upon its request; and
- g. to perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Section D

Organization and Procedure

1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organization.

2. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

3. The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its President.

Chapter X

THE SECRETARIAT

1. There should be a Secretariat comprising a Secretary-General and such staff as may be required. The Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer of the Organization. He should be elected by the General Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

2. The Secretary-General should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

3. The Secretary-General should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

Chapter XI

AMENDMENTS

Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organization, when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organizations having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the Organization.

Chapter XII

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

1. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 5, and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, the states parties to that Declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

NOTE

In addition to the question of voting procedure in the Security Council referred to in Chapter VI, several other questions are still under consideration.

Washington, D. C.
October 7, 1944

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION CONFERENCE

FINAL ACT, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 7, 1944

As a result of the deliberations of the Conference, as recorded in the minutes and reports of the respective Committee and Subcommittees and of the Plenary Sessions, the following instruments were formulated:

INTERIM AGREEMENT ON INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION

CONVENTION ON INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION
INTERNATIONAL AIR SERVICES TRANSIT AGREEMENT
INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT

The texts are being published as: Department of State Conference Series 64: International Civil Aviation Conference, FINAL ACT AND RELATED DOCUMENTS, obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL
UNITED NATIONS

AMERICAN-BRITISH OIL AGREEMENT

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT ON PETROLEUM BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AUGUST 8, 1944

Introductory Article

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, whose nationals hold, to a substantial extent jointly, rights to explore and develop petroleum resources in other countries, recognize:

1. That ample supplies of petroleum, available in international trade to meet increasing market demands, are essential for both the security and economic well-being of nations;
2. That for the foreseeable future the petroleum resources of the world are adequate to assure the availability of such supplies;
3. That such supplies should be derived from the various producing areas of the world with due consideration of such factors as available reserves, sound engineering practices, relevant economic factors, and the interests of producing and consuming countries, and with a view to the full satisfaction of expanding demand;
4. That such supplies should be available in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and in order to serve the needs of collective security;
5. That the general adoption of these principles can best be promoted by international agreement among all countries interested in the petroleum trade whether as producers or consumers.

Article I

The two Governments agree that the development of petroleum resources for international trade should be expanded in an orderly manner on a world-wide basis with due consideration of the factors set forth in paragraph 3 of the Introductory Article and within the framework of applicable laws or concession contracts. To this end, and as a preliminary measure to the calling of the international conference referred to in Article II below, the two Governments will so direct their efforts, with respect to petroleum resources in which rights are held or may be acquired by the nationals of either country:

1. That, subject always to considerations of military security and to the provisions of such arrangements for the preservation of peace and prevention of aggression as may be in force, adequate

supplies of petroleum shall be available in international trade to the nationals of all peaceable countries at fair prices and on a non-discriminatory basis;

2. That the development of petroleum resources and the benefits received therefrom by the producing countries shall be such as to encourage the sound economic advancement of those countries;

3. That the development of these resources shall be conducted with a view to the availability of adequate supplies of petroleum to both countries as well as to all other peaceable countries, subject to the provisions of such collective security arrangements as may be established;

4. That, with respect to the acquisition of exploration and development rights in areas not now under concession, the principle of equal opportunity shall be respected by both Governments;

5. That the Government of each country and the nationals thereof shall respect all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights, and shall make no effort unilaterally to interfere directly with such contracts or rights;

6. That, subject always to the considerations mentioned in paragraph 1 of this Article, the exploration for and development of petroleum resources, the construction and operation of refineries and other facilities, and the distribution of petroleum shall not be hampered by restrictions imposed by either Government or its nationals, inconsistent with the purposes of this Agreement.

Article II

The two Governments recognize that the principles declared in Article I hereof are of general applicability and merit adherence on the part of all countries interested in the international petroleum trade of the world.

Therefore, with a view to the wider adoption and effectuation of the principles embodied in this Agreement they agree that as soon as practicable they will propose to the governments of other interested producing and consuming countries an International Petroleum Agreement which, inter alia, would establish a permanent, International Petroleum Council composed of representatives of all signatory countries.

