

REST IN PEACE

*Dedicated to
Franklin Delano Roosevelt*

Rest in peace beloved leader,
Thou hast borne a heavy cross;
Wear the victor's crown of glory
While the nation mourns its loss.

Thou hast gone, departed soldier,
From this land of grief and strife;
Upon the altar of the martyred
Thou hast sacrificed thy life.

Thou hast given hope and comfort
To peoples of far distant land,
Thou hast loved the great, the lowly,
Clasped them gently by the hand.

Rest in peace beloved hero,
While thy comrades gently weep,
While their saddened voices whisper,
Lest they disturb thy peaceful sleep.

Thou hast been great in life,
Thou hast done well thy master's will;
Thou belongest to "The Ages,"
In death thou shalt be greater still.

Thy monument shall be "The Peace"
Thy solemn pledge to all mankind,
Thy just reward "The Victory"
By thy comrades left behind.

Thou hast designed our course of justice,
To greet fair victory's dawn,
Though thy work is yet unfinished,
Thy followers shall carry on.

Ever dwell with us in spirit,
Let thy absent hand still guide,
Let the blessings of thy wisdom
Lead us safely o'er the tide.

Rest in peace beloved leader,
Thou hast kept our banner high,
Shedding silver beams of justice
Over land, and sea, and sky.

Thou shalt wear thy glowing laurels,
Out upon the golden shore,
Where thy master's voice has called thee,
To be at peace forevermore.

Thy deeds and name shalt glow in radiance,
Enshrined within the hearts of all;
Rest in peace beloved hero,
Thou hast heard the bugle call.

Fare thee well oh faithful soldier
We shall greet thee nevermore
Until final "Taps" are sounded,
And we meet on yonder shore.

*Ida C. Gowan
Coronado, California*

Archivist

Miss

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

April 27, 1945

TO: MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF THE SECRETARIAT

There is now available in the Basement of the Opera House, a Cafeteria operated by the American Women's Voluntary Services, which is serving meals continuously from 11:30 AM to 7:00 PM daily. Members of the Staff of the Secretariat are invited to use these facilities at all times.

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION OFFICE

An agency of:—the governments of Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Greece, India, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, The Philippines, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia; the Danish Legation and the government of the United States of America.

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CHRONOLOGY OF UNITED NATIONS' CO-OPERATION

(1939 - March 1945)

I. UP TO THE UNITED NATIONS' DECLARATION (1939-1941)

1939

March	31	<u>British and French guarantees to Poland</u> announced.
August	25	<u>Anglo-Polish Alliance</u> signed.
Sept.	1	Germany invades Poland.
Sept.	3	Great Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand declare war on Germany.
Sept.	6	South Africa declares war on Germany.
Sept.	10	Canada declares war on Germany.
Oct.	11	British Empire Air Training Scheme announced.
Nov.	17	Allied Supreme Council adopts plans for pooling economic resources.
Dec.	12	Financial Agreement between French and U.K. Treasuries.
Dec.	17	British Empire Air Training Agreement signed at Ottawa.

1940

March	27	Announcement of Anglo-French Agreement to make no separate peace or armistice.
April	4	Formation of United Kingdom Commercial Corporation announced to develop Balkan trade.
April	9	Norway enters the war.
May	10	Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg enter the war.
June	28	General de Gaulle recognised by Great Britain as "Leader of all free Frenchmen".
July	24	Announcement of U.K. recognition of provisional Czechoslovak Government in London.
July	26	Anglo-Polish Alliance re-affirmed.
August	5	Anglo-Polish Military Agreement signed.
August	7	Military Agreement between U.K. and General de Gaulle.
August	12	India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and British colonies in Asia and Africa accept U.K. invitation to a conference at Delhi in October, to co-ordinate war resources. (See 25.10.40)
August	17	Ogdensburg Agreement concluded after a Meeting between President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King, followed by
August	18	Announcement of Permanent Joint Defence Board for the U.S. and Canada.

ALPHABETICALLY BY NAME OF COMPANY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-11-01 BY 60322 UCBAW/STP

1	ALCOA	ALUMINUM
2	AMERICAN	AMERICAN
3	ANDERSON	ANDERSON
4	ARMSTRONG	ARMSTRONG
5	AT&T	AT&T
6	BELL	BELL
7	BETHLEHEM	BETHLEHEM
8	BORG	BORG
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1940

August	26	First Session of Permanent Joint Defence Board.
Sept.	3	<u>Anglo-American Agreement on sea and air bases</u> : bases in Newfoundland and Bermuda to be leased free; bases in the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua and British Guiana for transfer of 50 U.S. destroyers.
Oct.	25	U.K. Military Agreement with Czechoslovakia.
Oct.	25	Eastern Group Conference opened at Delhi (see above, 12, 8.40, for membership). Four representatives of N.E.I. present as observers.
Oct.	28	Greece enters the war.
Nov.	5	Mr. Churchill pledges British help to Greece.
Nov.	11	Polish and Czechoslovak Governments in London agree to enter into a "closer political and economic association"
Nov.	11	Financial Agreement between U.K. and Czechoslovak Governments signed in London.
Dec.	10	U.K. Credit £10 million to China announced.
Dec.	29	President Roosevelt's speech: U.S. as "arsenal of the democracies": the "four freedoms".

1941

JANUARY	6	President Roosevelt's Address to Congress: weapons to be supplied to the democracies.
	9	Mr. Harry Hopkins arrives in London as President Roosevelt's representative.
	14	Establishment of British Supply Council in North America announced.
	21	U.K.-Belgian agreements signed in London regarding supplies from Belgian Congo.
	21	Agreement between U.K. Government and General de Gaulle on economic relations between U.K. and Cameroons.
Feb.	20	Mr. Menzies, Australian Prime Minister, arrives in U.K. to discuss the war situation, and attends War Cabinet during his visit.
MARCH	2-5	Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill, C.I.G.S., in Athens.
	6-7	Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill, C.I.G.S., confer with General Smuts in Cairo.
	11	<u>Lease-Lend Bill approved by President Roosevelt.</u>
	13	U.K. Missions to U.S.A. announced: Sir Arthur Salter (shipping); Mr. R.H. Brand (food).
	15	Mr. W. Averell Harriman arrives in Britain, as President Roosevelt's personal representative, to expedite U.S. Lease-Lend aid.
	19	Agreement between U.K. Government and General de Gaulle on economic relations between U.K. and French Equatorial Africa.
	20	St. Lawrence Waterway Agreement between U.S.A. and Canada signed.
APRIL		Middle East Supply Centre established.

1941

- APRIL 5 Joint Declaration by Mr. Mackenzie King and General Sikorski, affirming faith in ultimate victory. Training of Polish troops in Canada agreed upon.
- 5 Soviet-Yugoslav Pact of Friendship and Non-Agression signed.
- 6 Yugoslavia enters the war.
- 7 U.K. Government's pledge of support to Yugoslavia.
- 10 President Roosevelt announces agreement with Danish Minister in Washington to take Greenland under U.S. protection.
- 20 President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King issue the Hyde Park declaration of co-ordinated efforts for aid to democracies.
- MAY 7 General Sikorski leaves the U.S.A. after conversations with President Roosevelt.
- 28 Agreement signed between Great Britain and Royal Norwegian Government regarding Norwegian armed forces in U.K.
- JUNE 12 Representatives of Allied Governments in London meet at St. James's Palace and pledge mutual assistance "until victory is won".
- 18 Establishment of Joint U.S.-Canadian Economic Committee to co-ordinate the production of the combined war resources of the two countries for continental defence.
- 20 Mr. Fraser, New Zealand Prime Minister, arrives in London for discussions on the war situation, and attends War Cabinet during his visit.
- 22 Russia enters the war; Mr. Churchill pledges British aid.
- 24 President Roosevelt announces that all possible U.S. aid will be given to Russia; "machines and Material".
- 24 British Dominions endorse H.M.G.'s policy of aid for Russia.
- 27 British Military Mission led by General Mason MacFarlane arrives in Moscow.
- JULY 1 British Minister of State appointed to represent U.K. in the Middle East (Mr. Oliver Lyttelton).
- 8 Soviet Military Mission led by General Golikov arrives in London.
- 12 Anglo-Soviet Agreement signed in Moscow, for mutual assistance against Hitlerite Germany with no separate peace.
- 18 Czechoslovak-Soviet Agreement signed in London; diplomatic relations restored, Czech armed contingents to be formed in Russia.
- 19 U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia re-establish diplomatic relations.
- 29 Mr. Harry Hopkins arrives in Moscow as President Roosevelt's representative to confer with Premier Stalin on U.S. aid to the U.S.S.R.
- 30 Polish-Soviet Agreement signed in London; Russo-German treaties of 1939 annulled; Polish army to be formed in Russia.
- 31 General Golikov sees President Roosevelt in Washington

AUGUST	2	U.S.-Soviet Executive Agreement signed.
	2	U.S.S.R. and Belgium agree to exchange diplomatic representatives.
	2	U.S.-Dominican Republic Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
	5	U.S.S.R. and Norway agree to exchange diplomatic representatives.
	14	<u>Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic meeting at Argentia, Newfoundland announced: Atlantic Charter issued.</u>
	15	Polish-Soviet Military Agreement signed in Moscow.
	16	Anglo-Soviet economic agreement signed in Moscow for exchange of goods, (for U.S.S.R., replacement of war materials), and credit from U.K. of £ 10 million for five years.
	20	Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Prime Minister, arrives in England, and attends War Cabinet during his visit.
	26	Mr. Peter Fraser, N.Z. Prime Minister, visits President Roosevelt.
SEPT.	16	U.S.-Haiti Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
	20	U.S.-Paraguay Lend-Lease Agreement signed.
	24	<u>Conference of Allied Governments at St. Jame's Palace signifies members' adherence to Atlantic Charter; pledges members to plan economic reconstruction of post-war Europe: sets up Inter Allied Post-War Requirements Committee and Bureau.</u>
	26	Agreement between U.S.S.R. and General de Gaulle recognising latter as leader of Fighting French.
Sept.	28	British and American Missions, led by Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. W. Averell Harriman, in Moscow for Conference on supplies. Joint statement issued at conclusion of Conference announces decision to supply Russia with practically all requirements asked for, and reveals that the Soviet Government has supplied Great Britain and U.S.A. with large quantities of raw materials.
Oct.	1	
OCT.	16	U.S. - Nicaragua Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
	22	U.K. and Mexico announce resumption of diplomatic relations.
	29	Sir Earle Page arrives in London as Special Envoy of the Australian Government, and is appointed a member of the War Cabinet.
NOV.	1-2	Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Prime Minister, visits President Roosevelt.
	5	Formation of joint U.S.-Canada Production Committee announced.
	6	U.S. loan of \$1000 million to Russia announced (to finance Lease-Lend supplies).
	7	U.S.-Cuba Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
	10	Middle East Supply Centre Conference opens at Cairo.
	11	U.S.-Fighting France Lease-Lend Agreement.
	13	U.S. Neutrality Act. revised: U.S. Merchantmen to be armed and permitted to enter combat zones.
	19	U.S. Mexican Economic Agreement.
DEC.	3-6	General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister, in Moscow. Soviet Polish Declaration of Friendship. M. Stalin promises help to the Polish divisions in Russia.

1941

Dec.

- 6 U.S.-Bolivia Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 8 U.S.A. enter the war, also Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador. China declares war on the Axis.
- 9 Cuba, Guatemala, and Panama enter the war.
- 22 General Wavell (C. in C. India) confers with General Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking.
- 23 Mr. Churchill announced in Washington, accompanied by Lord Beaverbrook, Field-Marshal Sir John Dill, Sir Dudley Pound, and Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal, to discuss full Allied co-ordination; Anglo-U.S. War Council has first meeting, North African campaign first considered. (See also Mr. Churchill's report to Commons, 27.1.42)
- 26 Mr. Churchill, in Washington, addresses Congress.
- 29 Mr. Eden returns from Moscow after an "exhaustive exchange of views" with M. Stalin and M. Molotov "on questions relating to the conduct of the war and the post-war organisation of peace and security in Europe."
- 30 Mr. Churchill addresses Canadian Parliament in Ottawa.

II. FROM THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ONWARDS

1942

Jan.

- 1 United Nations' Declaration: 26 nations sign pact in Washington:-
 - (i) to employ full war resources against Axis
 - (ii) to co-operate with co-signatories and make no separate peace or armistice.
- 3 Unified Anglo-U.S. Command in S.W. Pacific area, under General Wavell, announced jointly by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to be in supreme command over all United Nations' land and air forces operating in Chinese theatre of war.
- 13 Conference of Allied Governments in London at St. James' Palace: pledge to punish Axis criminals at end of war.
- 13 Joint U.S.-Mexican Defence Commission announced.
- 13 U.S.-Uruguay Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 15 Pan-American Conference of Foreign Ministers opens in Rio de Janeiro.
- 15 Greco-Yugoslav Agreement signed in London "concerning the constitution of the Balkan Union".
- 16 U.S.-Costa Rica Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 23 Pan-American Conference at Rio adopts resolution recommending rupture of relations with Axis powers.
- 23 Polish-Czechoslovak preliminary agreement of federation signed in London.

1942

JAN.

Anglo-U.S. Combined Boards for Munitions Assignment, Raw Materials and Shipping Adjustment announced.

- 27 Mr. Churchill reports to the Commons on Anglo-U.S. plans for co-operation; (i) Combined Chiefs-of-Staff Committee in Washington, (ii) Pacific War Council in London (Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, N.E.I.), (iii) U.S. land and air forces to join British forces in U.K.
- 29 Anglo-Soviet-Persian Treaty signed in Teheran.
- 31 U.K. concludes Agreement and Military Convention with liberated Ethiopia: diplomatic relations re-established; British Government to furnish Emperor of Ethiopia with British advisers, police commissioners etc. and to grant financial assistance.

FEBRUARY

- 2 U.S.-El Salvador Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 6 Dr. van Kleffens, Netherlands Foreign Minister, visits President Roosevelt.
- 9-24 General Chiang Kai-shek in India for consultations.
- 10 First meeting of Pacific War council in London
- 11 Vice-Admiral C.E.L. Helfrich, Netherlands Navy, appointed to Supreme command of allied Naval Forces in W. Pacific.
- 12 Announcement of invitation to India to be represented on British War Cabinet and on Pacific War Council.
- 23 Master Mutual Aid Agreement signed between the U.S. and the U.K., Australia and N. Zealand.
- 28 U.S.-Honduras Lease-Lend Agreement signed.

MARCH

- 2 Unified Command of Allied forces in Java passes to Dutch. (Lt.-Gen. H. ter Poorten C. in C. land forces, Rear-Admiral van Staveren C. in C; naval forces.)
- 3 General Chiang Kai-shek confers with General Wavell in Burma.
- 3 U.S.-Brazil Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 9 Anglo-Greek agreement, concerning organization and employment of Greek armed forces, signed in London.
- 9 Anglo-American Caribbean Commission announced, for strengthening social and economic co-operation in the Caribbean.
- 11 U.S.-Peru Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 15 Anglo-Greek Agreement signed regarding equipment and supply of Greek armed forces.
- 17 General MacArthur announced in Australia to take supreme command of Allied forces in Australia.
- 17 U.S.-Colombia Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 18 U.S.-Venezuela Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 20 Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, visits President Roosevelt.

1942

MARCH

- 21 General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister, in Montreal.
- 24 General Sikorski visits President Roosevelt.
- 25 Lord Beaverbrook, U.K. Minister of Production, arrives in Washington for consultations on production and supply questions.
- 30 Inter-American Defence Board (formed at Rio Pan-American Conference of Jan: 1942) meets in Washington.
- 30 Pacific War Council in Washington announced (U.S.A., Australia, Canada, China, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Great Britain).

APRIL

- 3 General Johnson arrives in Delhi as President Roosevelt's representative.
- 6 U.S.-Ecuador Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 8 Mr. Harry Hopkins and General Marshall arrive in London for discussions on strategy and supply.
- 19 Announcement of formal appointment of General MacArthur to unified Allied command for S.W.-Pacific Area (by agreement between Governments of Australia, U.K., Netherlands and U.S.A.)

MAY

- 23 M. Nygaardsvold, Norwegian Prime Minister, arrives in US.
- 2 Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, arrives in England. During his visit attends meeting of the War Cabinet and Pacific War Council.
- 2 President Roosevelt announces Lease-Lend aid for Iran and Iraq.
- 5 Anglo-Dutch Agreement signed regarding equipment and supply of Netherlands armed forces.
Allied Supply Council set up in Australia under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Beaseley, Australian Minister for Supply and Shipping.
- 19 United Nations' Air Training Conference opens in Ottawa.
- 21 M. Molotov, U.S.S.R. Foreign Commissar, arrives in Great Britain to conclude Anglo-Soviet Treaty embodying decisions reached during Mr. Eden's conversations in Moscow (see 29.12.41, above).
- 22 Combined Committee on Air Training formed in Ottawa.
- 26 Twenty-year Anglo-Soviet Treaty signed in London, providing for full collaboration during and after the war.
- 28 Mexico declares war on Germany, Italy and Japan as from May 22.

May 29 - June 4 M. Molotov in Washington for discussions.

JUNE

- Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration set up.
- 2 China signs "master" Lease-Lend Agreement with U.S.A.
- 3 Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, U.K. Minister of Production, arrives in Washington for Anglo-U.S. production co-ordination talks.
- 3 Lord Louis Mountbatten, Chief of Combined Operations, arrives in Washington for service consultations.

1942

JUNE

- 4 Anglo-Belgian military and economic agreement signed in London.
- 5 Extended Empire Air Training Agreement signed in Ottawa by U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
- 9 Combined U.S. and U.K. Production and Resources Board and Combined Food Board set up.
- 11 Russia signs "master" Lease-Lend Agreement with U.S.A.
- 12 U.S.S.R. and Canada agree to exchange representatives.
- 14 Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, U.K. Minister of Production, in Ottawa.
- 16 U.S.-Belgian Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 18 Praesidium of Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. ratifies Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26.
- 18 Mr. Churchill arrives in U.S.A. for consultations.
- 24 Queen Wilhelmina arrives in U.S.A. accompanied by the Netherlands Prime Minister.
- 24 Great Britain ratifies Anglo-Soviet Treaty.
- 25 King Peter of Yugoslavia in Washington.
- 25 Mr. Churchill attends meeting of Pacific War Council in Washington.
- 27 Mr. Churchill concludes his conversations with President Roosevelt (in which Mr. Mackenzie King, M. Litvinoff, General Sir Alan Brooke and Maj.-General Sir Hastings Ismay also took part). Joint statement issued reveals that subjects discussed included war production, shipping and plans agreed to help China and divert German strength from eastern front.
- 27 New Anglo-Soviet arms agreement signed in Moscow: further British credit of £25 million.

JULY

- 1 U.S.-Polish Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 2 The King of the Hellenes in Ottawa.
- 2 Wheat agreement between Argentina, Australia, Canada, the U.K. and the U.S.
- 4 M. Pierlot, Belgian Prime Minister, arrives in Washington.
- 8 U.S.-Netherlands Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 10 U.S.-Greek Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 10 King Peter of Yugoslavia in Ottawa.
- 10 U.S.S.R. and Netherlands agree to exchange diplomatic representatives.
- 11 U.S.-Czechoslovak Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 11 U.S.-Norwegian Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 24 U.S.-Yugoslav Lease-Lend Agreement signed.

1942

AUGUST

- 2 Lt-General Stuart (Canadian C.G.S.) arrives in Britain.
- 6 Publication of notes exchanged between H.M.G. and Czechoslovakia: Munich Agreement cancelled.

12-15 Mr. Churchill visits Moscow for conversations with M. Stalin, in company with Mr. Averell Harriman (representing President Roosevelt). Others taking part include (for U.S.S.R.) Mr. Molotov, Marshal Voroshievov; (for U.K.) Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr (Ambassador to U.S.S.R.) General Sir Alan Brooke (C.I.G.S.), General Sir Archibald Wavell and Sir Alexander Cadogan (Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs); (for U.S.A.) C. inC. of American Forces in Egypt, Brigadier Spalding (head of Lease-Lend Supplies for Russia Department) and Mr. Roy Henderson (Chief of Russian division of State Department). Decisions reached covering the field of the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe.

22 Brazil enters war.

25 Mr. Peter Fraser, N.Z. Prime Minister, arrives in Washington.

SEPTEMBER

3 Reciprocal Lease-Lend Agreement signed between the U.S. and the U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and the French Committee of National Liberation.

8 U.S.S.R.-Canada Wheat Agreement signed, by which Russia may draw about 9 million bushels.

OCTOBER

6 U.S.-U.K.-U.S.S.R. agreement signed in Washington of supply of war material to U.S.S.R. (extension of Moscow agreement of October 1941).

13 General Smuts, S. African Prime Minister, arrives in London for consultation; attends War Cabinet and addresses Houses of Parliament during his visit.

13 U.S.S.R. and Australia announce exchange of representatives.

28 Commonwealth Supply Council, formed to co-ordinate supply arrangements throughout the British Empire, holds first meeting in London.

NOVEMBER

9 Ethiopia adheres to United Nations Declaration.

10 Canada joins Combined Production and Resources Board.

16 Conference of Allied Ministers of Education holds first meeting in London.

16 U.S. Guatemala Lease-Lend Agreement signed.

20 Official opening of Alcan (Alaskan-Canadian) International Highway from Dawson Creek to Fairbanks (a distance of some 1,600 miles).

22 U.K. Minister Resident for Supply in Washington appointed (Col. J.H. Llewellyn).

30 Gen. Sikorske, Polish Prime Minister, arrives in U.S.A. on visit to President Roosevelt.

DECEMBER

North African Economic Board Established in Algiers.

1 Emperor of Ethiopia, in cable to President Roosevelt, states that Ethiopia is at war with Italy, Germany and Japan.

1 U.S.-Canadian Agreement announced on principles of post-war economic settlement.

1942

DECEMBER

- 4 Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Prime Minister, visits President Roosevelt in Washington.
- 14 Formation announced of a Combined Steel Committee of the Combined Production and Resources Board and the Combined Raw Materials Board (U.S.A., U.K., Canada).
- 30 U.K. Minister Resident at Allied H.Q. in N.W. Africa appointed (Mr. H. Macmillan).

1943

JANUARY

- 5 Inter-Allied declaration (by 18 United Nations) against Axis looting and acts of dispossession in occupied territories; Inter-Allied Committee of Experts set up to investigate.
- 14 Meeting at Casablanca of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill together with U.S.A. and U.K. Chiefs of Staff. Named the "unconditional surrender meeting" by the President; all resources marshalled for carrying out offensive operations in 1943. Generals de Gaulle and Giraud also met at Casablanca to establish liaison for unification of French war effort.
- 16 Iraq enters the war.
- 20 Iraq adheres to United Nations Declaration.
- 28- 30 President Roosevelt and President Vargas (Brazil) confer at Natal on problems of world war and especially joint Brazilian-U.S. effort; agreement concluded to ensure that Dakar should never again become a potential Axis threat World shipping.

FEBRUARY

- 30 U.S.-Belgium Reciprocal Lease Lend Agreement signed.
- 6 Brazil adheres to United Nations Declaration.
- 10 Formation announced of Combined Copper Committee of the Combined Production and Resources Board and Combined Raw Materials Board (U.S.A., U.K., Canada).
- 11 Mr. Churchill announces in Parliament that 8th Army is to come under command of Gen. Eisenhower as Allied C. in C. in North Africa, with Gen. Alexander (U.K.) as Deputy C. in C.

MARCH

- 2 U.S.-Chile Lease-Lend Agreement signed.
- 12-29 Mr. Eden visits Washington to discuss war situation and post-war problems. President Roosevelt during press conference on visit says there is 95 per cent agreement on peace aims between leading United Nations.
- 18 U.S.-Mexico Lease Lend Agreement signed.
- 21 Formation of a Combined Aluminum Committee of the Combined Production and Resources Board and the Combined Raw Materials Board announced (U.S.A., U.K., Canada).
- 31 Empire Air Training Agreements signed in London by U.K. Air Minister and High Commissioners of Australia, Canada and New Zealand for continuance of the air training schemes in Australia and New Zealand, and for the contributions to be made by the Governments of these countries to the cost of training their pupils in Canada under the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, after March 31, 1943

APRIL

- 6 U.S. Treasury publishes the proposals for currency stabilization put forward by Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary to the U.S. Treasury ("White Plan").

1943

APRIL

- 7 Bolivia enters the war.
- 7 Publications of British proposals for an international Clearing Union ("Keynes Plan").
- 8 Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, arrives in Washington.
- 14 American Lease-Lend Mission to India reported arrived in New Delhi.
- 19-29 Conference on refugees at Bermuda attended by U.S. and U.K. representatives.

MAY

- 5 Bolivia declares adherence to United Nations Declaration.
- 6-8 Annual Conference of the Middle East Supply Council in Cairo attended by M.E.S.C. representatives from 15 Middle East countries.
- 11-27 Washington Conference between Mr. Churchill (accompanied by the C.I.G.S., the First Sea Lord, the Minister of War Transport, Field Marshal Wavell, and the commanders of the Indian Air Forces and the Eastern Fleet) and President Roosevelt and the U.S. Chiefs of Staff. President Roosevelt announces that the conference of combined staffs ended "in complete agreement on future operations in all theatres of the war".
- 12 Dr. Benes, Czechoslovak President, arrives in Washington.
- 18 Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Prime Minister, arrives in Washington for consultations.

May 18 - United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at
June 3 Hot Springs, Virginia. Delegates of '44 nations consider nutritional policy and pass resolution on both short-term and long-term aspects (of. Interim Commission, 21.7.43).

JUNE

- 3 French Committee for National Liberation formed with Generals de Gaulle and Giraud as joint Chairmen.
- 15 Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, arrives in London for consultation and attends War Cabinet during his visit.

JULY

- 13 Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, confers with President Roosevelt in Washington.
- 17 Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories set up in Sicily; General Alexander, Military Governor of Sicily; Lord Rennell of Rodd, Chief civil administrator.
- 21 Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture formally established under the Chairmanship of L.P. Pearson (Canada); Vice-Chairman Pavel I. Tchegula (U.S.S.R.) and Tsou-Ping-Wen (China). Scope of Commission extended to preparation of a plan for a permanent organization.

AUGUST

- 9 U.S.A.-Abyssinian Mutual Aid Agreement signed.
- 10 Mr. Churchill arrives in Quebec for joint session (Aug.11) of U.K. War Cabinet (represented by Mr. Churchill and Lord President of Council) and War Committee of Canadian Cabinet..
- 17-24 Quebec Conference between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. Joint statement that the military discussions turned very largely upon the war against Japan and the bringing of effective aid to China; post-war problems also under discussion.
- 19 U.S. Treasury announces revision of the "White Plan" for currency stabilization.
- 25 Allied Command for South-East Asia established under Lord Louis Mountbatten.

1943

Aug.

- 26 British, Canadian and U.S. Governments announce recognition of French Committee of National Liberation.
- 27 French Committee of National Liberation recognised by U.S.S.R., and China.

- 31 Mr. Churchill leaves Canada for further talks with Mr. Roosevelt.

Sept.

- 3 Italy signs armistice with the Allies.
- 9 Persia enters the war.
- 14 Persia signs the United Nations' Declaration.
- 25 Lend-Lease agreement between French Committee of National Liberation and U.S.A. signed in Algiers; in return for arms and supplies U.S.A. to have use of rail and port facilities and supplies of certain raw materials from French North Africa.

Oct.

- 5 General Smuts arrives in London for two months visit, during which he attends War Cabinet.
- 13 Italy declares war on Germany; U.K., U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. recognise Italy as "co-belligerent".
- 17 Mr. Eden arrives in Teheran for talks with Persian statesman.
- 19 U.K.-U.S.-Canada-U.S.S.R. agreement signed in London on war supplies for U.S.S.R. (extension of agreement of Oct. 6, 1942)
- 20 Establishment of the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes.
- 19-30 Moscow Conference between the Foreign Secretaries of the U.K. (Mr. Eden), of the U.S. (Mr. Hull), and of the U.S.S.R. (M. Molotov), to discuss measures for military cooperation between the three countries. Collaboration and cooperation between the three countries to continue into the period following the end of hostilities. Establishment of European Advisory Commission and Advisory Council for Italy agreed. Declarations published on General Security, Italy, Austria and Atrocities.
- 20 Dutch-Belgian Monetary Agreement signed.
- 29 Canada joins combined Food Board.

Nov.

- 9 Agreement creating United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed in Washington by 44 Allied and Associated nations.
- 10 Formation of Allied Control Commission for Italy announced by General Eisenhower.
- 10 First session of U.N.R.R.A. held at Atlantic City, U.S.A.
- 22-26 Cairo Conference between President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Mr. Churchill, with their respective military and diplomatic advisers. Future military operations against Japan agreed upon; statement issued on terms to be imposed on Japan in respect of restoration of territories.
- 27 Colombia enters the war.

-28-

- Dec. 1 Teheran Conference between President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin, and Mr. Churchill attended by Ministers, Service Chiefs, and representatives. Declaration issued on December 1 stated that Military Staff of the Three Powers had concerted their plans for the destruction of the German forces. "Declaration of the Three Powers Concerning Iran" issued at the same time.

1943

- Nov. 30 First meeting of the Advisory Council for Italy held in Algiers.
- Dec. 4 - 6 Cairo Conference between President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and President Inönü of Turkey. Mr. Eden, Mr. Menemenjoglu (Turkish Foreign Minister) and Mr. Harry Hopkins took part.
- Dec. 12 Soviet-Czechoslovak Agreement of "friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation" signed in Moscow during the visit of President Benes, by M. Molotov and M. Fierlinger, Czechoslovak Ambassador.
- Dec. 24 General Eisenhower appointed Supreme Allied Commander of the British and U.S. expeditionary forces organizing in the U.K. for the liberation of Europe; General Maitland Wilson appointed Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean Theatre.
- Dec. 28 Formation announced of a Public Utilities Committee of the Combined Production and Resources Board (U.K., U.S.A. Canada) to deal with equipment for liberated and conquered areas.

1944

JANUARY

- 4 International Whaling Conference opens in London.
- The Conference, which was attended by representatives of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, U.K. and U.S. drew up a Protocol on the International Regulation of Whaling.
- 10 Anglo-American Caribbean Commission issues First Report.
- The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was set up by the British and American Governments on March 9, 1942, to advise on social and economic problems affecting the Caribbean area.
- 14 First formal meeting in London of the European Advisory Commission, attended by Mr. Winant, M. Gusev and Sir William Strang.
- The European Advisory Commission was set up in accordance with the decision of the Conference of the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union held at Moscow October 19-30, 1943.
- 16 Combined Production and Resources Board forms Textile Committee, to survey wartime and relief requirements.
- General Eisenhower assumes duties as C. in C., Allied Expeditionary Force.
- 17 Colombia adheres to United Nations Declaration.
- 17 -21 Australia-New Zealand Conference held in Canberra on problems of mutual interests arising from the war; Agreement signed on January 21, on regional collaboration.
- The Agreement provides for mutual consultation and coordination of effort on matters of common interest. More especially "the two Government agree to act together in matters of common concern in the South-West and South Pacific areas."

JANUARY

- 18 United Nations War Crimes Commission holds its official inaugural meeting.

The Commission was set up in October 1943. It is composed of representatives of the Governments of the Australia, Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, the U.K., U.S.A., and Yugoslavia.

- 26 Liberia declares war on Germany and Japan.

FEBRUARY

- 7 - 13 Middle East Agricultural Conference held in Cairo.

A Conference of delegates from 10 Middle East Countries - Aden, Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Transjordan met in Cairo under the auspices of the Middle East Supply Council under the joint presidency of the British Minister Resident in the Middle East and the American Director of Economic Operations, Middle East, to examine ways of solving urgent Middle East land problems.

- 8 Financial and Mutual Aid Agreements between the United Kingdom and the French Committee of National Liberation signed in Algiers.
- 10 Report of the Inter-Allied Committee of legal experts set up to consider the future of the Court of International Justice.

Experts from the U.K., Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, French National Committee, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Poland took part in the Committee's discussions.

- 11 Canadian Mutual Aid Agreement with the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. signed.
- 22 Statement on looted gold issued by U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

The three Governments formally declared that they do not recognize the transference of a title to the looted gold which the Axis at any time holds or has disposed of in world markets.

- 29 Canada and U.S. conclude arrangement for road and air traffic facilities.

Under this arrangement Canada proposes to reimburse the U.S. for all permanent installations which the U.S. has made under the joint American-Canadian scheme for the defense of the North-American Continent.

MARCH

- 1 Shipping Agreement between French Committee of National Liberation and the United Kingdom and the U.S. Governments signed in Algiers. It provides that all French ships should be manned by French seamen and should fly national flag; and that French shipping is to remain in United Nations' pool for relief of liberated Europe.

MARCH

- 9 Mutual Aid Agreement between Canada and Australia signed.

This Agreement is identical with the Agreement signed by Canada and the United Kingdom on February 11.

- 14 First meeting of Committee of U.N.R.R.A. Council for Europe held in London.

- 21 - 30 First international West Indian Conference under the auspices of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission held at Barbados, attended by representatives of the United Kingdom, the Bahamas, Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Netherlands West Indies, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, U.S.A., the Virgin Islands and the Windward Islands. Canada and the Netherlands sent observers.

- 22 Canada signs Mutual Aid Agreement with China.

- 29 Canadian House of Commons passes resolution providing 800,000,000 for mutual aid in coming year.

APRIL

- 3 Preliminary Anglo-U.S. talks held on post-war civil aviation.

Communique issued on April 7, stating that the representatives of the two governments felt that there was sufficient agreement between them to justify the expectation that final dispositions can be reached at an international conference'. They 'had agreed that international control should govern a considerable field of technical matters' and made arrangements for continuing technical conversations to secure detailed agreement.

- 10 Liberia signs United Nations Declaration, and concludes Reciprocal Aid Agreement with U.S.

- 13 It is officially announced that U.S.R. and New Zealand are to open diplomatic relations.

- 14 Canada signs Mutual Aid Agreement with French Committee of National Liberation.

April 18 - May 3. Anglo-U.S. oil talks take place in Washington.

British and American experts held exploratory discussions on 'the full range of both countries' interest in petroleum on the basis of broad principles'. . . . The two groups reviewed various specific matters of mutual interest relating to production, distribution and transportation of oil.

- 19 Allied Ministers of Education approve draft constitution for permanent Education Organization.

April 20 - May 12 26th Conference of I.L.O. held in Philadelphia.
May 10 'Philadelphia Charter' adopted at plenary session.

The Conference pledged the full cooperation of the I.L.O. in the work of other international organizations designed to promote economic, social, health and educational well-being.

APRIL

- 22 Statement by experts on establishment of an International Monetary Fund issued simultaneously by the U.K. and the U.S.

April 24 - May 1. Middle East Financial Conference held in Cairo.

Experts representing 11 Middle East Governments and representatives of the Government of India, the British American and French Treasuries, AMGOT and the Economic and Financial Department of the League of Nations met under the auspices of the Middle East Supply Council to discuss Middle East financial problems, in particular how to prevent the spread of inflation.

April 27 - May 5. The Permanent Central Opium Board holds its 43rd session in London.

The Board proposed that complete control should be re-established at the earliest possible moment over narcotic drugs in countries liberated from the enemy, with the ultimate aim of restoring the full system of control, national and international, set up under the Conventions of 1925 and 1931. It made various specific recommendations for the control of narcotics on the liberation of an occupied country or part thereof.

MAY

- 1 - 16 Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers held in London.
- 2 U.K. - Chinese Agreement signed for loan by U.K. to China of up to £ 50,000,000 and supply of war materials on lend-lease terms.
- 8 Czechoslovak-Soviet Agreement on the relations between the Soviet Army of liberation and Czechoslovak civil administration on Czechoslovak territory signed in London.
- 9 - 18 First Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development held in New York.

The Inter-American Development Commission was set up in 1940 by the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, under the auspices of the Pan-American Union. In 1941 similar Commissions for each of the 21 Republics were inaugurated.

- 11 Diplomatic relations established between Costa Rica and U.S.S.R.
- 12 Declaration to Axis Satellites issued jointly by U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

MAY

- 16 Agreements signed between U.K., U.S.A., Belgium and the Netherlands and U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Norway on administration of countries as liberated.

The Agreements, which are in identical terms are intended to be practical and temporary in character and are designed to facilitate the task of Allied Commanders.

Agreement for United Nations Information Organization signed in London.

MAY

Representatives of 18 Governments met in London to sign a Resolution setting up a United Nations Information Organization, to take the place of the Inter-Allied Information Committee set up in September, 1941, and to cooperate with the sister organization in New York, 'The United Nations Information Board' and with any parallel organizations.

- 17 President Roosevelt signs Act extending Lend-Lease Act until July 1, 1945.

JUNE

- 1 U. K. concludes Mutual Aid Agreements with Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway.
- 13 Belgian, Czechoslovak, Luxembourg and Polish Governments recognize French National Committee as Provisional Government of French Republic.
- 15 First Agreement between Royal Yugoslav Government and Yugoslav National Liberation Committee signed on Isle of Vis (liberated Yugoslav territory).
- 17 Inauguration of the Republic of Iceland.
- 23 U. K. and U. S. renew relations with Bolivia.
- 29 U. K. - Polish Mutual Aid Agreement signed.
- 20 U. S. severs diplomatic relations with Finland.

JULY

- 1 - 22 International Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods. Agreement signed on monetary fund and bank for reconstruction and development.
- 11 The United States recognizes the French Provisional Government as de facto authority for civil administration of France.
- 24 - 27 The Permanent Central Opium Board holds its 44th session in London.
- 27 Agreement signed between the United Kingdom and the U. S. and Luxembourg on administration of the country after liberation.

This Agreement is on the same model as those concluded with Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands on May 16.

AUGUST

- 1 - 9 Representatives of U. S., U. K. and Netherlands hold exploratory conversations on post-war rubber problems.
- 2 Turkey breaks off diplomatic and economic relations with Germany.
- 5 War and Post-War use of United Nations Shipping Agreement signed in London.

AUGUST

- 8 U.S. and U.K. Oil Agreement signed in Washington.
- 9 Combined Production and Resources Board announces creation of Transportation Equipment Committee with British, Canadian and U.S. membership, to survey railways, port and inland waterway needs of liberated areas during the relief period.
- 12 Meeting between Mr. Churchill, Dr. Subasic and Marshal Tito in Rome.
- 15 - 17 First plenary session held of Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.

This plenary Session was the first since the re-organization of the Committee in August, 1943, which involved a great expansion in membership, scope, functions and finance.

- 18 President Roosevelt at Press Conference states that general understanding has been reached between U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R. on military occupation of Germany.
- 21 Meeting between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Papandreou Greek Prime Minister in Rome.

August 21 - October 7 Post-War Security Conference held at Dumbarton Oaks.

- 22 Czechoslovak Government and French Provisional Government issue joint statement confirming traditional policy of friendship and alliance.

Draft Constitution of Permanent Food and Agriculture Organization published.
- 25 Agreements signed between U.K. and French Provisional Government and U.S. and French Provisional Government on civil administration of liberated France.
- 26 Rumania declares war on Germany.

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Announcement that an U.N.R.R.A. mission is to consult with Governments of Australia and New Zealand and with S.W. Pacific Military Command on relief supplies and services in liberated areas of the S.W. Pacific.
- 5 Dutch-Belgian-Luxembourg Customs Union concluded.

Belgium and Luxembourg, between whom an Economic Union has existed since 1921, have concluded a Customs Union with the Netherlands dated September 5th, 1944.
- 7 Announcement that an U.N.R.R.A. mission is to discuss Brazilian participation in relief programmes.
- 8 Bulgaria declares war on Germany.
- 11 Iraq establishes diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R.
- 12 Rumania signs an Armistice with the United Nations.

SEPTEMBER

12 - 16 Quebec Conference held.

The following joint declaration was issued on September 16:-

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Combined Chiefs of Staff held a series of meetings during which they discussed all aspects of the war against Germany and Japan.

15 Finland breaks off relations with the Axis; September 19, signs an Armistice with the United Nations.

18 - 26 Second UNRRA Council Meeting held in Montreal.

24 San Marino declares war on Germany.

September 25 - October 8.

Preparatory Conference for Pan-Arab Congress held at Cairo. Representatives attended from Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, and were later joined by representatives of Arabia and Yemen. The first five states signed a protocol which included an article for the formation of a 'League of Arab States'.

28 Inter-Allied Book Centre set up in London.

The Inter-Allied Book Centre set up by the Books Commission of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was opened on September 28 by Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister of Education.

29 Netherlands-Luxembourg Agreement on the repatriation of Displaced Persons signed.

OCTOBER

3 Agreement between French Provisional Government and Luxembourg' Government on the repatriation of Displaced Persons signed.

5 U.K. - Belgian Monetary Agreement signed.

Bulgarian-Yugoslav agreement for collaboration concluded.

9 - 18 Moscow Conference held.

Meetings were held at Moscow from October 9th - October 18th between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden representing the United Kingdom, and Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov assisted by their political and military advisers.

10 Opening of Conference on European Inland Transport.

The Conference met in London, on the invitation of the United Kingdom and United States Governments, to discuss arrangements regarding inland transport in Continental Europe after the liberation of territories of the United Nations in Europe and the occupation of any enemy territories.

OCTOBER

- 15 Announcement that exports of ball-bearings from Sweden to Germany have stopped.
- 18 Details of military government to be established in Germany announced.
- 20 Agreement on Penicillin concluded.
- Representatives of Canada, France, the U.K. and the U.S.A. met in London under the auspices of the League of Nations and made a formal agreement by which an international standard and unit have been adopted for penicillin.
- 23 General de Gaulle's administration recognized as Provisional Government of France by Australia, Brazil, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R.
- 23 Agreement with French authorities to transfer territories to French control.
- Announcement that 'the Supreme Allied Commander has reached agreement with the competent French authorities regarding the transfer of the larger part of France, including Paris, from a forward to an interior zone, as defined in Memo. No. 1 of the Civil Affairs Agreement of August 25 last.'
- 28 Bulgaria signs an Armistice with the United Nations.

NOVEMBER

- 1 New Zealand gives hospitality to a party of 838 homeless Polish children and adults.
- Nov. 1 - Dec. 7. International Civil Aviation Conference held.
- 2 Announcement in Washington that Mr. Donald Nelson is to return to China at the request of President Chiang Kai Chek to help re-organize Chinese war effort.
- 10 Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden visit France for conversations with French Ministers.
- Representatives of 51 nations met at Rye, New York State, for an international business conference.
- 11 France invited to become a member of the European Advisory Commission (See also above January 14).
- 19 Announcement in Chungking that an India-China pipeline from Calcutta to Burma and China is under construction.
- 20 First meeting in Washington of United Maritime Executive Board, attended by representatives of the U.S., U.K., Belgium, Canada, Greece, Netherlands, Norway and Poland.
- The Board will be responsible for the coordination of United Nations shipping during the period between the end of the war with Germany and the defeat of Japan.
- Yugoslav Prime Minister Dr. Ivan Subasic and Vice President of the National Liberation Committee, M. Kardej, visited Moscow, to confer with U.S.S.R. Government concerning Tito-Subasic Agreement.

NOVEMBER

- 21 Agreement concluded between Czechoslovak Republic and France on repatriation of citizens.
- 24 British White Paper published setting out help given to the Allies under the system of Mutual Aid.
- 30 Mr. Churchill makes statement on Lend-Lease Conversations in Washington.

DECEMBER

- 10 Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance signed in Moscow (Terms published December 17)
- 11 Announcement that Australian Government is to provide facilities for new British Fleet.
- 14 'Agreement on principles' providing for coordination of the United Nations merchant shipping resources after the defeat of Germany and establishing a United Maritime Authority issued by the U.K. as a White Paper (Cmd. 6556). (See also above No. 20).
- 16 U.S. - Denmark and U.S. - Sweden Air Agreement concluded.
- 19 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement signed in Addis Ababa.

This agreement replaces the former agreement of January 31, 1942, and is also a temporary agreement to remain in force until it is replaced by a treaty, with the proviso, that after two years it may be terminated by either party giving three months' notice.

- 23 Franco-Belgian Agreement on repatriation of citizens signed in Brussels.
- 25 Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden arrive in Athens, and address a conference of Greek parties on the following day.
- 27 Netherlands Government issue statement on transfer of assets looted from occupied countries. They requested neutral Governments in Europe to prevent transactions in and concealment of such assets.

1945

JANUARY

- 2 An agreement was signed in London between Great Britain and the Netherlands regulating the treatment and eventual repatriation of refugees.
- 2 The Belgian Commissioner for Repatriation arrived in London to make arrangements for the return home of Belgian refugees in Great Britain, numbering about 18,000.
- 3 It was learned in Paris that an agreement had been signed with Britain to restore regular shipping traffic between Britain and France in mid-January.
- 3 The National Assembly of Turkey decided to break off diplomatic and economic relations with Japan, the decision to come into effect as from Jan. 6, 1945.

JANUARY

- 9 President Roosevelt in his Budget message to Congress included estimates for continuing lend-lease to the Allies, together with relief and rehabilitation. Urged immediate establishment of International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.
- 10 Mr. Adolf Berle was nominated U.S. Ambassador to Brazil.
- 12 M. Mayer, French Minister of Communications arrived in Washington to continue discussions on relief for liberated Europe.
- 13 The U.S. State Department announced the resumption of private trade with French North and West Africa.
- 15 The British Foreign Office announced that Lord Finlay had been appointed the U.K. representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, in succession to Sir Cecil Hurst.
- 15 The U.S. State Department and the British Embassy, in a joint statement, announced that Britain and the United States had reached an agreement on "interim measures" for increasing supply shipments to liberated Europe.
- 16 The U.S. State Department announced an additional allocation of shipping for French civilian use during the first quarter of 1945.
- 18 The Canadian Prime Minister announced acceptance of the interim agreement on civil aviation reached by 38 nations at Chicago.
- 18 U.N.R.R.A. announced in London that a new sanitary convention had been signed in Washington by 19 nations.
- 18 French Minister of Communications announced that the French Government and the U.S. Maritime Commission had completed initial preparations for manning liberty ships with French crews.
- 19 Marshal Tito signed an agreement with representatives of Field Marshall Alexander regarding relief supplies and services by the British and U.S. Governments to alleviate distress in Yugoslavia.
- 19 President Roosevelt and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada decided to maintain the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Food Board, until the defeat of Japan.
- 19 U.N.R.R.A.'s director announced that the Soviet Union had agreed to the use of Black Sea ports and inland transport facilities for relief supplies to Czechoslovakia and Poland.
- 20 The British War Office announced Soviet assurances of the protection and welfare of British Commonwealth prisoners liberated by Russian armies.
- 28 The first convoy of supplies reached China by the Ledo-Burma road, after three years of blockade.
- 31 Lord Wright was elected Chairman of the United Nations War Crimes Commission.

FEBRUARY

- 4 - 11 Crimea Conference of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Premier Stalin.
- 8 A British Trade Union delegation which had just returned from Greece published its report.
- 8 President of Paraguay signed a decree declaring war on the "Axis powers".
- 11 Arrival of 500 Dutch children in England for rebuilding of their health.
- 12 Twenty UNRRA officials arrived in Yugoslavia to administer relief supplies.
- 12 It was learned that an important Anglo-American services conference, culminating in a meeting between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, took place in Valetta, Malta for about four days, ending on Feb. 2.
- 12 Report on the Big Three Conference in the Crimea, released at the White House.
- 13 M. Monnet returned to Paris from Washington with the draft of a lend-lease plan.
- 13 Agreement signed in Athens bringing to an end the civil strife in Greece.
- 14 Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Minister Eden arrived in Athens to aid in settlement of civil war.
- 16 The Venezuelan Government declared war on Germany and Japan.
- 19 The Canadian Prime Minister announced the terms of the civil aviation agreement with the U.S.A. and Canada.
- 21 The Conference of Latin-American Foreign Ministers, with the exception of Argentina, opened in Mexico City.
- 22 The report of the Crimea Conference was issued in London as a White Paper, Cmd. 6593.
- 23 The Grand National Assembly of Turkey unanimously approved the Government's decision to declare war on Germany and Japan.
- 23 Three agreements were reached between French and Belgian representatives on economic matters.
- 24 The Egyptian Prime Minister announced before a secret session of Parliament that the Government had declared war Germany and Japan. On leaving the Chamber he was fatally wounded.
- 26 Announcement made of the declaration by Syria and Lebanon of war on Germany and Japan.
- 26 An agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and U.N.R.R.A. was signed in London providing for a general relief program for Czechoslovakia.
- 27 The Lebanese Chamber unanimously approved a motion declaring war on Germany and Japan.
- 27 Prime Minister Churchill made a report on the Crimea Conference before the British Parliament.

FEBRUARY

- 28 Three agreements for the extension of lend-lease to France were signed.

MARCH

- 1 An agreement was signed between the Creek Government and U.N.R.R.A. providing for the delivery of supplies in every part of the country, mainland and islands.
- 1 A declaration of war on Japan was announced by the Iranian Government.
- 1 President Roosevelt made a report to Congress on the Crimea Conference.
- 1 The Government of Saudi Arabia declared war on Germany and Japan.
- 3 The Canadian Government granted Czechoslovakia a loan of \$15 million for from 5 to 9 years.
- 5 The Reconstruction Minister of Canada announced that Britain, Canada, and the U.S.A. had agreed to reduce their production of war materials by 35 per cent on the conclusion of hostilities with Germany.
- 5 Terms of the invitation to the San Francisco conference together with the text of the formula on the method of voting agreed to at Yalta, were issued in an official statement on behalf of the U.S., British, Soviet, and Chinese Governments.
- 6 The plenary session of the Inter-American Conference passed the Act of Chapultepec by a show of hands.
- 8 Closing of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace in Mexico City.
- 8 The documents endorsing decisions reached in the negotiations with the Anglo-U.S.-French trade delegation were signed, in Switzerland.
- 8 An Allied-Swiss trade agreement was reached in Berne providing for increased supply shipments through France and preventing the hiding of looted property in Switzerland.
- 8 Women representatives of the United Nations met in London to celebrate Inter-national Women's Day and drafted a charter for equality to be submitted to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.
- 10 FEA revealed completion of a \$1,000,000,000 postwar industrialization plan for China.
- 15 Note transmitted to U. S. Secretary of State with Colombia's ratification of UNRRA pact.
- 16 Britain and the United States, it was learned, have reached an agreement with Sweden for use of Swedish ships by the Allied shipping pool.
- 19 Agreement announced by delegates to Telecommunications conference held in London.

MARCH

- 20 France and the Netherlands were reported to have signed an agreement pledging to consult each other in all economic matters.
- 20 The U.S. Department of State announced the U.S. delegates to the International Cotton Advisory Committee scheduled to meet April 2, 1945.
- 20 Sixth meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission
- 22 The Ethiopian Minister to U.S. signed 3 agreements concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference on Dec. 7, 1944.

Newspaper
clippings
General File

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DC-1 - General

VOTES IN THE ASSEMBLY

The results achieved at the Yalta Conference are important enough to weather a considerable number of minor blunders; but that such blunders were made, particularly in the matter of the proposed allotment of votes in the Assembly of the new league of the United Nations, seems clear in retrospect. In these blunders President Roosevelt played a conspicuous part.

The President's first blunder here was in agreeing to support the Russian proposal that White Russia and the Ukraine be given independent membership in the Assembly, thereby allotting three votes to the Soviet Republic. He agreed to this (according to the explanation made by Secretary Stettinius yesterday) because of his "utmost respect for the heroic part played by the people of these Republics in their unyielding resistance to the common enemy and the fortitude with which they have borne great suffering in the prosecution of the war." This respect, surely, is shared to the hilt by all of the people of all the United Nations, but it does not constitute a sufficiently good reason for departing from the sound principle of equal representation in the Assembly for all sovereign nations. There is no real parallel between the Russian proposal and the fact that the five British Dominions will have independent membership in the Assembly. The British Dominions are completely self-governing states with their own Ambassadors and Ministers abroad. White Russia and the Ukraine do not have this status. If they did have this status it would be perfectly proper to give them independent votes.

The President's second mistake consisted of putting in a bid for three United States votes in the Assembly, in case Russia was given three. This further violated the sound principle of equal representation for sovereign nations. At the same time it revived the old bogey of "six British votes"—the United Kingdom plus the five Dominions—which played such havoc in the debate over American membership in the old League of Nations twenty-five years ago, and it did so needlessly and expensively. Needlessly, because the whole issue at this point is illusory; neither three votes nor thirty-three votes are needed by the United States in the Assembly, in order, as the saying goes, "to prevent us from being voted into war against our will"; under the Dumbarton Oaks-San Francisco plan we will go to war only by our own free choice as a sovereign nation, however votes are distributed in the Assembly. The mistake was costly, as well as unnecessary, because, as we can see, some of our old friends, the isolationists,

have been quick to revive the charge that we are being "cheated" by having "only three votes" against "Britain's six."

Finally, Mr. Roosevelt's third mistake lay in not making the fact known promptly, once he had struck this unhappy bargain. The inevitable result of keeping the matter a secret for seven weeks was to raise the suspicion that other secret agreements had been made at Yalta.

Fortunately the statement issued by Secretary Stettinius yesterday, certainly with the full approval of the President, does much to repair the damage done at these three points. First, it affirms specifically that the only decisions reached at Yalta and not previously made public related to this question of votes in the Assembly and to the matter of "territorial trusteeship"—for example, of island bases acquired from Japan. Second, the statement announces that the President has now decided that, despite his agreement with Marshal Stalin at Yalta on this point, the United States will not ask at San Francisco for additional votes in the Assembly—an eminently wise decision. Third, while we shall unquestionably stand by our promise, and support the Russian claim for additional representation, if it is made, yesterday's statement notes that it is not for us alone but rather for the San Francisco Conference itself "to decide whether any proposal affecting

voting in the General Assembly of the proposed United Nations organization impairs the principle of sovereign equality, just as the Conference itself must determine the application and interpretation of any general principles enunciated in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals."

With this much clear, a good deal of lost ground has been recovered and we are back again on the right track. The incident has been costly. But in our judgment it has not been without certain compensatory features. Nor has it been earth-shaking enough in itself to rock seriously the solid structure of what was accomplished at Yalta in the agreement of the three Great Powers, first, on prosecution of the war against Nazi Germany to the bitter end; second, on the main principles of political reconstruction on the Continent of Europe, and third, on the need, the purposes and the chief powers of a new society to maintain international law and order.

DC-1 - JNCIS - General

Yalta Formula for Voting By Security Group Revealed

By Frederick Kuh

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London, Feb. 23.—It is now at last possible to publish authentic news of the solution upon which the Big Three agreed at the Yalta conference for the voting procedure in the world security organization.

This information, which emanates from Allied official sources and is unimpeachable, modifies all previously published versions, including mine of Thursday.

The following is the formula that the United States, Britain, Russia and—assuming they concur—France and China will present to all the United Nations at the San Francisco quarterly meeting April 25:

1. The decisions of the security council in all cases shall be taken by the majority of at least 7 of 11 members.

Majority of Seven Sufficient

2. For decisions on the question of procedure, the "majority will not be qualified." In plain English, this means that on procedural matters, a majority of seven will be sufficient, for instance, even if it includes six nonpermanent members of the council and only one great power.

3. For decisions on questions involving no immediate threat of war, the majority of seven or more must include the five great powers, excepting those directly involved in the dispute.

4. For decisions on the questions

of involving an immediate threat of war or the checking of aggression, the majority must include the five great powers even if they are implicated in the dispute.

Concessions by Russians

This document contains one concession by the Russians which might prove important. It certainly seems to be a change from the proposal the Soviet delegation presented at Dumbarton Oaks.

For Point 3 of the new formula for voting procedure means that in the settlement of disputes which involve no immediate threat of war, the great power will be deprived of the right to vote if it itself is implicated in the conflict.

Who Shall Decide?

The formula, however, contains a significant enigma: Who is to decide whether in any dispute an immediate threat of war is involved?

Any of the five great powers—perhaps because it has a selfish vested interest in the outcome—under this formula could declare that any given conflict entails the immediate threat of war and that therefore this power is ready to take up arms against the aggressor.

In this way the concession made in Point 3—the exclusion of the interested power from the vote—might be invalidated. In all cases

a majority of at least seven must agree that the immediate threat of war exists. But must these seven include all five great powers? Yalta evidently left that puzzle unsolved.

The evaluation of the Crimea solution depends on how it is put into practice. Above all, much will depend on the ratio of disputes in the postwar world which are treated by the council as involving no immediate threat of war as compared with those considered to involve the immediate threat.

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Voting In Council

Editorial

We do not know what compromise was reached at the Yalta conference on voting in the Security Council. Some of the official guessing that is being done by men thoroughly familiar with the problem may reasonably be regarded, however, as an approximation of the agreement reached by Messrs. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. The most credible guess from official sources that has come to our attention is to the effect that they agreed to give each of the Big Five a veto power on the use of economic or military sanctions.

According to this view, all decisions of the Security Council not involving punitive measures would be taken by majority action, although we suspect that peace settlements will be guarded against easy attack. This would mean that the six smaller powers represented on the council could initiate investigations without the approval of any of the Big Five. Likewise, they could call upon any of the Big Five to cease practices that might lead to aggression or war. So far as moral force is concerned, the smaller nations, if they should act together, could dominate the council. If no punitive action were at stake, parties to a dispute would not have the right to vote on their own cases.

The application of sanctions, whether economic or military, would be a different matter under the plan which some officials believe the conference adopted. Sanctions against an aggressor could be imposed by the council only when approved by a majority of its members, including the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and China. By simply preventing its delegate from voting, therefore, any one of the Big Five could prevent the application of sanctions against itself or any other power. This is far from being an ideal arrangement, but it is realistic. The basic truth is that the grand coalition must operate as a unit if peace is to be preserved. Sanctions could not be imposed upon Great Britain, Russia or the United States without a major war, and if such a war is to be fought the decision to fight it will doubtless be taken outside of the council in any event.

If this is the arrangement approved at Yalta, and if it is finally written into the charter of the United Nations at San Francisco, it will greatly simplify the problem of our own voting in the Security Council. There seems to be general agreement that the American delegate, acting under direction of the President, must be granted broad powers. Some members of Congress still balk, however, at giving any executive official authority to commit this country to a major war. The power to declare war clearly belongs to Congress. Consequently, there has been much talk of reserving to Congress the right of controlling the American delegate's vote in case of applying sanctions likely to result in major war.

Under the formula outlined above no such necessity would arise. For the council would not be in a position to apply sanctions to major powers without their consent. Certainly the delegate and the President could be trusted to cast the United States' vote in the council on all issues not involving punitive action and on the routine application of sanctions against minor disturbers of the peace through unanimous agreement of the big powers.