To this end the two Governments hereby pledge themselves to formulate plans for an international conference to consider the negotiation of such a multilateral Petroleum Agreement. They also pledge themselves to consult with other interested governments with a view to taking whatever action is necessary to prepare for the proposed conference.

Article III

There are, however, numerous problems of joint immediate interest to the two Governments, with respect to petroleum resources in which rights are held or may be acquired by their nationals, which must be discussed and resolved on a co-operative interim basis if the general petroleum supply situation is not to deteriorate.

With this end in view the two Governments hereby agree to establish an International Petroleum Commission to be composed of eight members, four members to be appointed immediately by each Government. This Commission, in furtherance of and in accordance with the principles stated in Article I hereof, shall consider problems of mutual interest to both Governments and their nationals, and, with a view to the equitable disposition of such problems, shall be charged with the following duties and responsibilities:

1. To prepare long-term estimates of world demand for petroleum, having due regard for the interests of consuming countries and expanding consumption requirements;
2. To suggest the manner in which, over the long term, this estimated demand may best be satisfied by production equitably distributed among the various producing countries in accordance

with the criteria enumerated in paragraph 3 of the Introductory Article;

3. To recommend to both Governments broad policies for adoption by operating companies with a view to effectuating programs suggested under the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article;

4. To analyse such short-term problems of joint interest as may arise in connection with production, processing, transportation and distribution of petroleum on a world-wide basis, wherever the nationals of either country have a significant interest, and to recommend to both Governments such action as may appear appropriate;

5. To make regular reports to the two Governments concerning its activities;

6. To make, from time to time, such additional reports and recommendations to the two Governments as may be appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Agreement.

The Commission shall establish such organization as is necessary to carry out its functions under this Agreement. The expenses of the Commission shall be shared equally by the two Governments.

Article IV

To effectuate this Agreement the two Governments hereby grant reciprocal assurances:

1. That they will adhere to the principles set forth in Article I, paragraphs 1 to 6 inclusive;

2. That they will endeavor to obtain the collaboration of the governments of other producing and consuming countries in the implementation of the principles set forth in Article I, and will consult, as appropriate, with such governments in connection with activities undertaken under Article III;

3. That upon approval of the recommendations of the Commission they will endeavor, in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, to give effect to such approved recommendations;

4. That each Government will undertake to keep itself adequately informed of the current and prospective activities of its nationals with respect to the development, processing, transportation and distribution of petroleum;

5. That each Government will make available to the Commission such information regarding the activities of its nationals as is necessary to the realization of the purposes of this Agreement.

Article V

The two Governments agree that in this Agreement:

1. The words "country" or "territories"

(a) in relation to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, include, in addition to the United Kingdom, all British colonies, overseas territories, protectorates, protected states and all mandated territories administered by that Government; and

(b) in relation to the Government of the United States of America, include, in addition to the United States, all territory under the jurisdiction of the United States;

2. The word "nationals" means

(a) in relation to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, all British subjects and British protected persons belonging to the territories referred to in 1 (a) above and all companies incorporated under the laws of any of the above-mentioned territories, and also companies held by any of such nationals;

(b) in relation to the Government of the United States of America, all nationals of the United States including companies incorporated under the laws of the territories referred to in 1 (b) above, and also companies incorporated elsewhere in which the controlling interest is held by any of such nationals;

3. The word "petroleum" means crude petroleum and its derivatives.

Article VI

This Agreement shall enter into force upon a date to be agreed upon after each Government shall have notified the other of its readiness to bring the Agreement into force and shall continue in force until three months after notice of termination has been given by either Government or until it is superseded by the International Petroleum Agreement contemplated in Article II.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto, have signed this Agreement.

Done in Washington, in duplicate, this eighth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four.

For the Government of the United States of America:

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Acting Secretary of State of the United States of America.