DC-1 ^{uncl}
General -

Dumbarton Oaks
NY Times
2-14-45

Stalin Accepts Majority Vote On Non-Punitive Peace Issues

Russia Wins Point on Unanimity Among Great Powers in Cases Entailing Economic or Military Action

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13—It may now be stated with certainty that Premier Stalin agreed at the Crimea Conference to the following compromise on the voting procedure in the proposed United Nations security council:

- (1) In all cases not involving punitive measures, decisions would be taken by a simple majority of the eleven-nation security council.
- (2) In all such cases (not involving punitive action), all parties to a dispute would not have the right to vote on their own cases.
- (3) In cases involving punitive action (such as economic or military sanctions) against a nation charged with aggressive intentions or actions, however, decisions would be taken only when a majority of the security council,

including the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China, voted affirmatively.

- (4) In these cases (involving punitive action), Russia and the other permanent members of the council would thus retain their veto power.

The delegates at Dumbarton Oaks discussed the veto-power question for more than a month in the hope of getting the Russian delegates to depart from the position that the permanent members of the security council should have the right to veto all decisions before the council and even to veto any proposals to bring any given subject before the security council.

At Yalta, however, when President Roosevelt raised the question, it is understood, Premier Stalin

Continued on Page 8, Column 6

VOTE COMPROMISE WON BY ROOSEVELT

Continued From Page 1

said that he did not realize that there had been any real difficulty about it. Delegates at the Crimea Conference, indeed, got the impression that he either did not know or pretended not to know anything about the power difficulty and, while he was adamant about retaining the veto in cases involving the use of force, he evidently agreed readily to the compromise outlined above, which was proposed by Mr. Roosevelt.

The reaction to the voting compromise here was divided. Some observers took the view that it was not a compromise at all but that Premier Stalin had given up the right of veto in cases where it did not matter and retained it on the really important cases involving a possible charge of aggression against Russia.

Other observers, however, supported the compromise with the following reasoning:

Under the position taken by the Russians at Dumbarton Oaks, Russia or any other permanent member of the security council would have been able to prevent the security council from raising any issue that it did not want to be discussed. If, for example, the United States wished the security council to consider a boundary dispute between Russia and Poland, the Russian delegates on the council would have been able to veto a discussion of that subject.

Under the Yalta compromise, however, not only could the United States or any other member of the council bring the question before the council without fear of a Russian veto but, moreover, Russia, as a party to the boundary dispute, would not be permitted to vote on the case.

Similarly, it is understood that, under the voting procedure arranged at Yalta, a permanent member of the security council could not prevent the council from discussing a charge of aggression against it. It could, if the question came to a vote to apply economic or military sanctions to it, exert its right of veto, but it could not keep the council from condemning it as an aggressor and bringing the public opinion of the world to bear against it.

DC-1 - Unclassified - 4

Churchill Gave Stalin Support On 3 Votes

Marshal Stalin pleaded at Yalta that White Russia and the Ukraine be admitted to the world organization to be set up at San Francisco on the ground that the people of those Soviet Republics had suffered more in the war against Germany than any other United Nations area, it was learned yesterday.

Prime Minister Churchill promptly seconded Stalin's plea, leaving the President in the position of having to balk or go along. The President reportedly went along with obvious reluctance, but reserved the right to ask for three votes for the United States if Russia made her request.

This explanation was provided on good authority with these comments:

1. Stalin apparently was eager to give some recognition to these areas for their war service, with the additional votes in the comparatively weak assembly but a secondary by-product.

2. In losing no time seconding him, Churchill may have had British India in mind.

Stalin obviously was in a posi-

See YALTA, Page 10, Column 3

YALTA

From Page 1

tion to make as strong, if not a stronger case for his two constituent republics as Britain can make in defense of the seat which India has already been assured, in spite of her dependent status, by virtue of separate membership in the United Nations.

Conceivably, a conference fight on this issue, in addition to denying Russia the additional seats she desires could result in a verdict to exclude India on similar grounds.

Stalin, it was said, did not present a request for 16 seats in the assembly—one for each of the Soviet Republics—although American representatives had expected that he would put in such a bid.

On Basis of Sacrifice

His appeal was said to have been made on this basis: Here are two areas which have borne the brunt of the war. They have suffered more from the ravages of the German armies. They have contributed mightily to the rolling offensive against Germany. Soldiers from these areas constitute the fighting heart of the Russian armies.

He was said to have then suggested that the two Soviet republics had made greater contributions to the United Nations cause than say Ecuador or Albania, and therefore were entitled to as great a voice in the United Nations assembly.

Whether Stalin will present the request for the additional seats to the San Francisco Conference in view of the unfavorable reaction in this country and the smaller nations of the world was problematical yesterday.

If he does, the United States is pledged to support the request—a pledge by the President which some members of the United States delegation may find it difficult to keep. The U. S. demand for extra votes has been withdrawn.

It is now generally assumed, that the request, if made, will go down to defeat by a majority of smaller nations, even though supported by the U. S. and Great Britain.

DC-1 - VN 001 - General - 5

Storm Brews Over Yalta

By Ben W. Gilbert

WHETHER the five great powers are being given too tight a grip on the proposed United Nations organization seems slated to become one of the most crucial questions facing the April 25 Golden Gate conference.

Among American delegates to San Francisco questions already are being raised on this point. At least one of the eight U. S. representatives believe the voting formula which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin worked out at Yalta went too far in permitting any one of the five powers with permanent seats on the central security council to veto proposed plans for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

This delegate, who asked to remain anonymous for the present to get a chance to talk the matter over with fellow delegates, is not as much disturbed about granting the five powers a veto over use of economic and military force as he is by their veto over use of measures short of force.

He doubts that more than a majority of any seven members of the 11-nation council—the vote required to decide procedural questions—is needed to take such actions short of force as deciding to investigate a dispute or referring it to the World Court for settlement.

France Dissents

Among smaller powers similar questions about Yalta voting procedure are being raised. A distinct possibility exists that a bloc of smaller nations may develop at the West Coast parley to try to force adoption of changes in the proposed council voting procedure.

France, which would be one of the five powers with permanent seats on the security council of the proposed world organization, this week proposed changes to the voting plan along the lines favored by smaller powers. China, the other power slated for a permanent seat not present at Yalta, has accepted the plan.

The whole world organization plan could be seriously injured by a knockdown fight over the voting. The "Big Three" may be expected to assent only with the greatest reluctance to the making of material changes in the voting formula which was worked out with such great difficulty.

The three could not agree at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, where the basic structure of the proposed organization was worked out. At the Yalta Conference, a plan was submitted by President Roosevelt and finally approved by Churchill and Stalin much as it was submitted.

'Big Power' Plan

Privileges Evident

The proposed new organization is declared to be based on "the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states," but special privileges are enjoyed by the great powers. An examination of the Yalta voting procedure in the light of the recommended make-up of the whole organization and in comparison with the League of Nations procedure may clarify the position of the powers.

These salient facts should be considered:

Each of the five great powers in the council possesses a threefold veto: Over use of force against itself, against other powers and over use of measures short of force against other powers.

The great powers each hold a similar veto over proposals to amend the world security plan once it is adopted.

None of the five powers can block action short of force against itself by the council.

In the general assembly, where all members of the organization have equal representation, none of the great powers have any special standing. "Important" actions are to be taken by a two-thirds vote; less important actions, by majority vote. When making recommendations for action to maintain peace, however, the assembly is definitely subordinate to the council.

The 18-member economic and social council elected by the assembly can take a stand by a majority vote but its powers are limited.

In the League, no power could veto any action against itself but unanimity of other powers was generally required.

Help and Hindrance

The plan framed at Dumbarton Oaks calls for a top council with five permanent members—United States, Britain, Russia, France and China—and six other members, with three of the six to be elected annually for 2-year terms. This council has the power to commit member nations to use of force against an aggressor, a power the League did not possess.

The vetos make it necessary for the five to work as a team.

From the standpoint of using force, however, only the big three—United States, Britain and Russia—really count today. The decision to have five permanent members, instead of three, was recognition of the fact that flat incorporation of the "Big Three" into the security

council would be challenged as a barefaced attempt to saddle another world war, destroying the power system on the world. In world organization. However, any addition, however, was the desire great power which decided to come to build up France and China as it aggression would be taking the great powers because of their chance that the other four powers strategic positions alongside the would gang up on it to preserve peace.

Adding France and China to the security council permanent membership and providing for vetos lessened the possibility of great powers' abuse of their position. Indesirability of having unity among doing so, however, the Big Three the great powers when application increased the danger that the of force is being considered. Since organization would prove as ineffectual as the League in moving against aggression, the Big Five (particularly the Big Three) are the only real repositories of force in the world.

France, which will inherit one of the prized veto positions, has thus far displayed a pettishness which, if carried into the postwar period, might endanger the five-power teamwork considered so essential. China is beset by internal difficulties which could destroy her potential value as a stabilizing force in the Orient.

Proponents of the Dumbarton Oaks-Yalta system readily admit they are asking the world to take some chances. They insist, however, that the chances are the kind of calculated risks which must be taken in building a world organization.

Amending Not Easy

And if the organization does its work and keeps peace, the council eventually will become less important, with the assembly and economic and social council becoming more important.

Another argument is that the plan can be changed later if it fails to work as expected.

This argument focuses attention on the rather tight procedure suggested at Dumbarton Oaks for amending the plan. To come into force, an amendment would have to be adopted by two-thirds of the members of the general assembly and ratified by governments of the "Big Five" and by a majority of other members.

This means slightly more than one-third of the United States Senate would be able to prevent adoption of any amendment.

Here are explanations offered in defense of the Yalta voting procedure.

The great power right to veto use of force against itself is based on the theory that application of force against one of the great pow-

Unanimity Essential

The right to veto use of force against another power rests on the desirability of having unity among the great powers when application of force is being considered. Since the Big Five (particularly the Big Three) are the only real repositories of force in the world, unanimity is considered essential to make council decisions stick.

The third veto—against actions short of force—is defended on the same basis as the second veto, except that the refinement preventing a great power from blocking action against itself is stressed as indicating no power is above the law.

However, it is this third veto which makes the proposed new organization weaker is certain respects than the League of Nations. According to a State Department interpretation, the Yalta formula permits any one of the great powers to prevent the council from investigating a dispute or deciding to refer it to the world court.

The League council could not make a binding recommendation without a unanimous vote of all its members except parties to the dispute, but a simple majority of those present was sufficient to authorize an investigation of a dispute.

However, defenders of the Yalta formula point out that a binding recommendation of the League council was not really binding at all, but merely obligated members not to go to war with a party complying with League recommendations.

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U. S., Russia May Ask Vote Edge at Parley

By Bert Andrews

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Diplomatic circles in Washington were stirred yesterday by reports that the San Francisco Conference of United Nations on international organization may be asked to allot the United States and Russia more than one vote apiece in the assembly of the proposed world security organization.

If such a request is made, it will mark a sharp break from earlier understandings that all members of the United Nations, large or small, would have a single vote each in the assembly.

The purpose of any such proposal presumably would be to give the United States and Russia something approaching "parity" with Great Britain in the assembly. Great Britain would have its own vote and ordinarily would have sympathy from five other voters, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and the Union of South

Africa.

Thorough attempts to check the accuracy of the reports which reached Washington from abroad found Washington officials and legislators shying away from the topic.

Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew, reached by telephone,

was told that the reports were current and that one story was that the "extra vote" plan was discussed at Yalta by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin.

"I am sorry but I can't make any comment," he said.

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U. S. May Ask Reds to Drop 3-Vote Plan

By Ben W. Gilbert

President Truman's invitation to Marshal Stalin to send Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov to the forthcoming San Francisco Conference of the United Nations probably was taken on the advice of James F. Byrnes, former Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, and may be a forerunner to an American request to the Soviet Union to withdraw its claim for additional votes in the proposed United Nations Assembly, informed observers here believed.

Byrnes, who attended the Yalta Conference of the "Big Three" as an aide to the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, is known to be among those who have urged in the past that it be stressed to other major powers that this Nation's ability to act decisively in the foreign field is limited to a large extent by public opinion in this country.

The speed with which Stalin agreed to send Molotov in response to Truman's unprecedented request was expected to create immediate public confidence in Truman's conduct of foreign affairs. The previous Russian decision naming Andrei Gromyko, Russian Ambassador to the United States, as head of Russia's San Francisco delegation, has been a source of concern and disappointment in this country, particularly in view of the fact that the United States, Great Britain and China, the three other sponsoring powers, were sending their foreign affairs chiefs.

Action Urged on Roosevelt

It is known that President Roosevelt was urged by some of his advisers to ask Marshal Stalin to withdraw his request for Assembly seats for White Russia and the Ukraine Soviet, to avoid creating a public reaction in the United States that might impair or destroy American faith in the proposed world organization.

Whether President Roosevelt followed this suggestion is not known, but it was regarded as entirely probable here that President Truman invited Molotov to stop in Washington as a means of getting an opportunity to discuss this matter with him. The White House announcement that Stalin had accepted Truman's invitation did not say whether Molotov would visit Washington before or after the San Francisco Conference, which is scheduled to start on April 25, but it was generally expected that the visit would precede the Conference.

Stalin did not ask for the additional seats at Yalta on the grounds that he wanted to increase Russian voting power in the Assembly. It is reliably reported that Stalin acknowledged that the Assembly can exercise only moral suasion. Stalin is said to have argued that White Russia and the Ukraine were entitled to separate memberships in the proposed world organization primarily in recognition of the extent to which they have contributed to the combined war effort. No other areas of the world suffered as much devastation, he is said to have asserted.

If Truman does propose to Molotov that the request for additional seats be withdrawn it would probably be on the basis of asking Stalin to weigh the value of the votes to him against the probable cost of the request to the proposed world organization in loss of support by American public sentiment.

Encouragement that such an approach may succeed rests largely on the speed with which Stalin accepted Truman's request to send Molotov. That request, as revealed by the White House, pointed to its importance to American opinion.

The announcement said that Truman requested Ambassador Harriman to assure Stalin "that the coming of Foreign Secretary Molotov to the conference at San Francisco would be welcomed as an expression of earnest cooperation in carrying forward plans for formulating the new international organization as laid down by President Roosevelt and confirmed by the Yalta conference."

It was also held likely that this country will now intensify its efforts to get a new Polish government acceptable to Britain and the U. S. as well as Russia, created before the San Francisco Conference. No Polish government has been invited to attend the parley because of the inability of the Big Three to agree on the makeup of a new government along lines laid down at Yalta.

Byrnes conferred with Truman Friday and accompanied the new President to Hyde Park for the Roosevelt funeral, although he had insisted to reporters that he is acting only as "private citizen James F. Byrnes," speculation is strong here that he will eventually wind up with a top post in the Truman Administration, possibly as Secretary of State.

SENATORS APPLAUD REBUFF TO SOVIET

Some Interpret Rejection of
Demands on Poles as Firmer
Policy Toward Russians

WASHINGTON, April 1 (AP) — Rejection of Russian demands for a San Francisco conference invitation to the Warsaw Poles was interpreted today by some Senators as marking the possible emergence of a firmer American policy toward the Soviets.

It has been no secret that legislators have been irked by the series of jarring actions that have come out of Moscow.

Senator George of Georgia told a reporter that the time had arrived when the United States must speak plainly. He declared:

"In view of the enormous sacrifices the United States has made in both men and money, in view of the support we have given the United Nations in this great struggle without any desire for indemnities, the time is certainly at hand when we should say very plainly that our views and our decisions in the program being shaped for the post-war world are entitled to full consideration."

Chairman Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a delegate to San Francisco, also applauded the State Department's action.

Senator Hill of Alabama, the Democratic whip, said he thought the Yalta Agreement on the Poles "should be carried out in letter and spirit."

That agreement set up a commission to form a coalition Polish Government in which all factions would be represented.

Moscow since has made it plain that it wants none of the members of the London Exile Polish Government—recognized by the United States and Britain—in the Coalition Cabinet.

Senator McCarran of Nevada, who has been critical of the Administration's dealings with foreign nations, said it appeared to him that the Russians were looking for "an excuse for not coming to San Francisco at all."

Senator Millikin, Colorado, said the Soviet demand for recognition of the Warsaw Poles looked like "a bid for another vote for Russia" at the San Francisco conference.

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Device For Obstruction

By Merlo Pusey

Big Five Veto 3-27-45

UNDERSECRETARY of State Grew has thrown additional light on the voting procedure in the proposed Security Council agreed upon at Yalta. That light was much needed. He has not, however, arrested the piling up of objections to one phase of the voting arrangement worked out by Messrs. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill.

These objections have nothing to do with the use of force by the Security Council to put down aggression. When the United Nations resort to arms or economic sanctions to compel acceptance of its decisions, there must be unanimous agreement among the Big Five and acquiescence by at least two other members of the council. That arrangement has won general approval because of the belief that the security organization could not survive a division among the great powers on the use of force. The questions now being raised concern the requirement for unanimity among the Big Five in making some decisions not involving the use of force.

DECISIONS of this sort are important because of the hope and belief that the Security Council will settle most of the disputes brought before it by peaceful means. Under any well-ordered system, force will remain in the background, to be used only when and if appeals to reason, investigation of controversial facts and submission of justiciable disputes to the World Court have failed to produce a settlement. The ability of the Security Council to take such peaceful steps readily may have an even greater bearing upon its effectiveness than its ability to order troops into action.

At Yalta, the Big Three threw one safeguard around this machinery for the settlements of disputes, without force. They agreed that—to use the language of Mr. Grew—"on questions involving the peaceful settlement of disputes, no party to the dispute, whether or not a permanent member, may vote." While any

one of the Big Five may forego the use of force against itself, it may not prevent the investigation of disputes to which it is a party. That restriction on the veto power is a prime necessity if the council is not to be hamstrung in seeking peaceful settlements.

The weak point in the Yalta agreement is that it would give any one of the Big Five—the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France or China—power to stall the peaceful adjustment of disputes to which it was not a party. Mr. Grew attempts to minimize this unreasonable veto by pointing out that any nation would be free to carry to the Security Council any dispute or situation that might give rise to an international dispute. "Furthermore," he says, "there is nothing in these provisions which could prevent any party to such a dispute or situation from receiving a hearing before the council and having the case discussed."

HEARINGS and discussions would be of precious little value, however, if the council could do nothing after the victim of aggression had stated its case. Suppose, for example, that Romania and Hungary should engage in a new quarrel over Transylvania, recently returned to Romania by order of the Soviet Union. Russia, not being directly a party to the dispute, could veto any proposal for an investigation by the council or referral of the matter to the World Court. The machinery for settlement of international disputes by peaceful means could thus be crippled.

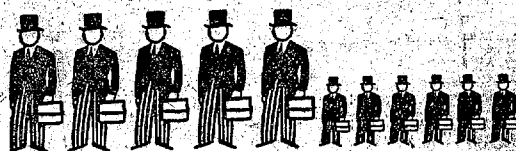
Similarly, France could veto the use of peaceful pressure against her neighbors. Britain could block investigation of any member of the British Commonwealth, or of Argentina, if any of those countries should be accused of aggression. Certainly this is not a happy situation. It would give any one of the Big Five power to invoke, in behalf of its satellites, obstructive devices that it could not directly invoke in its own behalf. Such a provision is unsound on its face. It is a potential monkey wrench which the men of Yalta apparently forgot to remove from the machinery for peaceful adjustment of disputes that may otherwise lead to war.

Removal of this obstructive device at San Francisco should not be difficult. Mr. Grew points out that the council will decide "procedural matters" by the votes of any 7 of its 11 members. Peaceful means of settling disputes could properly be set in motion by a similar majority.

Here's How It Works

Proposed Vote Plan

THE United Nations security council would be set up this way, with a majority of 7 of 11 members always required:



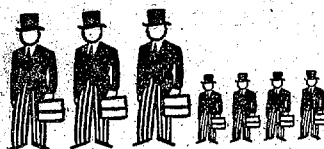
Five Great Powers
all hold permanent seats

Smaller Powers
elected, two-year terms

Procedural Questions—No Veto

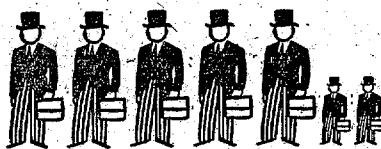
No power holds veto over procedural questions. To block action, all great powers, or five smaller powers, or a combination of big and small powers must vote "No."

A combination of any seven members may decide procedural questions. A lineup like this could act:

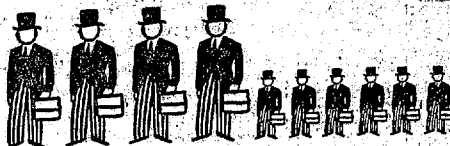


Great Power Veto

1. In considering use of economic or military force against a smaller power, the five great powers must be unanimous. One great or five little powers voting "No" would block action. The minimum vote for action would be:



2. Use of economic or military force against one of the "Big Five" would not even be considered. All of them must agree, even when one is party to the dispute. This lineup would NOT be sufficient to secure action:



3. In taking action short of force against a smaller power, the great powers still must be unanimous. A veto by one great power would prevent action. Five smaller powers would have to dissent to prevent action. The minimum vote to act would be:

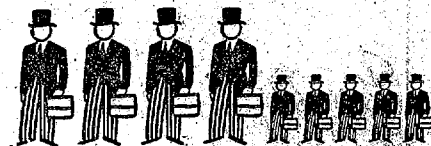


4. In taking action short of force parties to dispute cannot vote. When a great power is involved in dispute, one disinterested great power or four smaller powers acting together can block action. The minimum vote to act would be:

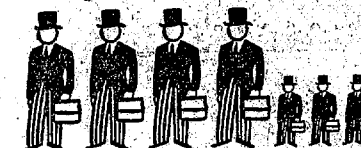


Example: Big vs. Little

In possible development of a dispute between a big power and a little power with a seat on the council—when considering action short of force—those involved could not vote, in effect reducing the council to this size:



One of four remaining great powers or a team of three little powers could block action. A minimum majority to act would be:



In considering use of force, disputing powers again get right to vote. The big power would retain a veto not available to the little power. To block action, the little power would either have to persuade a disinterested great power to use its veto or line up four other little powers in opposition.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

THE TIP-OFF AS to how Joe Stalin feels about smaller nations was given more than a year ago in a private talk with Cuban Ambassador Concheso. It gave a significant indication of why Stalin demands three votes in the United Nations Assembly.

Stalin amazed the Ambassador with his knowledge of Cuban labor and economic problems, but talked as if Cuba were part of the United States. Concheso explained that the Platt Amendment had been abrogated and Cuba now had complete political freedom. But this made little impression on Stalin. He viewed Cuba as wedded to the U. S. A.

Then he turned to Argentina. And with considerable vehemence he remarked that it was about time the United States took Argentina in hand and forced it to join the Allies. Stalin's eyes flashed when he talked of Argentina and he seemed to believe that the United States had complete control of the entire American continent.

Ambassador Concheso explained that Argentina was a long way off from the U. S. A. and that the United States took pains to respect the independence of Latin-American states. But Stalin seemed unconvinced.

Stalin's Border States

SINCE THEN, evidence has increased that the Soviet considers (1) Latin America as a bloc which will always vote with the United States (2) smaller nations close to a big power as legitimate satellites of that power.

For instance, when Winston Churchill visited Moscow last summer, Stalin was very frank in saying that Russia must have a series of states on her western border—Poland, Romania, Finland—which were friendly to her. He made it plain that the Soviet would not tolerate for a minute a government in these bordering states which did not cooperate with the U. S. S. R.

Since then Stalin has changed the government of Romania when it suited him, has forced the Allies to accept the Polish Lublin government, and has caused a government turnover in Finland.

So the coldly realistic Stalin figures that the tactics he employs with his neighbors are employed also by the U. S. A. with its neighbors; and if not, then it's this country's fault. In fact, his only complaint to the Cuban Ambassador was that the United States didn't crack down on Argentina.

16 Soviet Votes

STALIN'S VIEWS regarding small countries were expressed quite clearly at the closed-door sessions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Ambassador Gromyko pointed out that Russia, occupying one-sixth of the earth's surface, would have only one vote, while the British Commonwealth would have six.

Stettinius replied that the United States, almost as large as Russia, had only one vote and was not complaining. Gromyko countered with the reminder that the United States dominated 20 Latin-American republics and could swing 21 votes.

For a while the Dumbarton Oaks parley was completely deadlocked. But, finally, Gromyko revealed that his government planned to organize 16 Soviet republics.

At this, both Roosevelt and Churchill hit the ceiling.

In the end Russia agreed to postpone the question of 16 votes until Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin could sit down together. This was what FDR faced at Yalta.

And out of this came the compromise of three votes for both

the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R.

Note—Some diplomats believe it would have been wiser if FDR had merely let Stalin have his three votes, with one vote only for the U. S. A. They believe the small countries, plus public opinion, would have been strong enough to force a Russian change in the end. Diplomats also recall that for years the Soviet was boycotted by the State Department and the world generally, and we are now paying the price. It is not easy to allay Soviet suspicions overnight.

Reds Reported Ready to Ask For 16 Votes

By John C. Metcalfe

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A clear implication that Soviet Russia will eventually demand 16 votes, one for each of her autonomous republics, in the proposed world security organization, was left by Marshal Stalin with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill during a private meeting of the three following formal conclusion of the Crimea conference, it was learned tonight.

This special session was described by informed sources as devoted to consideration of "a number of arrangements" directly related to the April 25 San Francisco conference of United Nations on international organization.

It was at this meeting that the secret voting agreement was concluded, giving the United States and Soviet Russia three votes each in the general assembly of the world organization, under a proposal which the three governments agreed to support at San Francisco. Great Britain will have six votes, one for each of her commonwealth nations.

Diplomatic sources declined to say whether the three leaders had discussed fully Soviet Russia's intentions as to extra votes, or if the matter had been dropped after Marshal Stalin argued that votes should be allowed for the White Russian and Ukrainian republics, as well as the Moscow government. Stalin contended those two republics were entitled to separate votes because they had developed into fullfledged states and because of their large burdens in the war. Some observers believe the subject of sixteen votes for Russian republics was discussed, but that the other thirteen were not given serious consideration because of the present immature status of those units.

Stettinius was not told about the secret voting agreement until about March 20, it was learned several days before Mr. Roosevelt divulged the facts to members of the American delegation to the San Francisco conference. They were informed when Joseph C. Grew, acting Secretary of State, led five delegates to the White

House to discuss conference arrangements.

Failure to advise the State Department of the secret agreement was responsible for the fact that State Department officials on March 3, 20 days after the Yalta agreement, told the American people in a Nation-wide broadcast that each government would have only one vote in the general assembly of the world organization. Department officials explained today that they simply had not been informed and, therefore, thought they were relating the facts of the situation.

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Voting ^{WDC Post} Demands ⁴⁻³⁻⁴⁵

By Marquis Childs

Representation At S. F.

WHEN YOU EXAMINE the circumstances surrounding the disclosure that Russia and the United States intend to ask for three votes each in the security organization to be created at San Francisco, it becomes harder to understand why it happened that way.

The members of the American delegation had a week's advance notice. They were told about the proposal by President Roosevelt when they met with him on Friday, March 23.

The President mentioned it almost casually, as though he regarded it as of little significance. The disclosure came toward the end of the meeting in the White House. To say that the delegates were startled is to put it mildly.

In response to questions, the President said that what he had told Marshal Stalin was that if he were a delegate to the San Francisco Conference he would favor giving both Russia and the United States three votes in the new league. That seemed to put the delegation on the spot.

But they did not press the Chief Executive for further details. In fact, it was not until they filed out of his office that the full significance of what he had said came over the group. There was nothing to be done then. All members of the American delegation were present except Commander Harold Stassen, who had returned to the Pacific to conclude his assignment there in preparation for the San Francisco meeting.

WHAT WAS IMMEDIATELY apparent, particularly to those with vivid memories of the fight over the League of Nations covenant 25 years ago, was that this raised once again the old bogey of domination by the British Commonwealth of Nations. That bugaboo was a powerful weapon in the hands of the little band of men who deliberately and skillfully sabotaged Woodrow Wilson's dream.

If it was not a hollow threat then, certainly it is today. India may be under the domination of the government in London, and the Indian delegate might be susceptible to British desires. But the dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa—have

moved toward increasing independence of the motherland during the past two decades. Their decisions today are determined by their own necessities, geographical and economic.

Russia has asked for representation for the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the White Russian Soviet Republic. To compare these two republics with, say, Canada and Australia, is to compare apples and horses. The Soviet Republics are an integral part of the Soviet Union, given nominal independence by a decree of the Kremlin.

The Ukrainian and the White Russian Republics are the most populous of the 16 that were decreed by Moscow along ethnic lines two years ago. But if the White Russians and the Ukrainians are to have separate delegates, there is no reason why the Uzbekistan Republic in Siberia should not also have representation.

WITHIN THE VAST domain under Soviet authority, this could be carried a long way—even beyond the 16 "independent" republics. A nominally independent Lithuania and Latvia might ask to be represented. Finland, coming more and more in Russia's orbit, might make a similar request.

The latest development is Russia's demand—for it is a demand rather than a request—for representation for the Lublin government of Poland. The Lublin government was the creation of Moscow, composed of Polish exiles who had the blessings of the Kremlin. Does anyone imagine for a moment that the representative of this government would have independence of action?

Meanwhile, Russia has done nothing to implement the decision of the Yalta conference, where, supposedly, agreement was reached on a government for Poland which should merge the Poles of the Lublin committee and certain of the Poles from the London government in exile. Until that is done, as both London and Washington pointed out, Poland can hardly expect representation at San Francisco.

Russia saved western Europe and, yes, the world. At Moscow and at Stalingrad, the armies of Hitler were defeated and thrown back. That was the beginning of the end of Nazi might.

That is a fact we all recognize. But it is not enough in itself to form the basis of world understanding. There must be a willingness to come a little way toward a common ground.

How Will They Vote? ^{WDC Post} ⁴⁻¹⁻⁴⁵

The proposal that Russia and the United States be granted three seats in the United Nations Assembly invites reexamination of the delegation that the United States is sending to San Francisco. When the names of the delegates were first announced, it was assumed that there would be a large degree of unanimity among them. Now it is all too obvious that on this point they will be divided. Senator Vandenberg has announced sharp opposition to such inequality of voting strength in the Assembly. He is not likely to be alone in that position. Indeed, this is precisely the type of issue that may split the delegation wide open.

Earlier in the week Secretary Stettinius announced that decisions of the American delegation at San Francisco will be made by majority vote. The President had previously made clear that the delegates will be free to exercise their own judgment. That is a commendable approach to this all-important problem of international security—an approach that is wholly in keeping with the spirit of democracy. It does, however, create a problem because of the diverse viewpoints represented on the delegation and because of the possibility that its seven men and one woman might divide 4 to 4 on some issues.

Four members of the delegation—Senators Connally and Vandenberg and Representatives Bloom and Eaton—are members of Congress. Only one administrative official—Secretary Stettinius, delegation chairman—is included, although former Secretary Hull is also a delegate. Commander Stassen and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve represent non-official viewpoints. Preconference discussions may serve to iron out most of the conflict between the delegates. But the possibility of a split that would leave the American delegation deadlocked still exists. If four or more of the delegates should line up against the proposal to give Russia and the United States three votes in the Assembly, the President would be left in an embarrassing position. Knowing that this unpalatable agreement of the Big Three would have to be threshed out at San Francisco, it is strange that the President did not give the American delegation the means of breaking a possible deadlock.

DC-1 - Uncio - General -

Yalta Veto Plan

By Merlo Pusey

W. A. Post
3-13-45

Essential Part Of Big Power System

MANY CITIZENS are disturbed by the Yalta agreement on voting in the proposed Security Council. Some of them have written me to ask if anything can be done to change it. Can the veto power against sanctions be withdrawn from the five big powers at San Francisco? Will the United Nations organization to keep the peace be worth saving if any one of the big powers can place its own conduct above the law?



PUSEY

These questions, it seems to me, spring from a misconception of what is to be undertaken at San Francisco. It is not surprising that such a misconception should exist, for sponsors of the new plan have indulged in much oratory about preserving "the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States." What they actually agreed upon at Yalta is something very different. They entrusted responsibility for preservation of the peace of the world to the big powers.

This is a keen disappointment to those who believe that the League of Nations failed only because of the United States' refusal to join it. Actually our aloofness is only one of several reasons for the League's failure. It could not function effectively because it was an association based on the equality of sovereign states. That left it without the powerful leadership that any institution which sets out to preserve the peace over a long period must have.

NOTHING would be more futile than to set up another debating society of that kind. Our task in 1945 is to create an international organization that can act to keep the peace. To do this three varieties of plans have been offered. First, there is the idea of creating a super-government with a world legislature, a world executive and one armed force to enforce the law everywhere. Second, there are plans to set up a world federation to which all nations would yield complete authority in matters of security and international transactions, much as our own States conferred national powers upon a central government under the Constitution. Neither of these plans has won any substantial support among the men who are shaping the postwar world.

What the American, Russian and British governments have done is to pursue the only other alternative that holds any promise of being effective. This means joint action of the big three, with the concurrence of France and China, and at least two smaller powers, to keep the peace. That is not an ideal arrangement. It may not always result in just settlement of international disputes. Constant vigilance will be essential to prevent this system from being exploited for the benefit of one or more of the big powers. Yet the fact remains that it is the only substantial hope of preventing World War III.

If we were setting up an organization to regulate the activities of men it would be plainly invidious to give any one or any five of them power to veto application of the organization's rules to themselves. But an organization of nations is far more complex than one composed of persons. It will include such giants as Russia and such pygmies as Costa Rica. No amount of verbiage will make

them equal either in power or responsibility or in the impact of their thinking upon the world in which we live. A system ignoring this difference would have about as much chance of preserving the peace as Hitler now has of winning the war.

The basic fact with which we must deal is that the United States, Russia and Britain, acting together, have the power to keep the world at peace, and no other combination of nations has. If we want peace, machinery must be built to fit this situation. That fundamental requirement was satisfied at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta. Consequently, the question of the big powers vetoing the use of sanctions against themselves is incidental. In no circumstances would force be used against one of the Big Three. For the effect of using force in that way would be to destroy both the United Nations alliance and the peace.

THE POINT to remember is that the San Francisco Conference will not be asked to set up a theoretically perfect association of nations. The most that can be reasonably hoped is that the powers to be assembled there will bring into being an instrumentality through which the combination now working for victory can continue working for preservation of the peace.

If one of the big powers should thereafter break faith and go on the rampage, any attempt of the other nations to stop it would become World War III. That indisputable fact was recognized at Yalta. Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin decided that there would be no point in trying to commit their respective countries in advance to fight another devastating world war in the name of peace. That is sensible and realistic. The peace organization will be a great success if it binds the Big Three together in the settlement of issues with our present enemies and among smaller powers. Beyond that, an obligation to use force would more likely drive the Big Three apart than hold them together. And the clearest fact emerging from our experience to date is that they must work together if this new hope for peace is to be anything more than a cruel delusion.

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WDC Post 3-30-45

Secret U. S.-Red Pact on Security Votes Admitted

Roosevelt Accepted Stalin's Plan for 3 Each to Balance 6 Of British Empire

By John M. Hightower
Associated Press Staff Writer

As a result of a secret agreement by the Big Three at Yalta, Russia and the United States will ask for three votes each in the United Nations assembly to be proposed at the San Francisco security conference next month.

The White House made this bombshell announcement yesterday. It immediately threatened a split in the American delegation to the conference. It seemed likely also to become a focal point of small nation opposition to big power domination of the international organization.

The possibility of a split appeared in a statement by Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.), a member of the delegation, who said:

"I would deeply disagree with any voting proposal, if made, which would destroy the 'sovereign equality of nations' in the peace league's assembly, as previously proposed at Dumbarton Oaks."

[Chairman Sol Bloom (D., N. Y.) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee declared that "certainly if Russia has three votes we should have three votes, but I think we should have six to match the six of Great Britain."—Editor's Note.]

Originated With Stalin

The initial proposal for more than one seat in the assembly came from Premier Stalin at Yalta, the White House announcement disclosed. President Roosevelt agreed to support the plan, provided the United States also should have three assembly seats and Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill assented to this.

No reason for this Russian move was given. Diplomatic officials speculated that it probably was prompted by a desire of Moscow to have a representation approaching that of the British Empire. The empire would have six seats for the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, India, New Zealand and

South Africa.

The controversial development was the second of Russian origin to explode on the preconference scene yesterday. The first was a Moscow announcement that the Soviet delegation would be headed by the Ambassador to Washington, Andrei A. Gromyko.

Protocol Jostled

All the other powers have announced that their delegations would be headed by their foreign secretaries—among them Secretary Stettinius for the United States and Secretary Eden for Britain.

The appointment of Gromyko instead of Foreign Commissar Molotov was, like the multiple-vote proposition, unexplained. One suggestion much discussed here was that the appointment of a man of ambassadorial rank showed a declining Soviet interest in the conference.

This came up when Gromyko talked briefly with reporters following the Moscow announcement. "That is a false conclusion," he said flatly. He declared his government unqualifiedly supports the Dumbarton Oaks plan for world

See SECURITY, Page 11, Col. 1

security organization and also the Yalta agreement on voting procedure in the proposed world security council.

At that time the Yalta agreement on assembly voting had not been announced. This announcement came late in the day.

The world organization would have three main bodies: The Security Council of 11 nations, the General Assembly of all member nations and an Economic and Social Council. Virtually all the real power for action would be vested in the Security Council on which Russia, the United States, Britain, France and China would be permanent members.

These five powers would be outnumbered by six small nations, elected at two-year intervals, but the Yalta voting formula provides that no action could be taken without a majority of seven, instead of six, and that on all major questions of aggression the Big Five would have to vote unanimously with one exception.

The exception is that on decisions to investigate and try peacefully to settle a dispute, if one of the big powers was itself a party to the dispute, it could not vote. The other four, in such a case, would

have to agree unanimously for the council to act.

This so-called veto arrangement was originally Russian and until yesterday most authorities thought it had satisfied Russia's insistence that power in the world organization must be retained in the hands of the powerful nations.

The newly disclosed Yalta agreements, if accepted at San Francisco, would considerably increase the voting strength of the big nations in the assembly. The British Empire would have six votes, the United States three, Russia three and China and France one each—a total of 14 out of 46 or 47, depending on the number of countries initially included.

The background of the Russian move, however, is more than a year old. Many months ago Moscow suddenly perplexed officials here by announcing that the Soviet Union was being broken down, for purposes of foreign and military affairs, into 16 autonomous republics or Soviets. Each, it was said, would be able to conduct its foreign affairs independently on issues of primary concern to itself.

There was speculation then that Russia might ask 16 seats in the new league, in which case it was

reported, the United States might try to find some way to ask for 48 seats—one for each State.

Nothing more was heard of this until Yalta, when the proposal emerged as a request for, not 16, but three places in the assembly. The additional two seats would be held by the White Russians and the Ukrainian Soviets, the most populous of the Russian republics outside the main Russian Soviet of which Moscow is the capital. Also those are the two fronting on western Europe.

Senator Vandenberg declared he thought the assembly of nations should be "tomorrow's free and untrammelled town meeting of the world." The voice of the great powers will be amply protected in the security council."

DC-1 - unclassified - General -

Pandora's Box

By Barnet Nover

The Question Of Assembly Votes

MR. BERT ANDREWS, chief correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, has rendered a real public service by forcing out into the open the facts regarding a secret understanding reached by the "Big Three" at Yalta.

The White House now admits that at the Crimea Conference the United States and Great Britain agreed to support Russia's demand for separate representation in the assembly of the proposed world organization of the Ukrainian and the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republics, in addition to representation of the U. S. S. R. as a whole.

As a quid pro quo, Russia and Great Britain agreed to support the American counterclaims for three seats in the assembly.

IT IS EASY to understand why the "Big Three" were anxious to keep this agreement secret until after the San Francisco Conference had met.

Many of the smaller nations have expressed great uneasiness over the practically unlimited authority which the great powers are to exercise in the council of the new league. They have not been reassured by the declaration in the Dumbarton Oaks plan that "The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states." They will be less reassured now than ever.

The Yalta agreement regarding assembly seats will, it can safely be predicted, open a veritable Pandora's box of troubles at San Francisco. Not only will the small powers be aggrieved but the middle-sized powers, such nations as Canada, the Netherlands, Brazil, not to mention France, will have the right to insist that if voting in the assembly is to be unequal, they be given greater representation than nations smaller in size in population and resources than they are.

common viewpoint on matters of hemisphere concern. If the 20 other American republics remain on friendly terms with us, we don't need the extra two votes the United States will get if the Yalta formula is carried out. If they don't stick with us, those two votes will have little value.

THE YALTA formula is mischief-making for still another reason.

It is based on the assumption that the member nations of the British Commonwealth of Nations constitute a monolithic bloc subject to the orders of London, an idea usually expressed in the form of a statement that "Britain will have six votes."

Of course, nothing could be further from the truth. Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Australia have demonstrated again and again that they are in every particular free and independent nations. They entered the war individually of their own free will. They will, we can be sure, take part in the international organization as free nations.

One needs only recall the magnificently independent role played by New Zealand at Geneva to realize the truth of that. And, as a matter of fact, the war has brought the dominions so close to this country that they may be regarded as much a part of an American bloc as of a British bloc.

SINCE THIS vote agreement resulted, in the first place, from a Russian demand, the question arises why Stalin is so insistent on securing three places in the assembly instead of one.

One explanation may very well be to give recognition to the great contribution made to the Russian war effort by the peoples of the Ukraine and White Russia.

BUT WHAT HAVE Russia and the United States to gain by having their representation in the assembly increased from one seat to three?

On the face of it, they have nothing of any importance to gain by having their way in this matter even if the assembly turns out to be a far more important body than is at present contemplated it should be.

Under existing circumstances, the assembly is bound to have a sizable Russian bloc even if Russia has only one vote. The same is true of the United States and of Great Britain.

It is questionable, for instance, whether, given their present dependence on Russia, Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and Finland would take a position contrary to what Russia deems her essential interest.

The republics of this hemisphere recently demonstrated their solidarity at Mexico City. It can be assumed that this solidarity will take the form of a

This can hardly be the only reason. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that Russia is fearful that, despite the stipulations embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, the centrifugal pressures at San Francisco will result in an increase in the assembly's authority. She may, through the device of increased representation in that body, be seeking to safeguard herself against a diminution of the Council's authority.

But if that is the case, then we can expect that sooner or later Russia will not be content merely with 3 representatives in the assembly, but will ask for 16—one for every one of the constituent republics.

The recognition of the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Socialist Republics as sovereign states entitled to seats in the assembly paves the way for such a demand. What is sauce for the Ukrainian goose may also be sauce for the Karelio-Finnish, the Uzbek, the Turkmen, the Kirghiz, Kazakh and Moldavian ganders.

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Repercussion From Yalta

By Mark Sullivan

W. R. C. Post 9-2-45

Stalin's Three Votes

WASHINGTON TALK — It's excited talk, it's silent but seriously disturbed thought—is dominated by a single incident and its ensuing explosions. It began when the Washington correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune, Mr. Bert Andrews, revealed a heretofore undisclosed fact about the conference of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin at Yalta last February. Mr. Andrews said that Stalin had set up a claim for 3 votes for Russia in the Assembly of the United Nations, instead of the 1 vote which it has been assumed each nation would have; and that Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed to support Stalin's claim.

Following this publication, and undoubtedly because of it, the White House gave out an official statement which confirmed the story. The next day, newsmen presented 33 written questions, dealing with the incident and its possible consequences, to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius. Mr. Stettinius said he hoped to answer the questions later. Mr. Stettinius has always been careful to make clear that, as respects the Yalta conference, and foreign relations generally, he is not a principal, he is a subordinate of President Roosevelt.

THE WHOLE INCIDENT—the facts at Yalta, their remaining undisclosed for a month and a half, and the sensation attending the revelation of them—is recognized as having serious bearing on the proposed United Nations organization, on the coming conference at San Francisco to set up such an organization, on the whole broad problem of postwar international collaboration, and on the relation of Russia to ourselves and Britain.

Much of the talk about the disclosure emphasizes lack of candor, the promise to support

Premier Stalin's claim is called a "secret agreement." Lack of candor there is, and has been, about many aspects of our relations with the Russian government. It arises, in part, out of the difficulty the American and British governments have in trying to get along with the government of Russia. Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill do the best they can, and then, in the wish to make things acceptable to the world, describe them in terms throwing a softer light upon them than the facts warrant. An example is Poland.

When President Roosevelt last month addressed Congress reporting what had been done at Yalta, he dwelt upon the future of Poland. With deliberate repetition he emphasized that Poland is to be independent:

"Our objective was to help create a strong, independent and prosperous Poland. That is the thing we must all remember—those words agreed to by Russia, by Britain and by me: the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves."

THAT WAS Mr. Roosevelt's report to Congress. Prime Minister Churchill made a report to the House of Commons. He, too, spoke of a "strong, free, independent Poland." But Mr. Churchill added that there was a "single limitation"—the Poles "must honestly follow . . . policy friendly to Russia."

A Polish government which must maintain, as a primary obligation, friendliness to a big neighbor nation, is not an independent government. What is meant by "friendly" will be determined by the Russian government, and almost certainly must include friendliness to the philosophy which underlies the Russian government, Communism. Poland will be given the same independence of choice that Henry Ford used to give when he was making his economical Model-T car: "You can have any color you like, so long as it's black."

It was this use of the word "independent" to describe a status of Poland which in fact will be short of independent, that led Dorothy Thompson to phrase a searing admonition: "Whatever we are going to do, or permit to be done, in the realm of naked power politics, let us at least tell the truth. Let us have done with covering up shenanigans with noble words."

There are several examples besides Poland; some are coming to the surface right now. In the same report by Mr. Roosevelt to Congress on Yalta, and with the same diplomatic politeness which

statesmen speaking about foreign powers sometimes feel they must practice, Mr. Roosevelt made a sweeping statement. He said that "We achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together."

To say a condition exists, as a way of hoping and trying to make it exist, is an understandable technique of statesmen conducting relations with foreign governments. But the fact for the public to know is that there is not "unity of thought" between Russia and ourselves and Britain, and they are not "getting along together."

Assault on Yalta Plan

Bushfield Opens Attack on the Security Council Voting

By ARTHUR KROCK

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 6—The expected assault on the voting formula for the World Security Council, agreed on at Yalta and announced yesterday, was led in Washington today by Senator Harlan J. Bushfield of South Dakota, Republican, and Congress will hear more to the same effect. And ever since the publication of the Yalta communiqué, the American and British publics have heard statements that Marshal Stalin won every point at issue and the Anglo-Americans got virtually nothing in exchange but the continued advance of the Red Army, which would have advanced, anyhow.

Well-informed persons here are calling attention (1) to what they deem a plain inconsistency in such speeches as that of Senator Bushfield. And (2) they predict confusion to those who charge that the President and Prime Minister Churchill got nothing from Marshal Stalin at Yalta for compromising on the Polish boundary and the World Security Council voting plan.

Inconsistency Is Charged

1. Mr. Bushfield assailed the plan as a step toward "three-man domination of the world," implying that he meant permanent domination, and he named the President, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin as the three. He said also that he opposes any organization which can be dominated by any minority of nations, large or small.

The inconsistency attributed to the Senator is that if veto power on the use of force to put down what is previously proclaimed by the council majority as aggression were not reserved to the five permanent members, the United States could be committed to engage in a major war against its judgment and without act of Con-

gress, and that Mr. Bushfield would be among the first to denounce such a commitment. It is predicted that if the voting plan enabled a council majority to order the use of armed forces, including our own quota, the Senator from South Dakota would do his best to assure Senate rejection of a treaty including that plan.

To support this view, it was noted that, after the announcement of the voting compromise by Secretary of State E. R. Stettinius Jr., many Senators expressed relief that one of their chief anxieties had been dispelled by the grant of veto power to the United States to proposals of the use of force by the council. It has been clear ever since Dumbarton Oaks that the American plan—barring from any part in such a decision council members charged with aggression—was a stumbling block to ratification of a security treaty.

Air of Great Mystery

2. The prediction of confusion to critics of the Anglo-American compromises with the Soviets at Yalta is not so explicitly supported, and it is being made with an air of great mystery. But it is stated confidently that, "in due course," it will be revealed that Marshal Stalin pledged something in exchange for the acceptance of his views on the Polish boundary and the voting plan that the American public will find more than satisfactory. For reasons of state, and for military reasons, these well-informed persons assert, it is not possible at this time to say more. But they are counseling the critics to be prudent lest their faces turn very red later on and events not only discredit them but, in the words of one official, "prove once again that they don't wait for facts to direct them to conclusions."

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The Real Test

By Barnet Nover

The Yalta Voting Plan

GIVEN THE REALITIES of the present world situation, the Yalta agreement regarding voting in the Security Council of the United Nations organization is about as good as could be devised.

It is not ideal. It falls far short of being ideal. It harbors something of that old and discredited spirit of international anarchy that prevailed in the past, with each nation, and particularly each great power, being a law unto itself.

We must remember that in the Yalta plan every one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, namely, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China and France, is endowed with an absolute veto which, except for one category of disputes, it can exercise on all matters coming before the council.

The exception is when a great power is party to a dispute which the council is considering and which is not deemed sufficiently important to involve the possible use of force against that great power. In that case the great power in question cannot vote.

THEORETICALLY, therefore, each of the great powers can, if it wishes, almost completely paralyze the work of the Security Council. It can do so by persistently voting in the negative on matters that come up before that body. And its negative vote can offset the positive vote of as many as the 10 other members of the council.

To state this possibility is, however, to demonstrate its absurdity.

Participation in the work of the United Nations organization will, for each of the great powers, be not an act of charity, but the product of the most acute self-interest. Each will stand to benefit if the new league becomes a success.

We can assume that no nation permanently represented on the council will lightheartedly take a position in opposition to the views of the great majority of its fellows. The pressure on each of the great powers will constantly be in the direction of achieving unanimity.

erated nations of Europe and the former Axis satellites.

THE YALTA compromise on voting makes it possible to bring before the council those matters involving the great powers which have not been settled outside the league, and when such matters are brought up, the great power that is a party to a dispute is deprived of its vote and its veto power.

To be sure this veto power is regained if the dispute becomes acute enough to involve the use of economic or military sanctions against a great power. Then the five-power-unanimity rule must again be invoked, which is another way of saying that there is no provision in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, as elaborated at Yalta, for the imposition of sanctions against any of the five great powers even when sanctions are clearly called for.

AT FIRST GLANCE this looks like a major flaw in the structure of peace that the nations of the world are to be asked to erect at the San Francisco conference.

Actually the Yalta voting plan is based on the inescapable fact that no great power (including the United States) is willing to limit its sovereignty to the point where it will agree in all matters to submit to the dictates of a world organization. And there is the further reality to be taken into account that if a situation should arise that, in principle, calls for sanctions against a major power the other great powers will ponder long and hard before agreeing to employ such sanctions itself.

As Comdr. Harold Stassen pointed out in this thought-provoking speech at Minneapolis:

"If either the United States, or Russia, or Great Britain decides in the next 25 years to make war, then there will be another world war, and no organization, or league, or union, or treaties will stop it."

He added:

"But I do not believe any of these countries will want to make war. Each knows the horrors of war. Each has so much to gain by not making war. Each has a great future in the peaceful development of its resources and its standing in the world."

HOW WELL the new league will work will depend on how successful that pressure is.

By the same token, however, the great powers will be under compulsion to settle their own disputes outside the United Nations organization.

That problem had become acute by the time the Yalta conference convened. The tendency for some time prior to that meeting was for the powers to make bilateral arrangements, such as the Anglo-Russian arrangement regarding Greece and Yugoslavia. At Yalta this tendency was curbed somewhat. It was there agreed that Great Britain, Russia and the United States would act together regarding the lib-

Whether the new league will succeed or fail will depend to only a lesser degree on its constitutional provisions and to a major extent on whether, during the years following this war, the nations of the world develop habits of cooperation.

That is why what the Senate and the Congress do about Bretton Woods, the oil agreement, the question of the world food organization and other questions which do not directly impinge on the problem of preserving peace but have much to do with the role we intend to play in the world, will have a far greater result in determining the future of world organization than voting procedures or sanctions arrangements embodied in the new league.

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Compromise, But—

Yalta Vote Agreement Wins Favor

By Ernest Lindley

Reaction within the United States to the Yalta agreement on voting procedure in the world security council appears, at this writing, to have been overwhelmingly favorable.

Under this agreement, both the United States and Britain gave way a little on one point which they had supported at Dumbarton Oaks.

There, with the subsequent endorsement of China, they had advocated that any nation sitting on the council of 11 members refrain from voting on any dispute to which it was a party.

Under the Yalta agreement any nation so involved must refrain from voting while its case is aired and investigated and recommendations for an adjudication or settlement are made. But it may vote against the imposition of any form of sanction against itself.

For each of the five great powers sitting as permanent members this vote is a veto, since the unanimous concurrence of the big five is necessary for every important decision, with the exception just noted.

This arrangement in no sense implies that the powerful and the weak are to be judged by different standards.

Penalty Different

To the contrary, they pledge themselves to the same standards of conduct. And that, at least so far as the original Big Four are concerned, they expect to be judged by these standards is shown by the agreement that a great power shall refrain from voting while charges against it are heard.

In short, the machinery of the proposed international organization for the mobilization of world opinion is available to the weak and the strong alike.

But what might be called the enforcement of a judgment or a penalty is another matter. The voting procedure recognizes only what everyone knows: that a weaker power can be restrained or punished by a policing action, whereas a great power cannot be without a major war.

This was all recognized, of course, at the time of Dumbarton Oaks.

The position taken by the American delegation had very much less than the unanimous backing of the Government officials and experts who had been studying the problem. And by some backers it was defended only as good manners and good public relations in our dealings with the small nations.

Congress in Favor

Support for the original U. S.-British plan dwindled further as it became apparent that, if adopted, it probably would create difficulties in Congress about the delegation of authority to the American member of the world security council. Many Senators and Representatives intended to make sure that the American delegate could not cast a vote committing the United States to a war without the prior approval of Congress.

They were willing to authorize him to vote for policing actions which could be carried out with limited forces.

Under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, members will make supplementary military agreements as to the forces which each of them will allocate or keep immediately available for policing action. These probably will be ample to cover every contingency except a conflict among the major powers.

There is no way of creating an international police force capable of disciplining, let us say, the Soviet Union or the United States. A great power cannot be restrained or disciplined without a major war.

If one of the great powers goes on a rampage, or persistently violates its pledges, another war will come. Against such a calamity, no protection whatever is to be found in any voting procedure.

Can't Suit All

The general attitude in Congress toward the Dumbarton Oaks plan, as supplemented at Yalta, is so favorable that many observers who remember the fight against the League of Nations are keeping their fingers crossed. In the charter to be framed at San Francisco there will be, doubtless, many details which will not please

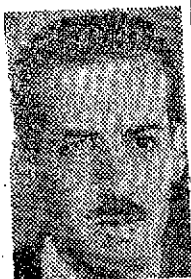
everybody.

The charter will not go anything like as far as Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, for example, would like to have it go. Stassen realizes that fully. As he warned in his speech Wednesday, the result "will not be, and cannot be, entirely in accord with any nation's or any person's individual views."

But this certainly will not discourage him and will not weaken his support of the ensuing charter, supposing that it does not flagrantly violate the principles and objectives which have already been agreed upon by the Big Three.

The important thing, as Stassen realizes, is get the world-security organization established, with the United States as a member.

Once established it will grow and change, like other institutions.



LINDLEY

Security Council

By Ernest Lindley

Voting Procedure Is Logical

THE VOTING PROCEDURE of the proposed United Nations Security Council agreed upon by the Big Three has been spoken of in some quarters as "a compromise." It might better be described as a logical solution.

Its logic becomes evident when one examines the outline of a charter for the United Nations adopted at Dumbarton Oaks.



LINDLEY

The heart of Dumbarton Oaks is Chapter VIII, entitled "Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression."

This chapter draws a line between two means of settling international disputes—or, perhaps, it would be more nearly exact to say two stages of settling disputes. Section A of Chapter VIII is entitled, "Pacific Settlement of Disputes." Section B is entitled, "Determination of Threats of the Peace or Acts of Aggression and Action with Respect Thereto."

That is, investigation, publicity, and judgment, on the one hand, are separated from the application of economic or armed force, on the other.

The voting procedure agreed upon at Yalta conforms to this distinction. A member of the security council who is a party to a dispute must refrain from voting on any decision taken under Section A. Even though a party to the dispute, it can vote on any decision taken under Section B which involves the application of economic and financial sanctions and armed force.

THE EFFECT is this: A great power sitting as a permanent member of the council cannot prevent the council from hearing a charge against that great power brought by any other nation, large or small. It cannot prevent the council from recom-

mending a way of settling or adjusting the dispute. It can, theoretically, veto the application of economic sanctions and armed force against itself.

This is in harmony with the nature of things. A great power cannot be coerced except by a major war, the outbreak of which would in itself signify the breakdown of the machinery for preserving the peace. But a great power must be judged by the same moral standards as other nations. It cannot, and, under the voting procedure agreed upon, will not try to claim exemption from the moral judgment of the world.

A GREAT POWER, by its own vote, will not be able to prevent all the facilities of the United Nations organization from being used to mobilize world opinion against it. Under the procedure agreed upon at Yalta, it must refrain from voting while its case is examined, aired, and judged. Thus the sound and just principle that the powerful and the weak may be held equally accountable for their conduct and should be judged by the same standards is implicit in the voting procedure approved by the Big Three.

Beyond this, we run up against the indisputable fact that whereas a judgment against a weak nation can be enforced easily, one against a major power cannot be enforced without a war. In the light of this fact, whether or not a great power has a technical right to veto the use of economic sanctions or armed force against itself becomes altogether unimportant.

The ability to enforce economic and military sanctions against one great power resides chiefly in the other great powers. They will not vote to coerce another great power unless they are prepared to do the job. If they are ready and willing, the theoretical right of the offending great power to say "no" will make no difference. Whatever it is called, the result will be a war.

Security Delegate

By Merlo Pusey

Voting Formula Clips His Powers

WHEN PRESIDENT Roosevelt at Yalta proposed a new formula for voting in the Security Council he was probably thinking of

facilitating a approval of the United Nations treaty in the Senate as well as of breaking the deadlock that had developed on this issue at Dumbarton Oaks. The only formidable opposition that had arisen in



PUSEY

this country toward the proposed international organization to keep the peace was directed against the idea of an American delegate to the Security Council committing this country to a major war without a direct vote of Congress. The President's formula, which was unanimously approved at Yalta, takes the wind out of this opposition and at the same time satisfies the Russians.

The President first stated his position with respect to the powers of the American delegate to the Security Council in his address to the Foreign Policy Association last October. "If the world organization is to have any reality at all," he said, "our representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by constitutional means through their representatives in the Congress, with authority to act." This raised the disturbing possibility that our delegate might, at some future time,

not fully overcome their suspicions of the capitalistic nations and feel sufficiently alone to make them adamant on this point. At the same time the President was probably glad to retreat from a position that would certainly have involved the collective security plan in a sharp controversy in Congress.