For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

Beaverbrook, Lord Privy Seal.

CZECHOSLOVAK-FRENCH ALLIANCE

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, LONDON, AUGUST 22, 1944

While again declaring that they consider the Munich Treaty with all its consequences as null and void, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, state that relations between the two states have been re-established to the same extent as they existed before signature of that Treaty. In confirming the traditional policy of friendship and alliance which unites them and their common attachment to the principles of liberty and independence which has been strengthened by the struggle against the common enemy, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Provisional Government of the French Republic have agreed that at the appropriate time such modifications and amendments be carried out in the existing agreements as will be considered necessary in order that collaboration between Czechoslovakia and France in the sphere of general security and reconstruction of Europe and the world are rendered more effective.

BELGIAN-BRITISH MONETARY AGREEMENT

TEXT OF THE MONETARY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM, LONDON, OCTOBER 5, 1944

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the one part, and the Government of Belgium, of the other part, have agreed as follows:—

Article I

1. The rate of exchange between the Belgian franc and the £ sterling shall be Bg. fcs. 176.625 equal £1.

2. This rate (hereinafter referred to as "the official rate") shall not be varied by either of the Contracting Governments except after mutual consultation.

3. In all territories where they have jurisdiction the Contracting Parties shall enforce the use of the official rate as the basis of all transactions involving a relationship between the two currencies.

4. The Bank of England and the National Bank of Belgium, as agents of their respective Governments, shall fix by mutual agreement the maximum spread above or below the official rate which will be authorized on the markets which they control.

Article II

1. The Bank of England (acting as agents of the United Kingdom Government) shall sell sterling to the National Bank of Belgium (acting as agents of the Belgian Government) as may be required for payments which residents of the Belgian monetary area, under the exchange regulations in force in that area, are permitted to make to residents of the sterling area—

- (a) against Belgian francs to be credited at the official rate to the Bank of England's No. 1 Account with the National Bank of Belgium, provided that the balance standing to the credit of that Account is not thereby increased above a maximum of Bg. fcs. 883,125,000, or
- (b) if the balance standing to the credit of the Bank of England's No. 1 Account with the National Bank of Belgium amounts to Bg. fcs. 883,125,000, against gold to be set aside in the Bank of England's name at the National Bank of Belgium, Brussels.

2. The National Bank of Belgium (acting as agents of the Belgian Government) shall sell Belgian francs to the Bank of England (acting as agents of the United Kingdom Government) as may be required for payments which residents of the sterling area, under the exchange regulations in force in that area, are permitted to make to residents of the Belgian monetary area—

- (a) against sterling to be credited at the official rate to the National Bank of Belgium's No. 1 Account with the Bank of England provided that the balance standing to the credit of that Account is not thereby increased above a maximum of £5,000,000 plus such additional sum as the Contracting Governments shall have agreed to recognize as equivalent to the net amount of sterling owned by residents of the Belgian monetary area at the date on which this agreement enters into force, or
- (b) if the balance standing to the credit of the National Bank of Belgium's No. 1 Account with the Bank of England amounts to £5,000,000 plus the additional sum referred to in sub-paragraph (a) above, against gold to be set aside in the name of the National Bank of Belgium at the Bank of England, London.

3. The National Bank of Belgium shall at all times maintain a balance of not less than £100,000 on their No. 1 Account with the Bank of England.

4. The Bank of England shall at all times maintain a balance of not less than Bg. fcs. 17,662,500 on their No. 1 Account with the National Bank of Belgium.

5. Gold set aside in Brussels in accordance with the provisions of this Article shall be at the Bank of England's free disposal and may be exported.

6. Gold set aside in London in accordance with the provisions of this Article shall be at the National Bank of Belgium's free disposal and may be exported.

Article III

1. The Bank of England shall have the right at any time to sell to the National Bank of Belgium, against all or part of the sterling balances held by that Bank, either Belgian francs at the official rate or gold to be set aside at the Bank of England in London.

2. The National Bank of Belgium shall have the right at any time to sell to the Bank of England, against all or part of the Belgian franc balances held by that Bank, either sterling at the official rate or gold to be set aside at the National Bank of Belgium in Brussels.

Article IV

1. The Government of the United Kingdom shall not restrict the availability of sterling at the disposal of residents of the Belgian monetary area for making—

- (a) transfers to other residents of the Belgian monetary area;
- (b) payments to residents of the sterling area; or
- (c) transfers to residents of countries outside the Belgian monetary area and the sterling area to the extent to which these may be authorized by the Government of the United Kingdom under the arrangements contemplated in Article VIII (iii) hereof.

2. The Belgian Government shall not restrict the availability of Belgian francs at the disposal of residents of the sterling area for making—

- (a) transfers to other residents of the sterling area;
- (b) payments to residents of the Belgian monetary area; or
- (c) transfers to residents of countries outside the sterling area and the Belgian monetary area to the extent to which these may be authorized by the Belgian Government under the arrangements contemplated in Article VIII (iii) hereof.

Article V

1. To the extent to which the National Bank of Belgium requires sterling area currencies, other than sterling, for the purpose of providing for payments in the countries where such currencies are legal tender, the National Bank of Belgium shall purchase them through the Bank of England against payment in sterling.

2. To the extent to which the Bank of England requires Congolese francs for the purpose of providing for payments in the Belgian Congo and the Mandated Territory of Ruanda Urundi, the Bank of England shall purchase them through the National Bank of Belgium against payment in Belgian francs.

Article VI

The two Contracting Governments shall co-operate with a view to assisting each other in keeping capital transactions within the scope of their respective policies, and in particular with a view to preventing transfers between their areas which do not serve direct and useful economic or commercial purposes.

Article VII

Any sterling held by the National Bank of Belgium shall be held and invested only as may be agreed by the Bank of England and any Belgian francs held by the Bank of England shall be held and invested only as may be agreed by the National Bank of Belgium.

Article VIII

1. If during the currency of this agreement the Contracting Governments adhere to a general international monetary agreement, they will review the terms of the present Agreement with a view to making any amendments that may be required.

2. While the present Agreement remains in force the Contracting Governments shall co-operate to apply it with the necessary flexibility according to circumstances. The Bank of England and the National Bank of Belgium, as agents of their respective Governments, will maintain contact on all technical questions arising out of the Agreement and will collaborate closely on exchange control matters affecting the two areas.

3. As opportunity offers, the Contracting Governments shall seek with the consent of the other interested parties—

- (a) to make Belgian francs at the disposal of residents of the sterling area and sterling at the disposal of residents of the Belgian monetary area available for payments of a current nature to residents of countries outside the sterling area and the Belgian monetary area; and
- (b) to enable residents of countries outside the sterling area and the Belgian monetary area to use sterling at their disposal to make payments of a current nature to residents of the Belgian monetary area, and to use Belgian francs at their disposal to make payments of a current nature to residents of the sterling area.

4. Notwithstanding that each of the Contracting Governments shall be alone responsible for its monetary relations with their parties, they shall maintain contact wherever the monetary relations of the one affect the interests of the other.

Article IX

For the purposes of the present Agreement—

1. The expression "the sterling area" shall have the meaning from time to time assigned to it by the exchange control regulations in force in the United Kingdom.

2. The expression "the Belgian monetary area" shall, subject to the provisions of Article X hereof, include the following territories:

Belgium,
Luxembourg,
Belgian Congo, and the
Mandated Territory of Ruanda Urundi.

3. Transactions between the Bank of England and the National Bank of Belgium are to be considered as transactions between the sterling area and the Belgian monetary area.

4. Transactions entered into by the Government of any territory within one of the two areas described above are to be considered as transactions entered into by a resident of that area.

Article X

The present Agreement shall not apply to the Belgian Congo and the Mandated Territory of Ruanda Urundi until fourteen days after its signature. On that date, the Anglo-Belgian Financial Agreement of the 21st January, 1941 (Treaty Series No. 1 (1941), Cmd. 6248) shall cease to have effect between the Contracting Governments.