With the possibility of sanctions against any one of the big five eliminated, and with the winning powers determined to keep Germany and Japan disarmed in the future, the use of military force by the United Nations will consist of routine police operations. Force will be applied to prevent aggression only when the big powers are unanimously in agreement and at least two of the smaller powers represented on the Security Council join in approval. Such an array of military strength will doubtless be sufficient to keep our present enemies in line and to dissuade any smaller powers from taking the path of aggression.

IF ARGENTINA or Spain, for example, should launch an attack upon its neighbors, relatively minor air or naval operations would probably end such aggression in a hurry. There would be no danger of a major war because the strength of the offending power would be infinitesimal in comparison with that of the nations uniting against it. The action would amount to nothing more than police operations, and could therefore be safely entrusted to the discretion of the President acting through our delegate to the council.

To grant the special privilege of vetoing sanctions against itself to each of the big powers is certainly not an ideal arrangement. But it seems to be the best formula that has any chance of general acceptance at this time. And it is well to remember that Congress might have made the application of sanctions to any one of the big five contingent upon a declaration of war by itself, even if Marshal Stalin had not insisted on retaining his veto power.

It is quite a picture in which Charles Laughton will be opening on the screen at RKO-Kodak's Thursday. It is a murder melodrama of the first order. I should say, splendidly acted by its stars, Stanley Ridges, Henry Daniell, Ella Raines and their associate players and as fascinating an examination of the power of conscience as one would care to see. The picture, eloquently titled "The Suspect," is not for those who revel in spectacles of violence and gore. There is none of either visible on the screen.

shortly for England for consultations with the Film Division of the Ministry of Information, or Bon voyage, happy landings, or whatever, to them both.

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SECURITY

From Page 1

posal at San Francisco, it made.

The explanation failed to make the contention that the two republics are really sovereign nations—undoubtedly a significant omission.

Stettinius also stated that no agreement was made at Yalta on the question of the participation of the two republics in the San Francisco conference. Conceivably, Russia could bring this question up at the parley, putting it to a vote.

Asked what vote would be required to decide these questions at the parley, Stettinius turned the question over to Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who

explained that was a procedural question to be decided at the conference. A simple majority has been the rule at other United Nations conferences, Acheson said.

George Suggests Formula

On Capitol Hill, the suggestion was made by Senator Walter F. George (D., Ga.) that a formula for voting be worked out eventually which would recognize population, area, and other factors, but said that the conference should not be delayed in an effort to reach such a formula.

Other legislators suggested that the conference inquire whether the two Soviets have the power to declare war; whether they have control over their own foreign policy, whether they can negotiate treaties. Presumably, they would also have to accredit separate diplomatic representatives abroad just as Canada and the other dominions have diplomatic missions independent of the British missions.

Other developments, growing out of the statement and press conference remarks by Stettinius, included:

Stettinius disclosed that the United States is flatly opposed to suggestions that the conference be postponed.

Growing More Urgent

"This Government believes," he said, "that the rapid tempo of military and political developments, far from requiring postponement of the San Francisco conference on international organization, makes it increasingly necessary that the plans for this organization worked out at Dumbarton Oaks be carried on promptly. We have, moreover, received no indication that any government believes that the conference should be postponed."

The Secretary acknowledged that fast moving events might make it impossible for him to attend the entire conference, particularly if it should run a month, six weeks, or more, as is now expected.

Stettinius insisted that he was fully informed at Yalta of the agreement made by the President and Churchill to support Russia's demand for extra representation.

He also asserted that all other nonmilitary decisions made at Yalta have now been revealed.

Big 5 Parley Scouted

No official consideration has been given to the suggestion that the "big five" nations with permanent seats on the proposed world council meet in advance to straighten out difficulties that have arisen since Yalta, Stettinius said.

Only "big five" meeting contemplated involves an advance conference to discuss incorporating machinery for trusteeships over mandates and territories wrested from the enemy, and this meeting has not been definitely decided upon, Stettinius said.

Stettinius said he was still hopeful that a new Polish government would be constituted in time to permit it to be represented at San Francisco.

No proposal from Russia that the

two republics be invited to join the United Nations at this time is pending, he said.

21 Advisers Named

Meanwhile, the State Department named 21 advisers to the eight-man American delegation to the conference.

All the advisers had some Government connection. It was indicated that representatives of labor, management, and agriculture would be given some recognition at the conference, but not as full-fledged advisers.

The list of advisers follows:

State—Assistant Secretary James C. Dunn, Legal Adviser Green H. Hackworth, Special Assistant Leo Pasvolsky, and Isaiah Bowman, Hamilton F. Armstrong, Charles W. Taussig, Charles P. Taft and John D. Hickerson.

Treasury—Assistant Secretary Harry D. White.

War—Assistant Secretary John J. McCloy, Lieut. Gen. Stanley D. Embick, Maj. Gen. Muir S. Fairchild and Brig. Gen. Kenner F. Hertford.

Navy—Assistant Secretary for Air Artemus Gates, Admiral A. J. Hepburn, Vice Admiral Russell B.

Willson and Rear Admiral Harold C. Train.

Interior—Undersecretary Abe Fortas.

Agriculture—Assistant Secretary Charles F. Brannan.

Commerce—Frank A. Waring, special assistant to the secretary.

Foreign Economic Administration—Deputy Director Oscar Cox.

Representatives of the Justice and Labor Departments remain to be named.

Other Senate comment on the President's decision to ask for only one vote for the United States in the world organization assembly:

Senator Warren R. Austin, (R., Vt.): "In accordance with the principle of juridical equality of all States, the moral effect should be very good."

Senator Joseph H. Ball, (R., Minn.): "I think we will make more friends that way than the other way . . . The number of votes really doesn't matter. We've got to agree at San Francisco."

Asked if he thought Russia should have three votes, he said: "There is a strong possibility she won't get them."

Senator Wallace H. White, Jr.,

(R., Me.): "I don't like plurality of votes for any nation. I don't like it for Russia."

Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr. (P., Wis.): "It seems to me this makes a bad situation worse compounded."

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (R., Nebr.): "I think each country ought to have only one vote—the United States one, Russia one and Great Britain one. I think that's only fair. This is a peace conference."

Woe Post
7-4-45

U. S. Drops 3-Vote Stand, Leaving Red Case to Parley

**Will Back Request,
However, if Soviet
Decides to Present
It, Stettinius Says**

*(Text of Stettinius' replies to
reporters' questions, Page 5.)*

By Ben W. Gilbert

By deciding not to ask for three votes in the proposed world assembly, President Roosevelt yesterday put it up to Russia to satisfy the Golden Gate conference that the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviets are sovereign nations entitled to separate membership in the proposed world organization.

Informed American sources provided that explanation of the abandonment of a position taken publicly only last Thursday that the United States would ask three votes in the world assembly, if Russia requested and received three votes.

Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, jr., in announcing the new position for the President, emphasized that this Government was not backing out of the made-in-Yalta bargain to support the Soviet request. He also stressed that this country had no intention to ask for a postponement of the April 25 United Nations parley to get more time to straighten out this and other problems with our Allies.

Opens Solution to Russia

Hope was expressed on Capitol Hill that the new American position would open the way for Russia to withdraw her request for additional representation, but it was evident that, if she stuck to her guns, she would have the job of convincing the required majority of nations that her two autonomous republics meet the customary tests of "sovereignty."

Stettinius issued a 1000-word statement at a packed press conference called to hear his answer to a series of questions presented after last Thursday's disclosure of the secret voting arrangement.

He defended the attempt to keep the vote deal secret on the ground that the American attitude on the whole question had not jelled fully. The President's decision to reserve the right to demand three votes was a precautionary move, he said.

In New Light

Stettinius' statement put the Yalta voting deal in a new light.

It explained that the Soviet representatives had asked at Yalta that the two autonomous republics be made initial members of the proposed international organization. In other words, Russia was asserting that the Soviet Union comprised at least three separate sovereign nations but was not asking for "multiple votes as such." A vote in the assembly goes with membership in the world organization, according to the Dumbarton Oaks draft.

When the United States countered with the demand for three balancing votes, even though we have no basis for contending that we are really three nations, the question immediately became one of "multiple votes" which threatened to do violence to the principle of "sovereign equality" of nations in the assembly, destroying small nation confidence in the plan. The interpretation was also freely made that the Soviet and ourselves sought the additional votes to balance the six votes held by Great Britain and her dominions—an interpretation which was offensive both to Britain and the dominions.

Procedure Summarized

Stettinius summed up the role of the parley this way:

"It is for the conference to decide whether any proposal affecting voting in the general assembly of the proposed United Nations organization impairs the principle of sovereign equality, just as the conference itself must determine the application and interpretation of any general principles enunciated in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals."

Why the United States—along with Great Britain—agreed to go along with the Soviet demand was explained by the Secretary of State as follows:

"In view of the importance which the Soviet government attached to this proposal, the American representatives at Yalta, having the utmost respect for the heroic part played by the people of these republics in their unyielding resistance to the common enemy and the fortitude with which they have borne great suffering in the prosecution of the war, agreed that the Government of the United States would support such a Soviet pro-

See SECURITY, Page 4, Column 1

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Growing Uneasiness

By Paul Winkler

Small Nations React

THERE IS A CERTAIN uneasiness in government circles of the nations which were not participants in the Dumbarton Oaks meeting concerning the manner in which the San Francisco Conference decided upon at the Crimean meeting is expected to function. What the smaller countries want to know is whether they are to be admitted to a real work session in which they will have an opportunity by genuinely democratic processes to pronounce themselves on the fundamental bases on which the future world security organization is to be established, or if it is intended that their role is to be that of discussing comparatively unimportant matters of detail and otherwise acting simply as a laudatory chorus to add prestige to what was done before them and without them.

The distrust on the part of the small nations is not solely a function of their disgruntlement at their exclusion in the past from the meeting which drew up the original plans. It is based also on certain passages in the Crimea report which some of the observers of the small states interpret as indications that they are to be allowed only a restricted role. For instance, the communique stated that the San Francisco conference is being called to establish the charter of a new organization "along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks." Does that mean, these observers ask, that no deviation from these lines will be permitted—or does it mean simply that the Dumbarton Oaks plan will serve as a point of departure and that great leeway will be given the San Francisco meeting for the alteration of its premises?

Exceptions Taken

A good deal of leeway will have to be allowed to permit consideration of all the points on which disagreement and anxiety have been expressed by a number of "outsider" countries. Specific plans for basic modification of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal have been released by three governments — Holland, Mexico and Poland—while nine Latin American nations have shown their desire to amend it appreciably in consultations with the American Government. The French have not yet committed

themselves officially but the French press has written copiously on the subject, often in a critical tone, and a special committee under the chairmanship of J. Paul-Boncour is studying the matter.

Thus, as far as the nations not present at the original meeting are concerned the whole question is still in a state of chaos. There is not even a consensus of opinion among the different dissenting countries. Some of the proposals for changes are given with reservations as is the case for the Dutch, who say that they cannot pretend to speak with any finality until the rest of the Netherlands is liberated and the entire population has had an opportunity to make its opinion felt on the Dumbarton Oaks proposal. The Polish plan also has only relative validity, the government which formulated it having already been set aside by the big powers; but some of the conclusions it embodies will undoubtedly be echoed by any Polish government, including that of Lublin.

Coordination of Dissent

A desire to amend the original text may also be anticipated from certain other governments, whose preoccupations have prevented them so far from making their opinions known—such as Greece, Yugoslavia and Belgium. Some representatives of the "outsider" countries are pointing out the danger of arriving at the San Francisco Conference unprepared and isolated—that is, with conflicting proposals which may be inspired by much the same feeling, but which, not having been concerted, will tend to cancel each other. They feel that there is a need to coordinate beforehand such ideas as Mexico's insistence that the world security organization has to be made "universal and obligatory," Poland's, that the world organization should "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live," and the emphasis laid in certain unofficial plans, circulating in France on the necessity for accepting only democratic governments as members, lest international cooperation be sabotaged again as it was in the League of Nations by the desire not to offend totalitarian members.

As a result, representatives of some of the smaller nations have been sounding one another out on the idea of calling as soon as possible a conference of the countries which were not admitted to the original Dumbarton Oaks Conference. It is pointed out that unless the dissenters get together and unite on the amendments they desire, they will come to San Francisco at a great disadvantage against the great nations who will be

natural defenders of the text which they themselves elaborated. The small nations are already in a position of inferiority in regard to the great powers, it is pointed out, and if they want to make their own ideas felt they can only do it by uniting beforehand.

This is the idea which is in the air today, but it is easy to understand why every one of the interested nations is hesitant about taking the initiative of proposing formally that such a meeting should be called.

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Mexican Conference

By Sumner Welles

Opportunity For Small Countries

NO DECISION PROCLAIMED in the Yalta declaration was more heartening to the peoples of the democracies than the announcement that a meeting of all of the United Nations would be held at San Francisco on April 25 for the purpose of reaching a final agreement upon the charter of an international organization.

The conference which assembles today, February 21, at Mexico City should provide a clear recast of the results which will be achieved at San Francisco. It will afford the first opportunity for some of the so-called "intermediate countries" and "smaller countries" to make known in an official forum their views concerning the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as implemented by the recent Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill agreements.

In order to understand clearly the situation at Mexico City it must be borne in mind that this conference is not an inter-American consultative meeting as provided for in existing Pan-American agreements. Argentina will not be present. The jurisdiction and control accorded the Pan American Union over inter-American consultative meetings by previous agreements have been sidetracked. The conference will have no power to speak for the Western Hemisphere. It will not be competent to modify previous Pan-American accords nor to lay down Pan-American policy for the future. It can only declare what the policies of the participating governments may be.

DURING THE YEARS between 1933 and 1943, the United States Government took the initiative in pressing for the establishment of a workable consultative system between all of the American republics. This initiative met with the unanimous approval of the American nations. The system stood the strain when the United States was forced into war.

When the war crisis arose the security of the entire hemisphere, and especially that of the United States, was safeguarded because of the consultative machinery set up by the 21 American republics.

When the time came to plan for peace, and for the establishment of an international organization, the Department of State stubbornly blocked any resort to this procedure. Whatever the pretense which has been put up in Washington with regard to ex-

post facto "discussions" with our American neighbors concerning plans for international organizations, all of the Latin-American governments have bitterly resented the role of "listeners" assigned to them.

Had this Government conferred in a regular consultative conference with all of the other American republics prior to the meetings at Dumbarton Oaks, the United States would have derived incalculable benefits from such procedure.

IT WOULD HAVE obtained the advice and suggestions of the other American governments as to the kind of world organization which they considered desirable. It would have entered the discussions at Dumbarton Oaks armed with the knowledge on the part of the rest of the world that it spoke for an entire hemisphere. By so doing, it would have reassured all of the other republics that the process of consultation to which the United States was committed by prior inter-American agreements was not devised solely for the selfish advantage of the United States, but would continue to be the foundation of an inter-American system of mutual advantage to all of the American nations.

Whatever the outcome at Dumbarton Oaks, the other American nations would have felt that they were partners with the United States in a common enterprise, in the shaping of which they had participated. They would have jointly supported the plans which were there brought forth.

What has taken place has been the precise reverse. The fact is that none of the other American republics were afforded any opportunity of shaping the proposals formulated at Dumbarton Oaks. They were given the chance to make so-called "recommendations" only after the agreements there reached had been made public.

Public opinion here does not yet fully estimate the wave of indignation at the cavalier treatment to which they have been subjected that has swept the peoples of the other Americas.

THE QUESTION now is what the attitude of the United States will be at Mexico City with regard to the suggestions which many of the other American re-

publics wish to make for modification of some of the provisions of the Dumbarton Oaks plans. If this Government adopts the attitude that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are not subject to change and that the plans already agreed upon by the major powers must be signed "on the dotted line" by all other nations, serious repercussions will be inevitable.

No peoples of the world have in the past been more sincerely devoted to the cause of world peace and to the cause of international organization than the Latin-American republics. They support today the general scheme of international organization as pledged by the major powers at Dumbarton Oaks. But they are not prepared to accept blindly a charter for world organization in the drafting of which they have played no part, and when they have been afforded no opportunity of furthering their own views as to the safeguards which the American republics as a whole should obtain in such an organization.

Several of the governments of western Europe, notably that of the Netherlands, have formulated with great clarity their suggestions for amendment of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. These suggestions coincide with the views of many of the American republics. An interchange of views between these European countries and some of the Latin-American republics has been going on for some time.

THE COMPLETE SUCCESS of the meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco is imperative. The hopes of millions of people in every quarter of the globe will now be fixed upon it. The attainment of a peaceful and orderly world of the future will be contingent upon the success of that meeting.

There is no step which this Government could take which would be more conducive to the success of the meeting at San Francisco than the adoption of a course at Mexico City which would make it clear that the fair and reasonable aspirations of the "intermediate" and "smaller" countries are going to be taken into actual account. The kind of success which is essential will not be obtained if the United States adopts a "take it or leave it" attitude. It will only be obtained if all of the American republics together now find a basis for agreement within the framework of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which will tend to satisfy the legitimate requirements of every one of the American nations.

What is more than that, unless the meeting at Mexico City results in such an understanding, and also restores the presently shattered unity of the hemisphere, the inter-American system as it has grown up during the last decade will cease to exist.

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'Oaks' Plan Termed Fatal to the Smaller Nations

By United Press

Unconditional acceptance of the Dumbarton Oaks plan as formulated would seem to utter a "death sentence" upon the cause of smaller nations, the Post-War World Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace said today.

The committee recommended immediate establishment of an interim advisory United Nations council to bring problems of smaller nations "into the open" and offer some escape from the present "incipient international anarchy."

INJUSTICE FORESEEN

While "unqualified rejection" of the World Security Plan as presented would mean abandonment of the first concrete application of the ideal of an international peace organization, "unconditional acceptance" seems to mean consecration of injustice, it said.

"To accept the plan unconditionally would seem to utter a death sentence upon the cause of the smaller nations; viz., Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and to imply an abandonment of principle."

As an answer to the "moral dilemma" posed by either unconditional acceptance or absolute rejection of the proposals, the committee suggested a three-fold criterion: to accept what is good; to register criticism of the defects; to determine the moral and practical conditions necessary for acceptance of the proposals.

TREND DEPLORED

The committee deplored "the present outbreak of unilateralism and bilateralism to power politics," but said the present "distressing actions of Russia, France and Great Britain may be simply ill-advised attempts to fill a vacuum."

It called for wholehearted acceptance of what is good in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, but offered the following specific criticisms:

1. The smaller nations note the assembly has no legislative power.
2. There is ambiguity about Pacific settlement of disputes.
3. There is no direct provision for revision of treaties and peaceful change.
4. There is no arbitration machinery set up for settlement of nonjusticiable political disputes, the council apparently being its own "court of arbitration," while it is a most partial body.
5. There is a lack of explicit consideration to be given minorities.
6. There is no explicit commitment to the principle of reduction of armaments, which collective security is said to make possible.

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Small Nations, Not Big Three, Responsible for Their Plight

By William L. Shirer

The small powers, it already is evident, have no great enthusiasm for the way the world is shaping up. They did not rejoice at Yalta. They are afraid of San Francisco. But before they or we succumb to undue pessimism, some facts ought to be faced.

Old Doktor Goebbels, already is at work shedding propaganda tears for "small nations." His talk, strangely, is curiously similar to that of our U. S. self-proclaimed defenders of little powers.

Not Ideal, But—

It is true, alas, that the lot of smaller powers is not likely to be quite as they would like it. The peace will be made and, for a long time, kept mainly by principal powers. This, to be sure, is not ideal. But let us remember it was brought about not by the Allies, but by the Axis.

It is becoming difficult to recall, it seems, lessons we should have learned about smaller nations. One that was as plain as day was that when aggressive nations began itching to get going, it was in the self-interest of all small powers to consort not only with one another but with those Big Powers which alone could furnish military force to repel aggressors.

But little countries echoed with

big words — neutrality, national honor, self-defense. Had they, instead—Poland, first of all—had the sense to form some sort of military alliance with the very powers which recently liberated them, Hitler could never have gobbled them up.

Still No Excuse

Have these splendid little nations learned their lesson at last? One can only hope. It must be admitted the conduct of Western Democracies and Russia and their mutual suspicions do not make for perfect confidence. Yet this does not excuse the policies small nations pursued.

In Hitler's world, with its utter contempt for law and obligations, small nations were doomed. In ours, far from perfect though it may be, they can again live in honor and freedom. That ought to be remembered amid the brickbats now being hurled at the Big Three.

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PATIENCE IS URGED ON SMALL NATIONS

Paul-Boncour, Ex-Premier of
France, Says Oaks Program
Is Not Dictatorship

The small nations should not let their doubts and criticisms of those Dumbarton Oaks proposals in conflict with the Atlantic Charter prevent them from accepting the world security organization to be established at the San Francisco conference, but should wait for a more favorable time at which to press for the adoption of more democratic features, says Joseph Paul-Boncour in this week's issue of *Pour la Victoire*.

M. Paul-Boncour was formerly Premier of France and later French delegate to the League of Nations. Last December he was named head of a committee appointed by the French Government to advise it on the voting powers of the proposed security council. The committee reported last month, favoring the American position that an accused power should not vote in its own case as against Russian insistence that every great power should vote even if one of them is accused of aggression.

In an article, "International Democracy or Big Power Dictatorship?" which the French publication here received by wireless from Paris, M. Paul-Boncour expresses relief at Winston Churchill's statement in the House of Commons that the peace organization would not be founded on a Big-Power dictatorship, but adds that this feeling has been lessened by the indications since the Yalta Conference that the great nations will be allowed to vote on disputes in which they are involved.

He concedes that common action by the great Powers, on which the Dumbarton Oaks plan rests, is a requisite to peace in the present state of affairs, and that for the next few years the great powers can be expected to agree to make the sacrifices necessary to maintain peace. But, he points out, radical changes may occur in the more distant future in the thinking of this or that great Power, or in the alignment of forces that would make it possible to bring an aggressive nation to reason.

Predicting that eventually some great power will find it in its interests to support some ally or satellite despite the latter's responsibility for disturbing the peace, he says such a great power could then veto the use of whatever measures might be necessary to halt aggression.

"Thus," he adds, "the entire international organization might find itself paralyzed."

He admits that nothing else can be done at present in view of chaotic conditions caused by the war, but demands that this should be made clear and not clothed in "a sort of verbal prudery," which he says would stir the hopes of humanity only to make its subsequent disillusionment all the more cruel.

Urging patience upon the people of the world, he says that without the new plan, which "the San Francisco conference will confirm," there can be no hope for collective security.

"Then, by tenacious action, in which I can assure them they will have the support of France," he adds, "let the small nations endeavor to instill democracy in the somewhat arbitrary institution that we are trying to build. The great nations themselves will be forced to help them. Whether or not they wish it, they will be compelled to look for friendships, if not for spheres of influence, and in order to cultivate their clients they will have to grant them more rights."

Now that France is regaining her place as a great power, he says, she will not forget her traditional role as spokesman for small nations in world debates.

small

THE SMALL POWERS

In some quarters the complaint is made that under the "Yalta formula" the Great Powers are proposing to establish at the forthcoming San Francisco conference what would amount to a dictatorship by themselves of world affairs, with the Small Powers relegated to the position of mere pawns or helpless bystanders. We do not believe that the facts of the situation warrant this interpretation, and we think that comment of this kind, if permitted to go unchallenged, could easily do harm to the prospects for success at the San Francisco meeting.

It is true that under the "Yalta formula" each of the Great Powers retains power to veto the use of force against itself. But this arrangement merely recognizes the reality that if a point is ever reached when one of the five Great Powers must be coerced by force, then peace will have been lost anyway, beyond the possibility of salvage by any voting procedure that can possibly be devised, and a new world war will be in the making. Meantime, long before this point is reached, let us note the very real degree of freedom and authority to initiate moves to prevent the outbreak of war which would be vested in the hands of the Small Powers.

The "Yalta formula" provides that all "procedural" matters shall be settled by an affirmative vote of seven in the proposed Security Council consisting of eleven members. In this Security Council the Small Powers will have a majority of six members; the Great Powers a minority of five. It is further provided that in all "procedural" matters a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting. Accordingly, if a Great Power is involved in a dispute with a Small Power which is not a member of the council—if, let us say, the United States is involved in a dispute with Costa Rica—the line-up in the Security Council in voting on this question will be six Small Powers and only four Great Powers. And what authority will a Council so constituted have, in dealing with the matter in dispute? As summarized by Secretary Stettinius—

The Council can examine the dispute thoroughly and make recommendations to the parties involved regarding methods and proceedings for settling it. The Council can refer the legal aspects of the dispute to the new International Court for advice. It can refer the dispute to the General Assembly if it wishes. It can take any other appropriate steps to obtain a settlement, short of actual enforcement measures. Costa Rica, in short, can put the United States on the carpet, get a hearing for his case, and have the merits of that case voted on by a Council in which the Small Powers have a majority of six to four.

Moreover, let us note that when the "enforcement" stage itself is reached, an affirmative vote of seven members of the Council is still necessary before action can be taken. The Great Powers will have only five votes. They must therefore have on their side the votes of at least two Small Powers. And therefore, by maintaining a unified front, the Small Powers themselves will have a veto power over any proposed enforcement action.

There is no warrant for describing a procedure of this kind as one which makes mere pawns of the Small Powers or relegates them to the position of helpless bystanders.

THE MUSEUM CONFERENCE

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THE GREAT POWERS

In reply to a question put to him yesterday in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill agreed that under the Yalta agreement on world security "there is nothing at all" to deal with aggression by the Great Powers. Asked then by his questioner whether the British delegates to the forthcoming conference at San Francisco would propose some plan to fill this gap, Mr. Churchill replied: "No, sir. As far as we are concerned, we made a perfectly voluntary agreement with other Great Powers that were gathered at Yalta and that does prescribe for a differentiation between the treatment of the greatest Powers in these matters and of the smallest Powers. We may deplore, if we choose, that there is a difference between the great and small, between the strong and weak in the world. There is undoubtedly such a difference and it would be foolish to upset the good arrangements proceeding on a broad front for the sake of trying to attain immediately to what is a hopeless ideal."

Before this blunt and typically Churchillian piece of plain-speaking is too widely deplored as another instance of British faith in "power politics" or as further evidence of a callous intention on the part of the Great Powers to "dominate" the smaller ones, there are several considerations which should be kept in mind:

First, while it is true that there is nothing in the Yalta plan to prevent aggression by any of the five Great Powers—Britain, Russia, France, China and the United States—this omission is more important in theory than in practice. Surely the reality of the situation is that if a point is ever reached when one of the five Great Powers must be coerced by force, then peace will have been lost anyway, beyond the possibility of salvage by any voting procedure that can possibly be devised, and a new world war will be in the making. The Yalta plan provides a method of preventing smaller wars which could easily grow into larger ones. That is the way many large wars have started. Beyond this the Yalta plan bases its hope of peace on the good faith of the Great Powers and their ability to get along together. If they cannot get along together, then no machinery of voting in the proposed new Security Council, however elaborate or however ingenious on paper, will suffice to keep the peace.

United States voted itself out, preferring to believe that what happened in Europe or in Asia was none of its own business. China was in the League, but not as a full partner; rather, as a poor relation whose territory was divided into "spheres of influence" by foreign Powers, some of which did not wish to see China become too strong lest they lose their "extraterritorial rights," their special "concessions" and their opportunities for economic exploitation.

In this respect the present situation, as reflected in the plans made at Yalta, differs radically from the situation prevailing after 1918. This time, at San Francisco, Russia will be one of the principal sponsors and founders of the new league. So will the United States. And so will China; for the nations of the West have come at last to see clearly what should have been evident for a generation—that without a strong, prosperous and united China there can be no real hope of peace in Asia.

It is in these fundamental facts, rather than in the degree of perfection of any voting procedure, that Yalta and San Francisco offer the greatest hope of a new era of peace and international order.

Second, while the Yalta plan does thus give the Great Powers what Mr. Churchill describes as "differential treatment," it does not give these Powers a high hand. For the Yalta plan provides that any nation, however small, may at any time call any nation, however great, on the carpet for any policy or action which it believes threatens the world's peace, and get a hearing on its case. The Yalta plan further provides that before the Great Powers themselves can initiate any action which requires the use of force they must enlist the support of at least two of the six Small Powers which are represented on the Security Council. By maintaining a united front, the Small Powers can therefore command a veto power over the larger nations in any proposed enforcement action.

Finally, while the Yalta plan provides a formula for voting, it also provides something more important than this. It provides a method by which all five of the Great Powers, upon which must inevitably rest the chief burden of providing men and arms to prevent aggression, if force is needed for that purpose, may keep in close and confident cooperation, from the very start, in a new effort to keep the peace. And here surely, rather than in any voting formula, is the real difference between the proposed new league and the old League.

For it was the chief defect of the old League of Nations that three of these five Great Powers did not participate as full partners,—or did not participate at all, in the initial efforts to preserve the peace that followed the last war. Russia was excluded. The air

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Big 5 Meeting Considered to Allay Smaller Nations' Doubts

Red Rebuff Approved
SENATORS APPROVE U. S.—
British rejection of Soviet de-
mand for voice at San Fran-
cisco meeting for Warsaw
Poles. Page 5.

Speed Desired

By John C. Metcalfe

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The gravity of the widening cleavage among the United Nations and disclosure of secret understandings surrounding the April 25 San Francisco conference of United Nations on international organization was emphasized anew last night. The State Department admitted it has under consideration a last-minute big five meeting in Washington to attempt improvement of the "delicate relations" which have developed in the past week among the great powers, with far-reaching repercussions among the small nations.

Informed sources said that State Department officials were in contact with London, Moscow, Paris and Chungking regarding the suggestion of a preconference meeting to allay the increasing apprehensions of small nations by creation of a solid understanding among the big powers.

"Exploratory" Conversations

Conversations are still in the "exploratory stage," and State Department officials say that in the absence of a Big Five meeting prior to the San Francisco Conference, an attempt will be made to reach agreement in consultations through normal diplomatic channels.

London reports that the San Francisco meeting may be postponed caused deep concern in Washington diplomatic circles, but were met with prompt replies that this Government has no such plans under consideration. In the opinion of authoritative sources, a delay in the opening of the conference would be "most unfortunate" to the unity of the Allies. These same sources said they had received no word from the White House of any suggestion for a change in plans.

Plan Still Unsettled

The whole matter (of the Big Five conference) is up in the air," one department official said. "We are talking with the other major governments, but so far no plans have been made for a preconference meeting."

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, could not be reached at his apartment for comment, and Joseph C. Grew, Undersecretary, was out of town for a week. But a

See SECURITY, Page 5, Column 5.

BIG POWERS' UNITY IS DECLARED VITAL

State Department Says This
Would Be One of Strongest
Means of Preserving Peace

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 16—The State Department emphasized the importance of unity among the great powers in replying to a question from newspaper correspondents today concerning the voting formula reached at Yalta for the Dumbarton Oaks peace plan.

The question was in several parts, as follows:

"Apparently under the Yalta voting formula each great power not only has a veto on the forceful settlement of disputes to which it is a party, but also a veto on the peaceful settlement of disputes, to which it is not a party. If the department agrees this is so, will it explain why in official explanations the first veto power has been emphasized and the second minimized? Does this complete veto that each power has in some form over every dispute that arises express America's official desire?"

In reply, the department said:

"The department has never attempted to emphasize or minimize any aspect of the voting procedure.

Council Methods Set Forth

"In cases brought before the Council, under Chapter VIII-A (for investigation of disputes) and the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII-C (concerning regional adjustments) of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal, decisions of the Council require unanimity of the permanent members as well as a total majority of seven members, with the proviso that no party to the dispute will be entitled to vote.

"Such recommendations and other decisions of the Council are bound to have the greatest weight when they are made by a unanimous vote of the permanent members of the Council not party to the dispute and the concurrence of the required number of other members necessary for the majority of seven.

"The department feels that in particular the unity of policy and attitude among the permanent members on matters concerning the organization would be one of the strongest means of making the organization effective in its operation."

Stettinius Meets Envoys

Secretary Stettinius discussed arrangements for the San Francisco conference today with the Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador, and Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador. Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador, conferred later with Mr. Stettinius, but he would not discuss the subject of the meeting.

Mr. Stettinius met also with a bipartisan group from the House on plans for the world-security project along the lines of a conference he held earlier in the week with a Senate group.

Those attending the meeting today were Speaker Rayburn, Representative McCormack of Massachusetts, the Democratic floor leader; Representative Bloom of New York, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Representative Ramspeck, Democrat, of Georgia; Representative Eaton, Republican, of New Jersey, and Representative Arends, Republican, of Illinois.

During the day Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota and now a member of Admiral William F. Halsey's staff, conferred with President Roosevelt on his personal plans as they were involved in his serving as a delegate to the Conference of the United Nations at San Francisco next month.

Stassen Talks of Plans

Later he said he would return here in mid-April for preliminary conferences with other members of the American delegation. In the meantime he will spend two days at his home in Minnesota and then fly to Third Fleet Headquarters in the Pacific to organize his section of Admiral Halsey's staff for the period during which he will be absent from service.

President Roosevelt again said at his press conference that he had no information that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek would attend the San Francisco conference, as has been recently rumored. He also declined to say whether Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada would be temporary chairman of the United Nations Conference. There would be many other rumors like that before the conference convened, he remarked in dismissing the question.

Meanwhile, diverse views concerning the Yalta agreement were presented today by two national groups.

Serbian Ask Election

Americans of Serbian descent, as represented in the Serbian National Federation of Pittsburgh, the Serbian Eastern Orthodox Diocese of the United States and Canada, and the Serbian National Defense Council of America, submitted a memorandum at the White House for President Roosevelt approving the Yalta decisions but asking for free elections in Yugoslavia so the people could select their own Government.

They charged that a reign of terror was taking place in the country, with intellectuals being executed, boys being conscripted to fight against the Germans, and Partisans subjugating the people. They requested the immediate establishment of an Inter-Allied Commission to put into effect the election process in Yugoslavia as provided for at Yalta.

At the same time a delegation of the Polish-American Congress in a memorandum presented to Vice President Truman urged the Senate to help obtain free elections in Poland while denouncing the Yalta agreement on Poland as "another Munich."

The memorandum charged that the Yalta agreement was "an arbitrary mutilation of Poland's historic territory."

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TO DRAFT STATUTE FOR WORLD COURT

**Jurists of the United Nations
Will Begin Discussions in
Washington April 9**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 27—Jurists representing the United Nations invited to the San Francisco Security Conference, will meet in Washington April 9 to draft the statute for the International Court of Justice which was provided under the charter adopted at Dumbarton Oaks. The State Department said today that if the work were not completed before the conference opened April 25, the committee would continue its activities in San Francisco.

The main task before the jurists will be the decision as to whether the statute will be a modified form of the existing statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague or whether it will be an entirely new statute, using the old statute as a basis.

State Department experts have for some time been examining the Permanent Court statute, and discussing suggestions made by our leading jurists and organizations such as the American Bar Association. It is understood that they feel that with some amendments the statute offers a tested and workable instrument permitting rapid creation of the court.

Provision for Amendment

The principal amendment our legal specialists would suggest is a revision of the statute to eliminate all reference to the League of Nations, with which the World Court was affiliated, and to substitute the United Nations organization. It is contended, too, that an essential amendment would be to introduce into the statute a provision for its own amendment.

An unofficial committee, on which the United States was not represented, met some time ago in London, attended by members of the British Commonwealth and some of the Governments in exile. This committee, whose chairman was Sir William Malkin, legal adviser of the British Foreign Office, recommended alterations in the method of selecting judges, who were elected by the Permanent Court simultaneously for nine years. The proposed change would have them elected by a meeting of the representatives of the member Governments.

The present statute of the Permanent Court of Justice dates from 1920 and was amended in 1929 with a view to facilitating United States membership. The United States rejected participation in the court with the Treaty of Versailles and, despite amendments assuring that no opinions affecting the United States would be given without its consent and other concessions, the Senate again declined to accept participation. Jurists of the United States, however, were elected to the court and sat in its de-

cisions in a private capacity until it suspended activities in 1939.

One feature of the court's statute was the absence of any provision for enforcement of its decisions other than the agreement of the parties to a dispute to accept its rulings. Some modification of this situation may be suggested to the jurists when they assemble here, since under the Dumbarton Oaks charter, it may be conceived that failure to accept court decisions on certain matters would be construed as threats to peace and subject to sanctions by the Security Council.

The old statute was so conceived as to put the selection of judges on a purely professional basis, regardless of representation of the mem-

ber nations, which has caused so much controversy with respect to the membership of the Security Council.

The Hague Court has maintained a skeleton staff and most of the United Nations are still members.

For Eisenhower at Peace Table

TOPEKA, Kan., March 27 (AP)—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's home State wants the commander of Allied forces in Europe to be named a representative of the fighting men at the peace table. A resolution asking the President to appoint Gen. Eisenhower to this position is being circulated in the House of Representatives by State Representative Myron E. Gilman.

Plans for New World Court To Be Drafted at Parley Here

By the Associated Press

United Nations diplomats will meet in Washington April 9 to plan an International Court.

The State Department announced yesterday that invitations had gone out on behalf of the same nations that are sponsoring the world security meeting in San Francisco on April 25.

The Washington draft is to be presented at San Francisco, probably to be signed along a charter for a world peace organization.

The United States is expected to present a draft to the meeting here April 9, suggesting only minor changes in the existing World Court, which the Senate twice refused to permit this country to join.

To Ask Two Changes

The present permanent Court of International Justice was set up in The Hague after the last war. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie built a peace palace to house it.

Officials said the question remains open whether a new court will move back to the same build-

ing.

The United States is prepared to ask two changes in the statute of the existing court:

1. References to the League of Nations should be revised to mention the new security organization.

2. A provision for amendment of the statute should be included.

Enforcement Ties Asked

However, many Latin-American countries, in their commentaries on Dumbarton Oaks, asked that specific ties be established between the court and the security council—assuring enforcement of the court's decisions.

American officials indicated they think these enforcement provisions should be placed in the Dumbarton Oaks charter instead of the treaty setting up the court, however.

It is disclosed that the decision to hold the conference preliminary to the San Francisco meeting was ratified at Yalta.

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THE WORLD COURT

The shape of the post-war world begins to define itself, even while some of the hardest fighting is still in progress. Representatives of thirty-eight Allied nations, the United States included, are now meeting in Washington to draft a plan for an International Court of Justice. This plan will then be submitted to the San Francisco conference, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, which provides that all members of the new United Nations organization "should ipso facto be parties to the statute of the International Court." Under Chapter VII this Court may either be the existing World Court of the old League of Nations, "continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable," or a new Court, in the establishment of which the statute of the old Court "should be used as a basis."

The case seems strong for following the first of these two alternatives and taking over the old World Court intact, with any necessary and desirable modifications. One of the most powerful practical reasons for this choice is, as Professor Jessup of Columbia pointed out recently in *Foreign Affairs*, the fact that there are in existence several hundred international treaties which contain the so-called compromissary clause, providing that in case of dispute the existing World Court shall have power to interpret the treaty. "A certain number of these treaties may fall as a result of the war, but most of them, by virtue of their general and technical character, will probably continue in force. Anyone familiar with the difficulty of obtaining even the simplest common action by a large number of states, parties to a treaty, will recognize the difficulty of amending this great network of agreements. A close analysis of the provisions of these treaties will reveal that numerous complications would result if the judicial body referred to in their terms ceased to exist." In this opinion that the existing Court should be preserved and strengthened, special committees of the American and Canadian Bar Associations concur, after a close study of the question.

It may be that the draftsmen of Dumbarton Oaks provided for the second possible alternative, of an entirely new World Court, because they remembered how often the old Court had been rebuffed and rejected by the Senate of the United States, and feared a revival of the old suspicions and the old antagonisms. If so, we think their caution was unnecessary. Times have changed, and nothing has changed more than the outlook of the Senate of the United States on international issues. Many opinions have been revised, under the hard drive of bitter history, since those days just about ten years ago when, at the end of a long and bitter

campaign by Father Coughlin and the Hearst press, a minority of the Senate rejected President Roosevelt's appeal for membership in the World Court and Senator Borah of Idaho uttered his fervent "Thank God!" that the United States had chosen "forever" to go its way in isolation.

WORLD COURT URGED BY LAWYERS GUILD

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 16—A World Court which strives for international justice under law and which does not usurp the functions of the Security Council and Assembly was advocated today in proposals submitted by the National Lawyers Guild to jurists of the United Nations in session here.

The proposals were made by Robert W. Kenny, and Martin Popper on behalf of a special committee to study the statute for the court.

The Guild report contained suggestions for the jurisdiction, procedure and election of judges, but declared that all these issues are linked with the central problem of the relationship of the proposed Court to the Security Council, the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations Security Organization.

The Security Council, the Lawyers Guild urged, rather than the court should have jurisdiction over all questions involving the issue of aggression. To prevent the court from accepting jurisdiction over a dispute which involves a threat to international peace, it is suggested that cases should be docketed first with the Security Council which will determine whether the security issue is involved.

DELEGATES, JURISTS BEGIN PARLEY TASK

Stettinius Says Former Will
Set Own Course—Old Court's
Statute to Be Basis of New

By LANSING WARREN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 9—While members of the United States delegation to the San Francisco Security Conference started their policy discussions here today, the jurists of the United Nations gathered to draft a statute for the proposed International Court of Justice.

Thirty-eight countries, including the United States, were represented among the jurists, who met in the Interdepartmental Auditorium. Welcoming them, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. declared that "a war-weary world" was committing to their hands the task of helping to create "a peaceful world order."

"The peace-loving peoples of the world look to you to give voice to their high resolve that the difference between nations should be settled by peaceful methods and on a basis of justice," he said.

The jurists will make recommendations to the San Francisco Conference which will decide to what extent the action of the new world court will be made obligatory and the methods to be adopted for insuring compliance with its decisions.

Delegates to Set Own Course

That was one of the subjects which the United States delegates will discuss during the next ten days in an effort to find a common ground on all the questions to come before the conference.

Secretary Stettinius said that the delegates would have full freedom of action in the preliminary meetings and that the delegation itself would decide its plan of action, such as whether it would

Continued on Page 9, Column 4

DELEGATES, JURISTS BEGIN PARLEY TASK

Continued From Page 1

work and vote as a team at San Francisco.

Some members are understood to have urged a large degree of publicity for the preliminary talks and Mr. Stettinius said that the delegation would discuss how much information could be made available.

After this afternoon's meeting none of the delegates wished to comment on the work in hand, but some said that word would be given out later in the proceedings.

Vandenberg Gives Pledge

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican member of the delegation, pledged in the Senate today that the delegation, "despite obstacles which arise to jeopardize our course and despite temporary discouragements," would "persevere for organized peace."

"I am leaving shortly for an unsought assignment to the San Francisco conference," he said, "where organized humanity confronts its grave responsibility of answering the yearnings of a war-torn world which prays in many tongues at countless hearthstones for a dependable formula that shall dissipate the scourge of war for keeps."

"I hope that the distinguished Senator from Texas (Tom Connally) and I may be able to bring back to our colleagues at no too distant date a treaty of salvation which may deserve your approval in the name of enlightened American self-interest and for the sake of a happier world where peace with justice may bless free men. I could not leave without this pledge and without asking for your constant prayers."

For Speedy Victory, Tough Peace

Speaker Sam Rayburn and other members of the House recently returned from visits to their home districts, told how their constituents felt. At a press conference Mr. Rayburn said:

"The people down where I have

have been—and there are no isolationists down there—are keenly concerned about two things: They want the war to be won quickly and they are tremendously interested in the kind of peace we are going to have. They want a good, tough peace to keep our grandchildren out of war."

Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee said that the people in his district wanted more victories "George Patton style" to "get the war over with."

Basis For Court Statute

After a morning session, the jurists attended a sitting of the Supreme Court and in the afternoon held a long closed meeting to discuss the statute plan. India and South Africa along have notified the State Department that they will not be represented. Other jurists are expected to join the meeting during the week.

Responding to Secretary Stettinius, Dr. Wang Chung-Hui of China, a former judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, declared that whether that court's statute was adopted with modifications or a new statute was framed, it would serve as "an indispensable document for our work."

At the close of the day it was stated that the jurists had decided to use the old statute as the basis for the new one.

"No one can deny that the Permanent Court of International Justice has made a valuable contribution to the peaceful settlement of international disputes," Dr. Wang said.

"We know whatever organization may be created for maintenance of peace and security, there must be established the rule of law among nations and there must be cultivated among them the spirit of respect for law."

Confidence in a Compromise

Sir Michael Myers, who made the only other address at the meeting gave the indication that "there will be matters relating the preparation of the statute upon which at the outset there may be differences of opinion," but he predicted a compromise.

"Suffice it to say that the nations of the world are at the part-

ing of the ways, he said. "Either they go forward to peace and security or they go back to barbarism."

"There can be no two opinions that one of the steps necessary to permanent peace and security is the establishment of a permanent court of international justice which may decide in a peaceful manner disputes on justifiable matters between nation and nation."

"If we succeed we shall have performed a great work for international harmony and security. Failure will be a tragedy, but I am optimistic enough to believe that men of common sense and good will should be able to prepare a statute to prevent international dissension and strife."

Postmaster General Frank C. Walker announced that he had authorized the issuance of a postage stamp to commemorate the San Francisco conference. The first-day sale will be conducted at San Francisco on the day the conference opens.

Assyrians Name Delegation

Joseph J. Darna, president of the Assyrian National Federation of America, and Samuel Aslan, vice president, were appointed yesterday as delegates to accompany Patriarch Mar Shimun XXIII of the Church of the East and the Assyrians, to San Francisco. They will inform delegates of the United Nations of the plight of the Assyrians in the Near East; it was announced after an emergency meeting of the executive council of the organization.

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Trusteeship

WDC Post

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In his statement of last Tuesday Secretary Stettinius revealed that among the subjects discussed at Yalta was "the possible addition to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals of provisions relating to territorial trusteeship." The trusteeship structure, he explained, "should be designed to permit the placing under it of territories mandated after the last war, and such territories taken from the enemy in this war, as might be agreed upon at a later date, and also such other territories as might voluntarily be placed under trusteeship."

It is evident from this statement that the Administration has in mind as a part of the United Nations organization a supervisory body similar to but probably wider in scope than the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The League system of mandates has become obsolescent through the obsolescence of the League itself. One problem, therefore, that will have to be dealt with by the forthcoming five-power conference soon to meet at Washington is the problem of transferring authority over mandates from the League to the United Nations organization. When and if this is done, however, it would be a pity if what Mr. Stettinius calls the "trusteeship structure" is not endowed with far greater authority than the Permanent Mandates Commission had. Certainly it should have, as the PMC did not have, the right to make on-the-spot investigations in areas under its supervision.

But there are issues other than the problem of transferring mandates from the League to the League's successor. There is the problem of transferring mandates from enemy nations, such as Japan, to United Nations countries. That problem is of particular concern to the United States. Not only does it concern us because the defeat of Japan will largely be, as it has largely been, an American enterprise; it concerns us because the future of the Japanese mandated islands is involved in our security problem in the Pacific. There has been a clamor in some quarters, particularly naval quarters, that those islands should be taken over by the United States and administered directly by Washington without interference of any kind by any outside body.

We feel that any such blunt solution of the problem would not be offered if the implications of it were thought through. The principle of trusteeship is too important not to be given the direct and specific support of this Nation. The Administration is apparently hopeful that other nations will voluntarily accept that principle and the obligations that go with it with respect to their colonial areas. As to that, the decision will rest with the Dutch, the French, the Belgians, the British, the Portuguese and the Spaniards; in other words, with the powers.

DC-1 - *univ - General* -

30

Prizes in the Seventh Yesterday pledged a \$10
Drive to be opened in the Seventh War Lo
was announced yesterday a meeting to be held

INDO-CHINA TO GAIN LIMITED AUTONOMY

De Gaulle Reveals Post-War
Plan—Move Is Regarded as
Anticipating Trusteeship

'FRENCH UNION' IS FORMED

Mother Country and All Parts
of the 'Imperial Community'
Included in New Group

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 23—Gen. Charles de Gaulle's Cabinet announced today that Indo-China will gain limited self-government after the war, and at the same time introduced into French statecraft a new term—"the French Union."

It described the "French Union" as being composed of France and all parts of "the imperial community." Indo-China, it said, "will have a Federal Government presided over by a Governor-General and composed of ministers responsible to him. The ministers will be chosen from among the Indo-Chinese as well as Frenchmen resident in Indo-China."

In a statement to be issued tomorrow the French Government furthermore will declare citizens of the Indo-Chinese Federation to be simultaneously citizens of the "French Union" and qualified to hold all offices within the Union. It will give Indo-Chinese access to all ranks in an Indo-Chinese army, navy and air force to be created in the future.

The basis for all future laws in Indo-China, it will proclaim, should be liberty of thought, liberty of creed, liberty of the press, liberty of assembly "and all other democratic liberties."

These announcements, observers agreed, are gestures by which General de Gaulle hopes to anticipate the unwelcome ideas of "international trusteeship of colonies" that are likely to be submitted to the San Francisco World Security Conference by liberalizing the organization of the French Empire while simultaneously drawing its parts into a relationship of organic unity with the mother country.

Colonial Era Closing

General de Gaulle will expound his concept of the "French Union" in a speech in the near future, thereby bringing to a head the development of ideas that were broached in the Consultative Assembly at Algiers in the autumn of 1943, were studied at the Brazzaïville Conference in January, 1944, and were expressed in a statement by the Committee of National Liberation shortly thereafter promising Indo-China a "new political status."

The final decisions, however, are to be left to the constituent assembly that will write a new French constitution after the war.

High French officials, meanwhile, explained that they have felt increasingly on the one hand that the era of colonies is drawing to a close and on the other hand that France has particular post-war moral obligations toward her colonies and protectorates because of the loyalty displayed by the native populations during the most difficult days of the war.

They cautioned against too close a comparison between the "French Union" and the "British Commonwealth," pointing out that in contrast to the territories dependent on France the British Dominions are inhabited largely by highly developed peoples of European extraction and organically are linked to the mother country only by loyalty to the crown. In the "French Union," however, it is contemplated—though not yet decided—that each dependent territory ultimately should have its own elected assembly that would in turn send representatives to an "Assembly of the Empire" to sit in Paris alongside the assemblies of metropolitan France.

Would Control Own Budget

Each colony or protectorate would be given a status commensurate with its development. Thus in Indo-China it is thought there may be three or possibly four of five colonies and protectorates sufficiently advanced to have elected assemblies. These would be represented in the "Assembly of the Indo-Chinese Federation" that would send its representatives to Paris.

The Indo-Chinese Assembly would control its own budget and have the power to legislate on economic and internal matters, but the territory would remain dependent on France for decisions of foreign affairs and national defense.

The possible jurisdiction of the Assembly of the Empire in Paris has not yet been worked out, but officials studying the question believe that in addition to an advisory capacity it might be given authority over communications between parts of the empire and over the general empire economic policy.

Farthest advance of all plans for the Empire are those for Madagascar, which expected to be made public shortly. An elected assembly of sixty will be created—twenty-

four seats representing the Europeans, twenty-four representing approximately 100,000 of the most educated natives, an twelve appointed by the French Government. It will vote its own budget and act in a consultative role in other matters.

Other Plans Under Study

There are other plans, less advanced, to give the Cameroons and the Ivory Coast assemblies with limited powers. New Caledonia is considered qualified to have its own assembly. Although it is thought it will for some years to come remain dependent on the corps of French officials.

The existing Tunisian Assembly may be modified and steps may be taken to introduce one in Morocco. Algeria is administered as an integral part of metropolitan France.

With a view to introducing some democratic machinery into the more developed areas, there is a plan to divide French West Africa into three parts and French Equatorial Africa into several parts. The backward areas would continue to be administered on a strictly colonial basis.

The outstanding problem in many of these territories, French officials point out, is to reconcile the impatient demands of the educated minority of natives with the reality of the untutored mass. Universal suffrage in the European or American sense remains out of the question, they say.

Handwritten notes in the left margin, including the word "SUN" and other illegible scribbles.

World Pacts Held Immediate Need To Bar Return to Primitive Struggle

The United Nations must act quickly to set up a world organization for peace on a solid economic and social basis to preserve international trade and activity, or the world will slip back centuries to states struggling individually with only land and labor to create a civilization, Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, declared yesterday.

The Bretton Woods monetary agreement must be the "absolute heart of any international organization," and other essentials are pacts that will continue and extend trade, stabilize commodities and aid shipping and aviation, he told 100 mayors and civic leaders from communities of the metropolitan area. They attended a meeting in the New York Times Hall, 240 West Forty-fourth Street, sponsored by Americans United for World Organization and the American Association for the United Nations to encourage public discussion and support for the San Francisco Conference.

Mr. Acheson said it was incumbent upon everyone to tell his own community that world organization was urgent, requiring courage and unanimity of action, with no time for debate of technicalities or quibbling.

Breakdown of Trade

Declaring that there had been a complete breakdown of trade, industry and normal life in the European countries overrun by Reichsfuehrer Adolf Hitler and now being liberated, Mr. Acheson said the United States must help save these countries by supplying food and other materials. He decried the talk of starvation in this country if food were sent abroad.

If the civilization based on international exchange in those countries is to be saved, the United States must act quickly and find ways to move supplies, the Federal official declared. There is no time, he said, for debating whether helping these nations will mean continuing some form of lend-lease after the war, or whether we are taking the role of Santa Claus. If we do not help them, he added, they soon will be building worlds of their own on principles that we

abhor and that would make our own Government and system unworkable.

Mr. Acheson praised the American people for showing no signs of panic after the sudden death of Franklin D. Roosevelt and for closing ranks promptly behind the new President, pledging full loyalty and support. This reaction shows us to be a self-governing people, he declared.

Discussion Favored

Mayor La Guardia said full discussion by the public of details of the proposed world organization should be encouraged so that the people would be well informed. Friends of an international organization, he added, should realize that the San Francisco Conference would be an international gathering and that they should work through chosen representatives of the country rather than to try the technique of pressure groups often used to obtain legislation. The American people must be ready to share the relative abundance and prosperity here with the nations that have been impoverished by the war, the Mayor said. He asserted that any world organization set up at San Francisco would mean little if there were no provision for food and shelter for all peoples.

The Mayor contended that if the United States were to ask other countries to help take care of refugees, it must be ready to take some, too, regardless of immigration laws, and that if the country were to ask other countries to buy surpluses and manufacture goods, it must be ready to buy from them and facilitate trade by lowering tariffs.

Clark M. Eichelberger, director of the American Association for the United Nations, said the job ahead had three phases: Formation of a world organization at the San Francisco Conference, approval of it by the United States Senate and an "educational program" for the following ten years.

Mrs. Doris W. Leroy spoke for the Americans United for World Organization, urging town meetings to discuss world accord. Harold Buttenheim was chairman.

INDO-CHINA ASSURED OF LOCAL AUTONOMY

PARIS, March 25 (U.P.)—The Minister of Colonies, André Giacobbi, announced today that Indo-China after the war would become the first dominion in the French union of Commonwealth of Nations.

Under a new statute approved Friday by the Cabinet, Indo-China will constitute—together with France and other parts of the French Empire—a "French Union" on federal lines with local autonomy, he said. Foreign policy will be controlled by France, he explained.

"Indo-China will enjoy within this union its own liberty," M. Giacobbi said. "Nationals of the Indo-Chinese Federation will be Indo-Chinese citizens and simultaneously citizens of the French Union."

Under the new system there will be no racial, religious or national discrimination. Citizens will have access to all positions and federal jobs in Indo-China and within the union, he said.

He said conditions of the plan would be laid down by the Constituent Assembly elected after the war.

According to the declaration, Indo-China will have a federal government headed by a Governor-General and composed of Ministers elected by Indo-Chinese and French residents.

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JANUARY 16, 1945.

Letter

Matter for the Agenda

Status of Mandated Territories Requires Consideration

The writers of the following letter are, in the order in which their names appear, the Democratic candidate for President in 1924, consultant on international organization to the State Department, chairman of the WPB Appeals Board, executive secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, former Under-Secretary of State, and Professor of International Law, University of Chicago.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In his speech at the dinner of the Foreign Policy Association at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Jan. 19, Colonel Stanley, British Colonial Secretary, referred to the mandates system in the past tense as representing the "old theory of trusteeship." It might be inferred from his address that he favored the abolition of this system. We believe that this is the first public intimation of such a policy on the part of any of the mandatory powers, and as it was made here in New York, we hope it will not be considered inappropriate for us to point out here the significance of any such development.

The mandates system, it will be recalled, was set up at the end of the last war for the government of those fourteen dependent territories, including Palestine, Tanganyika and many islands in the Pacific, which were taken away from Turkey and Germany. It embodied the principle of international responsibility for the government of dependent peoples and was one of the forward steps in the Covenant of the League of Nations of which the American people wholeheartedly approved. Although it rejected membership in the League, the United States continued its interest in and partial responsibility for the future of these mandated territories because of its role in the winning of the war which took them from their former owners.

Statement of Policy Sought

It seems pertinent and proper to ask whether we have correctly understood the policy of Colonel Stanley and whether he is now perhaps in favor of the annexation of the mandated territories by the powers administering them. We also believe it pertinent to ask what is the policy of our own Government and the Governments of other powers on this point. We might add that, in our opinion, the Pacific islands formerly mandated to Japan should not be annexed by the United States but should be governed by this country as trustee for the United Nations. Suitable strategic arrangements should, of course, be assured.

Colonel Stanley quite properly outlined the truly remarkable achievements of the British Government in the development of its colonies and proposed for the future a system of international regional advisory commissions like the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. We support this proposal and hope that such commissions will do much to raise standards of agriculture, public health, education, etc., in the various regions concerned.

This system Colonel Stanley calls "partnership." To us, it supplements rather than supplants the "trusteeship" system of the mandates which the British Government in the past has loyally supported and which, in the opinion of many experts, might well be extended to other dependent territories.

Trusteeship Worked

"Trusteeship" represented the first and a reasonably successful attempt to put into practice the principle that "the well-being and development of such [dependent] peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." Under the mandates system, national and international machinery was set up to carry out this trust. International colonial experts, for instance, reviewed and criticized the conditions which brought on the rebellion against the French in Syria in 1925, raised serious questions as to Japanese fortifications in the Pacific islands as far back as 1932, and dealt with many hundreds of other matters involving native welfare and the open door for all nations in the development of these territories.

The abandonment of the gains which were inherent in this system might imply a step toward the division of the world into several great power zones of exclusive domination. It would weaken the system of international responsibility for dependent peoples which was actually practiced between the wars. The continuance and development of this principle and its extension to other dependent territories, especially those to be taken from the enemies at the end of this war, would imply just that much more confidence on the part of the United Nations in the success of their new venture.