Article XI

Upon the signature of the present Agreement, the Anglo-Belgian Financial Agreement of the 7th June, 1940, shall be abrogated, and the balances which have accrued thereunder shall be available in accordance with the provisions of Article IV hereof.

Article XII

The present Agreement, which shall be subject to review and adjustment after mutual consultation, shall come into force on the day of its signature. At any time thereafter either Contracting Government may give notice to the other of its intention to terminate the Agreement and the Agreement shall cease to have effect three months after the date of such notice. It shall terminate three years after the date of its coming into force, unless the Contracting Governments agree otherwise.

In witness whereof, the Undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in London, in duplicate, this 5th day of October, 1944.

(L.S.) JOHN ANDERSON
(L.S.) E. de CARTIER
(L.S.) GUTT.

FRANCO-SOVIET ALLIANCE

TEXT OF THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, SIGNED IN MOSCOW, DECEMBER 10, 1944

The Provisional Government of the French Republic and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Determined to prosecute jointly, and to the end, the war against Germany;

Convinced that once victory is achieved, the re-establishment of peace on a stable basis and its prolonged maintenance in the future

will be conditioned by the existence of close collaboration between them and with all the United Nations;

Having resolved to collaborate in the cause of the creation of an international system of security for the effective maintenance of general peace and for ensuring harmonious development of relations between nations;

Desirous of confirming mutual obligations resulting from the exchange of letters of September 26, 1941, concerning joint actions in the war against Germany;

Convinced that the conclusion of an alliance between the U.S.S.R. and France corresponds to the sentiments and interests of both peoples, the demands of the war and the requirements of peace and economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims which the United Nations set themselves;

Decided to conclude a Treaty to this effect and appointed as their Plenipotentiaries;

The Provisional Government of the French Republic—Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs; The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; who, after the exchange of their credentials, found in due form and good order, agreed on the following:

Article I: Each of the High Contracting Parties shall continue the struggle on the side of the other Party and on the side of the United Nations until final victory over Germany. Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to render the other Party aid and assistance in this struggle with all the means at its disposal.

Article II: The High Contracting Parties shall not agree to enter into separate negotiations with Germany or to conclude without mutual consent any Armistice of Peace Treaty either with the Hitler Government or with any other government or authority set up in Germany for the purpose of the continuation or support of the policy of German aggression.

Article III: The High Contracting Parties undertake also after the termination of the present war with Germany to take jointly all necessary measures for the elimination of any new threat coming from Germany and to obstruct such actions as would make possible any new attempt at aggression on her part.

Article IV: In the event of either of the High Contracting Parties finding itself involved in military operations against Germany whether as a result of aggression committed by the latter or as a result of the operation of the above Article III, the other Party shall at once render it every aid and assistance within its power.

Article V: The High Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude any Alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against either of the High Contracting Parties.

Article VI: The High Contracting Parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance after the war with a view to facilitating and accelerating the reconstruction of both countries and in order to contribute to the cause of world prosperity.

Article VII: The present Treaty does not in any way affect obligations undertaken previously by the High Contracting Parties in regard to third states in virtue of published Treaties.

Article VIII: The present Treaty, the Russian and French texts of which are equally valid, shall be ratified and ratification instruments shall be exchanged in Paris as early as possible. It comes into force from the moment of the exchange of ratification instruments and shall be valid for twenty years. If the Treaty is not denounced by either of the High Contracting Parties at least one year before the expiration of this term, it shall remain valid for an unlimited time, each of the Contracting Parties being able to terminate its operation by giving notice to that effect one year in advance.

In confirmation of which the above Plenipotentiaries signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals thereto.

Done in Moscow in two copies. December 10, 1944.