Consent Suggested

It would seem desirable politically (if not necessary legally) that any fundamental change in the status of the mandated territories, including the Pacific islands formerly under mandate to Japan, should be made only with the consent of that "civilization" in whose trust they were placed. This would require the consent of the League of Nations (and the United States), or of the new United Nations, and not merely a decision by a small coterie of great powers, most of whom might be directly interested in the result.

Nothing on this subject was contained in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and presumably this situation has been given further consideration since that meeting, perhaps at the time of the Crimean Conference. It is to be hoped that this important matter will be

placed on the agenda of the San Francisco Conference and that the peoples of the world will be given an opportunity to express their views before any binding decisions are made.

JOHN W. DAVIS,
HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST,
ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE,
EMORY ROSS,
JAMES T. SHOTWELL,
SUMNER WELLES,
QUINCY WRIGHT.

New York, Feb. 14, 1945.

Fund Viewed as Need

Bretton Woods Plan for Stabilizing Exchange Rates

DC-1 - Unsub - General -

In The Nation

Difficulties Met in Contriving "Trusteeship" Plan

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 2—If there were no other reason, an existing sharp division of opinion within the United States Government over the "trusteeship" formula would justify the forthcoming conferences in Washington (prior to San Francisco) among the Big Three and certain other nations that held colonies and mandates before the war. Numerous discussions between representatives of the State, War and Navy Departments have failed to produce unified American acceptance of the formula drafted by the first-named, and also it is highly improbable any agreed American plan, if achieved before San Francisco, would be wholly satisfactory to the other Allied nations chiefly interested.

Yet a trusteeship plan for captured enemy territory, for former mandates and for certain colonial areas of the victorious peoples is on the agenda for the San Francisco Conference and must somehow be dealt with. To drop it from that docket, either before or after the conference assemblies, as some high American officials have proposed, would, in the opinion of others, be a calamitous action. It would seem to rob the future of a hope supported in the Atlantic Charter and other state documents. It would further reduce the already limited area of the conference. And it would breed suspicion among small nations that the great ones intend to expand the status quo ante 1939 for their special benefit.

Also, in this opinion, cancellation of the subject would arouse highly articulate and influential groups in the United States and Great Britain and cast another shadow over the conference. This official group is as much opposed to dropping consideration of the trusteeship plan from the agenda of San Francisco as to postponing the date of the conference itself because of divisions of opinion among the large powers on other issues and internal differences on those issues within the Governments of these powers.

Pasvolsky the Author

The State Department's trusteeship plan, proposed for adoption by the United States delegation and the San Francisco Conference, is credited to Leo T. Pasvolsky, special assistant to the Secretary—an official whose range of power and influence is far greater than this modest title suggests. Under its terms a special committee of the Assembly would provide international administrative machinery for conquered enemy territory that will not be, or has not been, given to members of the United Nations, for areas that were mandated to enemy and other nations, and for colonial possessions which may be ceded to the international trusteeship by the victorious powers. The Atlantic Charter contains a pledge that its signatories will "aggrandize" no territory as a result of the war, and will aid peoples "forcibly deprived" of self-government to, re-attain it. The State Department plan is an attempt to carry out this promise.

International trusteeship would, for example, be assigned to the United States for some Pacific islands on which Japan misused its mandate and turned into military bases from which to wage war against this country. The United States would have full rights to establish bases and administer the civil affairs of the population. But it would be responsible to the Assembly committee, and be required to give full access to members of the new security league and to assist the inhabitants to independence.

Since these are islands which have and will be taken from Japan by the American armed forces, are of vast strategic importance to the future defense of the nation and have, in sum, a small population largely incapable of self-government, the War and Navy Departments do not like the plan at all. They would have such areas exempted from the trusteeship as "strategic." But this, in the opinion of advocates of the Pasvolsky plan, would lead to reservations of other territory by other nations until the non-aggrandizement plan of the Atlantic Charter would become a mockery and small nations would accuse the large of dividing the spoils of war as usual.

The Anxious Victors

Several of the pre-war mandates have been supplanted by independence in the Near East—of Iraq, Syria and

Mandate System Disapproved

Suggestion That We Be "Trustee" for Japanese Islands Held Faulty

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

A letter published recently in THE TIMES suggesting that the United States take over the Japanese islands as trustee, though commanding great respect because of the names signed to it—John W. Davis and Sumner Welles among others—leads us backward instead of forward. We had experience with mandates after the last war. All mandated areas became in fact the property of the nation in control. Japan, too, was supposed to be a trustee of former German islands in the Pacific.

No nation is good enough to exercise a mandate over a long period. Large expenditures and long control give a sense of ownership, and there is argument for air and naval bases, for security, real or fancied. Do we believe in international control or don't we? If we are given the Japanese islands, other nations will want back their old mandated territories and some new ones.

Should not the United Nations organization control the mandated Japanese islands, as trustee for the world, and without forgetting those who live there? Should not the world organization supervise not only the original mandates, such as Syria and the Pacific islands, but Ethiopia and Indo-China, and other areas not immediately able to govern themselves? Great Britain might welcome the opportunity to transfer one of her largest headaches, responsibility for Palestine, to the successor of the League of Nations. Such vital German industrial territory as the Ruhr, which common safety requires to be trusted, should clearly, in the interest of the future security of France, be under international control and should serve both France and Germany without restrictive tariffs or trade barriers on either border.

Calling the United States a trustee for the Japanese islands is but a mandate under a sweeter name. We believe that we can be trusted to act as trustee, and our record in the Philippines is in our favor, but would the

world at large regard our control of these islands as anything but a return to the old order and a division of spoils? Would not the other large nations have equally good claim to be trustee for this or that backward area?

If we believe in international cooperation and a community of nations should we not create institutions which will carry out that ideal and make it possible for a livable world to endure?

LOUIS H. PINK.

New York, March 15, 1945.

URGES 'BIG 5' MEET TO FIX MANDATES

United States Proposes Sessions Be Called 2 Weeks Before Parley Opens on Coast

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, April 1—The United States has suggested a "Big Five" meeting before the San Francisco United Nations Conference, to work out an agreement on mandates.

The meeting, it was learned today, has been proposed for Washington about two weeks before the delegates sit down at San Francisco April 25 to set up the international organization planned at Dumbarton Oaks.

The United States, Britain, Russia, France and China would take part.

The United States advocates an international trusteeship system under which countries holding mandates over territories would be required to permit the development of self government leading toward independence.

Opposition on Mandates

But in sponsoring that idea the United States may find itself opposed by Britain and France, which have taken the position that mandates should be brought closer into their imperial systems.

Although the Russians have said little on the subject, it is believed they would tend to side with the Americans. The Chinese position is yet unknown though they also are likely to back the United States.

The United States plan, ready for presentation if the meeting is called, asks for establishment of a trusteeship council under the general assembly of the proposed world organization.

The right and obligation of the international organization to visit "trusteeship" territories and report on them, would be laid down. Under the League reports were made to Geneva, but League inspectors were not allowed to visit and see for themselves.

Aviation Problem in Plan

The principles of non-discrimination in trade, aviation and communications are included in the American plan.

International use of military bases would come under the same arrangements as those on national territory—such as on United States or British possessions. This presumably would affect the British proposal to take over as a naval and military base the Japanese island of Truk.

The United States intends to push aside the direct question of who will exercise power over former Italian and Japanese colonies and mandates.

London Waits on Washington

LONDON, Monday, April 2 (AP)

—There was no official comment in London today on a report from Washington that the United States had suggested a meeting of the Big Five Powers to discuss mandates prior to the San Francisco security conference.

Diplomatic sources indicated that there would be no official reaction unless an announcement were made formally in Washington.

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International trusteeship would, for example, be assigned to the United States for some Pacific islands on which Japan misused its mandate and turned into military bases from which to wage war against this country. The United States would have full rights to establish bases and administer the civil affairs of the population. But it would be responsible to the Assembly committee, and be required to give full access to members of the new security league and to assist the inhabitants to independence.

Since these are islands which have and will be taken from Japan by the American armed forces, are of vast strategic importance to the future defense of the nation and have, in sum, a small population largely incapable of self-government, the War and Navy Departments do not like the plan at all. They would have such areas exempted from the trusteeship as "strategic." But this, in the opinion of advocates of the Pasvolsky plan, would lead to reservations of other territory by other nations until the non-aggrandizement plan of the Atlantic Charter would become a mockery and small nations would accuse the large of dividing the spoils of war as usual.

The Anxious Victors

Several of the pre-war mandates have been supplanted by independence in the Near East—of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, for instance, where Great Britain and France were formerly the League's governing agents. Iran, of vital interest and concern to Soviet Russia, is also a member of the United Nations, so that, unless international trusteeships—as a more agreeable name for mandates—are elsewhere provided, these members of the victorious Allies fear to find themselves poorer after victory than before. If the United States should reserve the Pacific mandates from the plan, and the plan should also stimulate the native peoples of Hong Kong, Indo-China, India and Africa to apply to the Assembly machinery for immediate transfer from their colonial status, this fear would begin to grow into a certainty.

For all these reasons the Pasvolsky formula is having hard sledding both at home and abroad. And as of today no Government, including that of the United States, is ready to accept it as the Assembly blueprint for an international trusteeship plan. Nevertheless, the prevailing feeling here is that the subject should remain on the San Francisco agenda, even though the most that is done with it there is to appoint a "study" committee without implied acceptance of any of its details or principles, this committee to report "later."

But, for the same reasons, it is evident that a meeting in Washington prior to San Francisco, by representatives of the nations chiefly concerned, has become both the course of wisdom and a necessity.

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world at large regard our control of these islands as anything but a return to the old order and a division of spoils? Would not the other large nations have equally good claim to be trustee for this or that backward area?

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DC-1 - unció - General

LABOR TO SEEK ROLE IN CALIFORNIA PARLEY

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 1—A committee representing the World Trade Union Congress, which recently met in London, will be present in San Francisco during the United Nations meeting, Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, announced tonight.

"I don't know yet what our part will be," he said. "But what we want at San Francisco is an advisory capacity."

Mr. Hillman met with British, Russian, French and Chinese labor organizations this morning for first discussions of a draft of the constitution of a new international labor organization that is to be drawn up by the administrative committee sitting in Paris. The representatives to be sent to San Francisco also were discussed.

At a meeting of the press at the American Embassy this evening Mr. Hillman explained that, like the CIO's Political Action Committee in the United States, the World Trade Union Congress representatives would not confine themselves to a narrow labor program on the international scene at San Francisco.

"Labor wants to see that this is the last war, and labor has the organization needed to do something about it," he said.

Mr. Hillman said that no action had been taken on proposals to set up a Franco-American Labor Committee during his visit because the international machinery set up by the World Trade Union Congress was sufficient.

CHARGE

Today and Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

Pandora's Box

COLONIAL QUESTIONS were discussed at Yalta, exchanges of views are now under way, and the San Francisco Conference will have to take decisions about them. They are complex and explosive questions, and in our own approach to them we must make very sure that we really know what we mean, and that we mean what we say. For this we can do no better than to ask ourselves what are our own American ideals and policies in regard to territories and peoples which are not self-governing.

We are ourselves a colonial power, and it is as a colonial power that we have to approach this problem with our Allies in the United Nations. Moreover, we cannot afford to take the view that our treatment of the Philippine Islands is a model, which exhibits all our ideals and principles about colonial territories. We have no intention, for example, of dealing with Alaska as we have dealt with the Philippines, nor with the Hawaiian Islands as we shall wish to deal with either Alaska or the Philippines, or with the Panama Canal Zone or with Puerto Rico or with the Virgin Islands. Merely to name the territories which are under the American flag and are not now self-governing is to realize at once that there is no general formula which we, or anyone else, can agree to.

IN EXAMINING COLONIAL questions with other nations we shall understand them better, and they will understand us better, if we do not make the assumption, now current, that the only right solution is to do what we are doing in the Philippines: that is, to prepare the colonial people for self-government, grant them independence, set them up as a new sovereign state, and then clear out. Alaska reminds us that there is another solution which, when it is feasible, is moral, as desirable, perhaps more so. It is the solution which the Continental Congress formulated for the territory north of the Ohio, and which—adopted into the Constitution—determined the future of the whole continental territory west of the boundaries of the original Thirteen States. This is to admit new states into the Union on a basis of full equality.

Independence, as in the case of the Philippines, is one solution. Eventual admission into the Union, as in the case of Alaska, is another. Who is prepared to say whether either of these solutions is the ideally right one for Puerto Rico? And no one will be prepared to say that either solution is the right one for the Canal Zone.

OUR OWN colonial empire, though a small one, is, therefore, exceedingly complex. Yet it is fairly simple as compared with a great structure like the British Commonwealth and Empire, or that of the French empire.

We have to bear this in mind when we go to San Francisco intending, if that is our intention, to propose a declaration of ideals on the government of dependent peoples. For any declaration we sponsor must fit our own ideals and practice in the Philippines, in Alaska, in Puerto Rico, in the Canal Zone, in Guam, and in the Virgin Islands. I doubt whether the mind of man is capable of composing a declaration which covers all these specific colonial territories.

Does this mean that the world organization should not be concerned with colonial problems? Not at all. But it does mean, I believe, that we should be very chary indeed of proposing great generalizations which cannot be applied to all the particular cases, that we should not introduce into the Dumbarton Oaks Charter legislation on colonial affairs, but should regard it strictly as a constitution which grants to the United Nations limited power to create organs of consultation.

The colonial policy of the United States, which governed the settlement of the whole continent, is stated in Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution. It is 10 lines long, and its language is austere and dry. Let us use its style, rather than the grandiose ambiguities of the Atlantic Charter, for our model.

THERE ARE TWO compelling reasons, it seems to me, for thinking that the San Francisco Conference should not try to settle and solve, or give the world the impression it would like to settle and solve, the colonial questions of this earth. The first is that while all enlightened men must insist on the moral principle that a power which governs dependent people is accountable to the conscience of mankind, that is quite a different thing from saying that it would be feasible or wise to make it legally accountable to the membership of the United Nations. It just is not in the cards to make the Governor of Alaska, the Governor General of Bermuda, or the Governor of Tunis legally answerable to an assembly in which Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Liberia, Ethiopia, Dominica, Haiti, sit as sovereign judges. It would be a mistake to try.

A second reason why San Francisco should not legislate is that before there can be a proper settlement even of colonial territory lost by Germany in the last war, by Japan and Italy in this war, it will be necessary to negotiate security pacts in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Pacific. What should be done with Pantelleria, for example, cannot be determined intelligently until Britain, France, and the United States know where they stand with respect to one another on all sea and air bases in the Atlantic Ocean. What should be done with the islands in the Pacific cannot be determined until there is among all the powers concerned a specific security agreement for the Pacific.

These security agreements will have to be coordinated with the United Nations organization as a whole. But they cannot be made by it.

San Francisco

By Sumner Welles

Problem Of Dependent Peoples

DURING THE EARLY years after the close of the first World War there was a widespread outburst of Oriental nationalism.

Those years marked an Egyptian revolt, a bitterly contested rising of the Syrian people, the elimination by the Persians of all vestiges of foreign domination, the first of the Iraqi rebellions, the attack by Afghanistan upon British forces in India, extensive nationalist agitation in India and Burma, as well as in the Netherlands East Indies, and long-continued hostilities between the new Turkey and the Allied nations.

Immediately after the end of this second World War a far more powerful surge toward freedom among the peoples of the East will be inevitable. Compared to the forces which it will unleash, the outbreak of the 1920's will be trivial.

The symptoms are unmistakable.

During the period between the wars nationalist leaders in most of the colonial areas have steadily gained popular support. There has been a constantly growing demand for self-government. The clamor for liberty has taken on the tinge of a religious fanaticism. Many of the dependent peoples are fully aware that they are strongly supported by public opinion in the Western democracies.

The grant of immediate independence to the Philippine people has established the needed and welcome precedent.

RECOGNITION of China as one of the major powers has lent impetus to the movement to abolish Western imperialism. The Chinese government is strongly supporting this trend.

The prestige of the Western powers during the second World War has suffered a blow in the Far East which will make it wholly impossible for the Oriental peoples ever again to regard themselves as "subservient races." However much the peoples of Burma and Malaya, of the Netherlands East Indies and of the Philippines may have suffered at the hands of the Japanese invaders, they will not forget Japan's initial successes, nor the story of the fall of Rangoon, of Singapore and of Hongkong.

To the leaders of the nationalist movements the period immediately after the close of the present war will present the opportunity they have sought to press their demands for liberty.

In the Near East the republics of Syria and of the Lebanon will not acquiesce in any continuation of an exclusive French influence. Egypt has already announced her intention to secure the abolition of all semblance of British control. The creation of a Pan-Arab federation, even though initially favored by Great Britain, is bound to result in joint resistance by the Arab states to any attempt on the part of the European powers to continue their present hegemony.

India has long been seething. With the liberation of Burma, of the Malay Peninsula, and of the Netherlands East Indies, the demand for autonomy or inde-

pendence among those hundreds of millions of peoples will be overpowering.

TO THE ORIENTAL mind, the Atlantic Charter unequivocally promises an end to imperialism. They have seen the major powers at Yalta jointly pledge to the peoples of the liberated countries of Europe the untrammelled right to choose their own governments. They can see no reason why the peoples of the Orient who are fitted for self-government should not at once be accorded the same right. They are unable to comprehend how the terms of the Atlantic Charter, which are clearly universal in their scope, can logically be interpreted as applying only to the West and not to the East.

Some of the colonial powers, notably the Netherlands, have already announced the constructive steps which they will take to prepare for the whirlwind which is looming.

The French provisional government, however, seems not as yet to realize that if a peaceful world is to be achieved the old colonial order of exploitation and of repression must be discarded.

If the United Nations Conference at San Francisco fails to deal with this great problem in the same spirit in which this war for freedom has been waged, Gandhi's prophecy that unless the peoples of the East obtain their fundamental liberties, another and a bloodier war will be inevitable, will bid fair to be realized.

Any hope that peace can be maintained in the postwar period in the Near East and in the Far East will be illusory unless the United Nations find a solution which will give the Oriental peoples the firm assurance that they can obtain their freedom as soon as they are ready to enjoy it.

THE PEOPLES of the Orient are not going to be satisfied this time with unimplemented promises. Nor will some of them submit for more than a very brief time longer to any form of alien control.

There is only one practical method by which the international organization can safeguard the world against a general and violent upheaval in the East.

That method involves the creation within the international organization of an international trusteeship to which every colonial power will be directly responsible, and which must assert final authority over all dependent peoples. At the conclusion of the war all presently dependent nations recognized by the international organization as being fitted for self-government should be immediately intrusted with that right. Where alien governments control dependent peoples who are not yet ready for the enjoyment of autonomy, those colonial powers should demonstrate to the international trusteeship that they are administering such regions for the benefit of the native inhabitants, and that they are preparing their wards for autonomy or independence.

The international organization should for all future time establish these principles: That all peoples, like all individuals, possess the inherent right to freedom under law, and that until such freedom can be enjoyed, the powers administering dependent peoples shall be held responsible by the public opinion of the world, through the international organization, for the manner in which they discharge their obligations as trustees.

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WBL 1957 2-17-45

Protection Of U. S. Rights In Bases Urged

By the Associated Press

A bipartisan senatorial group challenged the State Department yesterday to evolve a national policy for advancing foreign trade and protecting overseas investments in air bases and radio stations.

Asserting that this country has stood too long "in the shadow of the British," Senator Chandler (D., Ky.), endorsed the suggestion of Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.), that "it's up to the State Department to take over."

Agreeing with their view, Senator Brewster (R., Me.), told reporters the State Department "should come to Congress for any statutory authority it needs."

Follows Inquiry Report

The interviews came on the heels of a War Investigating Committee report by Senators Tunnell (D., Del.) and Burton (R., Ohio). They reported the United States virtually has no postwar rights in radio stations and air bases it has constructed all over the globe.

"Your committee believes that never again will the United States have an opportunity to share in world trade such as is offered to us by circumstances prevailing in the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern areas," said the Senators, just back from hearings in those regions.

Has No Real Titles

They pointed out that the United States has airports and radio stations in which it has no real titles, and added:

"Our commerce may be limited by lack of commercial treaties, by an entire absence of the right to trade with many of the nations of the world.

"Our airlines do not have any commercial rights in most of the Mediterranean area."

Chandler said that it is up to the State Department to lead the way to the resumption of commercial efforts and proper negotiations for continuation of the use of American-financed facilities in the area.

ARAB COMPROMISE ON JEWS REPORTED

Christians Would Hold Balance
of Power Under Plan for Equal
Palestine Populations

By JULIAN LOUIS MELTZER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JERUSALEM, March 10 — The Foreign Ministers of Arab States, who drafted the constitution of the proposed Arab league at their recent Cairo conference, are understood to have decided to recommend a compromise solution on Palestine for acceptance by the Palestinian Arabs, according to a well-informed Arab source here.

The compromise is said to include the principle of equal political and civil rights for Jews and Moslems, leaving to Christian Arab residents of Palestine the power of veto. The Arab Foreign Ministers would be prepared under this plan to obtain agreement from Palestine Moslems to early Jewish immigration of 200,000 to 300,00 persons. This, they feel, would provide some relief for Jewish refugees.

Under such a plan, Moslem leaders argue, the 700,000 Jewish inhabitants would be increased to 1,000,000 within a short period, equal to the Moslem population. There are about 150,000 Christian Arabs, who would thus hold the balance of power.

A local Arab political observer said the Arab reaction might at first be acrimonious, especially among younger elements who hold violent nationalistic views, but that the general feeling ultimately would be to accept the plan.

Britain then, he said, would turn over its Palestine mandate to a permanent United Nations authority that would emerge from the San Francisco talks.

The main Zionist complaint against the compromise plan is that it is designed solely to meet the Palestine problem without remedying the world Jewish situation. While some Zionists believe that surviving Jewish communities in Europe will improve after the war and the urgency of Jewish migration problems will be removed, Zionist leaders like David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency executive here, assert that the need for Jewish migration will persist.

While accepting the principle of political parity with the Arabs, the Zionists insist that Jewish immigration into Palestine must be unconditional and unlimited. They declare the Jews need Palestine as a rehabilitation center and as an area in which to regain political statehood.

TAFT SEEKS ACTION ON JEWISH STATE

Senator Stresses Vital Need
for the Immediate Political
Recognition of Palestine

SILVER HONORED AT DINNER

New York Zionists Pay Tribute
to Leadership of Cleveland
Rabbi at Testimonial

The vital need for immediate political recognition of a Jewish national home and a Jewish State in Palestine by the great powers was stressed by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Zionist leader, at a testimonial dinner for the latter last night at the Hotel Commodore, which was attended by 1,200 persons.

"Unless the principle is adopted now by the great powers and incorporated in the peace settlement, there will be no Jewish national home and no Jewish commonwealth," Senator Taft said.

"We cannot long support the Arab position and the Jewish position at the same time. This Government must take a definite position now, and urge now upon the British Government the performance of its obligations; or its position on the question will become of no importance."

No Consistent Policy Charged

Senator Taft declared that President Roosevelt and the administration have no consistent policy on the Palestine question, saying one thing and doing another. The resolution, sponsored by himself and Senator Robert F. Wagner, which proposed that the American Government use its good offices to obtain free entry of Jews into Palestine and the eventual establishment of a Jewish commonwealth there, was defeated in committee last December because of the opposition of Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. "apparently under the President's direction," he declared. The Senator said he was prepared to reintroduce the resolution at any time Jewish leaders "think it advisable."

He said he questioned whether the President had told King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, on seeing him after the Yalta conference, "that he and the United States favored the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine," as he told Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, "last week."

"I cannot over-emphasize the vital nature of the present moment

and the necessity of the United States Government taking an unequivocal position with the British and the Arabs," he said.

He suggested as reasons for the Government's present policy fear of arousing Arab opposition, desire to obtain Arab oil, and fear of antagonizing the British Government.

The dinner for Dr. Silver, a resident of Cleveland, was initiated by New York Zionists as a tribute to his leadership among American Jews for many years. He was national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal for seven years and was co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Last December he resigned the latter post when opposition developed to his demands for action on the Taft-Wagner resolution in Congress. Dr. Silver is still a member of the council.

In his address, Dr. Silver not only emphasized the importance of a political decision now in favor of a Jewish state, even though it might take several years to set it up, but he also warned against the danger of deferring aggressive demands for it to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews. He said that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill are known friends of a Zionist state, but said they are now subject to pressure from other interested groups and sharply questioned the conferences both held with King Ibn Saud after Yalta.

Problem One for World

"It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States upon the future of the Jewish national home," he said. "The Jewish problem is a world problem, not an Arabian problem. Its solution must come at the hands of the great democracies, who have assumed the grave responsibility for rebuilding our world upon new and lasting foundations of justice in which all people will share."

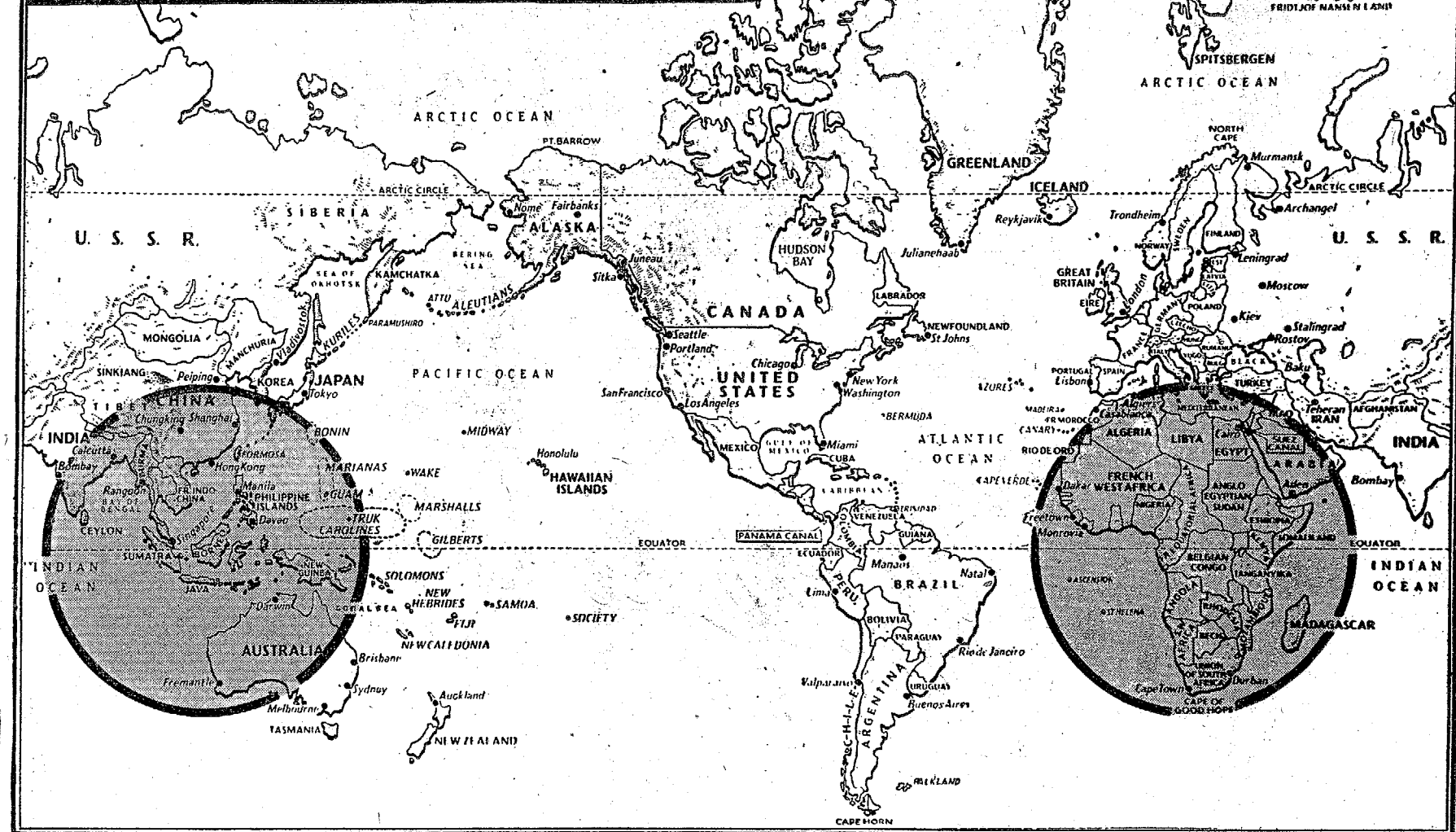
He deplored the fact the Jewish people will not be represented at the San Francisco conference of the United Nations, although Iraq and Saudi Arabia will be there.

Some similarity in objective was noted between Dr. Silver's proposal for political recognition now of a Jewish State and the proposals placed before President Roosevelt on Tuesday by ex-Justice Joseph M. Proskauer and Jacob Blaustein, representing the American Jewish Committee. Their proposals, for submission to the San Francisco conference, call for three international commissions, one to frame a world decision of human rights, one to deal with migrations and one with the problem of statelessness of Jews in many countries in Europe and people of various countries who will have no national status.

Other speakers included Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, Rabbi Wolf Gold, leader of the World Mizrahi organization, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary and David Pinski. A message from Gov. Frank J. Lausche of Ohio was read. Dr. Emanuel Neumann was chairman.

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Postwar Hot Spots



CIRCLES SHOW PRINCIPAL COLONIAL AREAS WHICH WOULD FEEL IMPACT OF PROPOSED CONTROL—AND WHERE SUBJECT PEOPLES MIGHT JEOPARDIZE PEACE WITHOUT IT
 . . . United Nations delegates to present no formula for specific territories like India, but acceptance of international trusteeship principle eventually will affect all

International Trusteeships To Be Asked At San Francisco WPC Post 3-18-45

Problem of Dependencies 'Potential Dynamite'

By Ben W. Gilbert

PACKED with potential dynamite is the "Big Three" decision to ask the San Francisco conference of the United Nations to set up international trusteeships for dependent territories.

A gingerly approach has been adopted to preliminary discussions because of the possible impact such a system would have on the responsibility for the government of any dependent areas wrested from the enemy or former enemies.

As one of the allied and associated nations in World War I, we retained part title to the League of Nations mandates created at the end of the last war, even though we neither joined the league—or administered any mandates.

This little-known claim of the United States would be useful in

HERE'S the League of Nations mandate story since World War I:

Class A—taken from Turkey, developed enough to be close to independence: Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq, to the British. Syria and Lebanon, to the French.

Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon have independence.

Class B—former German At-

there is no foundation for our empire. Without the empire, there is no safeguard for our freedom. We mean freedom for all states and nations within the circle of the crown. We have no use here for totalitarian economies and governments in their various forms."

The British desire to maintain their empire is echoed by the Dutch, who have announced they plan to set up a Dutch Common-



OLONIAL AREAS WHICH WOULD FEEL IMPACT OF PROPOSED CONTROL—AND WHERE SUBJECT PEOPLES MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THEIR FREEDOM. United Nations delegates to present no formula for specific territories like India, but acceptance of international trusteeships by a majority.

International Trusteeships To Be Asked At San Francisco

WAC Post 3-18-45

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PACKED with potential dynamite is the "Big Three" decision to ask the San Francisco conference of the United Nations to set up international trusteeships for dependent territories.

A gingerly approach has been adopted to preliminary discussions because of the possible impact such a system would have on the great colonial empires held by some of the United Nations.

Although American views that subject peoples should be allowed independence as soon as they can learn to govern themselves are well-known, it may be revealed on good authority that none of the United Nations will be asked to surrender to international control any colonial territory to which they have clear and exclusive title.

No Specific Formulas

In other words, no formula is being developed for presentation at San Francisco specifically directed at solving the problem of India, of French Indo-China, of the Dutch East Indies or of other colonial areas which aspire to govern themselves.

However, there is no question that international acceptance of the trusteeship principle for some areas will have its long-term effect upon United Nations colonies. Colonial powers who recognize this are starting some of their colonies on the road to self-government, but others are still holding tight to what they have.

The United States has a great stake in these discussions.

As a nation which threw off colonial status, Americans have great sympathy for the aspirations of subject peoples to govern themselves. We recognize that suppression of these aspirations will continue to threaten the peace.

As a partner in the United Nations war effort, we will share re-

sponsibility for the government of any dependent areas wrested from the enemy or former enemies.

As one of the allied and associated nations in World War I, we retained part title to the League of Nations mandates created at the end of the last war, even though we neither joined the league—or administered any mandates.

This little-known claim of the United States would be useful in deciding the fate of existing mandates when the league is formally liquidated. It is shared with Great Britain, France, Belgium, the British dominions and with Italy and Japan. Italy and Japan, however, would be expected to surrender such right at the peace table.

May Query Motives

Another element of American responsibility grows out of the fact that the United States also is a great colonial power. In this connection, it may be said, that the United States has no intention of placing Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands under international trusteeship, although it is evident that eventually these islands will achieve greater self-government than they now enjoy.

It should be emphasized, however, that San Francisco will deal only with the setting up of machinery for trusteeships. Who will be trustee for what will be decided at another time—probably at the peace conference.

Some of the smaller nations at the Golden Gate conference may be expected to look quizzically at the trusteeship proposal to see that it does not mark possible great power plans to annex some of the dependencies. After the last war, Japan treated the mandates she received as colonies from which other nations were excluded and other nations retained considerable degree of control over their international mandates.

The League mandates were set up after the last war to govern territories taken from Germany and Turkey. Great Britain, France, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Japan received mandates. Italy did not.

Since the approach to peace at the end of the last war was based on the hope that the nations of the world would disarm eventually, strict rules—which Japan flagrantly ignored—were adopted against militarization of the mandates.

Problems Varied

Since we are thinking this time in terms of use of international power to enforce peace, it is clear provision will be made for establishment of military bases on trusteeships for use in combating aggression. Some of the trusteeships will be administered by more than one power—particularly where granting of a trusteeship to a single power might be regarded as prejudicial to the interests of another. Thus, more than one nation, for its own security, might desire bases.

The international commission form of trusteeship also may be used to govern a nation well on the way to self government for an interim period.

In working out the rules for handling trusteeships, consideration will be given to problems arising in these types of areas:

1. League of Nations mandates to be taken away from Japan. These include the Marshalls, Carolines and Marianas Islands which

HERE'S the League of Nations mandate story since World War I:

Class A—taken from Turkey, developed enough to be close to independence: Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq, to the British. Syria and Lebanon, to the French.

Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon have independence.

Class B—former German African colonies needing closer supervision, but with "open door" trade policy: the Cameroons, and Togoland, divided between British and French; Tanganyika, to the British; Ruana Urundi, to the Belgians.

Class C—other former German possessions administered as virtual colonies with no "open" trade policy: Southwest Africa, to the Union of South Africa; Western Samoa, New Zealand; Nauru, to the British, islands south of the equator, to Australia; islands north to Japan.

American forces have been occupying one by one.

2. League of Nations mandates

still held by members of the United Nations. Presumably, the only problem here is to make the technical transition from administration under the league to administration under the United Nations. Included here are British, French, Belgium and South African mandates in Africa, and British and Anzac mandates in the Pacific.

3. Dependent territories taken from Japan and Italy at the peace table which are not ripe for self-government. In this category may come Japanese islands and some Italian colonies in Africa.

4. Dependent territories taken from the enemy which will be ready for self-government before long. Korea and possibly portions of some Italian colonies may fall in this category—ripe for interim government by an international organization.

5. Colonial dependencies of some of the United Nations which may be turned over voluntarily to the international organization for trusteeship as a step toward self-government.

A sixth group of areas might be placed under international trusteeships some time in the future. Included here could be areas with problems that threaten peace. Conceivably the proposed organization might grow strong enough to place such areas under trusteeship until their problems can be straightened out.

If such scope is given to the trusteeship plan, smaller nations undoubtedly will insist that it be accompanied by elaborate safeguards to prevent its use to cover great power aggression.

Will Want Safeguard

The jealousy with which colonial empires regard their possessions was emphasized again this week when Prime Minister Winston Churchill asserted, "We have no need to seek advice, even of our most honored Allies, as to how we should conduct ourselves with regard to our own affairs."

But Churchill himself paid homage to demands that the British increase the liberty of their dependencies by stating, "Imperium et libertas—empire and liberty—is still our guide. Without freedom,

there is no foundation for our empire. Without the empire, there is no safeguard for our freedom. We mean freedom for all states and nations within the circle of the crown. We have no use here for totalitarian economies and governments in their various forms."

The British desire to maintain their empire is echoed by the Dutch, who have announced they plan to set up a Dutch Commonwealth of Nations, giving the equivalent of dominion status to the Dutch East Indies, Dutch Guiana (Surinam) and Curacao in the Caribbean. And the French and Belgians probably would put up a last ditch stand against any effort to weaken their hold on either French Indo-China or the Belgian Congo.

India Big Question

For India, greatest of the potential trouble spots, the British have held out the promise of dominion status but have made clear that Indians must first do something about the bitter strife dividing Moslem and Hindu. With respect to Ireland, Britain had to consent to granting virtual independence and it may be that it will eventually have to find the same solution for the Indian problem.

The war has raised similar problems in connection with the British Malay states, Burma and the British East Indies.

France last year granted independence to two of her mandates—Lebanon and Syria—but has kept a string of military control until the end of the war. Here, it is clear that France would like some special recognition of the part she played in acting as mandatory before cutting all ties. Britain previously gave Iraq her independence, but retained certain economic privileges.

In their defense, the British, French, Dutch and Belgians have the argument that they need these colonies to enable them to recoup their status as leaders of world trade and finance. Even the British are in a bad way financially as a result of the war and feel their colonies are vital to their survival.

American Answer Ready

A principal answer of Americans represents a challenge to the whole theory of imperialism. Administration economists are prepared to challenge the belief that a nation is better off with colonies. Only by permitting world trade to expand without restraint will the world prosper, it is argued. According to the American theory, artificial restrictions on commerce only breed war.

Another answer available to Americans grows out of our experience in the Philippines. In the Southwest Pacific, it was only in the Philippines that real resistance was put up by the natives against Jap invaders. Key to this phenomenon, according to informed Americans, is that our policy of providing for the gradual transition of the islands to independence paid off.

So complicated, however, is the trusteeship problem that officials are not sure they will be able to wind it up at San Francisco. However, since the United States hopes to wrap the whole world security organization setup into one bundle at San Francisco for presentation to the Senate in treaty form, it's a sure bet our representatives will be in there trying.

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CHANGE ADVOCATED IN PALESTINE RULE

Welles Proposes International Trusteeship to Replace the British Mandate

Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, called yesterday for the establishment by the coming international organization of an international trusteeship over Palestine to replace the present British mandate.

A peaceful world will not be achieved until the problem of Palestine is settled, he told 1,500 women of the New York Chapter of Hadassah, women's Zionist organization of America, at the annual donor luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria.

If the trusteeship is established, the number of Jewish emigrants permitted to enter Palestine should be limited solely by the capacity of the land profitably to take care of them, he asserted.

Referring to the relationship between Jews and Arabs as "highly intricate and controversial," he expressed the hope basic questions between them could be settled by direct negotiations, which, he said, should be undertaken with the assistance of the international organization. He urged the "great powers" to press for the success of such negotiations.

He said he would regard as a "wholly wise and wholly desirable" development the entrance of Palestine during this transition period into "some form of economic federation with her neighbors, such as Syria, the Lebanon and Transjordan."

Saying he would favor the establishment of a Pan-Arab League under an international organization to further "the legitimate political, cultural and economic interests of the people of the Arab states," he warned that "if such a league is founded in part as a means of exercising greater pressure against the realization of that kind of solution for the problem of Palestine which you and I both uphold, the functioning of such a league must inevitably result in further hostility in this already sadly distraught world."

The first act of the audience was to rise silently in tribute to the memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose photograph, draped in black, hung over the dais, next to that of the late Henrietta Szold, founder of the organization.

"A tower has fallen. A star has set," he declared. "Our hearts are heavy today because of the gallant leader we have lost. No man in our nation's history has done more for our country."

Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, national president, pleaded that Jews re-

ceive representation at the San Francisco conference, pointing out that some nations that declared war on Germany only when the Nazis were defeated would be represented there.

Mrs. Maxwell Goldman, president of the New York chapter, reported that the organization has raised \$325,000 for relief work in Palestine and that its goal in the Seventh War Loan would be \$1,000,000 to help sponsor a hospital ship in the name of Miss Szold.

No small power 'revolt' Bidault Says France Asks Few Changes

Georges Bidault, 46-year-old Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of France and leader of its resistance movement, gave oblique assurances yesterday that his country has no intention of heading a revolt of the small and middle powers against the Big Three.

Only a few hours after his arrival here by plane with Henri Bonnet and Joseph Paul-Bancour, M. Bidault held a formal press conference and announced that French amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals could be construed only as "modifications of minor points," leaving intact the basic concepts of the plan.

The modifications, he said through an interpreter, had been circulated to all the United Nations and spoke for themselves.

Obviously weary after his long journey and appalled by the number of press representatives gathered in his apartment at the Hotel St. Francis, M. Bidault skirted the subject of trusteeships thus leaving unanswered the problem of Saigon and French Indo-China.

He did say, however, that "what comments I have I shall reserve for the Conference itself."

The French delegation, he said, is glad to be in the "great city of San Francisco—a city free and proud and beautiful" where the work of world reconstruction will be undertaken.

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Mrs. Howard Brock of Kentfield in
charge, assisted by Mrs. Jerome
Powell, San Francisco chairman.
At the helm of the Music Chest
this year will be Mrs. Norman B.
Livermore of Ross, succeeding Mrs.
Berrien Anderson, who has held that
position since the resignation of Mrs.

'No Security In a World Of Want'

Francis M. Forde, deputy prime minister of Australia, minister for the Army and leader of the Australian delegation, told the San Francisco Rotary Club yesterday that the United Nations meeting here "will be judged upon what they perform and what they create, not upon what is said."

"No system of world security can be successful if it ignores either of the human fears of war or want."

The world simply cannot survive another war, Mr. Forde said. This statement was not merely academic.

Since he went through this city eastbound in the middle of March, Mr. Forde has been in France, Belgium, Holland and a section of Germany. He has seen as well as heard and read of life and death in the lines. For that reason, if for none other, Mr. Forde described the "failure" of the League of Nations as a "tragedy," but said the "effort, idealism and organization" which went into it would not be wasted because it would be used to make a success of San Francisco.

And of San Francisco:

"It is the fervent hope of the Australian Government and the Australian people that the peace-loving nations of the world will be able to evolve an international system which will make it progressively unnecessary to rely upon physical might to uphold the right."



S. F. Conference--- This Is the Day

Stettinius, Molotov, Soong Arrive for the Opening

By CHARLES RAUDEBAUGH

History comes to San Francisco today. The United Nations Conference on World Organization, summoned by the late President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Churchill and Russia's Premier Stalin, will convene at 4:30 p. m. in the War Memorial Opera House.

Every last inch of space will be occupied for the official admission list enumerates 850 delegates, 1500 members of the world press, and 1100 public spectators. The seating capacity of the Opera House is 200 less than the total number of credentials issued for the initial session.

The last trainloads and plane-loads of delegates from the 46 participating nations reached the city yesterday and last night to face the task of drawing up a constitution for an international organization which will seek to prevent war ever becoming worldwide again.

Important new points were added to the basis of discussion yesterday when Secretary of State Stettinius announced shortly after reaching San Francisco that Russia had agreed with England and America to sponsor three Chinese additions to the Dunbarton Oaks proposals.

The Chinese suggestions are:

1—That the future world organization be required specifically to try to settle international disputes "with due regard for principles of justice and international law."

2—That the General Assembly of the world organization should be instructed to develop an international law.

3—That the economic and social council of the world organization should promote "educational and other forms of cultural co-operation."

These were the expressed sentiments of the representatives of the Big Four nations sponsoring the Conference on the eve of the opening session.

UNITED STATES—"The United Nations are united in their determination to succeed. . . ." Mr. Stettinius.

GREAT BRITAIN—"The Dunbarton Oaks are practicable proposals and a good starting point for discussion. . . ." Deputy Prime Minister Clement Attlee.

CHINA—"I have great optimism."

Foreign Minister T. V. Soong.

RUSSIA—"Now we are all here. Now we can start to work."

Maj. Gen. Victor G. Grachev, who

Inside Items

WHAT does the fighting man expect of the peace? One veteran, appointed as a consultant to the U. S. delegation, has some challenging answers, quoted directly from the men in the foxholes. See this significant story on Page 6.

"WITHIN four weeks the political shape of the post-war world will be defined," writes Max Werner, military-political analyst. An article by Werner appears on Page 11.

A BILLION human beings are represented by delegates to San Francisco, is the provocative lead of famed correspondent Hal O'Flaherty's story on Page 8.

AND HERE'S a memo to the reader about "Memo to the Editor," a sprightly Conference shop-talk column which begins today on Page 11.

SOME of the most interesting faces in the world are portrayed on the full page of photos including an exclusive informal picture of important members of the Chinese delegation. Turn to Page 10.

arrived with Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov.

Virtually the last of the dignitaries to reach San Francisco were the Big Four foreign secretaries. Britain's Foreign Minister Anthony Eden did not arrive until early this morning.

Each came from Washington by special plane with members of his staff, and each immediately went into session with other members of his respective delegation here to smooth out the last-minute details of the Conference opening.

The Polish situation—which claimed the attention of Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Eden in a series of conferences in Washington up until late Monday—dropped into the background as attention was focused on the momentous United Nations meeting.

Said Mr. Stettinius, as he stepped off an Army C-54 transport plane

Continued on Page 16, Col. 1

had to maintain constant pressure on the city. The Germans finally were forced out, but heavy fighting was reported continuing north and east of the bastion.

The capture of 40,000 prisoners from two German armies which at the outset of the offensive consisted of some 25 divisions, represents a terrific weakening of German strength which may make a further stand by the enemy in Italy impossible.

Heavy bombers of the U. S. 15th Air Force added to the plight of the fleeing Germans by blasting their escape routes through the Brenner pass and Southwestern Austria. Bridges and highways throughout Northern Italy were attacked.

Casualty List Of Northern Californians

The Army-Navy casualty list for release today by the OWI includes the names of the following Northern California fighting men who have been killed, wounded or missing in action in various theatres of war or who are prisoners of war in Germany. In all these cases next of kin have been notified previously or have been kept informed of any status.

NAVY DEAD
SANDERS, PVT. EDWARD, Napa; USMC.
MURPHY, JAMES A., USMC.
115 Clayton
BAY AREA
PHELPS, ROBERT A., USMC.
Oakland.
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
BORGES, PFC. FORTUNA; USMC.
LASKOSKY, GEORGE
Galt.
SANDERS, PVT. EDWARD, Napa; USMC.
VALENZUELA, PFC. Napa; USMC.
MC; Stockton
WALKER, PFC. WILLIAM, USMC.
Bowman.
NAVY WOUNDED
BLANDMAN, SGT. ROBERT, Vallejo.
OVERLAND, PFC. RALPH A., Richmond.
FORETTE, PVT. ALDO, USMC.
land.
PRITCHARD, SGT. WALTER C., USMC.
Alameda.
ROBERTSON, PFC. FRED, USMC.
Oakland.
SCOTT, PVT. GEN C., USMC; Richmond.
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
MUCIO, CM 2/EUGENE C.; Fresno.
SALISBURY, SGT. THEODORE L., USMC; French Camp.
NAVY MISSING
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
NETZ, CM 1/C LOUIS G.; Nevada City.
ARMY DEAD, EUROPE
SAN FRANCISCO
MONROE, SGT. CLIFFORD D.; 962
Teresita Blvd.
BAY AREA
HAMILTON, PVT. ROBERT L. SR.;
Sachinac.
MUTILLIO, PFC. HENRY A.; Oakland.
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
BLACKMORE, 2d LT. ORVAL; Santa Cruz.
BRYAN, PFC. LOYD L.; Shafter.
JONES, PFC. SAMUEL I. JR.; Upland.
ARMY WOUNDED, EUROPE
SAN FRANCISCO
OSUNA, S/SGT. RAYMOND P.; 762
Guerrero st.
BAY AREA
FISCHER, PFC. PAUL A.; Albany.
HEATH, 1/5 ALAN B.; Oakland.
KRETSCHMER, PFC. RUDOLPH T.;
San Leandro.
ROSSI, PVT. TITIRO; Daly City.
STABLER, PFC. EDWIN R.; Oakland.
SWELL, PFC. GEORGE E. JR.; San
Mateo.
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
DERDERIAN, S/SGT. GEORGE; Fowler.
DUNCAN, PVT. ROBERT; Ukiah.

General
UNCLAS - 01000
7-30

Masaryk: The Small Should Not Be Noisy

Jan Masaryk, great son of a great father and Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister, arrived in San Francisco by United Air Liner yesterday and announced that "little people should be seen and not heard."

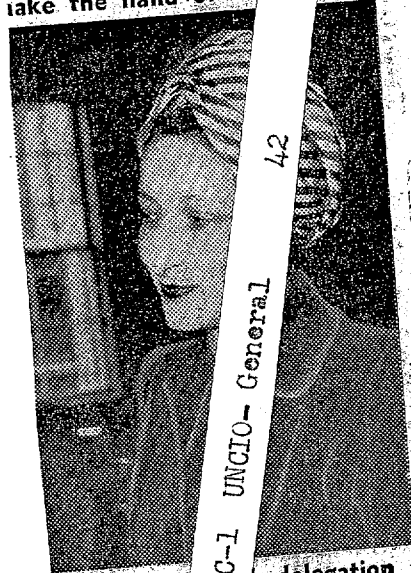
The towering diplomat who belongs to this country by virtue of the fact that his mother was an American, declared himself "tired, dirty, cold and unshaven" upon his arrival here and paused just long enough at the airport to promise that "he might have something to say later on."

Wearing a broad brimmed brown hat and a brown top coat, Mr. Masaryk also promised that "he would be nice to the press—as he always is."

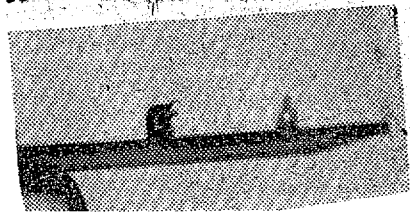
He was met at the airport by a large delegation of State Department officials; a military band that played its customary fanfare and a contingent of military police that stood rigidly at attention despite the biting wind.

Mr. Masaryk, whose sense of humor is equal to his massive strength, declined comment on such issues as that of Poland, trusteeships and voting procedure, declaring he has a "virgin mind." He and members of his delegation are staying at the Mark Hopkins Hotel.

arrived at Mills Field, he
once, and broke through the
take the hand of his hand.



ons of the...h delegation
Mme. Henri...net, wife of
ee "At the Station," page 8.)



Our Delegates Meet

They Won't Say---but It's Rumored That the Committee Jobs Are Set

By EARL C. BEHRENS

Furniture movers, telephone men, scurrying messengers, and a miscellany of other pro-conference-preparation workers, yesterday failed to impede members of the United States delegation from disposing of numerous details incidental to their work at the San Francisco Conference.

Awaiting the arrival from Washington of Secretary of State Stettinius and Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the other delegates met at the Fairmont Hotel in two informal sessions.

Nothing official on the delegation's position or on assignment of members to the commissions which will recommend decisions will be reached until Stettinius and Connally arrive.

It is expected they will be here today.

The meeting yesterday was attended by Senator Vandenberg, Representative Eaton, Commander Stassen, Representative Bloom, and Dean Gildersleeve, the United States delegates; and John Foster Dulles, advisor to the delegation; Dr. Isaiah Bowman and Hamilton Fish Armstrong, State Department advisors.

THE FAIRMONT GOSSIP

General policies were discussed in the morning. In the afternoon certain "mechanical details" of the work of the subcommittees or commission representatives was the principal topic.

Around the Fairmont lobby the gossip was that assignments of delegates to key posts already had been determined.

Nine of the delegates, however, would discuss the part each would play.

Senator Vandenberg was expected to be assigned to the commissions on the Security Council and the General Assembly; Senator Connally, General Organization and the Judicial Organization; Commander Stassen, Security Council and General Organization; Representative Eaton, the General Assembly; Dean Gildersleeve, the General Assembly, and Representative Bloom, Security Council and General Organization.

Commander Stassen is generally recognized as one who brings to the United States delegation "many new ideas" as to the part this Nation is to play in the world when peace comes. He favors abandonment of the extreme policy of nationalistic sovereignty but at the same time wants the United States kept a democracy with freedom of individual enterprise under a fair economic system.

He has seen war at first hand and believes the aggressors must be stripped of all means to make war while we maintain our own strength to join the other United Nations as a police power.

The former Minnesota Governor advocates full co-operation with our Allies in building a Permanent United Nations governed by law but with force as our insurance for peace.

raise living standards throughout the world.

FURNITURE BAZAR

The delegates moved in and around trunks, suitcases, filing cabinets and other impedimenta necessary to their stay here as they conferred at the Fairmont yesterday.

Secretaries by the bushel scrambled around, picking out furniture they liked. Room keys were kept in pockets, lest some late arrival from pulling their rank and taking over the accommodations.

The question of trusteeships, particularly of Pacific islands, was the subject of lengthy conference yesterday afternoon by some of the delegates, including Commander Stassen.

The delegation is awaiting a decision from Washington before any definite policy is shaped.

There will be another meeting of the delegates this morning to continue discussions started yesterday, according to Senator Vandenberg, who is not a member of the subcommittee which talked about trusteeships.

Senator Vandenberg said he has been receiving approximately 2000 letters daily about the San Francisco Conference since he was named to the United States delegation. Along with other delegates, he has established offices at the Fairmont.

In the press secretariate for the American delegation there was much fancy room shifting. Three male publicists arrived to find one personable young lady occupying the room they expected to share. A nimble bit of making one room do the work of two offices solved the problem, and the lady publicist had a room after all.

Mrs. Arthur H. Vandenberg, wife of the Michigan Senator, made it clear to newsmen that she anticipated being a "convention widow" when reporters visited the Vandenberg suite in search of the Senator.

Mrs. Vandenberg, a very charming woman, had a kindred feeling for the newsmen. Years ago she was a reporter herself. She will keep very much in the background, leaving conference matters to the Senator.

Other wives, like Mrs. Vandenberg, were busy getting unpacked, getting their husbands' suits to the tailor and taking time out themselves to visit the hairdresser after "four days' train travel."



Volunteer Mrs. Hart Kleiser
Admiral Carlton E. Wright.
he driving six days a week
ict and Ninth Service Com-
lunteers are needed to staff
omen may apply at the Red
604 Jackson street, or may
booths are located in local

Notes on the Stanford Auxiliary

Somehow or other the marriage
last month of Mrs. Abbie Martin
and Lieutenant Colonel Edmond
Eugene Fout of the U. S. Marine
Corps took place without benefit
of newspaper cognizance—at least
as far as the society column is con-
cerned. The couple exchanged their
vows at a very simple ceremony
performed in the Stanford Memo-
rial Church on March 18 and are
presently making their home on the
Peninsula.

—Fountain of Mrs. Fout who for

Memorable Leave

Grant Bakewell's, Alice De Boris' Betrothal Told

By MILDRED ROBBINS

It was at a family gathering Sun-
day night that Mr. and Mrs. George
S. De Boris of Piedmont revealed
the betrothal of their daughter,
Alice Madeline, to Flight Officer
Grant McNeill Bakewell of the U. S.
Army Air Forces. Then last night
the bride-elect told the same roman-
tic news to her sorority sisters at
the University of California Delta
Gamma house.

No plans have been made as yet
for the wedding of the couple, as
the prospective bridegroom, now
here spending his leave with his
parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Vall
Bakewell of San Francisco, must
return shortly to Harlington Field.
He was recently awarded his
wings at Waco, in the same

has two sisters, Florence and
M. and she is a niece of Mr. and
Mrs. De Boris of Pasadena
and a grandniece of Mrs. D. M.
Janss of this city.

The bride-elect attended Cal. for
two years. She is now taking a busi-
ness course and serves as chairman
of the Lincoln Junior Branch of the
Children's Hospital of the East Bay
and as a nurse aide and is also af-
filiated with the Junior Assistance
League in Oakland.

Only brother of the future bride-
groom is Ensign R. McNeill
of the merchant marine. The young
man, who attended the Francisco
Junior College before entering the
service, is a nephew of the John
Bakewells, Mrs. Grover Sears and
Mrs. Richard Klepper of San Fran-
cisco and of Walter Bakewell and
the Misses Anne and Harriet Bake-
well, all of Berkeley.

Land and Nelson Piedmont Homes To Be on Exhibit

Visitors from Allied countries in
the Bay Area this week will have
an opportunity of seeing the inside
of two beautiful Piedmont homes
when members of Pine Branch of
the Children's Hospital of the East
Bay give their annual spring flower
exhibit tomorrow and Thursday.

Both the home of Mrs. Charles
H. Land on Sharon avenue and that
of Mrs. J. Philo Nelson on Hazel
lane will be open to the public be-
tween the hours of 11 o'clock and 5
both days. To guests the showings
will provide an opportunity to see
how American homemakers com-
bine the utility for which our houses
are famous with old world furni-
ture and decorative themes.

It will be easy to reach the show-
rooms from San Francisco. Simply trans-
fer to a No. 10 street car at the end
of the S. F. Piedmont train line
there will be markers at Caperton

What the Dutch Want

VAN KLEFFENS WANTS DUMBARTON CHANGES CRITICIZES YALTA BIG POWER VETO PLAN

The first announcement made in San Francisco that a small power will strive to amend the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were given to the press yesterday by Dr. Elco van Kleffens, the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Netherlands will make seven suggestions for change, he said.

And the principle suggestion involves creation of "standards of justice" upon which decisions to keep the peace will be based.

The Netherlands is opposed to the Yalta plan by which a great power may veto action involving it, Dr. Van Kleffens said.

"It would be sheer hypocrisy to say I like the veto arrangement," he told the press conference. But the Foreign Minister indicated he would not fight the issue.

"We will bow to the inevitable," he said. "If we have to accept the veto, it will be in the nature of acquiescence. But we still believe that nobody should judge himself—that it is a bad principle all along the line."

Dr. Van Kleffens made it "abundantly clear" that his delegation is approaching the San Francisco Conference with an attitude of constructive criticism.

NO NEED TO CLAP

"If you call us critical, that's all right with me," said the amiable, adroit Foreign Minister, "so long as you say we are constructively critical."

"There is no need to come here to just clapp and say 'hurray,'" Dr. Van Kleffens told the newsmen. "We will criticize in the spirit that something a little better will result."

The Netherlands wants to see "standards of justice" written into the World Security Organization so they will be used as a yardstick, he said. "There is such a thing as moral justification—even in international affairs," Dr. Van Kleffens emphasized.

Hammered by innumerable questions on the veto, the foreign minister smilingly turned to his most persistent questioner and said:

"The word 'veto' seems to haunt this room."

And to another, who asked what motives, in The Netherlands opinion, the Great Powers might have for a veto demand, he said:

"We should always be very careful not to attribute bad motives. I

'Constructively Critical'

am sure that their motives were of the best. But if they were for the good of all, there would be no need to come here and talk things over."

THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE

And to another, who wanted to know to what extent The Netherlands was willing to give up its sovereignty, he said:

"The word 'sovereignty' sounds very sensational and dramatic. All nations give up sovereignty to a certain extent every time they sign a treaty—and they like it."

Dr. Van Kleffens also said that his delegation will seek to clarify the method by which nations will go to war.

"We want to determine for ourselves what we will contribute to military action," he said. "The small powers are also human. You cannot drive them into warfare. They should be free to decide."

Besides the "constructive criticism" of the Dumbarton proposals, Dr. Van Kleffens had two other attitudes of the Netherlands government about which to comment. One concerned problems in the Pacific.

And the other was the demand his country will make, after the war, for German territory to compensate it for the inundation of Holland by the enemy.

The Netherlands, he insisted, has no colonies. The Netherlands East

Indies, and other territory which pledges allegiance to the Queen, as part of a federation, he said. Except for the budget none of the overseas territories are required to submit any parliamentary action to The Hague.

"Until the new Netherlands constitution was put into effect democracy was an alien element in the Indies," he said. "And we want the 70,000,000 peoples there to go down the road to emancipation."

Regarding the controversial topic of "trusteeship"—under which territory would be administered by the United Nations—he said that that would apply only to former Japanese territory.

He said the home government has given its pledge that the peoples outside of Europe under its flag will have self government "exactly like the people in Holland."

COMMENT ON PHILIPPINES

He denied that the people of the Netherlands East Indies had ever desired to secede from the home country. Prodded by a questioner he replied:

"That idea of secession has never occurred to the people of our possessions in the Pacific. You Americans are anti-secessionist, I know. And if my memory serve me, you even fought a war against secession. I don't know that we would apply such force."

And, again, asked his opinion on the plan of the United States to withdraw from the Philippines, he replied:

"Will they withdraw?"
"We have said we would," the American reporter answered.

"When they do, I will comment," the Foreign Minister countered.

Dr. Van Kleffens said there would be no necessity for the United States to acquire bases of their own on Netherlands territory for military purposes.

"You will be very welcome to use ours," he said. "And we will probably need the use of some of your facilities, like Pearl Harbor."

The Germans have inundated nearly 50 per cent of Dutch farm lands, the Foreign Minister told the newsmen. And after the war the Germans should be required to compensate the Dutch for "the injury which has so seriously disrupted Dutch economy."

be told by Dr. Frantisek Wolf, assistant professor of mathematics at the University of California.

Dr. Wolf was in Sweden when his country was taken over by Germany. In 1941 he set out on a 9000-mile journey to this country through Russia and Japan.

Before he left Czechoslovakia for the last time, Dr. Wolf taught at Prague University. He traveled a good deal and for a year he was at Cambridge University in England.

He is enthusiastic about a world peace organization. He tells this story about the responsibilities such an organization entails:

"A thousand years ago," Dr. Wolf says, "the people of my country sent 40 oxen to Germany every year. That is how they kept the peace."

"We are not going to send anything to Germany again, but we may have to send something to the rest of the world. Whatever it is, if it will keep the peace, it's worth it."

lan' From Mexico

'Power and Moral Force of Americas' Is Envoy's Theme

Mexico's towering Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla yesterday became the first foreign diplomat to run through the uninhibited glare and grilling of a press conference.

The power and moral force of the 20 American nations at the conference was Dr. Padilla's theme. The power and potential force of Dr. Padilla's personality impressed his audience.

While floodlights switched on an off in his Hotel St. Francis suite Dr. Padilla kept pace with the roomful of newsmen.

"The American republics do not propose to act as a bloc at the San Francisco Conference.

"Their solidarity, however, represents a moral strength of indubitable importance," he declared.

28 AMENDMENTS

In a formal statement preceding the informal questioning, Mexico's Foreign Minister said, "The men who return from the battlefields demand that we act with the same faith and responsibility with which they knew how to fight."

Dr. Padilla took his questions standing up.

Mexican, American, British, and French newsmen for space and tripped over the light cords. He blinked at the lights, but made no retreat from the questions that shot from corner to corner of the room.

Mexico, he explained, has 28 amendments to propose to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Of those, he added, five are of basic importance.

Most vital of all, he explained, is the building of a strong regional organization of American nations, to operate within the world structure.

"The Americas are unique," he said. "Nowhere else in the world is there such a feeling of regional common interest. We want to demonstrate to the world how a region can settle its own problems successfully."

came up, the Foreign Minister leaned down and whispered for translation to shoulder-high Eugenio de Anzorena, his fluent press relations secretary.

He concluded with a tribute to President Roosevelt.

His loss was felt personally by every cab-driver, every Mexican street.

Nazi General Roundup

MADRID, April 23 (AP)—Spanish and Portuguese planes were reported today to be rounding up German agents.

30 Germans were said to have been taken into "protective custody" in Portugal and about an even number in Spain.

Dining at Its Best

IN A
LOVELY RESTAURANT

Where Service, Cocktails and Atmosphere Have Unforgettable Appeal

JOE KELLY'S 20 O'Farrell

Walker and Truman Meet---'No Decision'

WASHINGTON, April 23 (UP)—Postmaster General Frank C. Walker conferred at length today with President Truman. He said afterwards that no decision had been reached regarding his future in the Government.

Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic national chairman, has been prominently mentioned as successor to Walker in the Cabinet.

FINE FOODS

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HAM & EGGS
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COCKTAILS

Geary at Mason

YOU'LL ENJOY FINE HOME COOKING

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DINNER \$1.00 UP

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2d Fl. Anglo Bank Bldg.
Room 212. SU. 1423
Mail Orders Solicited

Heart of Mexico is pointing to the author's boasts laughingly of the his heart and holds it re- for the fact that he looks younger than his age. admits to holding so many both earned and honor- he finds it difficult to em. on surrounding Padilla con- a just a little bit short of y not attain this eminence ource of his lifetime but n bet that one day he will ent of Mexico—which is k, too.

15, Found Slain

FILE, April 23 (UP)—An all- search for little Irene Mc- 15 ended this afternoon when y cruelly beaten, was found into a pile of

100th birthday

NYT 4/16
APR. 16, 1945.

Abroad

The Effect of Roosevelt's Passing on the Big Three

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The picture of Winston Churchill, snapped as he left No. 10 Downing Street to go to the House of Commons last Friday, is a revealing picture of what the death of President Roosevelt means to the Allied leaders, particularly in Britain. The Prime Minister's face was grimly set in a mask of grief. Mr. Churchill had received a staggering blow in the loss of a friend and the dissolution of a personal partnership almost unique in the annals of war alliances. It was not his statesmanship that brought the United States to the side of Britain when everything seemed lost. Roosevelt's clear vision of the vital interests of this country inspired the Lend-Lease program and put us into the struggle long before we were attacked. Yet without the indomitable spirit of Churchill, expressing the will of Britain to stand against overwhelming odds, American help would have been vain, and in the record it will redound to the glory of the Prime Minister's leadership that he won American support in Britain's darkest hour and established a bond with the President that was unquestionably one of the decisive factors in winning the war.

In the great chapter of history ending with Mr. Roosevelt's sudden death, nothing will be more interesting to the chronicler than the inner workings of the Big Three directorate. For a long time there were only two—the President and the Prime Minister—in the top council. The first meeting, in August, 1941, produced the Atlantic Charter, a manifesto of solidarity, but the actual war partnership was forged in Churchill's three-week visit to Washington after America entered the conflict, and from then until last week the two statesmen remained the supreme umpires of strategy, military and political, on the western front. In spite of differences of opinion, they remained fast friends.

Since Russia was drawn into the struggle before we were, Churchill was the first to confer with Stalin. The initial visit to Moscow did not go very well. The Russians were demanding "the second front," and for nearly two years the western powers were unable to concentrate for the attack on Europe the forces they deemed necessary for a successful invasion. During all this troubled time Roosevelt was working for a meeting with the Soviet leader. He believed the war coalition would not work smoothly and with full effectiveness without direct conferences of the three leaders. Much less, he thought, could it evolve into a peace partnership unless the predestined partners developed understandings in personal contacts.

He did not bring off the long-desired meeting until November, 1943. The

He did not bring off the long-desired meeting until November, 1943. The war was the architect of the coalition, but the President was chiefly responsible for bringing the war leaders together. He saw himself as the conciliator, the middleman, among the three. He is credited as being the author of the Yalta "voting formula" and with proposing the compromise on Poland when no compromise seemed possible between Russian and Anglo-American views. He came back from the second meeting, also engineered by him, satisfied that the conference method was working. Later developments shadowed his satisfaction, but at first he told his friends with obvious pleasure that the atmosphere at Yalta was so much friendlier and more open than that of Teheran that all that was needed to iron out remaining and future snarls was more meetings.

There is no way of knowing Stalin's feeling for Roosevelt except from the reports brought back from Yalta that he treated him with special deference and responded to most of the President's proposals with the words: "I assent." The extraordinary official honors and warm, popular tributes in Moscow are also significant. Such manifestations of affection for a foreign statesman are without precedent in the Soviet Union; they prove not only Roosevelt's power to impress his personality on people everywhere but the effect of the war alliance on Russia's attitude to the outside world.

Undoubtedly Roosevelt's death is a profound shock to Stalin as well as to Churchill. It changes the picture and upsets the personal if not the power balance of the Big Three. Speaking always in the personal sense, the President was the fusing force in the combination. He was the one, moreover, who was pushing hardest to enlarge the circle. Partly because he sensed the anxiety of the smaller powers, partly because he felt this country might never be so united again in support of a collective security system, he wanted a full meeting of the United Nations at once.

What will be the effect of Roosevelt's death on the Big Three? This question is implicit in the wise initiative of Mr. Truman in asking the Soviet Government to send Mr. Molotoff to San Francisco and Stalin's prompt decision to reverse his former refusal and accede to the request. Obviously Moscow desires to assess the possible effects of the change in leadership and establish contact with the new President. The reversal is also a sign that Russia is more interested than before in the fate of the conference. It might even signify that Stalin counted on Roosevelt to carry it to success and wishes to make up for the loss of the leader by adding all the weight and prestige possible to the meeting. If this should be so, he is paying a very high tribute to the dead President. Or it may be that Roosevelt's passing marks the end of that phase of the war and the welding of the coalition which necessitated exclusive councils.

Books of

By ORVILLE

GEORGE SANTAYANA is 82 years old now, a frail philosopher serenely living out his declining years in Rome, with his eyes fixed upon the past. Never did the world stand in greater need of wisdom; never did the tumult of strife of war and injustice threaten more seriously to overwhelm both the life of the spirit and the life of reason which Santayana loves so well. But his voice has not been heard.



George Santayana

acknowledgment of the most of Santayana seem less. Great writer Santayana, weary and old in stature.

"Middle Span"*

second volume of "Persons and Places" is more with person than its author. Rambles and urbane, "The Middle Span" roams the years, defying the conventional of a coherent narrative. It makes no pretense at frank self-critique. Santayana does his method of picking out such points of interest me now.

the weight of his influence and reputation has not been exerted in the balance. His detachment is almost inhuman. The historical perspective with which he contemplates the evil and violence of man is Olympian, no conviction rending mankind in agony is worthy of his notice or his comment. Poets are not apt to be fit to play the role of centurion or philosophers than of gladiators. Yet the world at war, some of the issues involved, would be human, less cold and wise man though he is, seems to have lost his title he has given his curious autobiography like its predecessor places than it does its discursive, intellectual "Middle Span" roams the years, defying the conventional of a coherent narrative. It makes no pretense at frank self-critique. Santayana does his method of picking out such points of interest me now.

His Casual Friendships Are Many

one of these points should be of general interest, but far too many of them are not. "Middle Span" is a far more rewarding book than "Persons and Places." The persons described are lifeless shadows; the gleanings from Santayana's rich store of learning about life and letters, philosophy and religion are poor and scanty. One feels much less the presence of a haughty intelligence, suave and unassuming, a trifle snobbish and very fond of comfort and convenience.

1886 George Santayana, then 23, went to the University of Göttingen, to Dresden and then on a Harvard traveling fellowship. So the

MIDDLE SPAN: Volume II. Persons and Places. By George Santayana. 187 pages. Scribner's. \$2.50.

Books and Authors

Security Parley Statement

WASHINGTON, March 5 (UP)—Following is the text of a State Department announcement of the proposed voting procedure in the International Security Organization:

At the Crimea Conference the Government of the United States of America was authorized, on behalf of the three Governments there represented, to consult the Government of the Republic of China and the Provisional Government of the French Republic in order to invite them to sponsor invitations jointly with the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to a conference of United Nations called to meet at San Francisco on April 25, 1945.

Those consultations have now been held. The Government of the Republic of China has agreed to join in sponsoring invitations to the San Francisco Conference. The Provisional Government of the French Republic has agreed to participate in the conference but, after consultation with the sponsoring Governments, the Provisional Government—which did not participate in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations—is not joining in sponsoring the invitations.

Today, at noon, Washington time, representatives of the Government of the United States of America stationed at various capitals throughout the world are presenting to the Governments of thirty-nine different United Nations the following invitation:

"The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Republic of China, invites the Government of (name of Government invited was inserted here) to send representatives to a conference at San Francisco in the United States of America to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Voting Procedure

"The above named Governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and which have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter VI:

"C. VOTING:

"1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

"2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

"3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A, and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

"Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently. In the event that the Government of (name of Government invited was inserted

here) desires in advance of the conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating Governments."

Explanation by Stettinius

Text of an explanatory statement by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. follows:

Today, with the issuance of the invitations to the San Francisco Conference, there have been made public the provisions of the text on voting procedure in the Security Council of the general international organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

The practical effect of these provisions, taken together, is that a difference is made, so far as voting is concerned, between the quasi-judicial function of the Security Council in promoting the pacific settlement of disputes and the political function of the council in taking action for the maintenance of peace and security.

Where the council is engaged in performing its quasi-judicial functions of promoting pacific settlement of disputes, no nation, large or small, should be above the law. This means that no nation, large or small, if a party to a dispute, would participate in the decisions of the Security Council on questions like the following:

(A) Whether a matter should be investigated;

(B) Whether the dispute or situation is of such a nature that its continuation is likely to threaten the peace;

(C) Whether the Council should call on the parties to settle a dispute by means of their own choice;

(D) Whether, if the dispute is referred to the Council, a recommendation should be made as to methods and procedures of settlement;

(E) Whether the Council should make such recommendations before the dispute is referred to it;

(F) What should be the nature of this recommendation;

(G) Whether the legal aspect of the dispute should be referred to the court for advice;

(H) Whether a regional agency should be asked to concern itself with the dispute; and

(I) Whether the dispute should be referred to the General Assembly.

Unanimity of "Permanents" Asked

Where the Council is engaged in performing its political functions of action for maintenance of peace and security, a difference is made between the permanent members of the Council and other nations for the practical reason that the permanent members of the Council must, as a matter of necessity, bear the principal responsibility for action. Unanimous agreement among the permanent members of the Council is therefore requisite. In such matters, therefore, the concurrence of all the permanent members would be required. Examples are:

(A) Determination of the existence of a threat or breach of the peace;

(B) Use of force or other enforcement measures;

(C) Approval of agreements for supply of armed forces;

(D) Matters relating to the regulation of armaments; and

(E) Matters concerning the suspension and expulsion of members, and the admission of new members.

SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

at Rockefeller Center, New York 22

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SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

STETTINIUS OFFERS GUIDE TO AMERICAS

Talk at Mexico City Gives
Foreign Ministers Basis for
Discussing World Plan

MEXICO CITY, March 5 (AP)—Secretary of State Stettinius, speaking before the Foreign Ministers of the American republics here today, revealed the voting solution prepared for the world security organization.

It was necessary to reveal it to the American Foreign Ministers conferring here before the end of their meeting, scheduled for Wednesday, so that they could discuss the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Announcement was held back to the last possible minute in the hope that France would sponsor the meeting on terms acceptable to the other four powers.

As soon as Mr. Stettinius finished speaking, Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla stood up to respond.

Mr. Padilla said that the Latin-American republics realized they could not participate in settling the peace on an equal level with the major powers which have fought the war but that they were glad to have a voice in the organization of a new world system.

He declared that Stettinius' explanation of the voting procedure decided upon "represents an extraordinary advance in making the Dumbarton Oaks plan more democratic, as all small nations will be heard hereafter."

He expressed his conviction that all the Latin-American nations will support a world peace organization at San Francisco, and that the burden of armaments will be reduced as a result.

Views by Stettinius

The text of the statement made here by Mr. Stettinius, except for that part which was also given out in Washington as explanatory of the proposed voting procedure for the International Security Organization and is included in the text concerning that procedure published elsewhere in today's paper, is as follows:

I am happy to be able to make

World Parley Participants

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 5—Scheduled to participate in the San Francisco security conference are forty-four nations. This includes all the United Nations except Poland and includes Saudi Arabia, which has not signed the United Nations declaration. Poland may receive an invitation later.

The conference of nations, as thus far scheduled, with the dates of admission of those which are formal members of the United Nations, is as follows:

SPONSORING NATIONS

United Nations
Signed Declaration.
United States.....Jan. 1, 1942
Great Britain.....Jan. 1, 1942
Soviet Union.....Jan. 1, 1942
China.....Jan. 1, 1942

INVITED NATIONS

Australia.....Jan. 1, 1942
Belgium.....Jan. 1, 1942
Bolivia.....April 27, 1943
Brazil.....Feb. 8, 1943
Canada.....Jan. 1, 1942
Chile.....Feb. 14, 1945

Colombia.....Jan. 17, 1944
Costa Rica.....Jan. 1, 1942
Cuba.....Jan. 1, 1942
Czechoslovakia.....Jan. 1, 1942
Dominican Republic.....Jan. 1, 1942
Ecuador.....Feb. 14, 1945
Egypt.....Feb. 28, 1945
Ethiopia.....July 28, 1942
France.....Jan. 10, 1945
Greece.....Jan. 1, 1942
Guatemala.....Jan. 1, 1942
Haiti.....Jan. 1, 1942
Honduras.....Jan. 1, 1942
India.....Jan. 1, 1942
Iran.....Sept. 9, 1943
Iraq.....Jan. 16, 1943
Liberia.....April 10, 1944
Luxembourg.....Jan. 1, 1942
Mexico.....June 5, 1942
Netherlands.....Jan. 1, 1942
New Zealand.....Jan. 1, 1942
Nicaragua.....Jan. 1, 1942
Norway.....Jan. 1, 1942
Panama.....Jan. 1, 1942
Paraguay.....Feb. 14, 1945
Peru.....Feb. 14, 1945
Philippines.....June 10, 1942
El Salvador.....Jan. 1, 1942
Saudi Arabia.....Feb. 28, 1945
Turkey.....Jan. 1, 1942
South Africa.....Jan. 1, 1942
Uruguay.....Feb. 24, 1945
Venezuela.....Feb. 20, 1945
Yugoslavia.....Jan. 1, 1942

a most significant announcement, here in Mexico City, concerning the future world organization for peace and security.

As I arise to talk, the Government of the United States, acting on behalf of the sponsoring Governments—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China—is transmitting invitations to the United Nations Conference to be held at San Francisco on April 25.

I regret exceedingly that the provisional Government of France has not accepted our invitation to become one of the sponsoring countries for the San Francisco conference.

Issuance of the formal invitation to meet only seven weeks from now in San Francisco is another step toward a goal which is in the minds, and in the hearts, of all of us—establishment of an enduring peace after victory in this war.

In October, 1943, the signatories of the Moscow Declaration pledged themselves to cooperate with each other and with the other nations devoted to peace in creating a general international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

Bases of Mexico City Study

The Dumbarton Oaks conference was the next step necessary in the carrying out of this vast program. From that conference there emerged the proposals which

we are studying here in Mexico City.

The conversations at Dumbarton Oaks left open the question of voting procedure in the Security Council. A proposal on this subject has now been agreed upon in the manner stated in the text of the invitation to the San Francisco conference, which I shall read to you in a moment. This was one of the great accomplishments under President Roosevelt's leadership at the Crimea conference.

In Mexico City, the twenty countries here represented are taking another important step toward the establishment of a world organization. Our task here has been to exchange views and to clarify our thoughts on the essential features of the world organization of the future and on the relationship to it of our own inter-American system, and thus to prepare ourselves more fully for the work to be undertaken at San Francisco.

The proposed provisions for voting in the security council are those which were presented by the President of the United States at the Crimea conference; they were there agreed to by Great Britain and by the Soviet Union and have since been approved by China.

I wish at this time to comment to you briefly on the significance of the proposal on voting proced-

ure. This procedure means that whenever any member of the council—including any permanent member—is a party to a dispute, that member cannot vote in any decision of the council involving peaceful settlement of that dispute.

Provides Full Examination

Consequently, the council can examine the dispute thoroughly and the remaining members can make recommendations to all the parties to the dispute as to methods and procedures for settling it. They can refer the legal aspects of the dispute to the international court for advice. They can refer the dispute to the general assembly if they wish, and they can take any other appropriate steps short of enforcement measures to obtain a settlement of that dispute without the vote of the member of the security council involved in the dispute.

This means that all members of the security council when they are parties to a dispute will be on the same footing before this council. It means that no nation in the world will be denied the right to have a fair hearing of its case in the security council, and that the equal, democratic rights of all nations will be respected.

If the dispute is not settled by such means, the major question before the council is whether force needs to be employed. In that event, it is necessary that the vote of the permanent members of the council be unanimous. They are the nations which possess in sufficient degree the industrial and military strength to prevent aggression.

However, the decision of the council can be reached in such a case only by a majority of seven members, which means that the permanent members cannot alone decide to take action. It also means that the non-permanent members can prevent action.

I am happy to say that I have here to hand to each of you a more detailed memorandum on the voting procedure which I am sure you will wish to study.

All Views Are Invited

The invitation to the San Francisco conference suggests that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals be considered as affording a basis for the charter of the world organization. It is the wish of the United States, as it is, I am confident, of the other sponsoring nations that there should also be conference for consideration of the views and suggestions of all the participating Governments. I know that the contributions of the distinguished statesmen of the American republics will be

most valuable the charter.

The response lishment and peaceful world mon responsibility nations. the duty has a charter for organization the realities and so clearly and democratically the United Nations will truly represent of the people lasting peace actually to be such a peace.

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39 NATIONS INVITED TO SAN FRANCISCO

Continued From Page 1

the lists of countries previously invited to United Nations conferences. It was explained that since Jan. 1, eight countries had signed the United Nations declaration. It was decided to invite all signatory powers to the declaration as of Feb. 5, 1945, as well as Turkey and any country which had declared war on an Axis power up to March 1.

A special invitation was decided later in the case of Saudi Arabia, following the conference between Mr. Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud on a warship near Cairo.

Neutrals Not Invited

Syria and Lebanon, Iceland and Denmark, which had sent representatives to previous gatherings, were omitted from the conference, as were such neutral countries as Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Portugal, Ireland and Argentina. Liberated countries, such as Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Baltic nations, several of which under new governments have declared war on Germany, also were excluded.

Neutral countries, it was explained, cannot share in the peace settlement, and the former enemy countries, even though now recognized diplomatically, cannot be admitted to the security negotiations until after the organization has been set up. There was no explanation of the omission of Syria, Lebanon, Iceland and Denmark.

France Raises Problem

One of the problems disclosed in today's announcement is the defection of France, widening the rift caused by General de Gaulle's recent refusal to meet Mr. Roosevelt in Algiers. The French leader has complained that France was not informed sufficiently of the Crimea decisions, and not having been represented at Yalta had framed several objections and suggestions

THE DAY IN WASHINGTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 5—The President nominated Fred Vinson to be Federal Loan Administrator.

The Senate met briefly and recessed at 12:05 P. M. in respect to the late Senator Moses until noon tomorrow.

The House passed a bill to forbid war subcontractors from paying any "gratuities" to obtain contracts, began debate on the Nurse Draft Bill and adjourned at 7 P. M. until noon tomorrow.

when the new government of national unity was formed, the United States and Great Britain would establish diplomatic relations with it. He hoped, he added, that by the time the San Francisco conference convened, the new Polish Government would be set up; that diplomatic relations would have been established with it by the principal United Nations, and that the Poles would be invited to send delegates.

Mr. Stettinius in his statement on the Yalta agreement for voting procedure in the security council, which was one of the problems left unsettled at Dumbarton Oaks, made plain that the settlement was a compromise. It gives equality to all members of the council in the discussion of preliminary security questions, but it reserves the power of veto to any of the permanent members of the council on decisions involving use of force.

Difference Is Explained

State Department experts illustrated the distinction between the two categories of questions by the phrasing in the Secretary's outline where it is stipulated that a majority of seven votes can determine whether a situation "is likely" to threaten peace, but that all the votes of the Big Five would have to be in favor of any proposal to declare "the existence" of a threat to peace.

The practical effect of these provisions, Mr. Stettinius said, was

tion. Unanimous agreement among the permanent members of the council is therefore requisite."

The invitations to the thirty-nine nations also reports this settlement, which provides that each member of the council shall have one vote and that procedural decisions should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members. On all other matters, it is stated, the decision must be taken by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members.

There is a stipulation that a party to a dispute should abstain

from voting on decisions under the section of the charter relating to pacific settlement of disputes, and under the provision for settling disputes under regional arrangements. The veto, however, remains in the hands of the big powers for any action directed against themselves.

Vandenberg Lauds President

In his statement of acceptance, Senator Vandenberg referred to "an exchange of cordial and satisfactory personal letters with the President," which overcame the

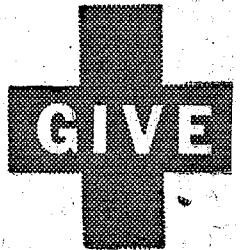
hesitancy which he expressed when he received the invitation.

"I deeply appreciate his high consideration," the Senator said, adding that it had "clarified my right to free action." Mr. Vandenberg then said:

"I wish to do everything within my power to establish a practical system of collective security as a basis for effective peace. I believe it is indispensable in this scarred and foreshortened world. I believe it indispensable to American self-interest. An excellent start has been made."

SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

at Rockefeller Center, New York 22



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BANKERS WIN POINT ON MONETARY PLANS

Both Sides in Bretton Woods Dispute Agree on Committee to Advise Our Representatives

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 22—Important opponents and advocates of the Bretton Woods proposals agreed today on the necessity for an amendment to the pending measure providing for an inter-departmental committee to advise and possibly instruct the American executives on the proposed international financial organizations while Leon Fraser, former president of the Bank for International Settlements, attacked the monetary fund plan before the House Banking and Currency Committee.

The agreement came as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, announcing its support, proposed an amendment to set up "a council or committee to provide necessary direction and guidance to the representatives of the United States on the governing bodies of the fund and the bank and to interpret to them the international financial and monetary policies of the United States."

The recommendation closely paralleled one made by the American Bankers Association, principal opponents of the legislation as now drawn, for "a United States directing committee" comprised of representatives of appropriate departments and the Federal Reserve System to instruct the American governor or director of the bank in important decisions of broad policy affecting the welfare of the country.

Mr. Fraser, who is now president of the First National Bank of New York, stressed the urgency of this problem when he told the House committee that whatever else it did, it must certainly make provision for such an advisory or directing group. No change in the Bretton Woods agreements would be required, he said, as this would be a matter of domestic legislation.

Fund "A Cruel Delusion"

Mr. Fraser criticized the proposed monetary fund and declared it "creates a cruel illusion which the United States will regret later on." The principal trouble with it, he asserted, was that it attempted to solve all stabilization problems through mere grants of credit.

"One thing I learned as president of the Bank for International Settlements," Mr. Fraser said, "is that the weakest reed you can lean upon for currency stabilization is credit."

Instead of the fund as proposed, he would substitute the proposed bank, giving it authority to deal with the currency stabilization problem, and then make each loan on its merits, obtaining an agreement from the countries in advance not to indulge in practices of economic warfare.

"This scheme pushes managed currencies to their logical conclusion," he declared.

"You ultimately come down to the question who are the managers? Who are these fellows who know how to run the world better than anyone else? And then you have to have a Gestapo to protect the managers."

British Views Stressed

In Mr. Fraser's testimony were repeated references to the advantages which he said Great Britain would enjoy under the Fund, to the relative disadvantage of the United States, and statements that Great Britain would undertake in any event "what we call economic warfare but what they call economic necessity."

The British had already announced, he added, that they would alter the value of their currency as they saw fit regardless of the Fund. In that connection Representative Frederick C. Smith of Ohio read to the witness what he said was a statement by Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, stating in effect that although Great Britain would consult with the Fund it would nevertheless fix such values as the Government determined to be Great Britain's best interest.

Mr. Fraser agreed with his questioner that "if he is correctly quoted" the whole scheme would be "out the window" so far as effectiveness was concerned.

"There is a terrific disparity between the American and British interpretations of this Fund," said Mr. Fraser. "The plan breathes the true spirit of British patriotism."

He insisted that it contained the three main points demanded by Lord Keynes, head of the British delegation at Bretton Woods, namely, nonrigidity of currency values, impersonal borrowing from a common pool and stimulation of world trade which the British greatly need.

Mr. Fraser repeatedly asserted that the language in the fund document was ambiguous, declaring that "the most laggardly kind of lawyer can drive a horse and carriage all through the thing."

It was perfectly all right for Lord Keynes to sign the Bretton Woods documents because it was in the British interests, he added, but the Americans who signed it were simply "too generous."

Says Smaller Fund Would Serve

Answering a question, he declared that \$500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 would be ample capital for the proposed \$8,800,000,000 fund.

"It would last until we have a breakdown in the world again, as we shall some day," he said.

Although Mr. Fraser stated that 98 per cent of the member countries would be debtors he minimized the destruction and destitution in Europe, asserting that "the countries destitute in Europe are those which seem to be chronically destitute."

If the United States wants to make loans to these countries, he declared, they should be made as loans, whether by us or through an international bank, but not through a credit pool which gives nations the right to draw upon it without, as he insisted, any requirement that they put their own houses in order.

If it is "an export subsidy," Mr.

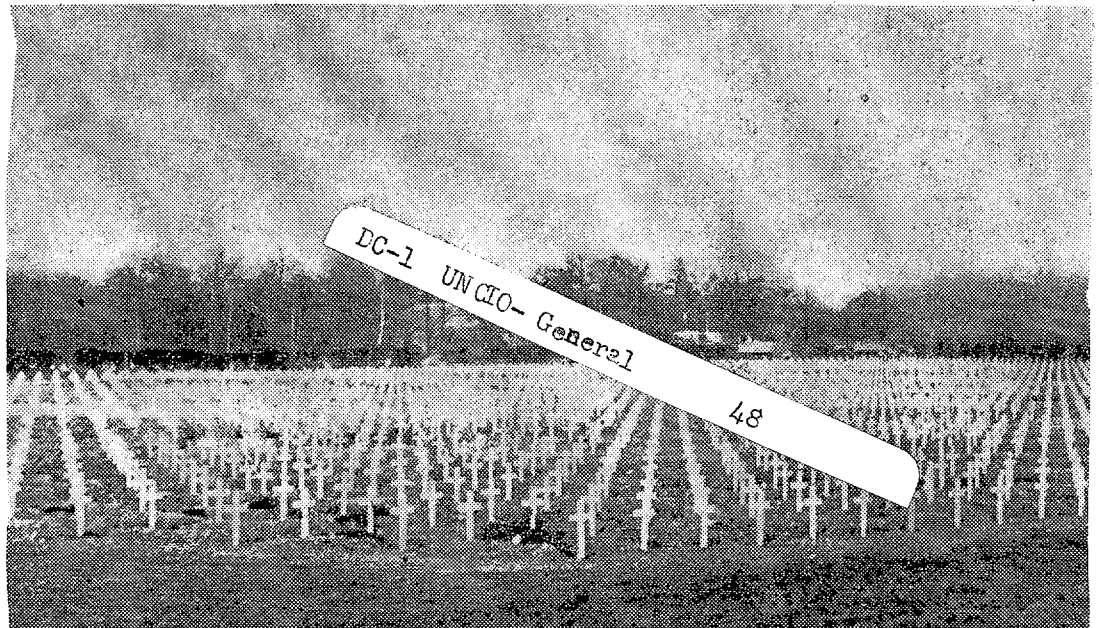
Fraser continued, it should be so called. Indeed, he urged that it would be better to extend the Lend-Lease Act and make "gifts" by that means and through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration than to give assistance through the fund.

Mr. Fraser said he favored a long-term loan at low interest and of generous proportions to help the British "unblock" much of their billions of pounds sterling now blocked. If they were not receptive to such a loan, he added, then we could be assured "they will use their blocked sterling as Dr. Schacht used the blocked reichsmarks."

Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, a member of the Bretton Woods delegation as chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, predicted on leaving the White House after a conference with President Roosevelt that the Bretton Woods agreements would be approved by the Senate.

The Catholic Association for International Peace declared in a statement today that the Bretton Woods proposals were "a necessary step to that further economic cooperation and action in the field of international trade which is a vital requirement for a peaceful and prosperous world."

All: The Largest Military Cemetery on



housand American dead in Henri Chapelle, Belgium. No Americans are being buried on German soil. Ins

Now Put at 859,587;
Set at a 185,652 Total

FAVORS U. S. RULE IN COMMUNICATIONS

Wheeler Opposes Navy Plan
for Private Concern Con-
trolled by Government

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 22 — Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana, chairman of the Interstate Commerce subcommittee on international communications asserted today that post-war consolation of the overseas services of communications companies operating from this country in foreign fields might be desirable, but that over any such unified system the Government, if in any degree responsible for its operation, should have complete control.

He made the statement at the conclusion of the argument presented by Paul A. Porter, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, in favor of unification but against the inclusion, as advocated by the Navy Department, of Government officials on the board of the proposed unified company.

Mr. Porter suggested instead an "arms length relationship" of regulation and advice, which Senator Wheeler agreed was the "only connection the Government should have with any private company."

"But," he asked the FCC chairman, "would such a relationship enable the Government to exercise the degree of control which the Navy considers essential, and, if not, is not the issue presented squarely as between a private monopoly operating under government regulation and all-out government ownership and control?"

The breakdown on Army casualties was as follows:

Killed, 150,310; wounded, 464,731; missing, 88,209; prisoners, 64,430. Of the wounded 236,251, or more than half, have returned to duty.

Similar figures on Navy casualties were:

Killed, 35,342; wounded, 41,882; missing, 10,417; prisoners, 4,266.

Concurrently with the announcement of casualties, the Army reported that it had lost 1,716,000 men from all causes from the time the war began until Dec. 31, 1944.

The total, including 84,000 officers and 1,632,000 enlisted men, covered such separations from service as deaths from all causes, honorable discharges, missing, prisoners, transfers to inactive status, discharges other than honorable and miscellaneous separations.

Division, operating west of Kaiserslautern, took Lamsborn and Vogelbach then swept on to Gruenstadt, ten miles southwest of Worms.

The Seventy-first Infantry Division, emerging from the Seigfried Line, cleared Hilst and Trublen, four miles southwest of Pirmasens.

First Widens Bridgehead

Meanwhile, in the Remagen bridgehead gains of up to 8,000 yards were made by infantry and tanks fighting on the southern sector of the front. Troops crossed the Wied River, which the Germans hoped to use as a basis for a defensive line, and swept southward to Neuwied, only six and

Porter replied that the latter

PRESSURE AVOIDED ON BRETTON BILL

Administration Said to Prefer
Enactment During, Not Before,
San Francisco Conference

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 23.—As the attack of the American Bankers Association on the proposed International Monetary Fund continued today before the House Banking and Currency Committee, it was ascertained that the Administration had abandoned its original hope of enacting the Bretton Woods legislation before the San Francisco Conference opens on April 25.

After conferences of high officials, it appeared to be decided that no pressure would be brought to speed Congressional action to a hasty conclusion. The view is understood to be generally accepted now, even by the White House, that enactment during the course of the conference would be more effective.

Testifying at today's hearing, W. L. Hemingway, president of the Mercantile Commerce Bank and Trust Company of St. Louis, suggested that the legislation be deferred until after the San Francisco conference had set up the proposed International Social and Economic Council, provided in the Dumbarton Oaks instrument, and then let that body decide how to handle the problem of financial and monetary organization.

Asked how he would vote as a member of the House if all amendments to the pending legislation had been defeated, he replied:

"I would vote against it, hoping they'd take it up at San Francisco de novo."

Conflicting Views of Accord

Mr. Hemingway, who is chairman of the ABA's advisory committee on Special Activities, warned the committee that the monetary fund would amount to "a'n economic superstate imposing its will on its members and the members in turn adopting or extending a program for a managed currency."

Voicing apprehension over "a tendency toward managed economy and totalitarianism" and criticizing the fund agreement as "ambiguous," he continued:

"Dr. (Harry D.) White, in his testimony here and in statements that he made at the St. Louis meeting explained that the fund was adopted as a bridge to close the chasm that laid between public opinion in the United States and public opinion in the United Kingdom."

"In our country there is still a strong feeling for hard money and the gold standard, whereas in England there is a strong feeling against the gold standard and in favor of a managed currency."

"Therefore it has been necessary for Dr. White to assure us that the fund does not interfere with the operation of the gold standard and for Lord Keynes to emphatically inform the House of Lords that the plan is the exact opposite of the gold standard."

Complaint Against Treasury

Representative Fred L. Crawford, Republican, of Michigan, complained that the Treasury had resorted to "diabolical" and "un-American" tactics in photostating

the front pages of Detroit newspapers carrying news reports of Secretary Morgenthau's Detroit speech in favor of the Bretton Woods proposals and then sending them to his office.

"I feel the presentation of this around the country has been pretty one-sided," he said. "How are we going to get the other side before the people?"

"I don't know," replied Mr. Hemingway. "We haven't as long a pocketbook as the United States Treasury."

While the House committee has virtually agreed to hear at least eight more witnesses, and there may be more than that, Chairman Robert F. Wagner of the Senate committee, following a conference with President Roosevelt, has told associates that he had no intention of starting hearings until the House committee had concluded its testimony.

Meantime, the board of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is understood to have voted to endorse the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, but leave decision up to the board of the institution whether the problem of currency stabilization should be handled through separate fund such as was tentatively approved at Bretton Woods by a department in the bank itself or otherwise.

ed by the Army and

ALBERT, Pvt. FELLIX; Mrs. Elizabeth W. Albert, 14 E. 38th St., New York.
 ANDERSON, S/Sgt. WILLIAM H.; Mrs. Ethel M. Anderson, Mount Vernon.
 ANGLIM, T/5 EDWARD P.; Mrs. Grace Anglim, 3402 Avenue L, Brooklyn.
 ASCHER, Pvt. ARNOLD; Herman Ascher, 1326 St. Johns Pl., Brooklyn.
 BABCOCK, Evt. WRIGHT; Henry G. Babcock, White Plains.
 BATES, Pvt. MATTHEW J.; Mrs. Regina B. Bates, 337 E. 23d St., New York.
 BAUMAN, Pfc. JOSEPH; Alexander Bauman, 67-115 Darnmouth St., Forest Hills.
 BOHM, S/Sgt. CHARLES J.; Mrs. Grace M. Bohm, 2406 Walton Ave., Bronx, New York.
 BRULHARDT, Pvt. Arnold J.; Arnold Brulhardt St., 411 E. 56th St., New York.
 BRUNELL, 2d Lt. RICHARD C.; Mrs. Carolyn C. Brunell, New Rochelle.
 BUCKES, Pvt. ARTHUR C., Jr.; Arthur C. Buckes, 2193 Washington Ave., New York.
 BURMEISTER, Cpl. ROY; Julius Burmeister, 3034 Albany Crescent, New York.
 CAMPBELL, Pfc. RICHARD E.; Mrs. Jean E. Campbell, 140 E. 81st St., New York.
 CARLEO, Pvt. Joseph J.; Mrs. Line S. Carleio, Mount Vernon.
 CAVALLARO, Pvt. NICK; Mrs. L. Cavallaro, 260 5th Ave., Brooklyn.
 CHARTON, 1st Lt. ABRAHAM B.; Mrs. Charton, 905 E. 181st St., New York.
 CHIRICO, Pvt. FRANK R.; Mrs. Lina Chirico, Yonkers.
 COSSMAN, S/Sgt. MANFRED; Mrs. Lida Cossman, 876 W. 180th St., New York.
 DE CURTIS, Pfc. PAUL J.; Mrs. Audrey Curtis, 1658 Washington Ave., New York.
 DEDELAN, Pvt. ARA; Mrs. Victoria E. Dedelan, 30-10 82d St., Jackson Heights.
 DEFRANCESCO, T/5 SALVATORE; Mrs. Ida DeFrancesco, 1948 W. 7th St., Brooklyn.
 DEGIROLAMO, S/Sgt. NICHOLAS J.; Mrs. DeGirolamo, 176 Lafayette St., New York.
 DELELLA, Pfc. PETER D.; Mrs. Ralph D. Delella, 775 Greene Ave., Brooklyn.
 DELUCIA, Pvt. ANDREW V.; Mrs. Mar Delucia, 265 E. 4th St., New York.
 DENICOLA, Pvt. JOSEPH C., Jr.; Mrs. Joseph Denicola, 206 Franklin St., Brooklyn.
 DIAMANT, Pvt. ALEXANDER; Mrs. Lill

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 CUTTINGHAM, Pfc. STANTON G., JR.; Mrs. Lillian E. Cuttingham, 30 Milton Ave., Jersey City.
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 DE GIRONIMO, Cpl. JOSEPH L.; Mrs. Helen De Gironimo, Elizabeth.
 DEMBECK, Pvt. JOHN; Mrs. Catherine Dembeck, Weehawken.
 ENNIS, T/Sgt. RUSSELL D.; Mrs. Louise M. Dennis, 127 N. Third St., Newark.
 ECKMANN, Pfc. STEFFEN F.; John Dieckmann, Orange.
 ERTSEN, Pfc. WALTER A.; Walter Evertsen, Montclair.
 FICHER, Pfc. ROBERT G.; Mrs. Louisa Ficher, Roselle.
 FIAN, Pfc. RAYMOND J.; Mrs. Mary Fian, Rahway.
 FHWATE, Pfc. GEORGE E.; Mrs. Helen Firthwaite, Elizabeth.
 FV, CWO NATHAN; Isadore Gilkin, 1784 N. Pl., Newark.
 FSGT. ROBERT M.; Mrs. Sylvia G. 141 Huntington Terrace, Newark.
 Fvt. WILLIAM R.; Mrs. Phyllis L. Paterson.
 S/Sgt. ALBERT W.; Mrs. Jean Perth Amboy.
 FIC. STANLEY J.; Mrs. May Jodzio, Ave., Jersey City.
 F. WILLIAM J.; Mrs. Frances G. w Brunswick.
 F. EDMOND D.; Daniel E. Kelly, Bel.
 KELLY, Pfc. JOHN J.; Mrs. Anna Kelly, 573 Hunterdon St., Newark.
 LAMB, Sgt. JOSEPH L., JR.; Joseph L. Lamb St., 135 Clerk St., Jersey City.
 LASHER, Pvt. JOHN H.; Mrs. Anna Lasher, Edgewater.
 LAWLER, Pvt. CHARLES T.; Mrs. Kathryn Lawler, Union City.
 LEFSKY, T/5 MAX; Mrs. Sophie Lefsky, 424 Leslie St., Newark.
 LEMPFFERT, Pvt. WILLIAM J.; Mrs. Anna Lempfert, Elizabeth.
 LEVKOV, Pfc. HARRY; Mrs. Beatrice Blitzer, 491 Palisade Ave., Jersey City.
 LORELLO, Pvt. SAMUEL; Mrs. Emma R. Lorello, Rochelle Park.
 LUCAS, T/5 WILLIAM H., JR.; Mrs. Bertha A. Lucas, Boonton.
 LUKAS, Pfc. ANDY; Mrs. Mary Lukas, Perth Amboy.
 LUDWIG, Pfc. FREDERICK W.; Mrs. Eleanor Ludwig, Fair Lawn.
 MADEN, Pvt. FRED; Mrs. Helen M. Maden, 119 Market St., Clifton.
 MARCANTUONO, Pfc. VITO A.; Mrs. Angelina Marcantuono, 142 Garside St., Newark.
 MAUER, Pfc. CHARLES E.; Mrs. Evelyn Maurer, 46 E. Ninth St., Clifton.
 MCALCON, Pfc. CHARLES E.; Thomas C. McAlcon, 112 Hilton St., Nubley.
 MCCARTHY, Pfc. JEREMIAH F.; Mrs. Hanna McCarthy, Bayonne.
 MITCHELL, S/Sgt. FRANK A.; Mrs. Emilie J. Mitchell, 83 Summit Ave., Jersey City.
 MORRHO, T/5 SAM; Mrs. Flomena Morrito, 88 Hedges St., Newark.
 MOLL, 2d Lt. GEORGE J.; Mrs. Helen V. Moll, 2700 Boulevard, Jersey City.
 MOLLER, S/Sgt. CHARLES E.; Mrs. Nellie Moller, 45 Ravine Ave., Jersey City.
 MONCIONI, Pfc. SEBASTINNO; Mrs. Grace J. Moncioni, 78 16th Ave., Newark.
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 PITUK, Pvt. LASZLO, JR.; Mrs. Esther Pituk, South River.

CONNECTICUT
 ANGIOLILLO, Pfc. JAMES J.; Mrs. Josephine Angiolillo, Bridgeport.

BRETTON-OAKS LINK DRAWN BY ACHESON

Monetary Program and World
Security Plan Are Counter-
parts, State Official Says

FRASER'S VIEW CRITICIZED

Assistant Secretary, in Talks
at San Francisco, Calls for
World Economic Peace

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 23—Opinion is growing that the Bretton Woods Monetary program form an "absolutely essential counterpart" to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for a world security organization, Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, asserted here today.

Making two speeches and giving a press interview, he said that he could not see how it was possible "to organize for peace in the military field without organizing for peace in the monetary and economic field."

Mr. Acheson took issue with the testimony of Leon Fraser, president of the First National Bank of New York, before the House Banking and Currency Committee yesterday in which Mr. Fraser attacked the Bretton Woods proposal as "a grant in aid to Great Britain."

"This is a very extreme is not reckless way to talk about something as important as Bretton Woods," he said.

"If you go into the content of Mr. Fraser's idea you see that what he has in mind is a very traditional, and, if I may say so without offense, a very limited manking view."

Asks Economic Warfare End

The assistant secretary addressed the Commonwealth Club at noon and took part tonight in an institute held by the International Center to prepare San Francisco for the coming Security Conference.

"The heart of the Bretton Woods proposal," he said, "is that there must be some action to get the nations to agree to abandon methods of economic warfare—such methods as competitive exchange depreciation, multiple currencies and exchange controls."

"If you can't get countries to abandon these practices it does no good to make stabilization loans."

Mr. Acheson said the stabilization fund would terminate the monetary practices which Germany and Japan used in preparing for the attack on democracy.

"It has been said that the fund uses a novel method of lending," he went on. "The fact is that the fund is not novel except in the sense that forty-four countries would now do together on a multilateral basis what some of them have hitherto done on a bilateral basis. Our own exchange stabilization fund, established in 1934, has made agreements with about twelve countries to stabilize the exchange rate. This is precisely the method used by the International Monetary Fund."

Links Us to World Needs

The speaker asserted that "the true commercial interests" of the United States were not opposed to those of foreign countries but rather that "what we need from them agrees very closely with what they need from us."

"Obviously," he went on, "I am not suggesting that our tariff and currency laws ought to be written solely to please foreign countries. We will write them in the end to please ourselves."

"But we ought always to think of our whole interest. It is from that point of view that we should look at the Bretton Woods proposals, the trade agreements program, the pending water treaty, the pending aviation agreement, the pending war sale of export subsidies, the pending proposals on civil aviation and other proposals on that will have effects abroad."

"We and the rest of the world have earned once again that our interests are served by sitting down together in a reasonable frame of mind and agreeing the ways to compromise and promote our common interests."

in the post-war world can be achieved only by carefully building an organization that will do its utmost to assure to the peoples of the world a full opportunity of living in freedom from want as well as in freedom from external aggression."

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"But we ought always to think of our whole interest. It is from that point of view that we should look at the Bretton Woods proposals, the trade agreements program, the M. T. water treaty, the pending legislation on post-war sale of the programs of export subsidies, wheat and cotton, the Chinese proposals on civil aviation and other proposals for economic cooperation that will have effects abroad."

"We and the group of other countries that have earned once again fundamental interests are served by trying to go it alone, by sitting down together in a reasonable frame of mind and proposing the ways to compromise our interests and promote common interest. The greatest of all to do that will be at San Francisco on April 25."

Nor did the Secretary of the Treasury and several educators spoke at sessions of the Center's institute.

Evatt Gives Views

Dr. W. E. Evatt, Australia's Foreign Minister, speaking at the exercises of the University of California, voiced the hope that full employment and freedom from want would be numbered among the goals of the proposed international organization to be set up at the San Francisco conference.

It was important, he said, "that the economic clauses should be based upon the clear language of the objectives stated in the Atlantic Charter by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, and should also endeavor to establish machinery to carry those objectives into effect."

"Peace is a great objective," Dr. Evatt went on, "but it is not the only objective. Indeed, it is possible to have a world peace in which people would have no redress against Fascist dictatorships, and would be forced to live in perpetual want. That would indeed be creating a desert and calling it peace."

"The truth is that real stability

in the post-war world can be achieved only by carefully building an organization that will do its utmost to assure to the peoples of the world a full opportunity of living in freedom from want as well as in freedom from external aggression."

URGES CIO WORLD STUDIES

Murray Calls Period to April 25
'United Nations Month'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 21—The four weeks preceding the United Nations conference in San Francisco on April 25 will be designated "United Nations Month" within the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Philip Murray, president, stated today in a letter to all CIO affiliates.

During this period all CIO locals and members are urged to undertake studies and discussions of the London World Trade Union Conference, the Bretton Woods Agreement, Dumbarton Oaks, the Crimea Conference, the San Francisco meeting and similar world security conferences and proposals, Mr. Murray said.

"It will be up to Congress, particularly the Senate, to ratify the San Francisco decisions, and it will be up to the American people to insist that they do so," he wrote.

Mr. Murray also urged CIO members to ask members of Congress to vote for the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement without amendments.

to pace the Eastern League in double plays, will be lost to the Phils for at least six weeks. Daniels will enter a hospital Friday to have a cyst removed from his shoulder. "It looks like I'll have to move Garvin Hamner from shortstop to second, and I don't know if he can play it," said Manager Fitzsimmons.

MUNCIE, Ind., March 21 (AP)—Flurries of snow mingled with a rain sent the Pirates into their high school field house for today's drills.

Lefty Fritz Ostermeyer, a Dodger cast-off who won 13 games for Pittsburgh last year, and Third Baseman Bob Fitzsimmons arrived. A nine-inning intra-league game is planned tomorrow.

EVANSVILLE, Ind., March 21 (AP)—Twelve players, including six from Buffalo of the International League, were still reported to-day as the Tigers went through a stiff workout. Among the infielders Carl McNabb and Bobby Maier raised the squad to twenty-three.

Waste fats in ammunition. Save them for your country. Give them to your butcher and he will give you red points in return.

51
DC-1 UNCIO-General

stitutes no violation of the so-called Little Steel or any other kind of formula. The revenue would not be available to purchase goods and chattels. It would be used for investment and insurance, which are considered to be non-inflationary. It does not increase values. It does not lower the purchasing value of the dollar. It does make a contribution to economic stability. It expresses those dreams and hopes which lie close to the miner and his family. It is the answer to the most of demands. Mr. Lewis remarks after each of the financial statements: "There is nothing in that which contravenes the anti-inflationary policy of the Government."

Discussing the demand for lunch payment, the UMW president said because during the time the employees are on strike the coal companies are subjected to the same hazards. He summarized any demand for an increase in the basic wage structure of the industry. There is no suggestion of an increase in the basic hourly rate. Contrary to the advance bill that many of our literary men gave this meeting and the government people who lock themselves up in a room, look into a sky glass and tell what the United Mine Workers is going to do.

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DC-1 UNCLIO- General

PARALLELS PETRILLO CASE

Lewis Demands for Royalty Resembles Issue on Recordings

The demand of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, for a royalty on every ton of bituminous coal mined in the United States for a welfare fund for his union parallels that made by James C. Petrillo.

BRETTON WOODS PLAN IS BACKED IN CANADA

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 30—During the debate in the Canadian Parliament on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the attitude of the Canadian delegation to the San Francisco World Security Conference, repeated reference was made to the Bretton Woods proposals and, although the latter were not directly under discussion, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King took the opportunity to convey to the House that the Canadian Government was favorably disposed toward their acceptance.

Criticism of the proposals had come from the Social Credit party members, and Mr. King did not, he said, wish to leave the House under the impression that he agreed with their interpretation and analysis of the proposals. Throughout the debate on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals he said member after member had properly insisted on the great importance of achieving international collaboration in the economic as well as the political field. Prosperity, like peace, was indivisible, and the whole peace edifice would totter if it were not founded on conditions of material well-being throughout the world, he added.

Explaining his attitude toward the proposals, John Blackmore, leader of the Social Credit party, said that of the two definite Bretton Woods proposals—one on the international lending body and the other on the international stabilization body—the international bankers opposed the former and the Social Credit party opposed the stabilization body.

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TELLS HOUSE GROUP OF BRETON FLAWS

Burgess, Head of A.B.A., Says
the Monetary Fund Should
Be Part of World Bank

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, March 21 —

W. Randolph Burgess, president of the American Bankers Association, warned the House Banking and Currency Committee today of "very grave dangers" in the Bretton Woods proposals, but pointed to the recommendations made on Monday by the Committee for Economic Development as offering a possible compromise.

"The greatest danger in this thing, we being a mercurial people, is that we might start by being Uncle Sucker and end up by being Uncle Shylock," he declared.

While Mr. Burgess suggested that the CED proposal might offer an ultimate compromise of differences over the Bretton Woods legislation, he emphasized that it would be better to make the more thorough-going revisions proposed by the banking organization.

The association's proposal would dispense with the projected \$8,800,000,000 Monetary Fund, substituting a department for currency stabilization in the \$9,100,000,000 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Burgess Offers Suggestions

Mr. Burgess, who is vice chairman of the National City Bank of New York, stressed the following considerations:

In "marked contrast to the procedure with respect to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals," the Bretton Woods agreements are offered for adoption "after little public discussion."

President Roosevelt in his instructions to the American Bretton Woods delegates "limited the scope of their deliberations" to a set of principles which had been drawn up previously.

The bankers' association's changes would probably not require another international conference for their approval but why dread another conference when must be held anyway on commercial policies?

The scope of the problem faced in the field of international money is not as great as supposed, for while "we and they think of Uncle Sam as rich as Croesus, he has lately been growing poorer and other countries richer." Devastated areas abroad are "limited to parts of a few countries and many of the countries of the world are affluent."

A fatal flaw in the proposed fund is that no veto is given to member countries as to the use of the assets they contribute, a striking difference from the proposed bank which contains such a veto authority, Mr. Burgess said.

U. S. Held to Lack Veto in Fund

If dollars become scarce and we are asked to put up some more of them and do not do so, we will be called "Uncle Shylock" once again, even though in the fund as now proposed we would have no veto control over the dollars we initially deposit with the fund.

Despite assertions of its backers that the Bretton Woods proposals would end or minimize economic warfare, "the agreement attacks only the monetary weapons of that warfare, and only partially attacks these, namely currency depreciation and exchange controls." But tariffs can be raised or lowered, quotas, embargoes, subsidies on production, export bounties, preferences and bilateral agreements (outside the fund) can all be used.

There should be only one international monetary institution because "confusion would be almost inevitable" between the separate governing boards of the proposed fund and bank.

"We believe that the objectives set forth at Bretton Woods can be accomplished by about half of the commitment of the present proposals.

"Stable currency conditions come from inside a country, not from without." In the final analysis it is internal policies which count and nothing could be worse, or less kindly, than to make funds too easily available without adequate assurance of their proper use, Mr. Burgess said.

CED Proposals are Injected

Representative Paul Brown, Democrat of Georgia, brought up the CED proposals by asking the witness if he was familiar with them. The CED urged that the fund be "strengthened" by empow-

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Representative Paul Brown, Democrat of Georgia, brought up the CED proposals by asking the witness if he was familiar with them. The CED urged that the fund be "strengthened" by empowering the bank to make stabilization loans. No amendment of the Bretton Woods bank document would be required, Treasury officials said, because Bretton Woods conferees understood that the bank could make such loans.

Here is what Mr. Burgess told the committee was "interesting" to him in the CED proposals:

DOCTOR GOES TO PRISON

Gets 2 Years for Selling Morphine to Narcotic Addicts

Dr. Samuel Henry Dender, 55 year-old physician of 780 West Elm Avenue, received a two-year prison sentence and was fined \$1,500 yesterday by Federal Judge Grover M. Moscowitz before whom he was convicted of selling prescriptions for the purchase of morphine. The court remarked that Dr. Dender had admitted having dealt with twenty-nine well-known narcotic addicts and having issued 560 prescriptions.

In setting the penalties recommended by Arthur H. T. as assistant United States Judge Moscowitz said he was taking into consideration Dr. Dender's "prostitution" of his profession for money, and also that the physician's three children would share the suffering caused by his misdeeds. He said Dr. Dender, in helping to make the narcotic available to addicts, had acted for the destruction instead of the preservation of

Waste paper cartons, bombs and shells to the enemy. Send yours to the salvage collection.

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out the best in your dressmaking skill

UNION GROUP BACKS WORLD BANK, FUND

**Committee Headed by Green
Urges Congress to Approve
Bretton Woods Agreements**

The American Labor Conference on International Affairs made public yesterday a report urging Congressional approval of the Bretton Woods agreements for an international monetary fund and bank for reconstruction and development, on the ground that they would facilitate full employment at home and abroad and would promote world peace. It took issue with the heads of the American Bankers Association, saying they were trying to have the fund dropped or postponed.

The conference was organized by union leaders two years ago to study war and post-war problems, under the chairmanship of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. Its Bretton Woods report was written by Dr. Albert Halasi of its research staff. The agreements, tentatively approved last summer by delegations from forty-four nations at Bretton Woods, N. H., are now being considered at hearings before the House of Representatives Banking and Currency Committee at Washington.

Critics' Views Rejected

Criticism of Bretton Woods on the score that it would force this country to let down its tariff barriers, increase its imports and thereby risk lowered domestic production, was rejected by Dr. Halasi as showing an "incomplete understanding" of the post-war export-import problem. Despite the traditional fear of American labor that low tariffs might mean unemployment because of competition from low-cost foreign products, he repeatedly expressed the opinion that reduction of American tariffs would be desirable in many respects, including employment. He said it would protect the resources of the fund and the bank, stimulate world trade in all directions, increase the "real" income of this and other countries, and facilitate the service of foreign debts.