BIDAULT

MOLOTOV

Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

BRITISH-ETHIOPIAN AGREEMENT

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY IN RESPECT
TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE
EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA, ADDIS ABABA, DECEMBER 19, 1944

Article I

The Agreement and the Military Convention concluded on the
31st January, 1942, are superseded by the present Agreement.

Article II

Diplomatic relations between the High Contracting Parties shall
be conducted through an Ethiopian Minister Plenipotentiary in
London accredited to His Majesty the King and a British Minister
Plenipotentiary in Addis Ababa accredited to His Imperial Majesty
the Emperor.

Article III

1. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will retain or appoint
British or other foreign persons of experience and special qualifica-
tions to be advisors or officers of their administration and judges
as they find necessary.

2. The Government of the United Kingdom will assist the Impe-
rial Ethiopian Government in finding suitable persons of British
nationality whom they may desire to appoint.

Article IV

1. Jurisdiction over British subjects, British Protected Persons
and British Companies shall be exercised by the Ethiopian Courts
constituted according to the Statute for the Administration of
Justice issued by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor in 1942 and
the Rules of Court issued in 1943, provided (a) that in Article IV
of Section III of the Statute there shall be substituted for "judges
of British nationality" the words "judges of proven judicial expe-
rience in other lands," and (b) that, in the hearing by the High
Court of any matter, all persons shall have the right to demand
that one of the judges sitting shall have had judicial experience in
other lands.

2. British subjects and British Protected Persons shall be incar-
cerated only in prisons which are approved by an officer who has
had experience in modern prison administration.

Article V

1. The Government of the United Kingdom will (a) relinquish
the control and management of the section of the Franco-Ethiopian
Railway which lies in Ethiopian territory within three months of
receiving from the Imperial Ethiopian Government a formal assur-
ance that satisfactory arrangements have been made for its con-
tinued efficient operation, and (b) transfer the control and man-
agement of the section of the Railway referred to in (a) above to
the organization specified in the formal assurance.

2. The Imperial Ethiopian Government recognize that the main-
tenance of the Railway in efficient operation is an essential part of
the war effort, and also agree that any traffic for which priority is
in future requested by the Middle East Supply Center or by the
British Military Authorities will receive that priority.

3. The Imperial Ethiopian Government, in making arrangements
for the operation and management of the Railway, undertake that
these arrangements will not be such as to prejudice the legal rights
of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will also, before the
conclusion of the period specified in paragraph 1 above, withdraw
from the cantonment of Dire-dawa and the area northwest of the
Railway formerly included in the area defined in paragraph 1 of
the Schedule to the Anglo-Ethiopian Military Convention, 1942.

Article VI

1. The Government of the United Kingdom will make available
to the Imperial Ethiopian Government a military mission, which
shall be a unit of the military forces of His Majesty the King under
the command of the Head of the Mission. It shall be called "The
British Military Mission to Ethiopia."

2. The status and privileges of the members of the military mis-
sion will be governed by the terms of the annexure * to the present
Article.

3. The Head of the Mission shall be responsible to the Minister
of War of the Imperial Ethiopian Government for the organiza-
tion, training and administration of the Ethiopian Army.

4. The policy governing such organization, training and admin-
istration shall be laid down by the Minister of War of the Imperial
Ethiopian Government in consultation with the Head of the Mis-
sion. The Minister shall have the right to satisfy himself that the
policy so laid down is being executed.

5. The Minister of War of the Imperial Ethiopian Government
and the Head of the British Military Mission to Ethiopia shall agree
as to the general disposition and movement of the members of the
mission, as well as the strength of the mission.

6. The British Military Mission shall be withdrawn during the
currency of this agreement if, after consultation between the High
Contracting Parties, either of them so desires and gives notice to
the other to this effect. If any such notice is given the Mission shall
be withdrawn three months after the date of receipt of notice.

Article VII

In order as an Ally to contribute to the effective prosecution of
the war and without prejudice to their underlying sovereignty, the
Imperial Ethiopian Government hereby agree that, for the duration
of this Agreement, the territories designated as the Reserved Area
and the Ogaden, as set forth in the attached schedule, * shall be
under British Military Administration.

Article VIII

All installations, constructions, works or enterprises already con-
structed in whole or in part by virtue of the provisions of Articles
VIII (c) and IX (b) of the Military Convention of 31st January,
1942, in the areas referred to in Article V 4, shall from the date of
withdrawal provided for in that paragraph belong in full title to
the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

Article IX

1. The Government of the United Kingdom will accord to civil
aircraft duly registered in Ethiopia freedom of passage to, in and
over territories under their jurisdiction or authority provided that
the regulations governing air navigation in force within these ter-
ritories are observed. Similarly the Imperial Ethiopian Government
will accord to civil aircraft duly registered in any territories under
the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection or authority of His Majesty
the King freedom of passage to, in and over Ethiopia, provided that
the Ethiopian regulations governing air navigation in force are
observed.

2. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will permit a British Air
Transport organization or organizations, to be designated by the
Government of the United Kingdom, to operate regular air services
to, in and over Ethiopia for the carriage of passengers, mails and
freight provided that such regulations governing air navigation as
may be in force in Ethiopia are observed. For this purpose the
Imperial Ethiopian Government will secure, as far as possible, the
constant maintenance of, and provide guards for, adequate landing
grounds in Ethiopian territory. They will consult with the Gov-
ernment of the United Kingdom with regard to the construction
of additional landing grounds or the extension of existing landing
grounds, as experience may show to be necessary. The said organi-

zation shall be permitted to use such landing grounds, together with ground equipment and facilities, and to provide such further facilities as may be required.

3. If the obligations of either High Contracting Party under paragraph 1 or 2 of this Article should be in conflict with his obligations under a future general international agreement or convention relating to civil aviation, the provisions of these paragraphs shall be deemed to be modified so far as is necessary to avoid such conflict.

4. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will accord freedom of navigation in and over Ethiopia to the Air Forces of His Majesty the King as well as to Allied Air Forces, and will, as far as possible, secure the constant maintenance of adequate landing grounds in Ethiopian territory. They will consult with the Government of the United Kingdom for the construction of additional landing grounds, or the extension of existing landing grounds, as the latter Government may request. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will give all necessary orders for the passage of the personnel of the British Air Forces, aircraft and stores to and from the said landing grounds.

Article X

The High Contracting parties, on receipt of proof that any enemy aliens or ex-enemy aliens are dangerous to the security of Ethiopia or of any of the adjoining territories under the sovereignty or jurisdiction of His Majesty the King, undertake to collaborate in arrangements for their internment or expulsion.

Article XI

The High Contracting Parties undertake to carry out all reasonable steps to search for, apprehend and hand over any member of the British or Ethiopian forces who is claimed as a deserter or absentee without leave, upon request made in writing by the competent military authorities of the forces from which he has deserted or absented himself, and transmitted through the diplomatic channel.

Article XII

The present Agreement shall enter into force as from today's date.

Article XIII

The present Agreement shall remain in force until replaced by a treaty between the two High Contracting Parties; provided, however, that, at any time after the expiry of two years from the coming into force of this Agreement, either of the High Contracting Parties may give notice to the other of his desire to terminate it. If such notice is given the Agreement shall terminate three months after the date on which this notice is given.

In witness whereof the undersigned have subscribed their signatures to the present Agreement and thereunto affixed their seals.

Don at Addis Ababa, this nineteenth day of December, 1944, in duplicate in the English and Amharic languages, both of which shall be equally authoritative, except in case of doubt when the English text shall prevail.

(L.S.) DE LA WARR
(L.S.) MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU.

*Not reprinted here.

ADMINISTRATION OF LIBERATED AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

JOINT AMERICAN AND BRITISH STATEMENT ON ITALY

THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL, SEPTEMBER 26, 1944

The Italian people, freed of their Fascist and Nazi overlordship, have in these last twelve months demonstrated their will to be free, to fight on the side of the democracies, and to take a place among the United Nations devoted to principles of peace and justice.