Dr. Halasi agreed with the critics that the Bretton Woods plan in itself is not enough to solve all the world's post-war economic problems. To make the fund and the bank work, he said, it will be necessary for the participating nations simultaneously to pursue "adequate" employment policies, for the creditor nations like the United States to keep up a constant flow of foreign loans as long as the economically backward peoples need them, and for all governments to establish "appropriate" exchange rates and reduce their tariff barriers.

Early Action Is Favored

He said it would not make any sense, however, to postpone action on the Bretton Woods agreements until such additional policies are adopted. In the interim, he pointed out, if the fund and the bank are not allowed to operate, their absence will militate against the efforts of various nations to put correct economic policies into effect outside the monetary field.

Although many have believed the bank would be more important than the fund in promoting employment, since exports should be increased by guaranteed long-term loans, the Halasi report found that the fund would have an even more important role to play in this respect, through its stabilization features. Dr. Halasi also held that the fund would be able to render especially important services in the transition period from war to peace.

The report argued that both the fund and the bank would promote employment by developing and maintaining foreign trade. It said they would tend to increase the "real" incomes of the member nations in goods, services and leisure, and to reduce such transitional and "inferior" employment as have their origin in the maladjustment of international trade.

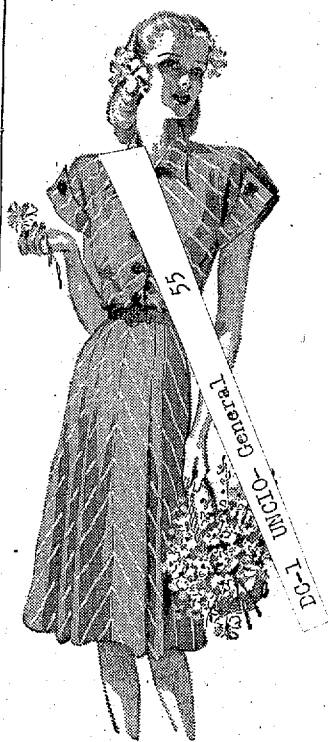
INVADER REJOINS FAMILY

Finds Mother and Brother He
Left in Germany in 1930

WITH THE THIRD UNITED STATES ARMY, March 22 (UP)—It was home-coming day for Pfc. Helmut Bollenbacher of Wilkinsburg, Pa., when his anti-aircraft battery entered Osbach, Germany.

He was born in Osbach and left it in 1930. He had not heard from his mother or other members of the family that he left behind and some of his comrades suggested that he might find them in the town, but he was not too hopeful. He found the house where he once lived and opened the door. Inside sat his brother, Hans, reading. His mother stood washing dishes at the kitchen sink. Neither recognized the American soldier until he took off his helmet and exclaimed: "Mama! Mama!"

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Readers Digest
Feb. 1945



The READER'S DIGEST

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form

February 1945

What the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan Means

By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. + Secretary of State

The experts framed a plan. Here we as citizens are challenged to understand it, discuss it — and do something about it

★ ★ ★

THE STAKE of the American people in the maintenance of peace after this war could not be greater. We hate war. Yet twice in a generation we have been forced to fight to defend our freedom and our vital interests against powerful aggressors.

Our young men are giving their lives daily because we and other peace-loving nations did not succeed after the last war in organizing and maintaining peace. It is up to us to see that their sons — and ours — are not forced to give their lives in another great war 25 years from now.

In this war we were attacked last by the aggressors and we have been able to fight them far from our own soil. The range of the airplane and the new weapons already developed make certain that next time — if we permit a next time — the devastation of war will be brought to our own

homes and our own soil. Next time — if we permit a next time — it is likely that the United States will be attacked first, not last, by an aggressor nation.

After we have won this war we shall have only one alternative to preparing for the next war. That is to prevent the next war. It is imperative that we start now. We can do it only by planning and developing, in co-operation with the other peace-loving peoples of the world, an organized peace that will really work.

I

A sound peace plan must be based on the facts as they are and aimed at the realization of our ideals for a peaceful world. Both of these requirements, I think, are met by the proposals which were drafted last summer and fall at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China. I wish here to state what I believe to be the plan's animating spirit and its practical operating value.

These proposals did not spring from thin air. They were preceded by long and careful studies among many sorts of people in each of the four countries. In the United States advice was sought not only of technical experts in the Department of State but of political leaders of both parties in Congress, of qualified high officers of our Army and Navy, and of notable private citizens of varying views. The proposals are the outcome of patient research and of broad consultation. Every effort is now being made to submit them to the thoughts and suggestions of all the people of America.

There are four corners to the plan proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

The first is this: peace can be maintained only if the peace-loving nations of the world band together for that purpose. In doing so, they must recognize the sovereign principle of the equality of all of them and, at the same time, the fact of the inequality of their power to prevent war.

The phrase "sovereign equality" is enshrined in Principle Number One of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. It means that every peace-loving state, however small, has the same supreme authority over its own territory as any other state, however large. Each such state, irrespective of size, is an international individuality. Each, therefore, has both a right to a voice in the affairs of the family of nations and a responsibility to share in the task of creating a peaceful world order.

Conforming to this principle, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals provide that membership in the new Interna-

tional Organization shall be open to all "peace-loving" states large and small. The proposals provide for a General Assembly in which all member states will be represented on an equal footing. They also provide for a smaller body of 11 members — the Security Council — in which the five most powerful nations will be permanent members.

All members of the Organization undertake to settle their disputes peacefully and to fulfill the other obligations to maintain and strengthen peace which would be assumed by them under the proposed Charter of the Organization. Within the limits of these undertakings the representatives of the member nations will cast their votes on any international issue in the manner that their own countries may direct; and each of them will be chosen by his own country in any way that his own country may prefer. National sovereignty remains unimpaired.

The aim of the Organization is twofold. It is to prevent and suppress wars. It is also to make peace constantly stronger by developing closer, more friendly and mutually profitable relations among the member states.

The primary responsibility for the prevention and suppression of war rests with the Security Council. This is because it is a task that can be performed effectively only by a small body, which must include the five great powers as permanent members. In this function the Assembly also has an important secondary role to play.

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economic and social conditions favorable to peace rests with the Assembly. This is a responsibility that can be carried out successfully only by continuing and developing agreement among all member nations, large and small.

II

This war has shown that small states in an era of mechanized warfare are unable to defend themselves against great aggressors. Only the great powers possess the industrial capacity and other military resources required by the United Nations to defeat the Axis aggressors. Similarly, wars can be prevented and suppressed in the future only if the great powers employ their dominant physical power justly and in unity of purpose to that end. Hence the place that the Dumbarton Oaks Plan gives to a Security Council. Hence, too, the position assigned to the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France as permanent members of the Council. In addition, the Security Council is to have six non-permanent members, elected for two-year terms by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. The supreme duty of the Security Council is to "take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles" set down in the Charter of the new International Organization.

These measures constitute the second corner of the peace plan. They fall into two groups — those necessary to prevent wars and those necessary to suppress them.

All member states undertake the

obligation to settle their disputes peacefully, by means of their own choice. They may do so by negotiation, mediation, arbitration, conciliation or judicial processes. Many local or regional differences can be settled by regional arrangements without reference to the Security Council.

If, however, means like these fail, then the nations are obligated to come to the Security Council, which also has the power, on its own initiative, to investigate any dispute and to recommend methods of adjustment. In this connection the General Assembly is empowered to consider any question relating to the maintenance of peace and security and to make recommendations on it, provided that the Security Council is not already actively engaged in dealing with it.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals also provide for an International Court of Justice to which any dispute that can be settled by rules of law shall be referred. Its statute — or constitution — will be the same as that of the present Permanent Court of International Justice with minor necessary modifications, or based upon it. This Court will be the judicial organ of the new United Nations International Organization. The Security Council may seek its advice on all legal questions involved in international disputes.

It is only after all means for the peaceful prevention of war have been exhausted that the Security Council will then turn to forceful means for the prevention or suppression of war.

As the first of these further steps the Security Council may call upon all members of the new International

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Organization to apply pressure to any offending state by such non-military means as "the severance of diplomatic and economic relations" and "complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication."

If these further means are not enough, the Security Council is empowered to take military action "by air, naval or land forces."

The members of the new International Organization would agree, in the Charter itself, that throughout these efforts the Security Council would be acting "on their behalf." They would also agree to assume the obligation to make "armed forces" and "facilities" and "assistance" available to the Security Council "on its call" and in accordance with special agreements previously concluded. To insure effective employment of these forces the Security Council is to be provided with a Military Staff Committee composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent member nations of the Council or their representatives.

The Security Council is thus given powers which the Council of the League of Nations did not possess. The League's powers proved too weak. It is surely evident that stronger powers are necessary.

On the other hand, these stronger powers do not produce what some commentators have described as an "Irresponsible and Uncontrollable Great-Power Super-State." The Plan contains many checks to the contrary. For example:

(1) The Security Council cannot call upon any state for armed

forces except to an extent agreed upon beforehand by that state itself. Each state will determine its own international contribution of armed forces through a special agreement or agreements signed by itself and ratified by its own constitutional processes. That is, the Dumbarton Oaks Plan leaves each state free to set its own limit upon the quantity and quality of the armed forces and other military facilities and assistance that it will furnish to the Security Council. The Security Council cannot require it to go beyond that limit. The Security Council does not in any way become the arbitrary master of the world's military resources. (2) The great powers who are to be the five permanent members of the Security Council do not constitute a majority of the Council. Any decision of the Council would therefore require the affirmative votes of at least some of the six nonpermanent members. (3) In the General Assembly the smaller powers, with their overwhelming majority of the membership, may adopt a recommendation on a question of peace before that question rises for action in the Security Council. The General Assembly is to meet at least once a year. It may meet oftener. It is to receive annual and special reports from the Security Council and has the power to consider them and to express either its approval or dissent. Agreement among the great powers is an essential condition of peace. At the same time, the opportunity of the smaller powers, under the Dum-

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agreed to it
Dumbarton Oaks Plan, to stand sentinel over the behavior of the great powers is surely far greater than it ever could be in a world left unorganized and planlessly open to predatory aggression.

III

The third corner of the peace plan is the essential complement of the second. To prevent and suppress wars is not enough, just as winning this war will not of itself bring us lasting peace. If we are to have lasting peace, we have to *build* peace. We have to build it stone by stone continuously over the years within the framework of such an Organization as that proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. We have to *make peace* with the same strong purpose and the same united effort which we have given to *making war*.

In this field the General Assembly of all the member states of the proposed United Nations International Organization will be the highest representative body in the world. It will represent the ideal of a common world humanity, and a common world purpose to promote international coöperation, extend the rule of law in international relations and advance the material and cultural welfare of all men.

The function of the Assembly as a free forum of all peace-loving nations and its wide powers of investigation and recommendation are in themselves powerful weapons for peace in an age when public opinion can be instantaneously mobilized by press and radio.

But the Assembly will also have at its command an effective instrument

of continuous action in building peace. This is the Economic and Social Council to be created under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

This arm of the General Assembly is provided for in recognition of a great fact which increasingly characterizes the international life of our times. It is the fact that the whole world is more and more one single area of interdependent technological inventions, industrial methods, marketing problems and their related social effects. This interdependence destroys any equilibrium that may ever have existed between so-called "advanced" countries and "backward" countries. It means either universal economic friction which will disrupt the world toward war or universal economic coöperation which will harmonize the world toward peace. Failure to recognize this fact after the last war was one of the reasons why this war got started.

The Economic and Social Council is to be elected, without help of the Security Council, by the General Assembly of all states. It is to consist of representatives of 18 states, holding their posts for three-year terms. It has no power of compulsion. By voluntary means it is, under the direction of the Assembly, to "facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems" and to "promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

It will create commissions in all fields of economic and social activity that it may consider appropriate. The members of these commissions will not be political or diplomatic delegates. They will be technical ex-

perts. They will furnish professional advice to the Economic and Social Council and to the Assembly. There will be a secretariat and research staff for all projects.

The Assembly and its Economic and Social Council will also provide a center for coördinating the numerous separate specialized international organizations now or hereafter operating for economic and social progressive purposes.

There is the International Labor Organization with its long record of successful service to sound labor causes. There is the proposed United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization with its heavy duty of service both to the food-producers of agricultural countries and to the food-consumers of all countries. There is the proposed International Monetary Fund and the proposed International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with their highly difficult and delicate responsibilities toward the world's currencies and the world's investment funds. Under discussion also are new international "specialized" organizations in aviation, in cartel control, in health, in education, in wire and wireless communications, in foreign trade, and in many individual agricultural and industrial commodities.

All these organizations, clearly, are but so many spokes to the international wheel. They need a hub. The Dumbarton Oaks Plan authorizes the Assembly to act as that hub with the Economic and Social Council as its principal operating mechanism. It provides that all specialized international organizations shall be brought into relationship with the

new general International Economic and Social Council under approval of the General Assembly. It provides further that the Economic and Social Council shall receive reports from the specialized international organizations and shall, under the General Assembly's authority, coördinate their policies and activities. Here for the first time we see the possible emergence of an advisory Economic General Staff of the World.

It can be soundly hoped that the recommendations of the General Assembly and its Economic and Social Council, proceeding from what will be the concentrated headquarters of the world's economic and social thought, will promptly reach the form of widely ratified treaties and agreements making for fuller employment and higher standards of living in all countries. The attainment of these objectives is indispensable to building a peace that will last.

IV

I now come to the fourth corner of the square on which the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals would erect an edifice of peaceful international relations.

This is the progressive reduction of armaments, which in the modern world have become a crushing burden on the resources of all nations. If we, in this country, for example, could have used for productive peacetime purposes only one half of what we have devoted to arms for this war, we would have advanced beyond measure the standard of living of the American people. And after this war

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is won, the rate of economic advancement for ourselves and for all peoples will be determined in important measure by the rate of armaments reduction that the nations of the world are able to achieve.

The General Assembly of the new International Organization is to "consider the general principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments." The Security Council is to go further. In order to achieve "the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments," it is to formulate "plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments" and it is to submit those plans to all members of the new International Organization.

It is not proposed this time that the United States or any other members of the new International Organization shall disarm as an example. It is proposed that all members of the Organization shall travel the road together and at the fastest possible joint pace.

No nation, however, is likely to travel either fast or far on this road until it feels able to place full reliance for its security on the International Organization. The nations of the world will give up guns only in so far as they make the new Organization work, as they gradually build up a living body of international law, as they create and operate effective joint instrumentalities to keep the peace, and as they develop strong and sure means of economic and social cooperation to their mutual benefit.

Thus the fourth corner of the peace plan is dependent upon the other three.

V

Such is the plan. I think it takes into account both the world's stubborn realities and the world's unquenchable aspirations. Nor is it deficient, I am certain, in what the authors of the Declaration of Independence rightly called "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." No other peace plan in history has been so fully exposed to the impact of those opinions.

The proposals emerged from their Dumbarton Oaks stage on October 9 of last year. They were disseminated to the whole world. For months now they have been the subject of study by all governments, by the press and radio and by individuals and groups in all countries. They will go in due course to a conference of the nations which are fighting this war to build a world of freedom and peace. They will then go to their home countries for approval by their legislatures or other appropriate governmental bodies.

We seek a calm and considered and complete popular judgment upon this plan and then, if it is approved and ratified, a solid effective support for it not merely by governments but by peoples. In the end it is *they*, and only *they*, who by their determined purpose, their understanding and their continuing loyalty can bring to the world peace, security and progress.

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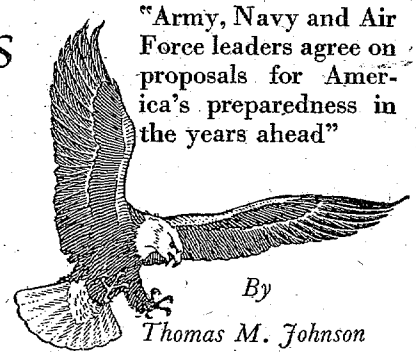
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The Military Essentials for Our Postwar Safety

OUR foremost military and naval leaders are hard at work on plans for postwar defense. They are drafting, they say, a national peace-insurance policy. It calls for payment of a premium in sweat, and perhaps a few tears. But its authors are confident that in return, insofar as any measures can, it will assure us freedom from war so long as we keep up the premiums. They believe we will never let the policy lapse once we comprehend the military facts of life as they will be after this war.

Army and Navy leaders are agreed that, if any aggressor again attempts world conquest, this nation will be attacked first of all. We shall be hit suddenly, by surprise, and hard. We can never again expect that other nations will take the first shock and hold off the enemy until we can arm.

The reason is plain. We have twice shown the world that we have greater



"Army, Navy and Air Force leaders agree on proposals for America's preparedness in the years ahead"

By

Thomas M. Johnson

war power than any other nation on earth when given time to mobilize it. So a future aggressor's first goal must be to crush us before he attacks anyone else; and not give us what we have always needed in other emergencies — time.

Such a blow has become possible. We are no longer out of reach. Today's airplanes cross oceans on routine operations. Tomorrow the B-29 — which can drop a big bomb load on targets 1000 miles distant and come home — will be superseded by planes with much longer range, dropping more powerful bombs. Planes dragging gliders laden with airborne troops will be able to fly from Europe or Asia and land men to seize Pittsburgh steel mills or the Mississippi River bridges. In the foreseeable future are improved invasion craft which could land troops and supplies on our coasts. There will be robot bombs of increased power, longer range and greater accuracy, launched from planes, from carriers, from islands — perhaps even from other continents. We may be struck out of the blue by lightnings we did not know existed.

"Our geographical position can no

THOMAS M. JOHNSON's article is the product of a long series of consultations with military and naval leaders. He has been a close student of military affairs since 1917, when he was the New York Sun's war correspondent with Pershing's armies. He has known this war's generals ever since they were captains. He has contributed regularly to the leading magazines for 20 years. His books include *Without Censor*, *Our Secret War*, *The Lost Battalion* (with Fletcher Pratt).

longer be considered a protection," says Secretary of War Stimson.

We must never again invite attack by scrapping half our navy and most of our army or skimping our air force to 100 new planes a year, as we did before this war. "Modern requirements will no longer permit extermination after the outbreak of war," says General George C. Marshall.

The men who are doing the planning believe wholeheartedly that we should participate actively in an international organization for peace. But that in itself, they say, is one of the best reasons for preparedness. Our influence in any international league for peace will be directly proportionate to our armed strength. And such a league will have a much better chance of success if backed by power, and power that is ready to be unleashed on the instant. That, they sincerely believe, is the only sure way to secure the better world Americans desire and now have a splendid chance to establish.

We need not, and should not, remain armed to the teeth. But we shall need a peacetime force, streamlined, modern — designed to meet the next emergency, not the last one.

Such a postwar defense policy is being framed in many meetings of Army and Navy officers assigned to this specific task. Admiral H. E. Yarnell is in charge of postwar planning for the Navy; Major General William F. Tompkins heads the Army group; Major General Harold L. George represents the Air Forces. The Secretaries of War and Navy keep in closest touch with the progress of the work, as do the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The final form of

the defense plan will be influenced by whatever international commitments the United States makes. But this is a rough first draft of what our military leaders believe will be best for our country:

Our First Need — Watchfulness

OUR PRIMARY need is to guard against surprise attack. We must have a better Intelligence service than ever before. No more such cheeseparing as deprived our prewar army and navy of means to intercept and read Japanese code messages. No more such squeamishness about using "spies" as concealed from us Japan's full air and sea strength. We, as urgently as anyone, shall need to know what the world's armies, navies and air forces are doing and planning.

The best defense is of course the ability to take the offensive. The British balked invasion not by lining up on their own beaches armed with shotguns, but by smashing the German landing craft *on the Continent* with an air force. The RAF was ready; it got there first. And so must we, next time. To be sure we can do it, we need — not the biggest army, navy and air force — but the most modern, the most ready for action.

To be ready for action we must have, as near as can be to the possible sources of aggression, outposts well equipped as bases for our armed forces, and as warning stations against surprise attack. We need not keep active all our wartime island installations. Many can be boarded up. For peacetime we need only the key ones. We could control the Caribbean from Trinidad, Borinquen in Puerto Rico, and Guantánamo in Cuba; the south-

ern Atlantic from Brazil; the northern Atlantic from Newfoundland and Labrador. In the Pacific, we should not board up Alaska or the Aleutians. We should strongly fortify at least Guam, Truk and one of the Bonins, giving us two routes to the Philippines which we should fortify as firm bridgeheads against future Asiatic danger.

Wherever necessary there should be agreements involving reciprocal use of bases with Great Britain, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and Canada; with Ecuador, whose Galápagos Islands out-post the Panama Canal; and possibly with Spain and Portugal, whose Canaries, Cape Verdes and Azores are possible stepping stones for invasion of America.

Each outpost needs complete radar and radio-interception equipment; anti-aircraft and naval installations, dispersed against bombing attack; and also dispersed and concealed underground facilities for the great bombers that would be first to "smack down" an aggressor.

Air — the Best Defense

THE front line now is the bomber line. We should push it out as far as possible to protect the home front.

Probably the best single way to discourage aggression will be to possess the world's finest air force. Not the world's biggest, but its most up-to-date. Five thousand of yesterday's planes do not equal one thousand of today's. And tomorrow's? "We are now battering on the door of the speed of sound," says Robert A. Lovett, Assistant Secretary of War for Air. "Once we break through and

solve the problem of compressibility, no one knows how fast we can go."

Our air force must always be ready to take off with better planes and fliers than anyone else has, if only because of the great distances we must cover. We must protect not only our cities but our bases and our sea and air trade routes.

Thus far, the best defense against robot bombs is an air force that can smash the installations that launch and manufacture them.

The Army Air Force is planning a comprehensive postwar experimental program, to insure continued superiority of aircraft design. It also plans support of the air-frame and aircraft-engine industries; there can be no air force if they are starved in peacetime. The Air Force believes we should encourage private flying and air transport and keep an expandable nucleus of the Air Transport Command. Since air power is not only planes but men, it favors supplying planes to schools to train youth to fly.

Most Army airmen want greater autonomy than the Air Force now possesses. Some would make two air forces; one tactical, under Army control, for close coöperation with ground troops; another strategic — an independent force comprising big bombers, parachute and glider-borne troops, robot bombs and similar long-range weapons of the future.

Naval air will remain under naval command according to the present plan, but grow in importance, possibly comprising almost half our total naval personnel. Carriers and carrier-borne planes are growing larger. They will be used not only to bomb the enemy but to spy him out for the

triphibious — air, sea and land — task force that at every major base is to be always ready, like a fire department, to dash to the danger zone. The Marines, now “soldiers of the sea,” will become increasingly “soldiers of the air.” Their assignment will be to drop by parachute or glider to secure landing places, beachheads and airfields for Army troops following closely behind them.

Strongest — Not Biggest — Navy

It is foreseen that our peacetime navy must police the entire Pacific Ocean and the western Atlantic; the British the eastern Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. Three tentative plans have been drawn for a postwar navy. Which one is adopted will depend upon our international commitments and how secure the postwar horizon looks. All would give us the world's strongest navy, though not necessarily its biggest. The plan is not to keep active all the present vast fleet, which equals the fleets of all other nations combined. We would scrap some of the myriad small vessels and landing craft but — remembering 1922's hard lesson — we would not scrap a single fighting ship. We would lay up a great number of our warships, preventing internal rust by a new process, holding them ready for quick service. Still the plan is to keep active a fleet with three times the strength of our whole Navy before Pearl Harbor.

Our active fleet would comprise roughly 15 battleships, 30 cruisers, 75 destroyers, 150 submarines (we have licked the Germans' subs but the Japs haven't licked ours) and at least 30 of the larger carriers. All of

these would be the newest we have built. The whole would be the balanced fleet every Navy man has prayed for, built to hit harder and take more punishment from shell, torpedo or bomb than any fleet afloat. It would also be able to fight farther from land bases, thanks not only to the ships' storage capacity but to the strong service forces — repair ships, tankers, supply ships — that constitute floating bases. The admirals warn against a navy anchored to immovable bases.

A Mobile Army

For the Army there are two futures: the immediate four or five years following the war's end, and the long-range future. The first may require a force of several million to garrison at least conquered Japan and Germany and our outposts; the second will require a smaller permanent Army. This will be composed of a mobile force ready for emergencies, garrison troops for our bases, “housekeeping troops” for overhead and maintenance, and instructors for the reserves.

The new army will be divided as now among ground, service and air forces. Against tomorrow's threat of surprise attack, the ground forces will be highly motorized for quick movement to danger spots. The air forces will be proportionately larger. So will all anti-aircraft units. Units should not, as hitherto, be broken up and scattered among obsolete “forts” which were located where they are in order to pacify Indians — or Congressmen. Our anti-aircraft and other forces should be grouped for quick protection of areas vulnerable to sea

or air attack, and for easy assembly for maneuvers.

Above all we must not retreat to the days before Pearl Harbor when our entire mobile army would not have filled the Yankee Stadium.

General Marshall believes that our army of the eventual future should be strong enough instantly to crush an aggressor, or failing that, to hold him until our reserves can be gathered. No one knows exactly how many men that will require in 1950; perhaps 2,000,000. The total is not large relatively to what other great powers are likely to maintain.

The Army will comprise the volunteer National Guard, which will also be our first line of reserve, made up principally of anti-aircraft and other home-defense troops, which will be increasingly important for the reason that America will be in reach of attack; and the volunteer "standing army." General Marshall believes in a relatively small standing army, with a relatively large reserve, lest "leadership in war and the control of military preparations and policy in peacetime" be concentrated "largely and necessarily in a special class or caste of professional soldiers." To prevent this about one third of the 2,000,000 always under arms must be reserves, undergoing training through universal military service.

The Army and Navy are going to insist that funds for large-scale maneuvers must be part of any preparedness program — as important as money for planes or guns.

Secretary Stimson warns:

"If attacked by a powerful enemy or group of enemies, we will not be given time to extemporize an army

from the untrained youth of the nation."

Universal Training Assumed

THE ARMY is building its plans on the assumption that Congress will pass a law providing that every able-bodied young American shall be trained for one year to defend his country. After training, these men would be reservists, ready to return to active duty if emergency required.

This would give us a strong army that knew its stuff in two months — not two years, as hitherto. The Army would get for training yearly about 650,000 boys at 18 or at graduation from high school. The Navy and Marines, who for the first time favor universal training, would train some 200,000 to man the reserve fleet. In five years the nation would have a reservoir of 5,000,000 trained men, including former one-year trainees and former officers of the regular army. Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer, the War Department's principal authority on this subject, believes that had we possessed such a reservoir in 1941 we would not have been attacked.

Polls indicate about 65 percent of the people and 70 percent of the soldiers (nearly 90 percent of officers) favor universal military training — now. Press and Congress favor it almost unanimously — now. The Army and Navy would like the law passed — now — before victory comes, and with it the return, as in 1919-20, to that cheerful optimism which in peacetime pursuits is our greatest asset, but in planning our defense has been our greatest liability.

Army and Navy men realize that

this clause in their peace-insurance policy will take more selling to the public than any other.

Industry's Role

THE second-hardest clause in the new policy to sell to the public may be that which gives us real industrial preparedness for another war. For this war the Army and Navy had drawn an Industrial Mobilization Plan based on the experience of the last. We ignored much of that plan. We are producing in great quantity, but rather because we are a great quantity-producing nation than because of consistently good direction. Next time we must start with a good organization and a good plan and stick to them. We must be ready to snap into production of a tremendous variety of equipment, hundreds of thousands of different items, on almost no notice. But how?

Many agree with Secretary of the Navy Forrestal that even finding out how to do it is a two-year job for a special board representing Army, Navy, science, industry and transportation.

We must remember that today's weapons may be tomorrow's junk. A 1945 bomber may be a bus by 1950. After 1918 the Liberty airplane engine was among the best and we had lots of them. Soon it was not the best; we still had lots of them.

"New airplane engines?" queried Congress. "Why, we've got airplane engines!"

The French kept not only engines but much else after 1918. They saved some money, but in 1940 their antiques helped lose them their liberty. We will end this war with more

equipment than any nation ever had. In a few years much of it will be antique. We must replace it with new — on a long-range plan according to the rate of scientific development. And even though we have plenty of warships, occasionally we must build prototypes embodying new ideas.

The growing role of science in war means we must keep up research and invention. A committee of 12 Army and Navy officers and scientists has recommended that we perpetuate the present coöperation of outstanding physicists, chemists and biologists with the Army and Navy staffs.

Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson believes we should keep our synthetic rubber plants and many other war plants as well. Many industrial mobilization experts agree. We would have been better prepared for this war had we not, after 1918, shut down so many powder and small-arms ammunition factories. This time we should build substantial stock piles of any war material we must import, and be prepared instantly to produce the rest. We should survey carefully the 30,000 plants now producing war material. Some should be "closed up but not closed out"; the machines and tools should be kept ready for use. Others should be kept at work, perhaps on "educational" orders. We should even, if necessary, aid privately owned factories that otherwise could not afford to make war material and be instantly ready to increase production.

There may be resistance to this proposal from some private interests fearing competition or socialization, from average citizens resenting taxation, and from a few who sincerely or

professedly suspect the "merchant of death." But the Army and Navy believe most people now understand how "merchants of death" propaganda weakened our peacetime defenses by discouraging industrialists from manufacturing war material.

A Single War Resources Board

THEY also believe any board that studied industrial preparedness would inevitably recommend retaining an Army and Navy industrial college, and a single War Resources Board. The latter would prevent such duplication and overlapping in procurement as have handicapped us this time.

Never again should the Army and Navy grasp for the same commodities and factories, or confuse management by sending both Army and Navy "expeditors" to the same plant. To build camps and bases the Army and Navy scrambled for real estate, machinery and lumber at a cost of millions in money and months in time. Competitive bidding has finally been ended and teamwork achieved through no fewer than 70 joint Army and Navy committees. But in Washington, Army planes still take off from one field, Navy planes from another nearby; Army makes five-inch rockets, Navy four-and-a-half-inch, to do the same work; Navy buys undershirts with half-sleeves, Army without sleeves. Of course utter uniformity is neither desirable nor possible. Army equipment must withstand dust and mud, Navy equipment salt and corrosion. But the Army believes the services could save much by getting closer together on procurement, construction and hospitals.

On the great controversial ques-

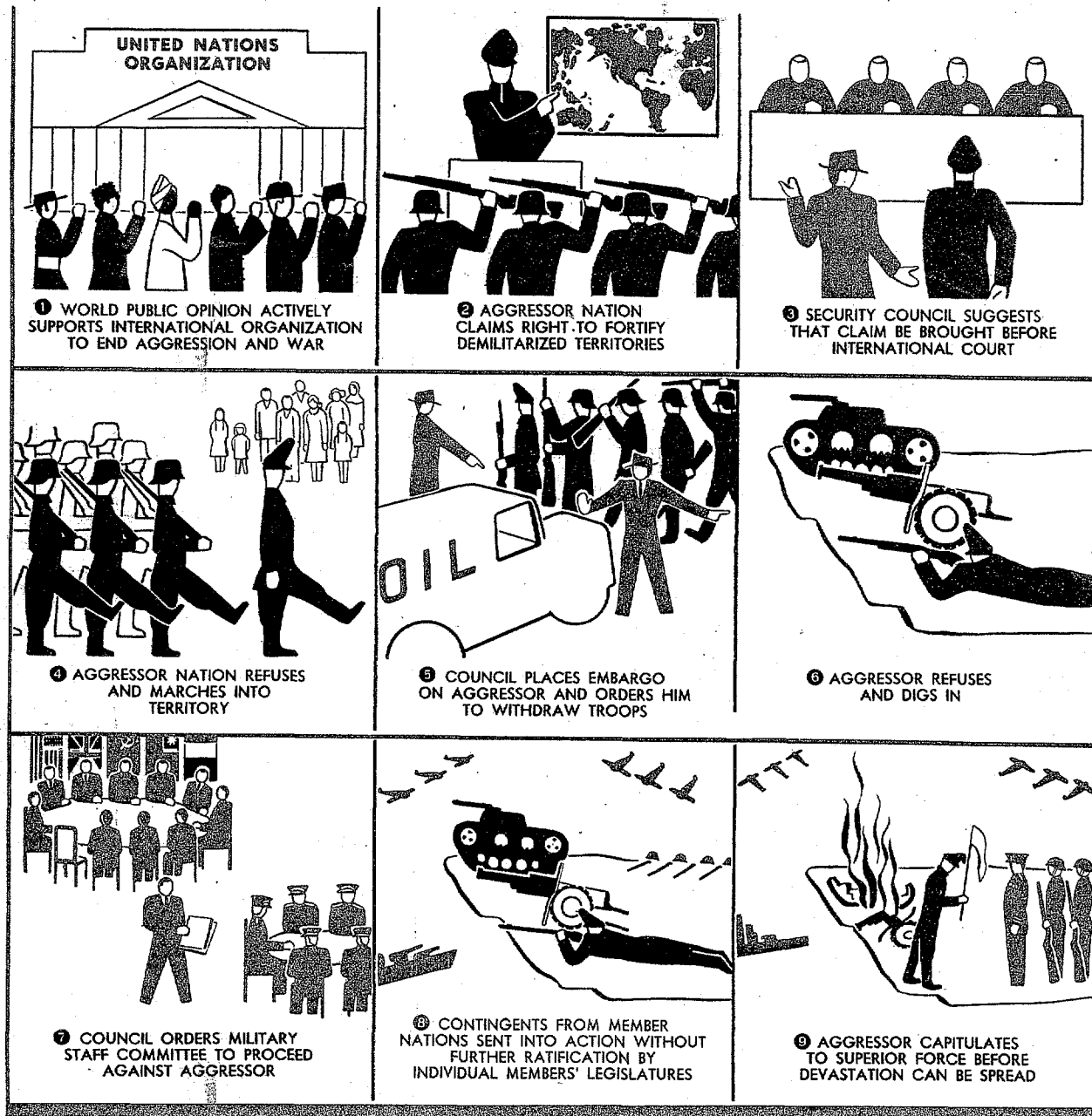
tion of putting the Army, Navy and Air Force under unified command, there is no agreement as yet among the admirals and generals. Various plans for various degrees of unification are being studied. The most forthright proposes grouping Army and Navy together with an independent Air Force and a supply service under a joint Department of Defense, with a single Secretary. The Navy agrees to study the subject seriously, but opposes unification at present.

Lest We Forget

ALWAYS we have pursued a policy of saving pennies in peace, and in war squandering dollars — and the lives of our bravest and best. To help our people understand this, and how to stop it, the students of war who are our actuaries of peace have drawn a final clause for the peace insurance they would present for our approval. They would keep bureaus of public relations of the Army, Navy and Air Force to show our people through press, radio and other media the facts of war as they will apply to our situation in the world. This publicity would not be the propaganda of super-patriotism. Honestly, realistically, it would show the people who do not want wars, and the Congressmen who represent them, the practical way to avert wars, or at least to shorten them and cut their dreadful cost in lives and treasure. Already this one has cost the United States \$208,000,000,000 and 100,000 lives. Contrasted with that, the military experts believe their peace-insurance policy will prove the best investment this country ever made.

FOR A WORLD ORGANIZATION

HOW THE PLAN WOULD OPERATE TO CRUSH AGGRESSION



and Mr. Roosevelt. The plan is for keeping the peace of the world, after this war—and the success or failure of it begins with you, all of you.

World Peace depends on you . . . that's what we said. And don't give us that tired old sentence, "What can I do . . . I'm just one person." One person multiplied by a lively part of our one hundred thirty million people can do plenty. One person plus one person plus one person and more plusses are doing a mighty job in Europe, the Pacific and on the home front. The same concerted effort can do the job of preventing another global war—but only if you carry out your share of the job!

There may be things about the present "blue print" (called that because it is still in outline form) that you won't like. There may be changes you think should be made. But your part in helping to make

a world where long, aggressive tragic wars can't happen, begins with your understanding what has been proposed—and speaking your piece about changes.

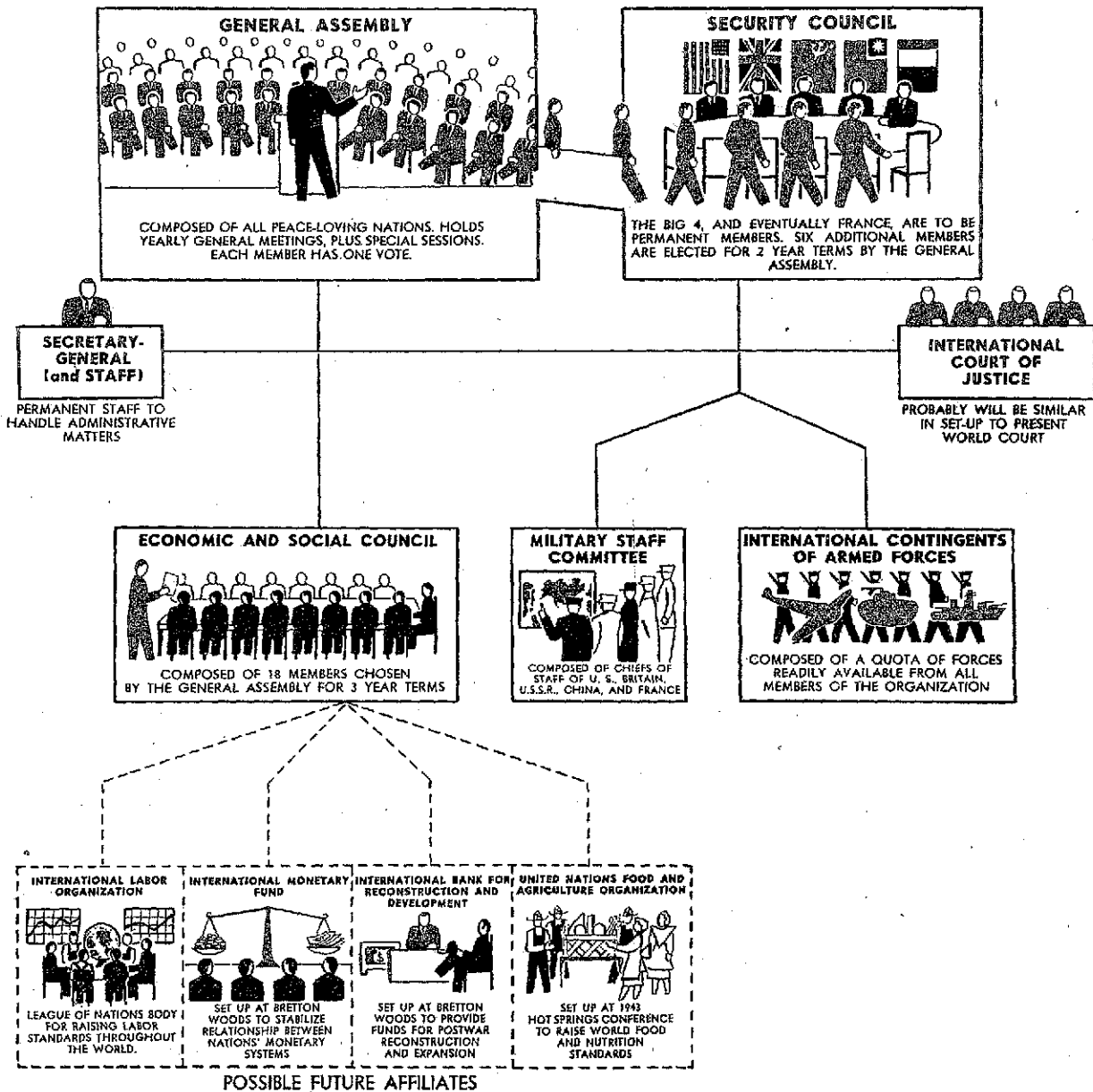
In its present form, the Dumbarton Oaks plan suggests that the family of all nations be called "The United Nations," a union to keep peace and fair play in the world.

There are four main divisions in this union. The most powerful of the sections is The Security Council; the largest is the Assembly. The other two sections of this proposed world organization are the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court.

The Security Council will have one delegate from America, one from Britain, one from China and one from Russia. (Continued on Page 139)

THE DUMBARTON OAKS PLAN

THE STRUCTURE



GRAPHICS INSTITUTE

You've noticed how very definite people are in their views, even in your family. Mother likes Mrs. A, doesn't like Mrs. B. Father likes that Smith boy, doesn't care for the Jones lad. Try to pin them down, and you often find they're vague on reasons why—or facts on which they base their opinions.

These beliefs—without-basis often cause family arguments. And in the larger field of current history they frequently change the whole course of events. The last election proved that our voters believe firmly that America should take part in a world organization. But a few questions by a few research groups tended to prove how little those same voters knew of the already-planned form of world organization!

It is a part of our American creed, this right to our opinions, but some-

times you wonder if the founding father shouldn't have added a phrase, *opinions based on knowledge*. Actually there isn't anything very complex about the plan as outlined by world leaders.

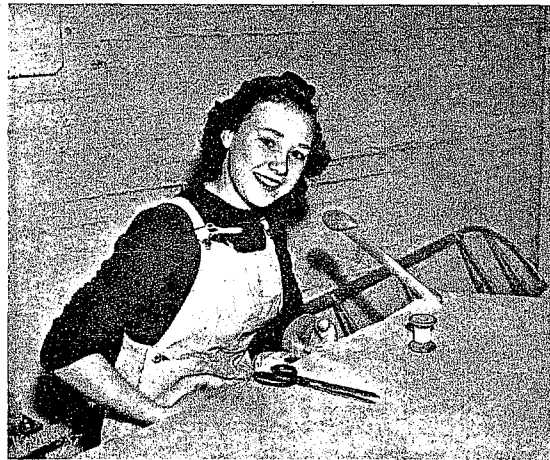
Unless we miss our guess, you are going to be old enough to vote or be very vocal on this subject of a world court or league. So let's start stripping away the long words and see what has happened so far.

Dumbarton Oaks is not a mysterious council chamber or a remote spot on the map. It is the name of a country estate in the Georgetown section of Washington, D. C. Statesmen from the four United Nations met at this pleasant spot last September to talk over a plan that President Roosevelt had submitted to the heads of their countries . . . a plan that was the result of other meetings between Mr. Churchill, Mr. Stalin, Chinese delegates

GIRLS OF CANADA OUR FIRST COUSINS



Skiing isn't the only sport at which Canadian girls excel. This rhythmic exercise is a favorite for limbering up—and it helps keep tummies flat



That's airplane fabric in the picture above. Canadian girls discover that old-fashioned sewing skill can be put to good use in war plants



The sandwiches they make in the morning taste mighty good to Farmerette members at noon. "Vacationing" girls help raise crops



Nine years ago, girls of Alberta went to one-room country schools. Average attendance: eight pupils. Film showings are innovation in new, larger schools



Girls who live in Toronto suburbs hire out for day work with farmers; are transported to and from homes. Supervisor checks names

Editor's note: Here is the third of our stories on how to be Friends with your Face. This time, we're concentrating our energies on the long, angular face, and the world-famous Elizabeth Arden has graciously agreed to conduct the class for us. Incidentally, we hope these articles have been a really helpful guide in your grooming, and if you have been holding back on any questions or comments, please put them on paper, and send them right along to us.

A LONG FACE

Miss Arden shook her head.

"Toni has superb eyes and lashes," she said. "She will never need mascara. Oh, of course many older teens use it when they dress up. That's fine. But I hope it is never noticeable. Nothing makes even a young girl look so hard as heavy eye make-up. Just a suggestion of mascara to darken the lashes, and a bit of oil to shine up the lids is enough. Of course, even a suggestion of mascara will look dreadfully painted unless it is applied slowly and carefully with a brush that is barely moistened. Afterwards, if there is any stray mascara on the lids, it may be wiped off with a wet pinky, or one which has been moistened with baby oil."

"Lipstick," she went on, "seems to be more of a problem than most adults realize. In my opinion, a girl should learn to use a lipstick brush . . . at home, of course. Then, by practicing to attain a steady hand she should follow smoothly the natural outline of her mouth. Now you, Toni, have a nice full mouth. Instead of coloring only part of it, as you have been doing, you should carry the lipstick to the outer corners in lovely curves. That rounds out your face. Any girl with a thin face should encourage the full curve of her mouth. And remember," she added, "that doesn't mean a return of the Ubangi mouth. Never force a lipstick outside the natural line of your mouth. You will only succeed in looking messy . . . or worse . . . artificial."

At this point, the hairdresser and make-up artist began to bustle Toni off to put into practice the things Miss Arden had been telling us. We thought of another question, and asked about necklines, and if the generally accepted theories had any real value.

"Oh yes," Miss Arden assured us, "but only in extreme cases. I believe that with the proper grooming, a girl can wear at least a modification of any neckline she chooses. When Toni is ready to be photographed, put her into a soft V-neckline . . . that is considered the most difficult one for a long face to wear . . . and you'll find it just as flattering as the accepted round one. Of course it needn't be a severe V . . . try a softened one, with a frill perhaps, or pleats."

Well . . . you see the Before and you see the After. And you know just what went on in between. Actually, it was nothing very mysterious. Elizabeth Arden doesn't deal in hocus-pocus or sleight-of-hand. She believes, simply, in the natural beauty of form and color, of balance and proportion. And this balance simmers down to the simple logic you learn in a geometry class, about the relation of lines and curves to each other. Try it yourself. Draw a circle or a triangle or whatever shape you see your face to be. And experiment by adding . . . and subtracting . . . blobs for hair, eyes, mouth. For instance, with an inverted triangle for a face, you'll find that if you place an extra mass of hair on the top, you will have a bad balance. But, if the hair-blobs are marked in at either side of the lower point of your triangle, and the base (which is now the top) is left clear . . . perfect balance appears!

You may remember that we made this very same suggestion once before, and perhaps you've tried it already. If you have, you know that it is not necessary to be born with any flair or chic or feminine wisdom or any of the other words people like to use for a gal who looks well-put-together. If you will consider your face . . . and your body . . . in terms of mathematical balance, you can present that very-much desired look, too.

It's as easy as that.

Jon Abbot



26 Feb 45

INTERNATIONAL

CONFERENCES

The Secretary & the Blonde

Between Yalta, where he sat at the right hand of Franklin Roosevelt, and Mexico City, where he will sit at the head of the U.S. delegation, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. sat for one evening in the Imperial box at Moscow's famed Bolshoi Theater. He got a great

minutes, stayed two hours. Only four of the Russians spoke English. But they all circulated, smiled, drank with a will. Madam Ellen Shulga, Moscow's senior woman delegate, was in the brown "art-silk" dress she had worn all week.

An Englishman set about teaching Sidney Hillman some songs—first *Land of My Fathers*, then *The Lambeth Walk*. Soon everybody was dancing the Lambeth



SEMENOVA

Savfoto

Diplomacy, grand style, was not yet dead.

ovation as he entered, accompanied by Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov, Vice Commissar Andrei Vishinsky, and Boss Ed Flynn. The two Eds were then treated to a performance of *Swan Lake*, the same ballet which entranced Wendell Willkie two years and five months ago. At the end of the performance it was Secretary Ed, not Boss Ed, who sent a bouquet to the beautiful blond ballerina, Marina Semenova—a 3,000 ruble (\$250) bouquet.

Having shown the Russians that diplomacy, grand style, was not dead in the U.S.—and done whatever other business he had—the smiling U.S. Secretary of State flew to Mexico for his next appearance on the vast stage of world affairs (see below).

Powerful Stuff, Vodka

Russia's 36 delegates to the World Trade Union Congress in London (TIME, Feb. 19) gave a party at the Savoy Hotel last week. It was a whopper.

The Russians invited 300 guests; 400 came. Sir Walter Citrine, Sidney Hillman, Vasili Kuznetsov and other bigwigs sat at a special table. Murmured a guest, noting that these dignitaries seemed to get more vodka than the rest: "It's almost undemocratic."

Sir Walter had dropped in for a few

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Haunted Castle

Into Mexico City this week debouched an army of diplomats, drawn by the "Conference of American Republics on Problems of War & Peace"—official title of the next semifinal bout on postwar organization of the world. The diplomatic army of "Hemisphere nations cooperating against the Axis" consisted of some 300 generals. With them came secretaries, lobbyists, newsmen, propagandists, camp followers. They routed indignant tourists from hotel rooms, jampacked the town and, turning their backs on snow-clad Popocatepetl, eyed the suburban hill where stands Chapultepec Castle, site of the conference.

Biggest delegation (39 accredited) came from the U.S., officially headed by Secretary of State Edward Reilly Stettinius Jr., fresh from his triumphs in Moscow. But before Stettinius arrived, the U.S. delegation was mustered by Assistant Secretary Nelson A. Rockefeller, who, having labored long and lovingly, is now beginning to know his way around in the Latin American vineyard. Of the other nations, Mexico, the host, had 36 delegates, Cuba 23. Nearly all sent their Foreign Ministers, with technical aides for facts-&-figures discussions, and plenty of decorative women for dancing and dinner parties.

There are many things that Latin Americans want to discuss with their big neighbors—about keeping Argentina in diplomatic Coventry and sending Franco to it—but there were two subjects that they were intent on bringing up in many forms:

The first was economics—their economics, their market when U.S. war purchases



European

NELSON ROCKEFELLER

He had to stop the worry in the vineyard.

TIME, FEBRUARY 26, 1945

end, their standard of living and what the U.S. is going to do about it. The second was political relationships—their political relationships with their Big Neighbor, their relationships with the world organization proposed by Dumbarton Oaks, their place in the regional affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

Their great worry is: will they be the pawns of the Colossus of the North, or honored, respected associates? The test of Nelson Rockefeller's long and earnest efforts to win Latin American friendship will be whether or not this Latin worry is deflated at Mexico City. If this fear is not removed, no Western Hemisphere working arrangement will be durable. If the worry is intensified, sooner or later Latin Americans will turn to some other power, perhaps to Britain or Russia, to counterbalance a new U.S. imperialism.

As the setting for the conference, Chapultepec Castle, in whose park the Aztec emperors used to stroll, was symbolic. U.S. troops stormed the castle in 1847, and to Mexicans, Chapultepec means much the same thing that Bunker Hill means to the U.S. Among its defenders were teen-age cadets of the Mexican Military College, who are revered to this day in Mexico as the "*Niños Héroes*" (Boy Heroes) of Chapultepec.

THE NATIONS

A Use for Calumny?

The world's biggest state and one of its smallest were last week busy with recrimination. To a series of charges in the Russian press that the Pope was pro-Hitler, anti-democratic, and trying to save the Germans from their just deserts, the Vatican had replied only unofficially, through the Catholic press. Finally came a Russian crack which was too much for Pius XII (ailing with laryngitis) and his Under Secretary of State, Monsignor Giovanni B. Montini. On their behalf, *Osservatore Romano* published an extraordinary, official protest:

"The Moscow radio in the Italian language affirmed on the afternoon of Feb. 16 that 'the Vatican is not contented with the results of the Crimea Conference because it was not invited to participate. . . . We are authorized to declare that the Holy See never had even the slightest thought of participating in that conference. . . . It is a question of pure and simple calumny.'"

From all this, men wise in diplomacy and church affairs jumped to an apparently illogical conclusion: the Vatican and the Kremlin would probably make up. The Church is interested in the welfare of 82,000,000 Catholics in eastern Europe; Russia is interested in having the peaceful collaboration of those 82,000,000. Irritation had reached a point where bargaining and compromise were in order.

Perhaps the Kremlin and the Vatican were quarreling toward agreement.

TIME, FEBRUARY 26, 1945

POLICIES & PRINCIPLES

The Yalta Doctrine

No doubt about it—the Russians were changing. At Yalta, as at earlier conferences, Stalin and other Soviet bigwigs shed a little more of their personal isolation.

Stalin mugged the cameras, patently loved to show off his fine grey uniforms. His stock of English phrases had grown: "So what?" and "You said it" had been added to "The toilet is over there!" and "What the hell goes on here?" Now one of his problems is the ingrained aloofness of Politburo men and others in the Soviet hierarchy who feel that Russia is having too much truck with foreigners.

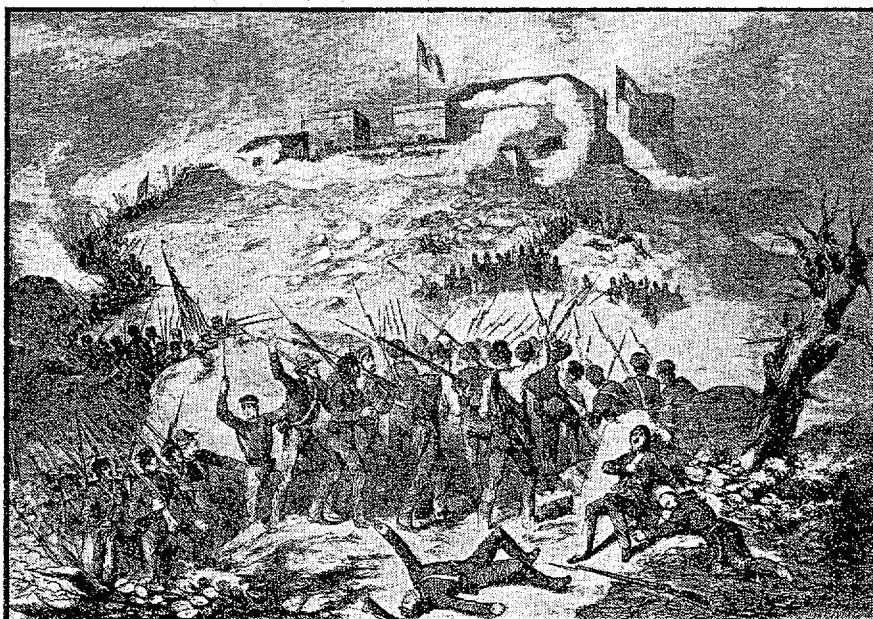
But the international yeast was work-

position in keeping with Britain's needs.

But Big Three assertions alone cannot make trusteeship work. That will also require the conscious, wholehearted, fully informed support of the U.S. people. And it will require tacit acceptance by the hundreds of millions of people for whom the Big Three propose to be trustees.

Whose Trust? In Europe, where the first test must come, first reactions were not promising. At best, the Poles were uneasy; at worst, certain that they had been sold out (*see FOREIGN NEWS*). But the selling out of the Poles had actually occurred many months ago. In the first days after Yalta, the major test of the Yalta doctrine was France.

Despite its gestures toward the French, the Crimea declaration made it clear that



The Bettmann Archive

CHAPULTEPEC CONFERENCE, 1847
What Bunker Hill means to the U.S. . . .

ing. Perhaps it had something to do with Yalta's implications for the future:

Deed of Trust. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill bluntly said that the three powers who had "made victory possible and certain" proposed to administer the victory. Big Three unity for this purpose was "a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world."

This assertion of high purpose had some very practical roots. It was a logical expression of Stalin's cold certainty that only power counts (said he once of the Pope, "How many divisions has he got?"). It was an equally natural extension of President Roosevelt's recent assertion that the U.S. intends not only to take a responsible part in world affairs but to shape the decisions for which it shares responsibility. For Winston Churchill, the doctrine of trusteeship was insurance that a Britain exhausted by the war will have a

the Big Three did not yet rate France as one of the trustees, even in western Europe. Even the cordial paragraph inviting "the Provisional Government of the French Republic" to join in the guardianship of liberated Europe implied that the Big Three could get along without France.

The French rebelled. Their press reflected some but by no means all the popular resentment. General de Gaulle had already made it plain that France intended to be not one of the trusteeed but one of the trustees. Now he pointedly announced that France would handle its own empire (*see FOREIGN NEWS*). Finally, he declined to leave Paris for an aftermath session with President Roosevelt, who had hoped to pause in North Africa on his way home and soothe the General. If Roosevelt wanted to see him, said De Gaulle, the President would have to come to Paris.

These initial irritations were probably

not so serious as they seemed. In a speech asserting the principle of French equality last fortnight (TIME, Feb. 19), De Gaulle himself reminded the French people that they still have to earn the right to actual equality. All concerned faced the same hard facts: France cannot recover without Big Three help; the Big Three cannot run liberated Europe and postwar Germany without a resurgent, reasonably satisfied France.

Concert of Spheres. In the first glow, some optimists had read more into the Big Three declaration on liberated Europe than the Big Three actually said. Even among the Big Three, contests for power and spheres of influence were not finally abolished at Yalta. Yalta could be taken as an incomplete check on a race for spheres of influence.

In principle, the Big Three agreed to "concert" their interests and policies in such troubled countries as Greece and Poland. But the statement of principle included some significant limitations: 1) it holds good only "during the temporary period of instability"; 2) the big powers are bound to act together only when all three agree that the specific circumstances of each case justify their joint intervention.

Concert of Votes. The sorest point settled at Yalta was the dispute over voting procedure in the postwar world Security Council.

Joseph Stalin did not budge an inch from his insistence that any one of the Big Powers must be able to veto world action against itself or against any other country accused of aggression. But the compromise engineered by President Roosevelt was neither so cynical nor so futile as it seemed to some commentators.

Under the compromise, the Security Council's Big Five (the Big Three plus France and China) must agree unanimously before the world organization can take economic or military action against an aggressor. But any seven (nominally, two-thirds) of the Council's eleven members can cite an aggressor nation, bring its sins to world attention.

The provision requiring a two-thirds vote instead of a simple majority to do this is a marked concession to the smaller powers. It means that the Big Five, even when united, cannot commit the world organization to any action without approval of at least two of the Council's little-nation members. At least in theory, six smaller members could join forces with one of the Big Five to override the other four in preliminary decisions.

When the United Nations convene in April to revise the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, these considerations may outweigh the right of veto retained by the Big Powers. Everyone in San Francisco will know that, anyhow, whatever the rules, no nation could be made to declare war on itself.

Yalta v. Versailles

Having had a few days to ponder the results of Yalta, last week the world began to draw more considered conclusions. Some of the most interesting were comparisons of Yalta with Versailles as instruments for dealing with the immediate problem of defeated Germany. On this basis Yalta looked good.

At Versailles the Big Four had been split before the conference began. Wilson acted rather as an arbiter between an unreasonably vindictive France and a prostrate Germany than as a member of a

Then What? But on the basis not of the immediate problem but of the eventual problem—reconstructing a healthy, peaceful Europe—Yalta's improvement on Versailles was not so clear.

Versailles broke down completely in solving Europe's long-range problems—the causes of World War II. The League failed to enforce the peace. The Rhineland was evacuated five years early. When Hitler came along, even Allied governments gave him some support, because he promised order in Central Europe and a crusade against Bolshevism. The system of Versailles provided no unifying policy



"LAUGH, DAMN YOU, LAUGH!"
This time, not 5% but all of Germany would be occupied.

Low © All Countries

victorious coalition. Soon British policy likewise came to favor the reconstruction of a moderately strong Germany to balance France.

At Yalta, Big Three cooperation was expressed in willingness to make mutual concessions: Stalin's disavowal of his Free Germany Committee, Churchill's concessions on Poland, Roosevelt's implicit underwriting of Russian security. But most important was the fact that all agreed to the fundamental proposition that Germany must be permanently eliminated as a military power.