We believe we should give encouragement to those Italians who are standing for a political rebirth in Italy, and are completing the destruction of the evil Fascist system. We wish to afford the Italians a greater opportunity to aid in the defeat of our common enemies.

The American and the British people are of course horrified by the recent mob action in Rome, but feel that a greater responsibility placed on the Italian people and on their own government will most readily prevent a recurrence of such acts.

An increasing measure of control will be gradually handed over to the Italian Administration, subject of course to that Administration's proving that it can maintain law and order and the regular administration of justice. To mark this change the Allied Control Commission will be renamed "The Allied Commission".

The British High Commissioner in Italy will assume the additional title of Ambassador. The United States representative in Rome already holds that rank. The Italian government will be invited to appoint direct representatives to Washington and London.

First and immediate considerations in Italy are the relief of hunger and sickness and fear. To this end we instructed our representatives at the UNRRA Conference to declare for the sending of medical aids and other essential supplies to Italy. We are happy to know that this view commended itself to other members of the UNRRA Council.

At the same time, first steps should be taken toward the reconstruction of an Italian economy—an economy laid low under the years of the misrule of Mussolini, and ravished by the German policy of vengeful destruction.

These steps should be taken primarily as military aims to put the full resources of Italy and the Italian people into the struggle to defeat Germany and Japan. For military reasons we should assist the Italians in the restoration of such power system, their railways, motor transport, roads and other communications as enter into the war situation, and for a short time send engineers, technicians and industrial experts into Italy to help them in their own rehabilitation.

The application to Italy of the Trading with the Enemy Acts should be modified so as to enable business contracts between Italy and the outside world to be resumed for the benefit of the Italian people.

We all wish to speed the day when the last vestiges of Fascism in Italy will have been wiped out, and when the last German will have left Italian soil, and when there will be no need of any Allied troops to remain—the day when free elections can be held throughout Italy, and when Italy can earn her proper place in the great family of free nations.

APPENDIX

YALTA DECLARATION, FEBRUARY 11, 1945

The following statement is made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States of America, and the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the results of the Crimean Conference:

THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer co-ordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and co-ordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close working partnership among the three staffs attained at this conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

THE OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF GERMANY

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Co-ordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the supreme commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German general staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.

REPARATIONS BY GERMANY

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied nations in this war and recognized it as just

that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The government of China and the provisional government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three governments, conditions in

any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in co-operation with other peace-loving nations world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

POLAND

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of Western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present provisional government of Poland, and the government of the United Kingdom and the government of the U.S.A. will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange ambassadors by whose reports the respective governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

JUGOSLAVIA

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately, and that a new government should be formed on the basis of that agreement.

We also recommend that as soon as the new government has been formed it should declare that:

(1) The Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (Avnoj) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by

collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,

(2) Legislative acts passed by the Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a constituent assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

MEETINGS OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES

Throughout the conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries, and their advisers have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations Conference on World Organization.

UNITY FOR PEACE AS FOR WAR

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, "afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

Signed: WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
J. STALIN.

February 11, 1945.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT ON FREED PRISONERS

The text of an agreement reached at the conference concerning prisoners liberated by the Allied forces invading Germany follows:

A comprehensive agreement was reached at the Crimea conference providing detailed arrangements for the protection, maintenance and repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians of the British Commonwealth, Soviet Union and United States liberated by the Allied forces now invading Germany.

Under these arrangements each Ally will provide food, clothing, medical attention and other needs for the nationals of the others until transport is available for their repatriation. In caring for British subjects and American citizens the Soviet government will be assisted by British and American officers. Soviet officers will assist British and American authorities in their task for caring for Soviet citizens liberated by the British and American forces during such time as they are on the continent of Europe or in the United Kingdom, awaiting transport to take them home.

We are pledged to give every assistance consistent with operational requirements to help to insure that all these prisoners of war and civilians are speedily repatriated.

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