Versailles had provided for the occupation of only some 5% of Germany's territory, which made effective control of German disarmament virtually impossible. Now limited Anglo-American experience in western Germany—and Russian experience in eastern Germany—seems to indicate that Germans cannot be relied on to administer Germany in the interests of peace and stability. So Yalta provided for inter-Allied administration of Germany for some time, and regional Allied control.

Versailles neither expressed unity nor provided effective machinery. Yalta promised both.

or principle to keep peace and plenty in Europe.

At Yalta the Big Three agreed that militarist Germany must not rise again, and designed machinery to do the job. But there was little indication that Yalta faced the long term questions: Who will replace liquidated war criminals who have been Central Europe's rulers? Who will own and manage the economy of Europe? What idea will replace that of the Nazis?

Warrior Winston Churchill was primarily interested in destroying Nazi Germany. Joseph Stalin, mindful of his exhausted country, was interested for the moment chiefly in creating his own Good Neighborhood on pretty much his own terms. Franklin Roosevelt represented a nation which did not know what kind of a Europe it wanted; he himself had not blue-printed the future of Europe for his countrymen.

The long term questions could perhaps wait. There would be other conferences of the Big Three, or the Big Four or Five. But sometime, if peace were to endure, the eventual problem of Germany would have to be decided by united Allies. And meanwhile, it became later every day.

TIME, FEBRUARY 26, 1945

5 Mar 45



ETHIOPIA VISITS

Airfields, long-staple cotton and more particularly a sympathetic interest.



EGYPT VISITS

U.S. Army Signal Corps

THE NATIONS

The Ticket Window

Seats at the peace table sold like hot cakes at the price set at Yalta: that those nations actively at war with Germany by March 1 would get tickets to the San Francisco World Security Conference. Turkey and Egypt stepped up to the ticket window, the former making no bones whatever about its motives for declaring war. Several South American countries, warned in advance by President Roosevelt, beat the deadline by a more dignified margin. Now all Latin America, except recalcitrant Argentina, was technically at war.

This influx of last-minute belligerents called attention to the legalistic aspects of the Security Conference's voting roster. Would Russia, for instance, ask to see the list of Peru's war dead? If, as the British and U.S. governments feared, the U.S.S.R. would claim a vote for each of its autonomous republics, could the point be made that none of the 16 nor the U.S.S.R. itself had formally declared war on Germany?

Such questions were interesting but academic. If the San Francisco conference descended to such sordid legalistic maneuvering, world security would be a dead duck.

The Waters of Mara

And the President left Yalta, and journeyed by road to Sevastopol, where there are many ruins, and flew on the wings of his Army to the land of Egypt. And there he took ship and received the rulers of that land, and of Ethiopia and of Saudi Arabia, on the lakes called Bitter or Mara, of which it was written (*Exodus XV: 22-25*):

And Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea, and they went forth into the wilderness of Sur; and they marched three days

through the wilderness, and found no water;

And they came into Mara, and they could not drink the waters of Mara, because they were bitter. . . .

And the people murmured against Moses, saying: what shall we drink?

Moses, saying: what shall we drink? But he cried to the Lord, and He showed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, they were turned into sweetness.

By all appearances considerable sweetness had been restored to Great Bitter Lake (midway along the Suez Canal) when Franklin Roosevelt aboard his warship successively received King Farouk, Emperor Haile Selassie and King Ibn Saud. The nature of the sweetness, according to a White House announcement:

With King Farouk. "The President referred to the purchase by the United States of large quantities of long-staple Egyptian cotton during the war and stressed the hope that greatly increased exchange of other commodities would be developed in the future. . . . Tourist travel to Egypt, the President said, was certain to become greater after the war than before."

With Haile Selassie. "The President stressed communications between the United States and Ethiopia and said he hoped, with improvements of communications, particularly by air, the two countries would come to know each other better." Postwar access to Ethiopian air and airports was recently a point of conflict between the U.S. and Britain, was settled (by agreement between Ethiopia and Britain) in the U.S.'s favor.

The sweetness of the President's meeting with Ibn Saud was officially left to inference (*see col. 3*). But the sweetness in all three cases went beyond trade, tourism and air landing rights. In good part it rested on the simple demonstration that the U.S. was showing a sympathetic interest in the affairs of the Middle East.

Desert Wind

(See Cover)

The U.S. destroyer, her taut beauty leashed in Jidda Bay, had dressed for the King of Saudi Arabia.

The sight was something to belay an admiral. The King's rugs covered the steel deck. The King's gilded chairs gleamed against the grey turrets. On the forecastle deck, the King's tent stood in the somnolent heat. On the fantail, the King's sheep bleated in an improvised pen, making royal problems for the swabbers.

Royal Names, Royal Mutton. When all was prepared, King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud (pronounced ib'n sa-ood) embarked with his brother, the Emir Abdullah; two of his sons, the Emirs Mansour and Mohamed; his deputy foreign minister, the Sheikh Yussuf Yassin; his finance minister, the Sheikh Abdullah Es-Suleiman; his courtiers, guards, cooks and other retainers to the number of 48. On this, his first journey outside his own country, the exigencies of space on a destroyer cramped the King's style. Traveling in his own deserts, he would be more likely to have 2,000 retainers.

The U.S. officers and sailors saluting their guest at the rail saw one of the few living rulers who looks the part. Looming over them was a robed, resplendent Arab, 6 ft. 4 in. tall—the absolute monarch of some 3,000,000 subjects, the overlord of 3,500,000 more, the master of a few oases and of many deserts and mountains whose combined area (700,000 sq. mi.) is about one-fourth that of the U.S., the dominant Arab of the Middle East's Arab heartland.

Ibn Saud was a kingly guest. As the destroyer coursed northward through the livid heat of the Red Sea, he sat in his tent, scorning a cabin (and wisely avoiding the ship's low overhead). Mustachioed desert warriors, armed with daggers and

clad in brilliant *abbayat*, roamed the deck. Arab servants squatted in every corner, butchered sheep and cooked them on glowing charcoal braziers. The destroyer's commander had declined the King's offer of enough live mutton for the whole ship's company. But the King had plenty for himself, his party, and for a banquet of spitted *laham-mashwy* and rice *pilaff* for the ship's officers. The royal servants continued to mistake the ship's Negro mess boys for slaves of the U.S. Navy. (Slave traders plying across the Red Sea have for centuries sold Negroes into slavery in Arabia.)

Journey's end, 800 miles and two days from Jidda, was a crossroad of empires—Great Bitter Lake in the Suez Canal. There, aboard a U.S. cruiser, the President

particularly the currently manifest destiny of the President's guest.

The Lion & the Scepter. Ibn Saud's paternal great-great-grandfather was a mighty Sheikh when George Washington was a planter's son in Virginia. But the Saud family, long powerful in a land where the family is the center of power, fell on evil days in Abdul Aziz' boyhood.

In the desert and in the fetid coastal town of Kuwait, the young giant grew up with one consuming ambition: to reconquer the lands lost by his embittered father and restore the family to its seat at Riyadh, the Sauds' ancestral city in central Arabia.

When he was 20, he began the restoration. With some 40 of his brothers, cousins and their servants, he stole into Riyadh by night, surprised the garrison, slew the Gov-

But he has his pleasures, the chief of which he considers a national duty. He once said: "In my youth and manhood, I made a nation. Now in my declining years, I make men for its population." Nobody knows just how many sons he has sired; the usual estimate is 40. In masculine Arabia, daughters are not counted.

Marriage suits him; he has never kept concubines. He stays strictly within the Moslem maximum of four wives at a time, divorces frequently and usually keeps one place in his harem open for any comely virgin who may catch his sickly brown eyes. So far, the only evidence of his age is his growing fondness for talking about the prowess of his youth. A favorite campfire story is about the time when he was wounded in the groin during a desert raid. To spike any calumnies against his manhood, he selected a maiden, married her on the spot, consummated the marriage that night.

He is also fond of automobiles, telephones and radios, all of which he has put to good use in unifying the scattered tribes in the wastes of his domain. When Ibn Saud introduced the telephone, some of Saudi Arabia's more fanatical isolationists cried that it was a work of the devil. Replied Ibn Saud: "Of a certainty if it is the work of the devil, the holy words of the Koran will not pass over it." Holy words passed over the new line in Rigadh to Mecca; the objectors subsided. The money for these innovations comes largely from two sources: 1) the income derived from pilgrims to Islam's Holy City, Mecca (where Mohammed was born); 2) his revenues from a great oil concession granted twelve years ago to the principal U.S. agency in his country, the Arabian-American Oil Co. (owned fifty-fifty by Texas Co. and Standard Oil Co. of California). The company is just getting substantial production (57,000 bbl. daily) and should do very well with or without the projected U.S. oil line across Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean.

The King's liking for motorcars is one of his bonds with his remarkable British mentor, Harry St. John B. Philby, an unsung "Lawrence of Arabia" who joined Ibn Saud during World War I, turned Moslem afterward, got the Arabian agency for Fords, and has supplied the King with counsel and motorcars ever since. St. John (rhymes with Injun) Philby, quietly unobtrusive amid the splendors of the palace and court at Riyadh, has had much to do with Ibn Saud's rise in the Arab world.

World of Dynamite. That world is more important because of where it is than because of what it has. A look at the Big Three maps will show that its strategic position is as great now as it ever has been—Teheran lies to the northeast, Yalta to the northwest, Great Bitter Lake in the southwest.

Within it lie the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea, parts of Britain's essen-



U.S. Army Signal Corps

ARABIA & AMERICA
The Koran was introduced to Groton.

of the U.S. awaited the King of Saudi Arabia.

The Squire & the King. What said the Squire of Hyde Park, schooled at Groton and Harvard, to the Lord of Arabia, schooled in the Koran, the desert, the raid, the running horse, the harem? The only direct news was official, and it was sparse:

"The President, seated on the forward gun deck of his ship, received the royal visitors as the crew manned the rails, bugle calls sounded and the shrill notes of the boatswain's pipe kept all hands standing rigidly at attention.

"The President and the King continued their talks long after the luncheon hour. The discussions were in line with the President's desire that heads of Governments should get together whenever possible to talk as friends. . . ."

But there was a reason for the meeting, a reason implicit in the origins, life and

error, and announced that a new Saud had come to power.

His rule has continued without a break for 45 years. He has combined the two ancient principalities of Hejd and Hejaz into the present kingdom of Saudi Arabia, subjected neighboring Yemen (pop. 3,500,000) to his rule but left it nominally autonomous, and imposed an astonishing degree of order upon a people to whom disorder has been the immemorial rule of life. Now, at 65, he is justly called Servant of the Almighty, strong as a lion, subtle as the Koran, straight as a scepter. He is, beyond cavil, the greatest of living Arab rulers.

The King & His Duty. Ibn Saud is a strict adherent of the fanatically strict *Wahabi* sect of Islam. He neither practices nor permits smoking, drinking, or dancing. His justice is swift and sure: thieves have their hands chopped off; murderers, their heads.

tial passages to the old treasure house of India and to the new, possibly greater treasure house of Africa. The Arabian Sea (northern part of the Indian Ocean) and the Persian Gulf flank India, reach into some of the world's richest oil areas, and may yet be Russian outlets to the south—as, until recently, they were Russia's inlet for Lend-Lease. And adjoining the Arab heartland lie Turkey and Iran—both Moslem but non-Arab—looking out on the Black Sea and the Caspian, which wash at Russia's outward gates.

The Occident also is concerned with the Arab world because in the Levant (Syria and Lebanon), France clings to shreds of empire, and will not give them up without a struggle which may well endanger world cooperation for the peace.

And millions of people in the Occident cannot forget the Arab world because it includes Palestine. Ibn Saud personifies and constantly bespeaks the Arab case for an all-Arab Palestine. The U.S. and British Governments are committed to a Jewish Palestine—not necessarily all-Jewish, but with too many Jews to suit the Arabs, who, having inhabited it for centuries, regard it as one of their lands.

The results of the Yalta conference may intensify these explosive problems. The Crimea declaration, laying out the areas of Big Three cooperation in Europe, did not deal with the Middle East and its Arab core. The world took due note that Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, proceeding from Yalta to Egypt, conferred separately with Ibn Saud, King Farouk and Emperor Haile Selassie.

Pan-Arabia. In this explosive area last week a new force was rising, and Ibn Saud was at its crest. That force was Pan-Arabism, an old and often thwarted dream, now coming to real life in Cairo.

Five Arab States—Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan—had already signed a protocol for a federation of Arab states. Ibn Saud, holding out to the last while Britain and Egypt's King Farouk laid the groundwork, had accepted only when assured that he would be the federation's kingpin (TIME, Feb. 5). Now his and other representatives in Cairo were drafting a constitution.

The looming federation did not herald a militant Pan-Arabia, overrunning southern Europe as the hordes of Allah did in Islam's great past. Exhausted by that past and outrun by the present, Arab Islam could hope only to federate its weaknesses, find in loose political and economic union the strength to exact a better deal from the Great Powers who dominate its world.

From the start, Britain's mark was on the federation: the project began to breathe only when Anthony Eden gave it his backslap in 1943. Russia, rapidly expanding its consulates, ministries and other agencies in the Middle East, had its eye on the Arab doings, but had yet to show its hand.

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The U.S. State Department, oscillating wildly between passive support for Britain's general position and covert opposition to some of Britain's imperial acts, was for the federation—sort of. Franklin Roosevelt's first duty in the Middle East was to clarify and assert a definite U.S. position, then to make it known not only to his ruling friends but to his people at home.

Wily old Ibn Saud, having got what clarification he could from Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill, exemplified his (and Pan-Arabia's) position: having sailed up the Red Sea on a U.S. destroyer, he sailed down it aboard the British cruiser H.M.S. *Aurora*.



HARRY ST. JOHN B. PHILBY
For King and Henry Ford.

PLAIN PEOPLE

Mislaid Humanity

On V-E day about 6,000,000 impatient Europeans will start walking home. That was the guess, last week, of Fred K. Hoehler, UNRRA's director of "displaced persons," who figures that by war's end the number of mislaid people in Europe will still be around 15,000,000—not counting prisoners of war.

UNRRA wishes they would wait for transportation but knows that they will be impatient. An estimated 11,000,000 mislaid people will be found in Germany: 600,000 Belgians, 1,000,000 Czechs, 3,000,000 French (including remaining war prisoners), 50,000 Dutch, 3,000,000 Poles, 2,000,000 Russians, 200,000 Yugoslavs, 6,000 Norwegians, 500,000 Italians. Since the Allied armies will be controlling Germany, UNRRA has just signed an agreement with General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Within a year after V-E day, most of the mislaid survivors will probably be home again, but it may take 20 years to repatriate all who want to go back. At least 1,000,000 may not want or dare to go home. Of World War I's 2,000,000 refugees, a quarter never got home.

Among others to whom V-E day will not bring the promise of speedy repatriation are some 400,000 refugees of the Spanish civil war, a great many of them in France, and thousands of Poles in & out of uniform, scattered from Scotland to Calcutta.

CONFERENCES

Illusion in Striped Pants

The Western Hemisphere was in motion. That motion, at the opening of the Conference of American Republics in Mexico City, fairly glittered with the comings & goings of Latin diplomats and their well-dressed ladies, with chatter in bars (mostly in Spanish with a sprinkling of English and Portuguese), with sonorous speeches at green baize tables, with huge Mexican midday dinners at Chapultepec Castle. Meantime the men of the Western Hemisphere got down to the hemisphere's business.

Ezequiel Padilla, Mexico's Foreign Minister, as host, was elected president of the conference. Tall, handsome Dr. Padilla, a philosophical proletarian, introduced some horse sense into the somewhat remote discussions of little nations v. the big powers:

"Frankly, to the worker that lives on the coffee plantations of Salvador or in the cattle-raising ranches of Uruguay, mere expressions of the juridical equality of nations have little reality. This may also be true of the farmers of the United States. If the ideal of Pan-Americanism is to become deep-rooted, it is absolutely necessary to convert it into a factor of

INTERNATIONAL

welfare and of concrete benefit for our people."

At week's end, the philosophical Foreign Minister took a dozen other foreign ministers to the *Hipódromo de las Américas*, Mexico's horse track backed by U.S. expatriate "Sell 'em" Ben Smith and President Manuel Avila Camacho's late



Acme

ECUADOR'S PLAZA
... spoke out on trousers.

brother, Maximino Avila Camacho. Result: Host Padilla, Colombia's Foreign Minister Alberto Lleras Camargo, Venezuela's Carraciolo Parra-Perez each lost 50 pesos on a long shot. Nicaragua's Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa won 500 pesos (\$103) on two races.

Colombia's Lleras introduced the week's hottest resolution. Backed in principle by the U.S., it would bind all the signers to defend the boundaries and political independence of any American republic attacked from any quarter, within or without the Western Hemisphere. Tacit object: to create a combination in case Argentina should turn aggressor against Chile.

Juan Domingo Perón, Argentina's so-called Strong Man, was the Man Who Wasn't There. Uninvited because of its formerly pro-Axis, still anti-U.S. attitude, Argentina reappeared as often as Banquo's ghost. Everyone at Mexico City understood that Argentina, right or wrong, cannot be permanently ignored.

Galo Plaza Lasso, Ecuador's Ambassador to Washington, worked closely with the U.S. delegation. But he delighted correspondents by reviving that conference perennial, the striped-pants story. After reporters had smoked out a State Department memorandum recommending pin-striped pants, Ambassador Plaza an-

nounced: "I've told everyone in the U.S. that I've never worn them, and I certainly don't intend to start now." The A.P. quoted a conference wag:

"Stripes or no stripes on diplomatic trousers is idle debate. What counts is for everyone to keep them on."

Julian R. Cáceres, Honduras' *bon vivant* Ambassador to the U.S., the conference's Mr. Five-by-Five, graced the occasion. Dr. Cáceres is famed for his ardor (but not always for his luck) at international crap-shooting.

Valentim Bouças of Brazil, President-Dictator Getulio Vargas' discreet financial negotiator, was active behind the scenes. Genial, foxy Senhor Bouças, a veteran of many conferences, tagged this one like the rest: "First comes the illusion, then disillusion, finally reality."

Pedro Leão Velloso, Brazil's Foreign Minister and head of its delegation, baldly declared that a prime purpose of the conference was to line up "a solid bloc of votes" for the forthcoming world security conference in San Francisco. Alarmed shushes greeted this un-bagging of an un-seemly cat, which was all the more noticeable since Minister Velloso had flown up from Rio with U.S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr.

Ed Stettinius got off to an unhappy start, wound up the first sessions with a happy bang. Before the conference opened he unfortunately committed the kind of blunders which often offend Latin Americans, sometimes make them think that the U.S. simply does not bother to learn its way around:

¶ At Guatemala City's airport, Mr. Stettinius blithely asked for "the President." (Guatemala has no President just now—



Acme

BRAZIL'S BOUÇAS
... defined three stages.

he fled before a revolution four months ago.) The Secretary did not improve matters by professing not to know that his State Department had just decided to recognize revolutionary Guatemala's hated enemy, Salvadoran Dictator Osmin Aguirre. But Ed Stettinius got what he was after, persuaded Guatemala's Foreign



LIFE

HONDURAS' CÁCERES
... graced the occasion.

Minister Enrique Muñoz Meany and Finance Minister Gabriel Orrellana Hijo to accompany him to Mexico City.

¶ Stepping from his four-engine transport at Mexico City's airport, Mr. Stettinius read a statement prepared by an aide: "The United States looks upon Mexico as a good neighbor, a strong upholder of democratic traditions in this hemisphere, and a country we are proud to call our own." When "our own" popped out, Mr. Stettinius gasped, read bravely on. One of his functionaries hastily tried to repair the damage to Mexican pride, asked newsmen to make it read: "our friend."

Once at the conference, where the chips were down, Ed Stettinius did well. His formal address, otherwise not memorable, was replete with restrained good will and good sense. And his personal breeze and vigor won the delegates.

Nelson Rockefeller, Mr. Stettinius' No. 1 assistant on Latin American affairs, showed his growing know-how, his flair for Latin amenities. At one session Delegate Rockefeller even chatted happily with Mexican Artist Diego Rivera, whose proletarian murals were torn out of Manhattan's Rockefeller Center by Nelson's father twelve years ago. Artist Rivera, now planning a mural based on the conference, spent several hours sketching Ed Stettinius.

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CONFERENCES

No Easy Road

The U.S. State Department finally offered an official pre-glimpse of the World Security Conference in San Francisco. It was not a gloomy glimpse, but it revealed obstacles on the road to an enduring peace.

Veto by Five. Most important was the official version of the Security Council voting rules adopted by the Big Three (TIME, Feb. 19). The votes of seven of the eleven members of the Council are necessary for any action. Any nation, however small, may bring up a complaint for world discussion. If the complaint is against one of the Council's eleven members—even one of the Big Five—that country must abstain from both the discussion and the voting. In other words, any seven members of the Council may draw an indictment.

But any of the Big Five can veto a verdict or a sentence. When a vote is taken on whether a nation is actually engaged in aggression, whether to use force against it, etc., seven votes (including the votes of all the Big Five) will be required.

Said Secretary Stettinius, explaining the procedure to the Latin American Conference (and asking the Latin republics to submit their criticisms in writing rather than air them at Mexico City):

"If the dispute is not settled by [the Council acting with all members on a basis of equality], the major question before the Council is whether force needs to be employed. In that event, it is necessary that the vote of the permanent members of the Council be unanimous. They are the nations which possess in sufficient degree the industrial and the military strength to prevent aggression. However, the decisions of the Council can be reached in such a case only by a majority of seven members, which means that the permanent members cannot alone decide to take action. It also means that the non-permanent members can prevent action."

Hosts and Guests. On behalf of Russia, Britain and China, the U.S. invited 39 other "United Nations" to San Francisco on April 24. Still huffed by its cavalier treatment at Yalta and after, France agreed to attend the Conference but not to sponsor it.

The list of guests showed that, at best, Europe's representation will be weak. All of its Governments are provisional or exiled. Only Norway will represent Scandinavia. Last week's invitations skipped Poland entirely. It will be represented at San Francisco only if the compromise Government agreed on at Yalta is formed in time.

Invitations went last week to three countries—Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia—which scurried under the wire by March 1, the deadline for war declarations set at Yalta. Syria and Lebanon also beat the

TIME, MARCH 12, 1945



ROCKEFELLER & STETTINIUS

A fixed idea was superseded by a joint Act.

deadline, but were not invited (they are still juridically French mandates). Korea's Provisional Government in Chungking tried to get a place by declaring war on Japan, but did not yet rate membership in the United Nations.

New World, New Colossus

The U.S. and the New World—the challenging New World now emerging from War II—met face to face in old Mexico City last week.

The impact of the meeting produced a historic change in Pan-American policy. Latin neighbors who had always feared, baited and resented "the colossus of the North" suddenly begged the colossus to move south with money and arms, promise far more "intervention" than the U.S. wanted to offer.

Before Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. and his U.S. associates got their wits back, the Latin Americans ganged up and almost put over a proposal for permanent mutual guarantees of their boundaries and independence. At this critical juncture, the U.S. delegation seemed to have an impossible choice: accept something which it could not legally approve without the Senate's consent, or grievously offend the Latin republics.

Into the breach stepped Vermont's Republican Senator Warren R. Austin. While Stettinius & Co. were gasping for air, smart Warren Austin announced that he could not read the Spanish text of the resolution, made delay a point of Latin courtesy. This stratagem gave him and Texas' Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, time to work out a compromise.

The result was the Act of Chapultepec (named for the castle where the Conference met, and where U.S. soldiers invading Mexico died for "Yankee imperialism" in 1847). By this declaration, the U.S. and its Latin sisters ditched a cardinal Pan-American principle (often violated in fact but never in theory): that American nations should not intervene, singly or together, in each other's external affairs. In the Act of Chapultepec, the signers agreed to fight anybody, whether within or outside the Western Hemisphere, who attacks or threatens their territory or "political integrity" during the remainder of World War II.

By limiting the pledge to the duration, Senators Austin and Connally got around the necessity of immediate Senate approval (the President's emergency powers are enough). By promising to write the pledge into treaties and submit them for ratification later, the Senators gave the Act of Chapultepec a fair chance of becoming permanent policy.

Chapultepec v. San Francisco. The declaration's first purpose was to put an iron halter on Argentina, the only Latin American country not a member of the United Nations and not represented at Mexico City (see LATIN AMERICA). If Argentina's jingoes went mad and attacked fearful Uruguay or Chile, the Act of Chapultepec would bring the U.S., Brazil, the rest of the Pan-American system solidly into line against Buenos Aires.

So said the declaration. But would it be so?

The world-security proposals drafted last fall at Dumbarton Oaks encouraged regional handling of regional affairs. But

the same proposals said that no punitive action could be taken under regional agreements without the approval of the new World Security Council. In advance of the World Security Conference in San Francisco next month, the Big Three had agreed that any one of the Big Powers could veto such action (*see above*).

This might mean that Britain, as a member of the World Security Council, could prevent intra-American action against its old commercial friend, Argentina. Or that the Soviet Union, the object of much concern at Mexico City, could check an intra-American move against an American aggressor.

One solution discussed at Mexico City was to limit the World Security Council's authority to matters of obvious world concern, exclude the Council from primarily regional affairs. In Big Power practice, the U.S. would then decide where the World Council's interest begins and ends. But—could the U.S. reserve this right without granting Soviet Russia's right to similar jurisdiction in western Asia or in eastern Europe? Pondering this question, close to home, the U.S. may view parallel British and Russian anxieties in a new light.

Practically, both Britain and Russia may be glad to leave primary responsibility for the Americas to the U.S. At Mexico City, the U.S. delegates evidently hope so. They limited the Act of Chapultepec to matters "appropriate for regional action." And they specified that action even in these matters "shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organization."

Within the Family

The men of Chapultepec faced not only world problems (*see above*), but also a lot of family business.

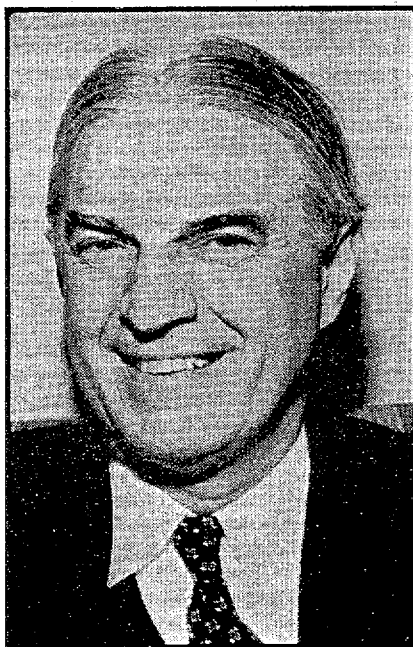
Money Talks. Hardheaded, hard-fisted William L. Clayton made his first major pronouncement since he became Assistant Secretary of State in charge of U.S. economic policy. With a refreshing scorn for diplomatic doubletalk, he told the Latin Americans not to kid themselves about that policy in the postwar world.

First thing for them to realize, said he, was that the U.S. must look after its own health, if it is to help anybody else. Second, said he, the U.S. cannot continue peacetime purchases in Latin America at the wartime rate (more than \$5,000,000,000 in four and a half years). He added:

"It should be further said that these transactions have been abnormal both in size and character, that they were entered into with the purpose of defeating a powerful and ruthless enemy intent upon the destruction of your liberty and ours, that wars always come to an end, and that when this one finally [ends] it will open to all of us an untrod and unknown road on which we must travel in converting from a war economy to a peace economy."

On this road, said he, the U.S. in self-interest will do its utmost to cushion the shock of Latin American reconversion, stimulate postwar trade. Said Clayton: "We recognize our responsibility in this field, and we propose to meet it, consistent with our laws, our public opinion and a due regard for our own economy."

The U.S. delegation then submitted an economic charter for the Americas, based on Will Clayton's principles. Prime points: 1) reduce tariffs and "work against economic nationalism in all its forms"; 2) cooperate to prevent practices "by cartels or through other private business arrangements which obstruct international trade"; 3) leave international business to private enterprise and "refrain from the establish-



WILL CLAYTON
Latins should not kid themselves.

ment of State enterprises for the conduct of trade."

New Union. A drive by Mexico to rejuvenate the languishing Pan American Union confronted Ed Stettinius and his No. 1 political assistant, Nelson Rockefeller, with a challenge to their Hemisphere leadership. They met it skillfully, yielded on most points without losing too much face or endangering the U.S. position on more vital issues. Important changes:

¶ The permanent chairmanship, now held by the U.S. Secretary of State, will be rotated among the member countries.

¶ Latin Ambassadors to Washington, who now make up the Union's board of directors, will be replaced by other representatives (Latins felt that the Ambassadors were subject to undue State Department pressure).

¶ The Union will hold a conference of Foreign Ministers every year, a full meeting of member states every four years. All

meetings hitherto have been subject to call (*i.e.*, at the pleasure of the U.S.).

Gracefully making these concessions, the U.S. also won a point. The Union's critics agreed to leave the headquarters in Washington.

The Face at the Door. The hardest test of U.S. leadership and Pan American unity came last. The issue: Argentina, banned from the Conference at U.S. insistence.

The Buenos Aires jingoes last week made some gestures toward the U.S. (*see LATIN AMERICA*). But the U.S. still staked its whole position at Mexico City on the proposition that the present Argentine Government was unfit for decent company.

The other Latin Governments agreed in principle. But they knew all too well that no Pan-American system or agreement could long survive without big, rich and powerful Argentina. And some felt that more skillful handling in the past by the U.S. might have kept Argentina in line. For the time being they might let the U.S. evade the issue. But the U.S. could not evade Latin America's uneasiness over Argentina's place in the Hemisphere.

THE NATIONS

A Steal on Yalta

One of the policies agreed on at Yalta had its first test, but not a fair one. At Yalta the Big Three declared that they would concert their policies to insure decent, stable governments in troubled countries taken from the Axis. Last week, before any concert could be worked out, such a situation arose in Rumania.

For a fortnight Rumania's Premier General Nicolai Radescu had stubbornly defied every effort by the small but vociferous pro-Communist National Democratic Front to drive him out of office. Denunciations, demonstrations, minor riots in four cities, even an attempted assassination had failed to force the unpolitical Premier's resignation (*TIME*, March 5). Last week things suddenly began to happen.

A puffy, spectacled man with a nervous tic in the left cheek and a shock of unruly grey hair arrived unexpectedly in Bucharest, from Moscow. Andrei Januari Vishinsky, Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs, looked more than ever like an absent-minded, amiable professor. But the Kremlin's ace trouble-shooter—and the tigerish prosecutor of the Moscow Old Bolshevik trials—had not come out of absent-mindedness.

Within a few hours of Vishinsky's arrival, Premier Radescu resigned. Young King Mihai tried a surprise move: he appointed elegant, 71-year-old Prince Barbu Stirbey, lover of the late Queen Marie of Rumania, to form a new Government. When Stirbey's attempt failed, Mihai appointed Dr. Peter Groza, aggressive leader of the troublemaking Democratic National Front—a thickset, moonfaced

Text of Roosevelt On Yalta Parley

Chief Executive Tells Congress of Decisions In Crimea and Start on Road to World Peace

Following is President Roosevelt's address to Congress yesterday as recorded and transcribed by the New York Times after the President had made numerous changes in delivering his prepared text:

Mr. Vice President, Speaker and members of the Congress; I hope that you will pardon me for an unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say, but I know that you will realize it makes it a lot easier for me in not having to carry about 10 pounds of steel around on the bottom of my legs and also because of the fact that I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip.

First of all I want to say that it is good to be home.

It has been a long journey and I hope you all will agree that it has been, so far, a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you here in the halls of the American Congress—with the support of the American people—concur in the general conclusions reached in the place called Yalta and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results.

And that is why I have come before you at the earliest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal report to you—and, at the same time, to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly—together.

I'm returning from this trip—which took me so far—refreshed and inspired. I was well for the entire time, I was not ill for a second, until I arrived back in Washington and there I heard all of the rumors which occurred in my absence. Yes, I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired—the Roosevelt's are not—as you may suspect—averse to travel; we seem to thrive on it.

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communications has made this world very small; we must always bear in mind that fact, when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, I might say not only from the active members of the Congress, but from all its members.

Intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide collaboration.

Confronted by Many Problems

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for a final and complete military victory over Germany, there were a number of problems of vital political consequence.

First, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Second, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us with respect to the international security organization after the Dumbarton Oaks conference. As you remember at that time, I said afterwards we had agreed 90 per cent. A pretty good percentage. I think the other 10 per cent was ironed out at Yalta.

Thirdly, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future, or which had been, liberated from the Nazi yoke. There are special problems—we over here find it difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands. But we are trying to.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by Poland and Yugoslavia.

But Hitler Has Failed

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached.

And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree—that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the object for which his propaganda machine has been working for months.

Mr. Roosevelt Arrives



IN CHEERFUL MOOD—The Chief Executive as he looked yesterday on his arrival at the Capitol to report to Congress on the conferences at Yalta and Malta

more about them tomorrow and the next day—and every day!

There will be no respite from these attacks. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. You know I have always felt that common sense prevails in the long run, quiet overnight thinking. I think that's true in Germany, just as much as it is here.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers, must realize that the sooner they give up and surrender, by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

No Enslavement Planned

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat—that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany

for the aristocracy of Russia. Afterward, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces and villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas, took them over for their own use. They are the only reasons that the so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable when we got there. It had been given or had thought to have been given, to a German general, for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own nice villa.

It was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, up to the time it was taken again by the Germans.

The Nazi officers took these places for their own use and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, just almost a year ago, last April 1

Congressional Views on Yalta Run From Praise to Suspicion

By the Associated Press
Congress received President Roosevelt's report yesterday, running the gamut from praise to suspicion.

Senator Barkley of Kentucky, leader, set the tone of administration Democracy, asserting the "frank and sincere and admirable quality of be-

lieve," he said, "that the President's own party, expressed disappointment that they weren't told more."

The extremes were pretty well represented by Representative Bloom (D., N. Y.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Representative Knutson (R., Minn.), ranking minority member on the Ways and Means Committee.

Bloom—"The President's truly the strongest among the

Senate minority, had nothing to say."

Senator Taft of Ohio, another Republican foreign affairs leader, dismissed the address curtly—"very interesting but there was no news in it."

Some Democrats Disappointed

Many of the Congressmen, including some of the President's own party, expressed disappointment that they weren't told more.

Wheeler (D., Mont.), long-time foe of Roosevelt foreign policy, expressed hope that Mr. Roosevelt's confidence in Allied promises is not "misplaced" and added: "If the end of the system of unilateral

prints on which all the United Nations will be able to lay the joint foundation of a just and enduring peace."

Knutson—"It was a studied attempt to sell a bill of goods without opening the wrapper."

Among Senators these were at opposite positions:

Hill of Alabama, Democratic whip—"A telling message bringing home to Congress and the American people the epochal events of the Yalta conference."

Wheeler Is Suspicious

Wheeler (D., Mont.), long-time foe of Roosevelt foreign policy, expressed hope that Mr. Roosevelt's confidence in Allied promises is not "misplaced" and added: "If the end of the system of unilateral

action by Russia and exclusive alliances and balances of power were definitely ended at the Yalta Conference, that, of course, would be an accomplishment."

A middle course was taken by Representative Martin of Massachusetts, House Republican leader, who said "the members enjoyed the presentation, but many were a bit disappointed, that nothing especially new was disclosed."

House Leader McCormack of Massachusetts spoke for those who held that the President went as far as he could in letting Congress in on what happened in the Crimea: "It was a dramatic speech on an historic occasion. The speech was as comprehensive as he could have made it at this time."

all the other nations are; and we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as charter of the United Nations, when they all come together in San Francisco, next month.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this Government in the creation of the international security organization.

The Senate and the House of Representatives will both be represented at the San Francisco conference. The congressional delegation will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American delegation is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan.

World peace is not a party question—any more than is military victory.

Our Republic was threatened by the Nazi clutch for conquest in 1940 and then by the Japanese treachery of partisanship and politics laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource dedicated to our common cause of peace will be expended by every patriotic American and by every human soul.

The same cause of peace will be expended by every patriotic American and by every human soul.

Who World Involved

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter—on the conception of the dignity of the human being and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied armies have marched to military victory, they

a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100 per cent—nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that—under the agreements reached at Yalta—there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends—with the exception only of such action as may be agreed upon in the international security organization.

Nations Now Stripped

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in postwar Europe, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. We did.

Discussed Poland

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent and prosperous nation. That's the thing we must always remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain and by me, the objective of making Poland a

a participant in the conference, no one should detract from the recognition there accorded of her role in the future of Europe and the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the international security council together with the other four major powers.

Agreement on Yugoslavia

And, finally, we have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreement was also reached on Yugoslavia, as announced in the communique; and is in process of fulfillment.

But it is not only that, but in some other places we have to remember there are a great number of prima donnas in the world. All who wish to be heard. Before anything will be done, we may have a little delay while we listen to more prima donnas.

Quite naturally the Crimean Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe—and not with the Pacific war.

At Malta, however, our combined British and American staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "the United States Marines have landed." And we can add, having two Jima in mind: "The situation is well in hand."

Japs Understood, Too

They also know what it is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent work

leaves, provision of adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a second time this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

Facts Must Be Amended

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it—and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again and expect the world again to survive.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries—and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live.

And that, my friends, is the only message I can give you for I

... returned from the trip refreshed and inspired—the Roosevelts' are not—as you may suspect—averse to travel; we seem to thrive on it.

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communications has made this world very small; we must always bear in mind that fact, when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, I might say not only from the executive branch, but all its departments, but also the Legislature, branches, two departments. And when it where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world. And, of course, in a grave emergency, we could even have risked breaking the security rule.

I come home from the Crimean Conference, my fellow Americans, with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

Great Force in Action Now

There were two main purposes at the Crimean Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops over German soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

Toward that goal also, a tremendous stride was made.

Has Faith in Peace Possibilities

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political agreements were made—and none was attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since the time of the Teheran Conference there had developed among all of us a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the future peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

More Frequent Meetings

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long—14 months. During this long period

argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached.

And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree—that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the object for which his propaganda machine has been working for months.

But Hitler has failed.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting world peace will become a reality.

German Soil Invaded

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of all the Allied forces. They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front was so far removed from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland and are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the River Rhine in the west. It is a different situation today; a closer tactical liaison has become possible—and, in the Crimean Conference, this has been accomplished.

Soviet Armies Supported

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, those under command of the Soviet marshals on the Eastern Front, and our armies in Italy—without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington and London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used—in the day-by-day tactics of the war—and we have begun to realize, I think, that there is all the difference in the world between tactics on the one side and strategy on the other—day-by-day tactical war, in direct support of Soviet Armies, as well as in support of our own in the Western Front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to the Eastern and Western Fronts from other parts of Germany and

and surrender, by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

No Enslavement Planned

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat—that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them—for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins and deceive their people into continued useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia, France and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany—and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a control council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Nazism Will End

Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi party—and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just—and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

Reparations in Kind

By compelling reparations in kind—in plants, and machinery and rolling stock and raw materials—we shall avoid the mistake made after the last war of demanding reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them.

We got there. It had been given or had thought to have been given, to a German general, for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own nice villa.

It was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, up to the time it was taken again by the Germans.

The Nazi officers took these places for their own use and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, just almost a year ago, last April I think it was, all the villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed, by bombs placed on the inside. And even the humblest of homes of Yalta, were not spared.

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.

Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction—with less than a dozen buildings left intact in the whole city.

No Room for Nazism

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry—but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta. And I know that there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached at Dumbarton Oaks. It involved the procedure of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind.

At the Crimean Conference, the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of that agreement publicly, but it will be in a very short time.

Solutions Founded in Justice

When the conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the security council are made known, I believe you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to

not be an American peace, or British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter—on the conception of the dignity of the human being—on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

Three Nations to Cooperate

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas—as in Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of them vaguely defined ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we can't see at this moment. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement—a unanimous settlement.

Free Elections Provided

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governing authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great Nation. Certainly I don't want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller, smaller every year. The United States now exerts a tremendous influence in the cause of peace

so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in postwar Europe, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. We did.

Discussed Poland

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent and prosperous nation. That's the thing we must always remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain and by me, the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve this objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary.

Compromise Reached

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was quite a compromise. I didn't agree with all of it by any means, but we could go as far as Britain wanted in certain areas, go as far as Russia wanted in certain areas and we could go as far as I wanted in certain areas—it was a compromise.

The decision was a compromise under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the north and west in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon line in the east. The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. We know roughly that it will include in the new strong Poland quite a large slice of what is now called Germany. And it was agreed also that the new Poland will have a large and long coastline and many a new harbor. Also that East Prussia, most of it, will go to Poland and the corner of it will go to Russia. Also (what shall I call it that anomaly of the Free State of Danzig) I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish.

staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "the United States Marines have landed." And we can add, having Iwo Jima in mind: "The situation is well in hand."

Japs Understood, Too

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself—in Iwo Jima.

But, lest somebody lay off work in the United States, I can repeat what I have said, even in my sleep, a short sentence, "We haven't won the wars yet, with an 's' on wars."

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany—if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farou' of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

Meets Forces at Work

Of the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes, than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought—and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States—and of the world—for generations to come.

of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries—and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live.

And that, my friends, is the only message I can give you for I feel very deeply and I know that all of you are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

Yalta Parley Produces Closer Liaison

The "closer tactical liaison" between Anglo-American and Russian commanders announced yesterday by President Roosevelt is the only level of cooperation helpful at the present stage of the war in Europe, according to competent Washington military sources.

"At the present time," one well-informed person said, "there is not a great deal that the combined chiefs of staff could do" to hasten Germany's defeat. "The same effect has been achieved by conferences between General Marshall, our Chief of Staff, and high Russian officers at Yalta."

"They agreed on the general plan," he continued. "They were concerned with the broad, over-all aspects."

Detailed execution of the Yalta decisions, he said, is the function of General Eisenhower, supreme Allied commander in Europe, and his Russian counterpart.

(The combined Chiefs of Staff organization is made up of British and American representatives. Operating directly under President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill it has made the high strategic decisions for Anglo-American operations since 1942.)

French Refugees In U. S. May Plan Return Home Now

Initial action toward repatriation may now be taken by French refugees in the United States, it was announced yesterday.

Refugees here who intend returning to France when transportation is available are asked to report at the Mission of the Ministry for Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees, 1622 18th st. n.w., on Mondays, Wednesdays or Fridays from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m., and 3:30 to 5:30 p.m.

Passports and six photographs of passport size should be submitted.

Refugees in other parts of the country will report in New York, Chicago, New Orleans and San Francisco.

are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops over German soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

Toward that goal also, a tremendous stride was made.

Has Faith in Peace Possibilities

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political agreements were made—and none was attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since the time of the Teheran Conference there had developed among all of us a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the future peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

More Frequent Meetings

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long—14 months. During this long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugoslavia.

Therefore we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to meet more often in the future, we would make sure that there would be more frequent personal contacts for exchange of views.

Accordingly, we arranged for periodic meetings of the Foreign Secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States at in-

was so far removed from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland and are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the River Rhine in the west. It is a different situation today; a closer tactical liaison has become possible—and, in the Crimean Conference, this has been accomplished.

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You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used—in the day-by-day tactics of the war—and we have begun to realize, I think, that there is all the difference in the world between tactics on the one side and strategy on the other—day-by-day tactical war, in direct support of Soviet Armies, as well as in support of our own in the Western Front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to the Eastern and Western Fronts from other parts of Germany and from Italy.

No Respite for Foo

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort—American, British and Russian.

Details of all these plants and arrangements are military secrets; but they will hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. They will learn

the Nazi party—and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just—and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

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Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body which for generations has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

Saw Utter Destruction

During my stay at Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

Before the last war, it had been a resort for the Czars and

to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached at Dumbarton Oaks. It involved the procedure of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind.

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When the conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the security council are made known, I believe you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to get the war over quickly, we work together to keep it from happening again.

Senate Kept Advised

As you know, I have always been a believer of the document called the Constitution of the United States. I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world in the Constitution of the United States. The Charter has to be, and should be, approved by the Senate of the United States under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now—I am aware of that fact, and now

the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we can't see at this moment. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement—a unanimous settlement.

Free Elections Provided

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governing authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great Nation. Certainly I don't want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller, smaller every year. The United States now exerts a tremendous influence in the cause of peace. What we people over here are thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace because it's known all over the world. The slightest remark in either House of the Congress is known all over the world the following day. We will continue to exert that influence only if we are willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It would be our own tragic loss if we were to shirk that responsibility.

More Stability Seen

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be

Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

Compromise Reached

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was quite a compromise. I didn't agree with all of it by any means, but we could go as far as Britain wanted in certain areas, go as far as Russia wanted in certain areas and we could go as far as I wanted in certain areas—it was a compromise.

The decision was a compromise under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the north and west in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon line in the east. The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. We know roughly that it will include in the new strong Poland quite a large slice of what is now called Germany. And it was agreed also that the new Poland will have a large and long coastline and many a new harbor. Also that East Prussia, most of it, will go to Poland and the corner of it will go to Russia. Also (what shall I call it that anomaly of the Free State of Danzig) I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919 the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples.

France to Participate

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish state.

The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rest the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, France was not

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Meets Forces at Work

Of the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes, than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought—and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States—and of the world—for generations to come.

No Middle Ground

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning—reclamations of desert areas, development of whole river val-

ences between General Marshall, our Chief of Staff, and high Russian officers at Yalta."

"They agreed on the general plan," he continued. "They were concerned with the broad, over-all aspects."

Detailed execution of the Yalta decisions, he said, is the function of General Eisenhower, supreme Allied commander in Europe, and his Russian counterpart.

(The combined Chiefs of Staff organization is made up of British and American representatives. Operating directly under President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill it has made the high strategic decisions for Anglo-American operations since 1942.)

French Refugees

In U. S. May Plan

Return Home Now

Initial action toward repatriation may now be taken by French refugees in the United States, it was announced yesterday.

Refugees here who intend returning to France when transportation is available are asked to report at the Mission of the Ministry for Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees, 1622 18th st. nw., on Mondays, Wednesdays or Fridays from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m., and 2:30 to 5:30 p.m.

Passports and six photographs of passport size should be submitted.

Refugees in other parts of the country will report in New York, Chicago, New Orleans and San Francisco.

PUC to Defer

Rate Hearing

The Public Utilities Commission, which has scheduled its annual public hearing on Potomac Electric Power Co. rates for March 12, announced yesterday it would adjourn immediately after convening because effect of its previous rate reduction order has been stayed by District Court.

Although the court upheld the Pepco rate slash of \$1,038,000 for the 1944 fiscal year, reduction has been stayed while the company carried its protests to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

The Weather

Today—Mostly cloudy, warmer, with showers; much colder tonight with temperatures below freezing. Yesterday—High, 43; low, 31. Details on Page B-7.
Fuel-oil consumption to date, 78 per cent of yearly allotment.

The Washington Post

NEWS OF THE HOUR
ON THE HOUR
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Nazis Abandoning Cologne Under Triple Assault; Reds Seize 2 Stettin Bastions, Stop 2050 Marines Killed on Iwo, Battle Mo 1 Fury

'Big 5' Keep Right to Veto Use of Force By Council

France Declines
To Be Sponsor After
Asking Invitations'
Wording Be Changed

(Text on Page 2.)

Vandenberg Accepts
VANDENBERG, with "freedom
of action," will serve as dele-
gate to world security confer-
ence. Page 8.

MEXICO CITY parley delegates
ask change in Dumbarton Oaks
plan. Page 2.

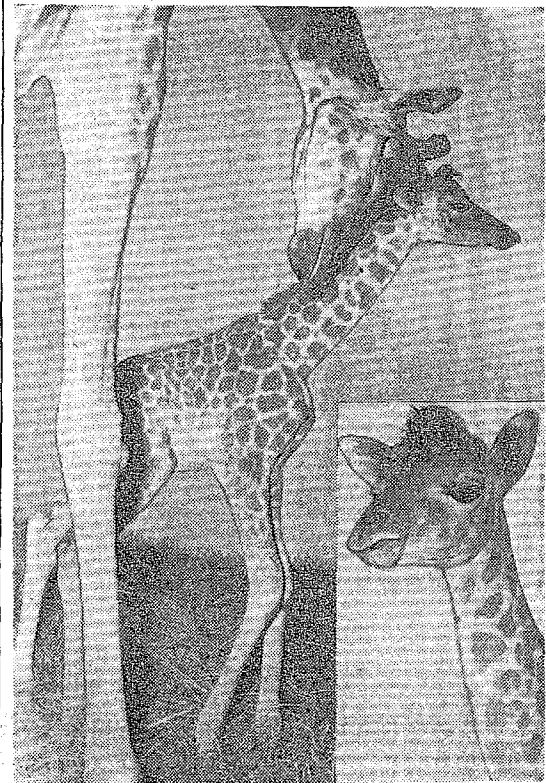
39 Nations Invited

By Ben W. Gilbert

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sponsoring the April 25 United Na-
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sponsor of the parley unless the
invitations, worded by Roosevelt,
Churchill and Stalin at Yalta, were

Mother's New Baby



BELOVED ARRIVAL—Mother Giraffe gets acquainted with her new baby.

Nimitz Reports Continued Bitter Fighting; 12,864 Jap Dead Counted

Marine dead on bloody Iwo Jima
totalled 2050 as of last Saturday,
Secretary of the Navy Forrestal
reported here yesterday upon his
return from a three-week, 21,000-
mile Pacific inspection tour during
which he was ashore on Iwo.

As Forrestal was telling of the
grim toll, a late communique
from Admiral Nimitz at Guam told
of continued bitter fighting as the
Marines painstakingly pressed the
strongly-entrenched Japs toward
the northeastern cliffs and broke
up a number of enemy attempts to
infiltrate American positions. Some
of the Japs wore American uni-
forms, and the battle was more in-
tense as the fighting area narrowed.

Consolidating Positions

For the second straight day Nim-
itz reported little change of posi-
tion on the strategic isle 750 miles
south of Tokyo. The three divisions
of Marines were consolidating the
positions they had won in 15 days
of fighting in capturing more than
two-thirds of the island which is
5½ miles long.

Forrestal said he did not know
the total of American wounded or
missing. The figures through Feb-
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ing and 4288 wounded. There has
been no published recapitulation
since then of American losses.
Nimitz reported Sunday that 12,864
Japanese dead had been counted
up to 6 p. m. Saturday, and 81
prisoners had been taken.

Kill 4000 Nazis In Stargard, Push For Altdamm and Oder Crossing

By Romney Wheeler

London, Tuesday, March 6 (AP).—
Russian troops, anchoring their
Pomeranian flank securely on the
Baltic coast, yesterday wheeled
toward Stettin and captured that
port's outer bastions of Stargard
and Naugard, while other Soviet
forces to the northeast cut deeper
into two pockets where possibly
200,000 Germans were trapped.

Overwhelming Stargard in a
vicious street battle that cost the
Germans 4000 killed, the Russians
pushed on toward Altdamm, east
bank Oder River crossing town
just opposite Stettin and 15 miles
west of Stargard. Altdamm and
other localities ringing Stettin,
Pomeranian capital and Berlin's
main port, were reported under
Soviet artillery fire.

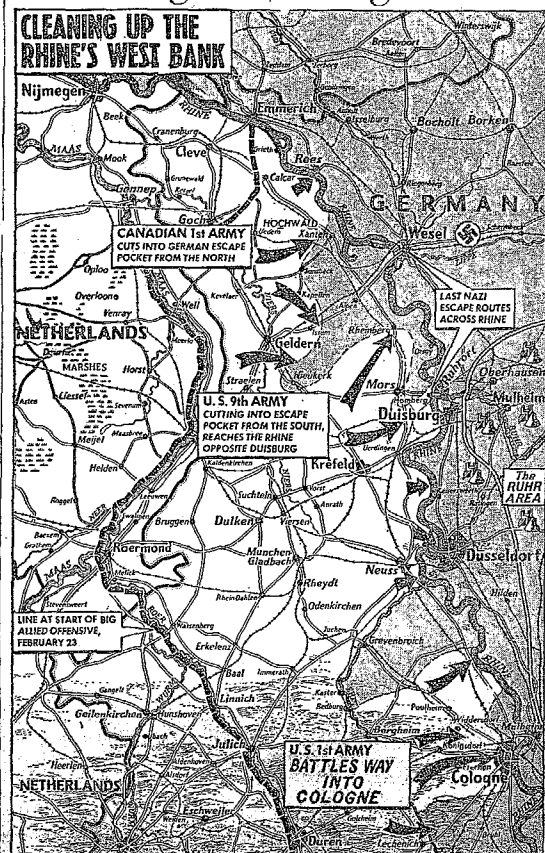
Naugard, 22 miles north of Star-
gard, also fell as the Russians
folded back the Germans into an
1800-square-mile pocket in which
the enemy was battling with his
back to a 45-mile waterline formed
by the lower Oder, Stettin Bay and
the Dievenow River.

Storming Into Kolberg

Kolberg, on the Baltic 65 miles
northeast of Stettin, also was being
stormed by Soviet troops. A Ber-
lin broadcast claimed that the Rus-
sians had been held in the fringes
of the town, site of a large Ameri-
can prisoner-of-war camp.

Marshal Gregory K. Zhukov's
First White Russian Army and the
adjoining Second White Russian

Yanks Fight in



Fifth of City Is Seized; Bridge Blasting Traps Foe on West Bank

Paris, March 5 (AP).—The U. S.
First Army sent tanks plunging
more than a mile into Cologne to-
day, seized more than one-fifth of
all the city in assaults from the
north, south and west, and the fall
of the largest German metropolis
ever stormed by the Allies seemed
near at hand.

The Germans apparently wrote
off the fourth largest city in the
Reich, for they blew the big Hohen-
zollern bridge and began shelling
it from the east bank.

Field dispatches said the Ger-
mans were fleeing across the Rhine
by boats, and one staff officer es-
timated that only 1000 enemy sol-
diers remained to garrison the city.

Prisoners said these forces were
falling back into the old part of
the city, which represents only one-
fourth of Cologne's area of 25
square miles.

Third Armored First In

The Third Armored Division,
now within two miles or less of
the heart of the city, was the first
to enter at 7:10 and the 104th In-
fantry Division came in from the
west at 8:23 a. m.

The Eighth Infantry Division,
hard on the 104th's right flank,
pushed into the city from the south.
Cologne was shrouded in a pall of
smoke from the fire of massed ar-
tillery laying down a terrific drum-
fire.

All three divisions were meeting
half-hearted resistance, indicating

By Ben W. Gilbert

With France refusing to join in sponsoring the April 25 United Nations parley, the State Department announced yesterday that the five major powers on the proposed United Nations security council will retain a veto over use of political, economic, or military sanctions against aggression, even when they are parties to a dispute.

France declined to act as co-sponsor of the parley unless the invitations, worded by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Yalta, were changed to permit her expressly to suggest amendments to the proposed charter for a United Nations organization drafted by United States, Britain, Russia and China at Dumbarton Oaks, it was learned.

It is believed in official quarters here that one of the amendments France would like to submit at San Francisco would prevent the proposed international organization to keep the peace from subordinating such existing treaties as her 20-year alliance with the Soviet Union which France feels must remain the sheet-anchor of her own postwar security plans.

The four other powers—in addition to France—which would have permanent seats on the proposed eleven-nation security council sent out the invitations to thirty-nine nations through the United States at noon. France accepted the invitation to attend the parley. See SECURITY, Page 2, Column 5

French Delay Posed Problem For Stettinius

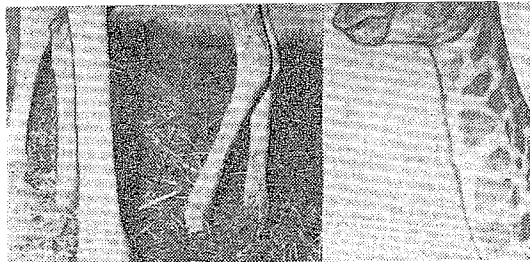
By Herbert B. Elliston
Associate Editor of The Post

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The delay has been due to the failure of France till now either to accept the voting procedure or to join with the other major powers in issuing invitations to San Francisco.

France has sent observers to this "dress rehearsal for San Francisco" in Mexico City. The difficulty in connection with the delay in French acquiescence to the dispatch of invitations to San Francisco as seen here was due to French resentment over the lack of an invitation to De Gaulle to go to Yalta and the President's inability to drop off in Paris on the way home.

The impression is that this alleged slighting of France is put on Roosevelt's doorstep. The French are mollified, of course, by the news of the signature of the long awaited lend-lease agreement be-



Post Staff Photos

BELOVED ARRIVAL—Mother Giraffe gets acquainted with her new offspring at the Washington Zoo. Inset shows the face of the baby, born Sunday. (Another picture and story on Page 10.)

GI on Crutches Pays Tribute To Red Cross

By Emily Towe

An Army sergeant on crutches yesterday told 400 volunteer workers of the Red Cross "your organization saved my life."

Sergt. Victor Mapes, 27, of Orlando, Fla., an escapee from a Japanese prison camp in Mindanao who fled through the swamps of another island for five weeks with a fractured leg, spoke at the first report meeting of the Red Cross War Fund of the Washington metropolitan area at the Chamber of Commerce.

Four divisions reported a total for the first week of \$147,081 and the special gifts division that made precampaign solicitation reported that 61 per cent of the \$750,000 goal had been reached.

Speaking in a halting voice with the explanation "I'm more used to fighting than making speeches," Sergt. Mapes said that he would. See CAMPAIGN, Page 7, Column 6

Vinson Named Loan Agency Administrator

By Robert C. Albright

President Roosevelt yesterday nominated hard-headed, hard-working Fred M. Vinson, director of economic stabilization, to administer the multibillion dollar Federal loan agencies recalled from Jesse Jones, a divorced man from Henry Wallace.

The long-expected appointment, ousting Jones from his last stronghold in Government, received a big hand at the Capitol, where the 55-year-old Vinson served for 14 years in the House.

His confirmation almost without opposition was indicated, as most men in both parties who led the fight against Wallace joined Administration stalwarts in applauding the choice.

Nomination of the big, square-jawed Kentuckian, (pounds, 195; height, 6 feet 1 inch), posed only one question—whom would he. See VINSON, Page 7, Column 4

tion on the strategic Isle 750 miles south of Tokyo. The three divisions of Marines were consolidating the positions they had won in 15 days of fighting in capturing more than two-thirds of the island which is 5½ miles long.

Forrestal said he did not know the total of American wounded or missing. The figures through February 21 were 644 dead, 500 missing and 4288 wounded. There has been no published recapitulation since then of American losses. Nimitz reported Sunday that 12,864 Japanese dead had been counted up to 6 p. m. Saturday, and 81 prisoners had been taken.

Not Out of Proportion

"Any American who dies is a loss we cannot face cheerfully," the Secretary said, "but the figures here are not out of proportion to the importance of taking that island."

"The defense of Iwo is the most skillful and thorough the Marines have encountered anywhere," the Secretary told his news conference. "The fighting has been severe and costly, but in terms of results it is highly successful."

Also, Forrestal explained that the American attackers found Iwo. See FORRESTAL, Page 2, Col. 1

Forrestal Story Of 'No Danger' On Iwo Scoffed At

Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, praising the Navy and the Marines yesterday, reddened when asked whether he had been ashore on Iwo.

"There's no story there," he said. "I was ashore, but by that time it was as safe there as it is right here in this room."

A Navy captain in the rear of the room clucked mournfully to himself.

"Yes, it was safe there," he said. "Twenty-three men were killed on that section of the beach that morn-

ing, also fell as the Russians folded back the Germans into an 1800-square-mile pocket in which the enemy was battling with his back to a 45-mile waterline formed by the lower Oder, Stettin Bay and the Dievenow River.

Storming Into Kolberg

Kolberg, on the Baltic 65 miles northeast of Stettin, also was being stormed by Soviet troops. A Berlin broadcast claimed that the Russians had been held in the fringes of the town, site of a large American prisoner-of-war camp.

Marshal Gregory K. Zhukov's First White Russian Army and the adjoining Second White Russian group under Marshal K. K. Rokossovsky captured a total of 230 towns and villages yesterday in 10-mile gains. Moscow announced: "A third major stronghold toppled by Zhukov's men was Polzin, 52 miles northeast of Stargard, and bypassed earlier in the race to the coast."

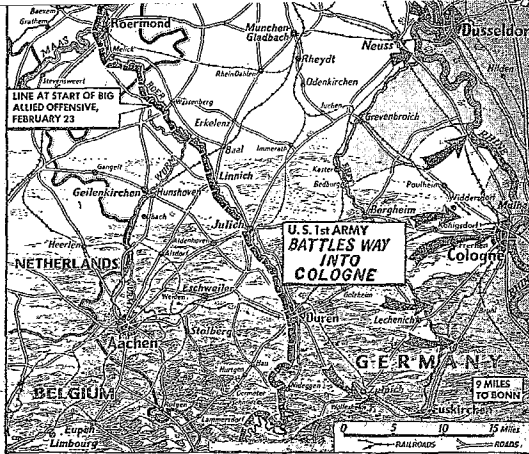
Rokossovsky's troops seized Gross-Tychow, site of a large American prisoner-of-war camp 18 miles south of captured Koeslin on the Baltic, but the fate of the Americans was not determined. It was possible they had been moved westward before the twin Russian breakthroughs.

Under 30 Miles From Danzig

East of Pomerania in the Polish corridor below Danzig, the eastern wing of Rokossovsky's army seized eight localities on a 50-mile front, smashing into the southern rim of the pocket created by the Pomeranian advance to the Baltic.

Further east, the Russians also gained up to 2 miles on an 18-mile front southwest of Koenigsberg in East Prussia. The Third White Russia Army group in this area was striving to annihilate remnants of 20 Nazi divisions so it could turn its weight against the southeastern approaches to Danzig.

In Pomerania the Russians had split the Germans into three differ- See RUSSIA, Page 6, Column 3



Map shows latest moves in battle of annihilation west of the Rhine as American troops fight way into Cologne

9 Area Men Die in Action, 10 Wounded

Twenty Washington area men in the Army air and ground forces overseas are listed as war casualties today with 9 reported killed, 1 missing and 10 wounded.

Another District man, pilot of a Flying Fortress and one of two brothers reported missing, has been captured and interned in Germany, it was learned here yesterday.

DEAD:

First Lieut. James J. Ormsbee, 23, son of Mrs. Randall Holden Ormsbee of Beverly Park Gardens, Alexandria.

Master Sergt. John B. Benoit, Jr., 27, brother of Lieut. Joseph E. See CASUALTY, Page 4, Column 1

6 Jap Divisions Of 10 on Luzon Destroyed

Manila (Tuesday), March 7 (AP)—Six Japanese divisions—perhaps 90,000 troops—of the 10 divisions defending Luzon have been destroyed together with considerable war materials, and the remaining forces bottled up in the mountains are under continuous attack by ground and air.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur announced today that Lieut. Gen. Tomoyuki Yamashita's forces still on this largest island of the Philippines were "split into a number of divergent groups," and "their position is critical."

Only yesterday MacArthur announced that thousands of Japa- See PACIFIC, Page 2, Column 2

the city, which represents only one-fourth of Cologne's area of 25 square miles.

Third Armored First In

The Third Armored Division, now within two miles or less of the heart of the city, was the first to enter at 7:10 and the 104th Infantry Division came in from the west at 9:23 a. m.

The Eighth Infantry Division, hard on the 104th's right flank, pushed into the city from the south. Cologne was shrouded in a pall of smoke from the fire of massed artillery laying down a terrific drum-fire.

All three divisions were meeting half-hearted resistance, indicating the German army had no intention of obeying Hitler's orders to make a Stalingrad-like stand inside Cologne.

Cologne is the largest city in Rhenish Prussia with a normal population of 768,000 and is loaded with factories which once turned out weapons for the German war machine. Now the civilians covered in cellars while the battle swirled about them, or they streamed back to the American lines carrying their household possessions.

Other Bridges Destroyed

Besides blowing the bridge at Duesseldorf, the Germans destroyed three bridges at Duisberg before the charge of the United States Ninth Army, which overran the coal and synthetic oil city of Homberg and smashed into Rheinhagen in gains of as much as 6 miles.

By blowing all the serviceable bridges between Bonn and the Dutch border except the road and rail bridges at Wesel and a makeshift structure at Rheinberg, the Germans sealed the fate of many of the more than 50,000 troops still on the Rhine's west bank.

The Canadian First Army captured one ferry crossing at Rees, 11 miles northwest of the western Ruhr city of Wesel, and the Ninth captured another at Orsoy, 5 miles north of Homberg.

Held 70 Miles of West Bank

The Canadian First and the United States Ninth pressed the Germans back into an area 10 miles long and 6 miles wide, and with the United States First Army held sway over 70 of the 90 miles of the Rhine's west bank between Cologne and the Dutch border.

Supreme Headquarters estimated the Germans had lost 100,000 troops in the battle of the Rhine, sapping enemy strength so severely that he will be hard put to repulse Rhine crossings without weakening some other front.

The battle of the Ruhr basin—last important resource of the German war machine—had in effect

See WAR, Page 3, Column 3

France May Ask For German Labor

France probably will demand the service of German labor for the repair of war damage, reports Edward T. Follard, The Post's correspondent. He tells of France's plan for the care of its sons who have been German prisoners, when they are repatriated.

(Story on Page 3.)



States at noon. France accepted the invitation to attend the parley See SECURITY, Page 2, Column 5

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The impression is that this alleged slighting of France is put on Roosevelt's doorstep. The French are mollified, of course, by the news of the signature of the long awaited lend-lease agreement between America and France, but till this occurred there was an atmosphere of strain.

It is felt here that French misunderstandings over both Yalta and the inability of the President to visit Paris ought to be removed before the San Francisco conference. Contrary to reports from London, Roosevelt, it is believed, did not take any stand on the issue of France's going to Yalta. Nor did he intend any slight to De Gaulle in omitting Paris from his itinerary home. The fact is that he was nursing a severe head cold and stayed See ELLISTON, Page 2, Column 7

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Gen. Douglas MacArthur announced today that Lieut. Gen. Tomoyuki Yamashita's forces still on this largest island of the Philippines were "split into a number of divergent groups," and "their position is critical."

Only yesterday MacArthur announced that thousands of Japanese were repatriated.



"DEATH MARCHERS" CARRY WEAKENED COMRADES—As American prisoners of war walk toward Camp O'Donnell on Luzon Island in the Philippines in the now infamous 1942 "March of Death," they carry their starvation weakened comrades in improvised blanket-bottomed stretchers, according to the Army caption accompanying this picture, which was made by the Japanese. Note makeshift clothes worn by the marchers and flimsy, frond covered shacks used to house the Americans

Associated Press Wirephoto from U. S. Army

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Text of Invitations To Frisco Parley

The State Department's announcement of yesterday regarding the forthcoming San Francisco conference on a world security organization follows:

At the Crimea Conference the Government of the United States of America was authorized, on behalf of the three governments there represented, to consult the government of the Republic of China and the provisional government of the French Republic in order to invite them to sponsor invitations jointly with the governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to a conference of United Nations called to meet at San Francisco on April 25, 1945.

Those consultations have now been held. The government of the Republic of China has agreed to join in sponsoring invitations to the San Francisco Conference. The provisional government of the French Republic has agreed to participate in the conference but, after consultation with the sponsoring governments, the provisional government—which did not participate in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations—is not joining in sponsoring the invitations.

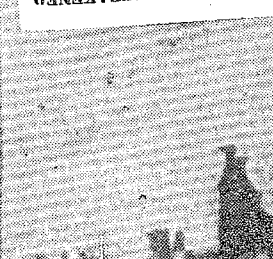
39 Nations Invited
Today, at noon Washington time, representatives of the Government of the United States of America stationed at various capitals throughout the world are presenting to the governments of 39 different United Nations the following invitation:

The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China, invites the government of (name of government invited was inserted here) to send representatives to a conference of the United Nations to be held on April 25, 1945, at San Francisco in the United States of America to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The above named governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and which have now

been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter VI:

On Luzon Island in the Philippines, American prisoners of war walk



Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently. In the event that the Government of (name of Government invited was inserted here) desires in advance of the conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating governments.

The invitation has been presented to the governments of the following United Nations:

Commonwealth of Australia, Kingdom of Belgium, Republic of Bolivia, United States of Brazil, Canada, Republic of Chile, Republic of Colombia, Republic of Costa Rica, Republic of Cuba, Czechoslovak Republic, Dominican Republic, Republic of Ecuador, Kingdom of Egypt, Empire of Ethiopia, Kingdom of Greece, Republic of Guatemala, Republic of Haiti, Republic of Honduras, India, Empire of Iran;

Kingdom of Iraq, the Republic of Liberia, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, United Mexican States, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Dominion of New Zealand, Republic of Nicaragua, Kingdom of Norway, Republic of Panama, Republic of Paraguay, Republic of Peru, Commonwealth of the Philippines, Republic of El Salvador, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Republic of Turkey, Union of South Africa, Oriental Republic of Uruguay, United States of Venezuela, Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Nazi Women Rounded Up



IN HOLSTHUM—Two German women are escorted through the wreckage in Holsthum, 27 miles southwest of Bitburg in Germany, by an American infantryman during mopping up operations in the area captured during a drive on Bitburg

Would Change Peace Plan

Mexico City, March 5 (AP).—The inter-American conference committee on world security adopted a resolution today requesting changes in the Dumbarton Oaks world security plan that would allow American nations to solve their own disputes.

The request will be laid before the United Nations conference at San Francisco. The resolution presented the consensus of the Latin countries that Dumbarton Oaks should be changed on the following important points:

1. Extension of the powers of the assembly representing all United Nations, and a consequent change in the powers of the security council.
2. Extension of the jurisdiction of the international court.
3. Creation of an intellectual and moral organization, to parallel the economic and social council.
4. Inter-American priorities on solving disputes in this hemisphere. This would mean strengthening the regional system proclaimed under the Act of Chapultepec in its relation to the world organization.
5. "Adequate" representation for Latin America in the Security Council.

Drafting of a statement on Argentina remained the top job for the conference. It was ascertained that representatives of 20 republics here will definitely make a formal declaration on Argentina, but they still are trying to agree on what to say. Only other major topic still being debated is the economic charter for the Americas. Officials expressed hope a compromise decision could be reached tonight.

Some Latin-American nations, bringing the total expected to 44, Poland's invitation was held up until a Polish government can be set up along more democratic lines in accordance with the Yalta plan. Voting on the council as called for in the plan worked out at Yalta and made public yesterday establishes an affirmative vote of 7 out of 11 as a deciding majority in all cases.

On mere procedural questions, any seven nations can compose the majority. On questions involving sanctions, the "big five" must be unanimous, with at least two other powers joining to make a majority.

From Page 1
On all other questions, the "big five" must be unanimous, except that a nation involved in a dispute cannot vote. Seven still must agree.

In defense of the voting procedure, which has generally been regarded as a concession to Russia, American sources pointed out that it makes it impossible for the United Nations council to commit the United States to use of force against an aggressor without our consent.

One of the principal reasons why the United States Senate failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles which set up the League of Nations was the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's insistence that the United States make such a reservation before entering the League. President Woodrow Wilson fought against making such a reservation on the ground that it would seriously weaken the proposed international organization.

The requirement that 7 constitute a majority of the council permits the great powers, acting together, to prevent the council from making even procedural decisions.

Speaking at the Mexico City inter-American conference on the voting plan, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., differentiated between "quasi-judicial" functions of the council where a party to a dispute cannot vote and "political" functions where the "big five" must all agree, even when one of them is a party to an international dispute.

"This means," he said, "that all members of the security council when they are parties to a dispute will be on the same footing before this council. It means that no nation in the world will be denied the right to have a fair hearing of its case in the security council, and that the equal, democratic rights of all nations will be respected."

As explained by Stettinius in a special statement released here, "quasi-judicial" matters where a nation involved could not participate would include such questions as:

Should the matter be investigated?
Is continuation of the dispute likely to threaten peace?

Should the council call on the parties to settle the dispute?

Should a threat or breach of peace exist?

Should force or other enforcement measures be used?

Should a proposed agreement for supply of armed forces be approved?

How should armaments be regulated?

Should a certain member nation be suspended or expelled; may a nation be admitted as a new member?

Only one of the "United and Associated" nations besides Poland not invited to the San Francisco Conference, according to the list released here, is Iceland, a tiny "associated" nation, which was excluded because she had failed to declare war against one of the Axis powers.

Six Latin American nations which recently joined the United Nations parade by declaring war were invited along with the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Turkey, which declared war to get under a March 1 invitation deadline established by the "Big Three" at Yalta.

SECURITY

ter of necessity, bear the principal responsibility for action."

Among the "political" questions are:

Does a threat or breach of peace exist?

Should force or other enforcement measures be used?

Should a proposed agreement for supply of armed forces be approved?

How should armaments be regulated?

Should a certain member nation be suspended or expelled; may a nation be admitted as a new member?

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Six Latin American nations which recently joined the United Nations parade by declaring war were invited along with the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Turkey, which declared war to get under a March 1 invitation deadline established by the "Big Three" at Yalta.

Such neutrals as Eire, Sweden and Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and Argentina were excluded along with such enemies and former enemies as Germany, Japan, Italy, Finland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria.

Stettinius pointed out that the "invitation to the San Francisco conference suggests that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals be considered as offering a basis for the charter of the world organization."

He added: "It is the wish of the United States, as it is, I am confident, of the other sponsoring nations, that there should also be the fullest opportunity at that conference for consideration of the views and suggestions of all the participating governments."

France, which was wounded at not having been asked to participate in the original Dumbarton Oaks discussions, bitter because she was not invited to Yalta, and yet desperately eager to reestablish herself as a great power, failed to accept outright the Yalta bid to cosponsor the Frisco parley as China did, but asked instead for "clarification" of the decisions reached at Yalta.

Requested clarification was provided, but she went on to inquire whether she would be bound by the Dumbarton Oaks plan as supplemented by the Yalta voting procedure if she accepted. She was

then advised that she would not be prevented from proposing amendments, although the sponsoring powers believed in the Dumbarton proposals and were prepared to support them with the understanding that alternative ideas would receive full and free discussion.

These assurances were unsatisfactory to France which then requested that the invitations be reworded to free her hands more explicitly. Three-power discussions of this request followed, with at least one of the powers insisting that the Yalta wording be left unchanged. Since the text of the voting procedure had to be released no later than yesterday to permit their discussion at the Mexico City Conference, further discussions with France were abandoned and the invitations sent out without France's indorsement.

At one point in the diplomatic exchanges, France apparently had the impression that the United States, Russia and Britain had agreed to her reservation.

On March 1, the French ministry of foreign affairs announced in Paris that it had decided to accept the invitation to cosponsor the San Francisco conference.

"It is specified on this occasion," the French said, "that the government, which did not take part in the establishment of the Dumbarton Oaks project, later modified at Yalta, agrees that these texts be used as bases for discussions, although certain modifications may be necessary in order to achieve the desired goal."

American quarters regard this statement as an unfortunate error. By making it, the French prevented their making a diplomatic retreat at the last moment when their reservation is rejected.

Now, there is some fear here

ELLISTON

From Page 1

in the Mediterranean on the doctor's orders to get over it before resuming work in Washington.

[President Roosevelt, upon his return here said he had not been sick on the trip.—Editor's note.]

The difficulty with France has had repercussions in Mexico City where the Latin Americans have been kept impatiently waiting for today's statement from Stettinius. This has been somewhat embarrassing to the Secretary of State. It's probably true to say that France has been much more of a headache to Stettinius at this conference, curious as it may seem, than has Argentina.

A volume of objections and suggestions in connection with the

Dumbarton Oaks plan has been offered to the Dumbarton Oaks committee by Latin American governments. Outstanding is Brazil's insistence that if the continent cannot be insulated, Latin Americans should have one of the permanent seats on the security council.

Stettinius' task has been to keep all proposals fluid. In this he has been successful, and the degree of his success will be demonstrated at San Francisco when these Latin American ideas are thrown into the hopper there.

This is another example of the United States' scrupulousness in avoiding any advance commitments which might be embarrassing to world security planners.

that the French may endeavor to recoup shattered prestige by rallying to the cause of small nations some of whom have indicated to this government that they would like to increase the power of the proposed general assembly on which all have representation at the expense of the more compact council which is dominated by the great powers.

Reports from Paris that the French would like to modify the proposed. United Nations organization to provide for automatic action in the event of aggression similar to that authorized in their 20-year pact with Russia lent support to the belief here that they were concerned over the fate of the pact under an international organization.

The companion British-Russian mutual aid pact provides that it can be superseded by international machinery to keep the peace. No such provision is contained in the Franco-Russian agreement.

Omission of Poland from those nations invited to Frisco automatically established the April 25 conference date as a deadline for reestablishment of a broadened Polish government recognized by the "big three." At Yalta, American and British Ambassadors to Moscow and Soviet Foreign Commissar S. M. Molotov were constituted a special commission to work on the problem of broadening the Soviet-backed government now in Warsaw by the inclusion of prodemocratic representatives from Poland and Poles abroad.

Unless this government is established and recognized by major powers in time, it was evident that Poland would not be represented at San Francisco. While Russia recognizes the Warsaw government, the United States and Britain are still doing business with the Polish government in exile in London.

FORRESTAL

From Page 1
defended by 5000 or 6000 more first class Jap troops than anticipated. Before the attack Japan rushed reinforcements to the island. They

PACIFIC

From Page 1
nese had been cleaned out of Ilocos Norte Province, on Luzon's north-west corner, by guerrillas operating

THE MODE . . . the Important Men's Corner . . . F Street at Eleventh

FORRESTAL

From Page 1

defended by 5000 or 6000 more first class Jap troops than anticipated. Before the attack Japan rushed reinforcements to the island. They were "naval landing troops," the same kind of tough, well-trained, fanatical troops that put up last-ditch resistance on Tarawa and in the city of Manila.

Counting these, he estimated the total defense force at between 20,000 and 21,000.

Defenses Deep Underground

To indicate the character of land fighting on Iwo, Forrestal gave some details of the Japs' underground defenses. A few of them extend 300 feet beneath the surface, with access at either end. One of the defense layouts had nine entrances, and in another the main passageway was 600 yards long.

The Secretary, who landed on Iwo shortly behind the first wave of Marines, said one underground water-distilling plant had a daily capacity of 300,000 gallons. The Japs left on the island are "considerably hampered" for water supplies now, because Marines captured this plant early in the fighting.

Jap camouflage was so effective, according to Forrestal, that many of their pillboxes and gun emplacements survived more than 70 days of air raids and three days of naval surface bombardment. A considerable number of defenses stood up until warships went close in shore and stripped away the camouflage with gunfire.

Despite the intensity of fighting on Iwo, the rate of recovery may show an increase, in the opinion of Vice Admiral Ross T. McIntyre, the Naval surgeon general. McIntyre, who made the trip with Forrestal, described how medical care had been improved and speeded up.

See Tremendous Job Ahead

Magnitude of the job of finishing off Japan both from a manpower and a production standpoint was stressed by Forrestal. Material is coming from the factories in impressive streams, but "it's shot-away awfully fast when action starts," he said.

"Japan still has an army of about 70 divisions," he disclosed. "When service troops and puppet troops are included, it is probable that Japan's army will total five million men."

"To defeat Japan ultimately, we and our allies must be prepared to deal with a great Japanese land army, all of which will be concentrated against us in whatever theater Japan chooses for her final convulsion."

To date, he asserted, we have never used more than 12 divisions against the Japanese at any one spot. The 12 were used by General MacArthur on Luzon.

"In the final stages, the major burden will have to be borne by ground forces with the Navy in a supporting role."

PACIFIC

From Page 1

nese had been cleaned out of Ilocos Norte Province, on Luzon's north-west corner, by guerillas operating under an American Army officer, Col. R. W. Volekman.

On bloody Leyte Island, south of Luzon, 1068 more Jap dead were counted, bringing to more than 125,000 the number killed there. This makes a total for these two islands alone of more than 215,000 Japanese troops killed, including some of the empire's best.

The largest single engagement in which the enemy sustained heavy losses was in the three-week-old battle for Manila.

Slow enveloping movements against Japanese mountain positions north and east of Manila and progress of other Yanks moving toward the Cagayan Valley were reported today.

North of Manila, the Thirty-eighth and Forty-third divisions closed on Nipponese in the Zambales Mountains.

East of Manila, troops of the Fourteenth Corps enveloped enemy positions along the Antipolo-Wawa line. This line, in the Marakina watershed, has been well-prepared defensively by the enemy and considerable resistance has been encountered.

MacArthur's report followed an analysis of the campaign by a general, whose identity was not disclosed, which pointed out Yamashita's scattered tactics played right into American hands. The general said Yamashita employed "stupid" tactics, including his use of an armored division in groups as artillery rather than committing it as a formidable unit.

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Assuming that nation A, one of the five major powers, has just annexed nation X, a little nation which may or may not be a member of the United Nations organization, the council could decide to investigate a complaint by a vote of 7 out of the 11 members, with the four other great powers voting affirmatively and power A abstaining from voting. (Nation X, if a member of the council, would have no vote here.)

The same sort of vote could decide whether the annexation action would eventually threaten world peace. With nations A and X still not voting, the council could try to settle the dispute by peaceful means, either by making suggestions to both sides or suggesting arbitration.

If peaceful means were unavailable, the council would then have to decide whether a real and immediate threat to world peace existed. Here, Nation A would retain its veto. The majority of seven would have to include all five major powers.

Assuming that A was willing to permit the council to rule that the matter was an immediate threat to world peace, the veto could then be used to prevent the use of sanctions.

If a dispute involving a great power reaches this stage, the proposed organization can be judged a failure, its advocates acknowledge. But they argue that no voting procedure could prevent the development of world conflict and go on to say that the opportunity to put nations of any size on trial before the council probably would effectively block aggression by a great power.

SPECIAL NOTICES

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THE SHADE SHOP

are trying to agree on what to say.

Only other major topic still being debated is the economic charter for the Americas. Officials expressed hope a compromise decision could be reached tonight.

Some Latin-Americans have been holding back approval on the charter, which establishes a policy of free trade in this hemisphere. They are attempting to include specific commodity provisions, especially on cotton and copper.

The two important difficulties in writing an Argentine declaration are:

1. Deciding how specific the statement can be on Argentina without endangering a solid front against Argentina's present stand.

2. Deciding what measures to take toward getting Argentina back into the American system after this conference is over.

Opinion among a selected group of delegates working on Argentina is about evenly divided.

Some hold that a commission should be set up by the Inter-American conference to study the problem here, after the meeting closes. The other view favors turning the hot Argentine potato back to the Pan American Union for discussion by all the republics at a more leisurely pace.

Should the matter be investigated?

Is continuation of the dispute likely to threaten peace?

Should the council call on the parties to settle the dispute by means of their own choice?

Should the council make recommendations on methods and procedures of settlement?

Should the council make recommendations before a dispute is referred to it?

What should be the nature of this recommendation?

Should legal aspects of the dispute be referred to the court for advice.

Should the dispute be referred to some regional agency?

Should the dispute be referred to the general assembly?

The requirement of unanimity on "political" questions was defended by Stettinius "for the practical reason that the permanent members of the council must, as a mat-

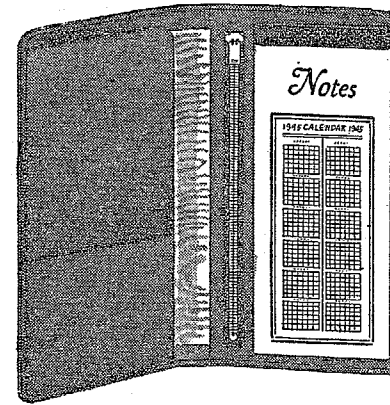
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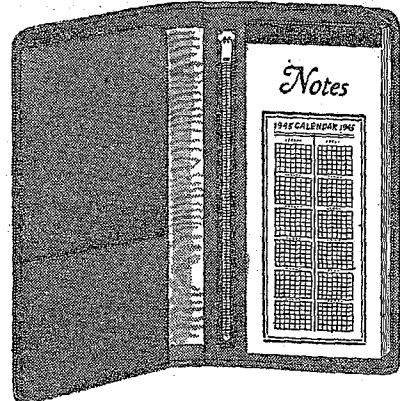
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coin from each batch (or part thereof) of 2,000 silver coins delivered from the coining room to the superintendent of all U.S. mints during the year. The Assay Commission (eleven Presidential civilian appointees, three ex-officio members), using the official mint weights, went to work, testing, weighing, counting. To nobody's surprise, the commission found the U.S.'s 1944 coinage sound.

It has been found so since Congress, at the suggestion of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, instituted the custom in 1792. Only once has a ripple of discord disturbed the ceremony. In 1801 the trial had to be postponed after the seat of government was moved from Philadelphia to Washington. At this unseemly break in an established tradition, Mint Director Elias Boudinot wrote indignantly to President John Adams, protesting that public confidence in the federal coinage was being undermined.

ARMY & NAVY

Wired for Death

Private William H. Edwards of the 4th Infantry Division was back in the U.S. last week minus one foot, and the hero of one of the grimmest incidents of the war.

Bill Edwards, who left Hayti, Mo. (pop. 2,628) to fight in Europe, was on a night patrol in Huertgen Forest when a mine blew his foot off. He lay where he had fallen, keeping his mouth shut so as not to betray his comrades to German infantrymen near by. Artillery shells whistled overhead in a constant barrage. A shell fragment struck his good leg.

Next night the Germans came. There were three. He asked for water, which they refused. Instead, they took his field jacket, rifled his pockets of cigarets. Then they methodically went to work rigging Private Edwards as a booby-trap. When they went away, they left him lying on an explosive charge and too weak to move.

All through that night, all next day, Infantryman Edwards fought to stay conscious. He knew that unless he did, he and anyone who attempted to move him before he could warn them would be blown to pieces. He smoked some cigarets which the Germans had overlooked, and waited. Hours past midnight, corpsmen came. Soldier Edwards had just enough strength left to warn them. They gingerly cut the wires and, after 70 excruciating hours, got him to safety.

The Revolutionary Mind

Henry Weber is a onetime Northwest logger, foreman in a Vancouver shipyard and, by his own account, a man "with a revolutionary mind." He belongs to the elderly, radical and minuscule Socialist Labor Party, which is against capitalism in any form. Holding that wars are fought to maintain capitalism, Socialist Laborites are against war.

TIME, FEBRUARY 19, 1945

Weber, married and the father of a three-year-old son, made his views clear to his draft board. He agreed that he was not a conscientious objector, since he did not oppose war on religious grounds. He would gladly take a noncombatant job, such as service in the medical corps. But he would not kill on behalf of "the society in which we now live, and which cannot prevent a third World War." Nevertheless, his draft board listed Weber 1-A.

He was packed off to Camp Roberts, Cal. There he continued to make his views



HENRY WEBER
He lost his place.

Associated Press

clear. He refused to obey orders and was court-martialed and given six months in the clink. Released for good behavior, he refused to drill with his squad. "I would rather be shot," he declared. Instead, he was court-martialed again and sentenced to be hanged.

Last week the same officers, on instructions from Major General Thompson Lawrence, reconsidered their stern sentence. While Senator Burt Wheeler demanded a Congressional inquiry, the court-martial reduced Weber's sentence to dishonorable discharge and life imprisonment. Said Weber morosely: "With a revolutionary mind you lose your place in the new society."

The Tobacco Road Gang

Selective Service officials were at their wit's end last week. The problem that vexed them: how to deal with a group of draft-age Americans who have refused to fight, who now decline to work, and spend most of their waking hours finding new and more ostentatious ways of thumbing their noses at all authority.

Most of the young men in Selective

Service's problem are conscientious objectors who were plucked from other camps as troublemakers and sent to Camp Germfask, Mich. Officials had hoped that at Germfask, an old CCC camp on the 95,000-acre Seney Wild Life Refuge in northern Michigan, the troublemakers might mend their ways. But there has been little reformation.

Some 30 of the conchies (half the camp population) worked hard at a campaign of studied defiance of camp officials. They were mostly college graduates who maintained that the work assigned to them—building dikes and roads, felling trees—was not of "national importance." Therefore, argued the men who had refused to fight, or help fighting men to fight, they were illegally detained under the National Service Act.

The Intellectual Way? Camp Director Norman V. Nelson, who described them as "intellectuals," said sadly that there was nothing he could do. Revolters gloried in their *nom de guerre*: the "Tobacco Road Gang." They feigned sickness, passively resisted all orders. Told to cut down a tree, a Tobacco Roader would ask, "How do I do it?" Told to take hold of the ax, he would ask, "What do I do next?" Told to swing the ax, he would swing, cut out a small chip, inquire, "Now what do I do?"

With money supplied by relatives they bought liquor, which they smuggled into their quarters. Frequently they went AWOL and roamed the nearby towns, making ardent and often successful love to local girls. Two towns had barred them. Citizens of another town had once waylaid and thrashed a group of them.

But the Tobacco Road Gang was not discouraged. They threatened camp officials with violence. To underline their defiance they overturned mess-hall tables loaded with food, invaded the storeroom and ripped open bags of flour, smashed eggs and jars of mess supplies and dumped beans, rice, coffee onto the floor. Once they broke into the camp store and destroyed food and soft drinks. Camp Manager Karl Walz reported: "They said they were seeking an outlet for their frustration."

Guardhouse Law. A few have been brought to trial for desertion, but most were "guardhouse lawyers" who knew the limits of the loosely drawn Selective Service Act and stayed carefully within it. C.O.s are not subject to military discipline; in the eyes of the law, they are civilians. The Government has no authority to use force, can prosecute C.O.s only through the Federal courts.

To see what he could do about the situation, Lieut. Colonel Simon P. Dunkle of Selective Service headquarters went to Germfask. He admitted there was little that could be done, without a new law. At week's end, while a few better-behaved C.O.s tried to do all the camp chores, the Tobacco Road Gang lolled on their bunks.

19 Feb 45

INTERNATIONAL

CONFERENCES

In the Shadow of Ai-Dagh

O, geeminy, what a stir there is! What a calling of meetings! What an appointing of committees! What a furbishing up of swallow-tail coats!

Such was Yalta when the late, great Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) and his party of Yankee innocents abroad arrived to visit Tsar Alexander II at his summer estate, Livadia. In the same expanse of gardens and palaces, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill had their second meeting. Clemens said of the setting:

"The little village of Yalta nestles at the foot of an amphitheatre which slopes backwards and upwards to the wall of hills, and looks as if it might have sunk

the Red Army's Deputy Chief of Staff Antonev, Marshal of Aviation Kutuyarov with Britain's General Brooke, Field Marshal Wilson, Admiral Cunningham and the U.S. military (see U.S. AT WAR) on final war plans. Stalin had much the smallest staff (the joint announcement listed twelve Britons, 13 Americans, only eight Russians in attendance on the Big Three).

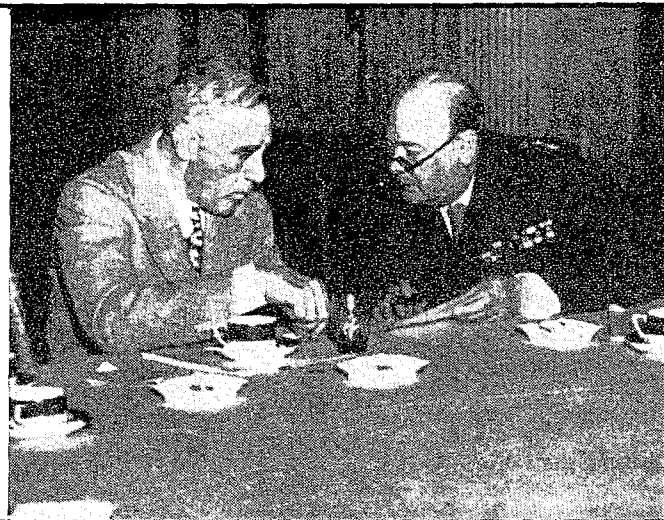
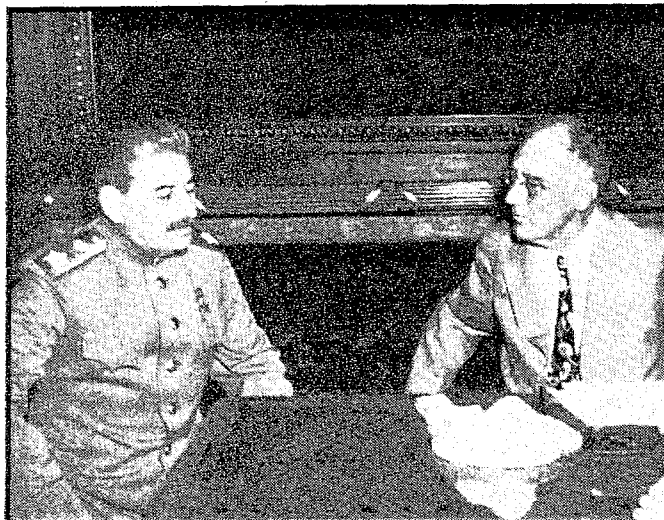
Something to Remember. As at Teheran, the eight days at Yalta were not all work. Roosevelt and Churchill talked, ate, drank together before the Marshal joined them. Then, between working sessions, came the toasts. One of Stalin's toasts named the gathering for history: "The Crimea Conference."

As they did after Teheran, the stories of other toasts and high jinks would come

... Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them. ... 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 Big Three's announcement did not mention the Pacific war, did not suggest that a Soviet declaration of war against Japan had been discussed.

Germany. Stalin gave his strongest support yet to the Roosevelt policy of unconditional surrender. More important, the occupation and control of defeated Germany is to be an Allied, cooperative job: "The forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone. ... A central control commission consisting of the supreme commanders of the three powers



U.S. Army Signal Corps-Associated Press

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT & HIS PEERS
Eight great days on the Russian Riviera.

quietly down to its present position from a higher elevation. This depression is covered with the great parks and gardens of noblemen, and ... the bright colors of their palaces bud out here & there like flowers. It is a beautiful spot."

A Place to Work. Yalta is bigger now (1936 pop. 29,000), and the Germans wrecked it so badly that Russian workmen had to rush temporary restorations to house some of the Big Three staffs. The white stone palace where President Roosevelt stayed was built in 1911 for the last of the Romanovs. But the smaller of the estate's two palaces, the gardens themselves and the famed Fountain of the Nymph—smuggled from Pompeii in 1834—are pretty much as they were when Mark Twain saw them, clustered in the shadow of the great Ai-Dagh (Holy Mount).

In this lush setting, the conference was actually a medley of conferences: Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt conferred on overall plans; Eden and Molotov with Stettinius on preliminary plans for Germany and liberated Europe; Admiral Kuznetsov,

later. After his gay visit to Yalta in 1867, Samuel Clemens noted in his diary:

"What happened in the park—and again in the court of the palace where the fountain was, and the flowers ... these were rich—they must never be trusted to treacherous paper—memory will do—I guess no one in the world who could appreciate a joke would be likely to forget them."

Clear, Blunt Words

If words meant anything, the Big Three did more for their nations and their world at Yalta than they did at Teheran. After their Persian meeting, they proclaimed agreement only in the broadest generalities. After their Crimean meeting, they not only proclaimed agreement on every point taken up in their announcement, but on the most difficult points broke down the agreement into hard specifics.

The War. "... The timing, scope and coordination of new and even more powerful blows [against] Germany ... have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

[will have] headquarters in Berlin." France will be invited to take a fourth zone (presumably the Ruhr and the Rhine's west bank), a fourth place on the control commission.

Joseph Stalin had repeatedly told the German people that they might have an army and a free government after the war. But he had always conditioned that promise on the early overthrow of Hitler and an early surrender. Now Stalin said with Churchill and Roosevelt: "We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff ... remove all ... militarist influences." Political and economic disarmament would be equally complete and rigorous: "... Eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production ... wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions. ... It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany. But only when Naziism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans. ..."

Reparations. Germany must pay "to the greatest extent possible." A commission sitting in Moscow will add up the bill, collect "in kind" (i.e., in goods and labor).

Poland. Russia gets eastern Poland up to the Curzon Line (with some minor adjustments "in Poland's favor"), and Poland will get German territory to the west and north. But Stalin agreed that his Lublin Government should be broadened by taking in "democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad."

In Moscow Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, U.S. Ambassador Harriman and British Ambassador Kerr will confer with Poles on forming this new provisional government. It "shall be pledged to holding 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 put forward candidates."

Roosevelt got across two points: 1) such governments, even when broadened, will have only "provisional" approval until the peoples concerned have a chance to vote; 2) territorial settlements, including the new Poland's slice of east Germany, will not be made final until after the war.

Dumbarton Oaks. . . . A conference of United Nations should be called at San Francisco . . . April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of [a world security] organization." The Big Three said that they had settled the tough problem raised by Russia's previous insistence that any major power should be able to veto any action against itself, withheld the details of agreement until France and China have been consulted. The date chosen for the San Francisco conference may be significant: April 24, the day before the conference opens, is the last on which Russia may legally end its neutrality pact with Japan.

Liberated Europe. Where necessary, the Big Three powers reserve the right to intervene in the affairs of liberated countries (as Britain did in Greece) until the people of those countries can "create the democratic institutions of their own choice."

The Big Three's words presumably applied to Russia's sphere (Bulgaria, Rumania, etc.): "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."

Consultation. The Big Three's foreign secretaries—Eden, Molotov, Stettinius—will set up "permanent machinery," meet regularly ("about every three or four months") first in London, then in Washington and Moscow.

The Peace. It is still a Big Three world, a Big Three Europe; and at least at the start any world security organization will be a Big Three baby. But in bluntly asserting their pre-eminence, the Big Three leaders faced their responsibility: "Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history" to create "a secure and lasting peace."

Peace & the Working Class

In London's handsome County Council Chambers, overlooking the Thames River, 240 trade-union delegates from 45 Allied and neutral countries, claiming to represent 50,000,000 workers, met for the first



Associated Press

LATIN AMERICA'S TOLEDANO
Thomas got a wash, a Scotch, a compromise.

international labor congress in six years. The war was being won. In a dozen different tongues, labor was eager to say what it wanted from the postwar world.

The Big Three—the U.S., Britain, Russia—dominated the polyglot gathering. The Soviet Union (in numbers at least) dominated the Big Three. Russia had sent a team of 36 delegates, plus nine "advisers and interpreters," to London.

The chief of its delegation (which included seven women) was 44-year-old trade-union chief Vasili Kuznetsov, a rugged, hard-driving steel worker who learned to speak fluent English while working for Henry Ford in Detroit. Britain's 15 delegates were headed by veteran T.U.C. Secretary Sir Walter Citrine,* who spoke for British labor. The U.S. delegation, led by P.A.C. Chairman Sidney Hillman and U.A.W. President Rolland Jay Thomas,

* For other news of Sir Walter, see FOREIGN NEWS.

spoke only for the C.I.O. The A.F. of L. had haughtily refused to sit down with the Communist Russians.

The Politics of Labor. The congress planned to map its policies within a fortnight. Two deep issues threatened international labor unity:

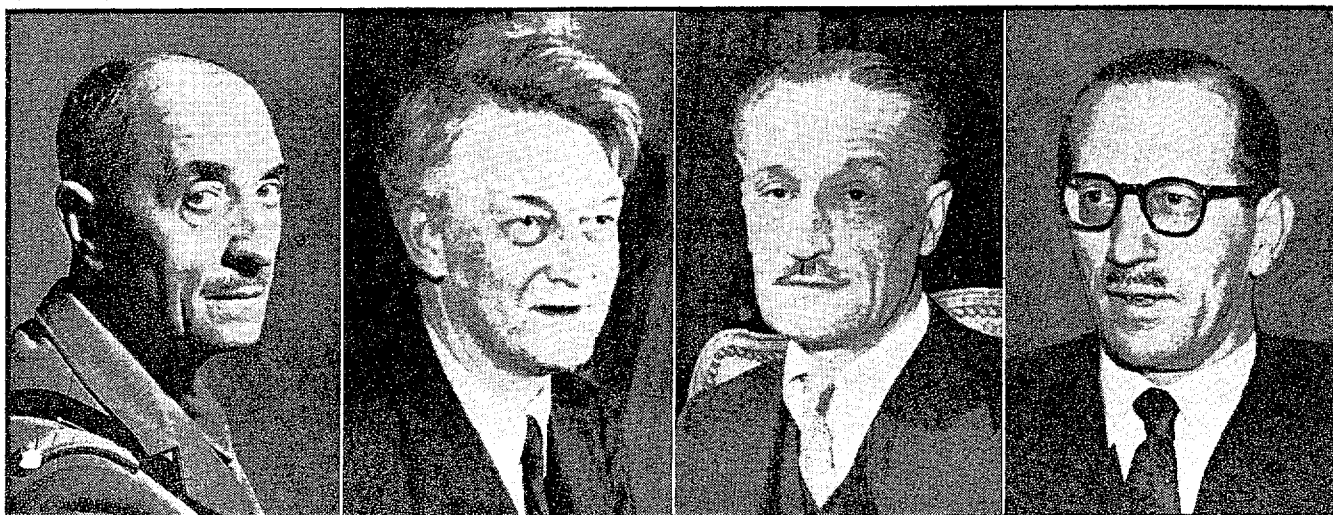
¶ Sir Walter Citrine, in a speech of "controlled fury," fought a Soviet proposal to invite delegates from ex-enemy countries, i.e., Rumania, Finland, Bulgaria, who would presumably always support the Soviet delegation. French, Indian and Polish delegates backed Britain. Russian Delegate M. P. Tarasov flatly rejected the "extremely unpersuasive" arguments of "Comrade Citrine." Strongest Soviet backer turned out to be fiery Vicente Lombardo Toledano, of the potent *Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina*. The capable Mexican labor leader, having in recent years extended his organization into other Latin American countries, was able as the representative of some 4,000,000 workers to make his strength felt. An open split was averted by the arrival of C.I.O.'s Rolland Thomas, who, having had "a wash and a Scotch" at his hotel, made a fervent appeal for compromise. The compromise: ex-enemy delegates, if they present satisfactory union references, could be seated; otherwise they could only observe.

¶ Britain's Citrine demanded that congress decisions be merely advisory, not binding on the constituent organizations, since Russia's vast voting strength (27,000,000 workers against Britain's 6,642,000) would enable her to steamroller through whatever she wanted. With French and C.I.O. support, the congress agreed to bring resolutions to a vote but stipulated that each country should have only one vote.

"Irresistibly Onward." The question that might split the congress or make it a new mighty factor in world affairs still lay ahead: whether to take Russia and the C.I.O. into the existing International Federation of Trade Unions, or to create a new world labor international. Britain favors the first, Russia and the C.I.O., the second.

If the Soviet view prevailed, it would be Russia's second big attempt to form a new labor international. The Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) was quietly quashed seven years ago, never having made headway towards its object, to capture the conservative trade unions of all countries.

Perhaps, in the auspicious atmosphere of Russia's new political prestige, Lenin's words to the Profintern's first world congress were again remembered in Moscow: "The conversion of trade-union members to the ideas of Communism is moving irresistibly onward everywhere . . . moving irregularly, incorrectly, unsteadily, overcoming thousands of obstacles, but . . . still moving irresistibly onward."



LIFE, Ralph Crane-Black Star, Harris & Ewing, Associated Press
NEW FRANCE'S NEW AMBASSADORS: CATROUX, MARITAIN, BONNET, MASSIGLI
They have one outstanding characteristic in common.

THE NATIONS

What France Wants

General Charles de Gaulle got down to brass tacks. In a broadcast to his people he made admirably clear what France wants:

¶ The French Army must guard the post-war German frontier "from one end of the Rhine to the other."

¶ The Ruhr valley and all lands west of the Rhine must not be part of the postwar "German State of States."

¶ Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and the Balkan countries must be independent—and free to make alliances with France.

¶ "We alone [cannot] insure the security of Europe. We must have alliances. We have concluded a great and good alliance with strong and courageous Soviet Russia. . . . We are desirous of signing one some day with brave old England, as soon as she may be willing to agree to what is vital to us concerning Germany." But Britain will have to accept France as an equal partner in western Europe.

¶ France intends to make regional alliances with its immediate neighbors—Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg.

¶ France wants to join a world peace organization—but not until the war is over both in Europe and in the Pacific. Reason for the delay: not until then will France have recovered "full liberty of action and all of our territories."

Men for the Policy. The men chosen by General de Gaulle to apply his policy abroad were taking up their posts around the world. One, General Georges Catroux, liberated France's first ambassador to the Kremlin, left Paris for Moscow last week.

De Gaulle's principal envoys (*see cut*) have one outstanding characteristic in common: their conservatism. Catroux is a professional soldier and empire administrator (Syria, Indo-China). Significantly, he is well-equipped to look after

French affairs in the explosive Middle East, where Russia also has a spreading interest. His conservatism suits Joseph Stalin, who would much rather deal with able rightists than with middling leftists.

Other ambassadors who reflect De Gaulle policy:

¶ In London: adroit René Massigli, a cold, analytical career diplomat who was slow to get off the Vichy wagon but has nevertheless won De Gaulle's confidence.

¶ In Washington: lean, able Henri Bonnet, who put in eleven years with the League of Nations and joined forces with De Gaulle in 1940. He and Mme. Bonnet came to the U.S. that year, barely managed to get along—he by writing and teaching, she by running a hat shop in Manhattan. His books (*Outline of the Future, The United Nations on the Way*) reflected his strong belief in a world security system.

¶ At the Vatican: Catholic Humanist Jacques Maritain, who has recently advocated the formation of a strong, conservative party in France to offset French Communism.

RELIEF

A Ship for Poland

After nearly a whole year's effort, UNRRA tasted triumph, of a sort. Last week the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was finally loading a ship with goods—perhaps 10,000 tons of relief—for one of the neediest countries of Europe, Poland.

To achieve this meager result UNRRA had had to compromise one of its fundamental principles. No permission had been received for UNRRA's men to oversee the distribution of UNRRA's supplies.

Back of UNRRA's single ship lay a long story of negotiation:

¶ In May 1944 UNRRA first asked Russia whether it might send supplies to

liberated Poland and to Czechoslovakia. Moscow's reply: silence.

¶ Discussions were begun with the London Poles, who asked for shipments to Poland as soon as possible.

¶ UNRRA asked the Combined Shipping Board for ships. The Board's answer: they would have to come from the shipping allotted to Russia (then building up military supplies for the offensive against Berlin).

¶ In September, at UNRRA's meeting in Montreal, the Lublin Poles urgently requested aid. The London Poles renewed their earlier request and endorsed the Lublin appeal. At the same time the Russians, who had tentatively accepted an UNRRA proposal to send a mission to Moscow to discuss relief in the areas liberated by the Red Army, suggested that the mission be postponed (no reason given).

¶ UNRRA offered to send an advance technical mission to Lublin. Lublin said "fine," later added: "But don't send the mission before the supplies."

¶ UNRRA asked Moscow for visas for the mission. Moscow did not answer.

¶ UNRRA argued the Shipping Board into promising a token allotment of shipping for relief to Poland—in hope that the promise would make the Russians more cooperative.

¶ UNRRA asked the Lublin Poles to ask the Russians to designate ports for transshipment of supplies. The Russians announced last month that Constanta and Galatz, on the Black Sea, could be used.

¶ UNRRA asked Moscow for transit visas for its relief supervisors. Moscow's reply (up to last week): silence.

These negotiations indicated once again the Russians' suspicion of foreign officials poking around behind their lines. They also revealed UNRRA's impotence—unable to command ships to make deliveries, obliged to negotiate four or five ways before getting into motion.

'BIG FOUR' DIPLOMATS DISCUSSING PLANS FOR SAN FRANCISCO PARLEY



At a meeting in the State Department in Washington yesterday. Left to right: Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador; Secretary of State ward R. Stettinius Jr., Andrei A. Gromyko, Russian Ambassador, and Dr. Wei Tao-ming, Chinese Ambassador.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Text of 'Big 3' Statement On Results of Conference

The text of the document issued yesterday in connection with the "Big Three" conference follows:

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 coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and coordination 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. Coordinated 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

See TEXT, Page 7, Column 2

PARLEY

From Page 1

creased recognition—with the privilege of taking over a zone of occupation in Germany, the right to sponsor, along with the "Big Three" and China, the forthcoming United Nations conference, and an invitation to help the three powers solve the problems of other liberated nations.

For the United States, the fruits of the conference appeared to mark another turning point in our foreign policy. As the spokesman for this Nation, Roosevelt tossed away remaining vestiges of isolationism and agreed to participate in the making of political decisions growing out of this war as they arise, instead of urging that they be postponed for the peace conference.

Out of the corollary meetings of the military leaders of the three nations came a resolve to resume such sessions as the need arises.

"The timing, scope, and coordination 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," the three-power statement declared.

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 upon by the four governments concerned through their representatives on the (already existing) European advisory commission.

To Disband All Forces

The program includes disarming and disbanding of all German armed forces, breaking up of the German general staff "for all time," removal or destruction of all German military equipment, elimination or control of German industry usable for war, swift justice for all war criminals, and reparation in kind for destruction wrought by Germans.

The Nazi Party, Nazi laws and other Nazi institutions are to be wiped out and all "Nazi and militarist influences" are to be removed from public life. The restriction on militarism appeared to rule out the establishment of a German government under the auspices of the Russian-sponsored free-German committee which is composed of captured German generals.

Disavowing any intention to "destroy the people of Germany," the statement said, "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 Left Open

Provision for reparations "in kind" apparently left the way open for the Russians to insist that the Germans provide labor to rebuild devastated Russian cities.

The declaration on liberated Europe's problem emphasized that the rebuilding "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," in line with the Atlantic Charter.

Assistance to liberated and Axis-satellite nations will be provided jointly on the following announced basis:

1. To establish conditions of internal peace.
2. To carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples.
3. To form interim governmental

Message to People

And to the German people went the message:

"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 joint declaration concluded with a plea for "continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries," and said that victory and the establishment of the proposed world security agency "will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create a lasting peace along the lines of the Atlantic Charter."

President Roosevelt left Washington for the conference shortly after his January 20 inauguration for a fourth term.

Acting White House Press Secretary Jonathan Daniels disclosed that the President arrived at the Mediterranean island of Malta, February 2, where he met Prime Minister Churchill, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Harry Hopkins, the President's personal adviser; General of the Armies George C. Marshall, Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, and others.

Made Night Flight

The President conferred with Marshall and King and later with Churchill during the day, making a night flight by plane to an undisclosed Russian airport on the Crimean coast, where he was greeted by V. M. Molotov, Russian commissar for foreign affairs. The presidential party motored to Livedia, the conference getting under way the following day.

With the announcement that the conference had concluded, President Roosevelt's whereabouts were once more shrouded in secrecy for

Czar's Resort, Yalta Is Now Workers Haven

Yalta, secret rendezvous of the "Big Three," is accustomed to entertaining political leaders. The Black Sea port in southeastern Crimea was the site of the Tsar's winter home and of high government officials before the Russian revolution, says the National Geographic Society.

Outstanding among palatial homes at Yalta is the 100-room Livadia.

After the close of the revolution the Livadia and its spacious neighboring residences, became a vacation spot for ailing and tired Soviet workers.

The Livadia, and other mansions, succumbed to the less lavish life of the proletariat, with only a few rooms reserved to display their former furnishings, except one mansion which remained as a sort of museum of the luxury of the Tsarist regimes.

Prewar Yalta had about 30,000 residents.

Contents for Soviet Hollywood

A range of white-capped mountains thwarts the cold blasts from the north, thus permitting the warm sun to exert its full effect on lightly clad strollers on the city's strand.

Noted for its sunny days, it is an outstanding contestant for a Soviet Hollywood.

The development of modern Yalta has all come about in the past hundred years. The town was founded by the Greeks. Centuries later it was in possession of Genoa and in the fifteenth century passed into the hands of the Turks. It was taken by Catherine the Great in 1793.

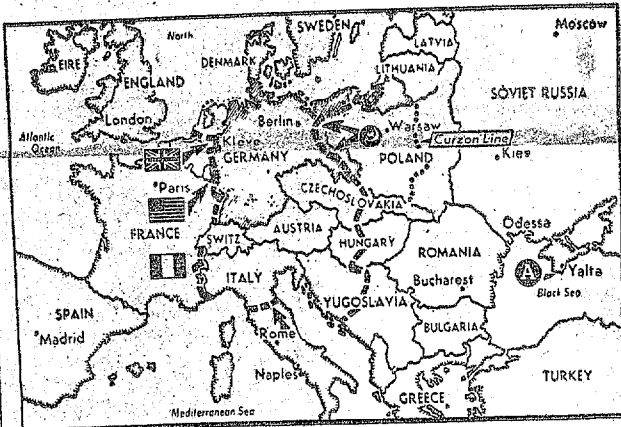
Livadia Palace, where the Big Three met, was the favorite winter home of Czar Nicholas II. It is about 2 miles south of Yalta.

The white-stone palace is more than 150 feet above the sea and commands a striking panorama of mountains and sea to the east and north. Built in Italian renaissance style, it has a square tower at one corner which included a sunroom for the Czarina.

Interior in Variety of Woods

The interior of the palace was finished in a variety of woods and was matched by the furniture.

Wings extend from the rear of the main building to form two courts, one modeled after the Convent Court of St. Mark, in Florence, Italy; the other of Moorish design. Surrounding are acres of gardens, summer houses, foun-



BY "BIG THREE"—Map shows where armies on three fronts ("broken lines") are pressing against Germany (shaded), subject of "Big Three" discussions at Yalta (A). Curzon Line (dotted) is recommended, with slight digressions as Poland's eastern border

security reasons, pending his return to Washington.

A Moscow dispatch by the United Press revealed that Stettinius arrived in the Russian capital yesterday.

Terms Are Perfected

Common policies and plans "for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms" were worked out, but are not to be disclosed until German armed resistance has been crushed.

A central control commission of the supreme commanders of the three powers (Gen Dwight D

authorities broadly representative.

4. To facilitate the holding of free elections.

The declaration provided for immediate consultation of the three governments whenever such action is required.

To Meet First in London

During the conference, Secretary of State Stettinius met each day with Molotov and British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden. The three foreign secretaries decided to meet at least once every three or four months, with the first meeting to



U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo. In conference at Yalta, the Crimea. With the at upper right, and Churchill in right foreground, the President's chief of staff. Next to standing at extreme right

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...ea has reaffirmed our common de- termination in the peace to come that which has made victory possible and this war. We believe that this is a commitment owe to our peoples and to

...growing cooperation and under- takes and among all the peace-loving men of humanity be realized—a se- ren in the words of the Atlantic Charter in all the lands may live out and want."

...ishment of the proposed interna- tional greatest opportunity in all his- tory the essential conditions of such WINSTON S. CHURCHILL FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT J. STALIN

...shed at the conference concerning forces invading Germany follows:

...s reached at the Crimea conference for the protection, maintenance and civilians of the British common- wealths liberated by the Allied forces

...n Ally will provide food, clothing, is for the nationals of the others in repatriation. In caring for Brit- ish the Soviet government will be officers. Soviet officers will assist in their task of caring for Soviet and American forces during such of Europe or in the United King- dom home.

...istance consistent with operational at all these prisoners of war and

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Outstanding among palatial homes at Yalta is the 100-room Li- vadia.

After the close of the revolution the Livadia and its spacious neigh- boring residences, became a vaca- tion spot for ailing and tired Soviet workers.

The Livadia, and other mansions, succumbed to the less lavish life of the proletariat, with only a few rooms reserved to display their former furnishings, except one man- sion which remained as a sort of museum of the luxury of the Tsar- ist regimes.

Prewar Yalta had about 30,000 residents.

Contends for Soviet Hollywood

A range of white-capped moun- tains thwarts the cold blasts from the north, thus permitting the warm sun to exert its full effect on lightly clad strollers on the city's strand.

Noted for its sunny days, it is an outstanding contestant for a Soviet Hollywood.

The development of modern Yalta has all come about in the past hundred years. The town was founded by the Greeks. Cen- turies later it was in possession of Genoa and in the fifteenth century passed into the hands of the Turks. It was taken by Catherine the Great in 1793.

Livadia Palace, where the Big Three met, was the favorite win- ter home of Czar Nicholas II. It is about 2 miles south of Yalta.

The white-stone palace is more than 150 feet above the sea and commands a striking panorama of mountains and sea to the east and north. Built in Italian renaissance style, it has a square tower at one corner which included a sunroom for the Czarina.

Interior in Variety of Woods

The interior of the palace was finished in a variety of woods and was matched by the furniture.

Wings extend from the rear of the main building to form two courts, one modeled after the Con- vent Court of St. Mark, in Flor- ence, Italy; the other of Moorish design. Surrounding are acres of gardens, summer houses, foun- tains and statuary.

Begun about a century ago, by Nicholas I, it was completely re- modeled in 1911 by Nicholas II. A marble stairs led to the Czar's private rooms. One wing of many rooms was reserved for the enter- tainment of guests.

...ary Jonathan Daniels disclosed that the President arrived at the Medi- terranean island of Malta, February 2, where he met Prime Minister Churchill, Secretary of State Ed- ward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Harry Hop- kins, the President's personal ad- viser; General of the Armies George C. Marshall, Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, and others.

Made Night Flight

The President conferred with Marshall and King and later with Churchill during the day, making a night flight by plane to an undis- closed Russian airport on the Crim- ean coast, where he was greeted by V. M. Molotov, Russian commis- sar for foreign affairs. The presi- dential party motored to Livadia, the conference getting under way the following day.

With the announcement that the conference had concluded, Presi- dent Roosevelt's whereabouts were once more shrouded in secrecy for

...for them in the comity of nations."

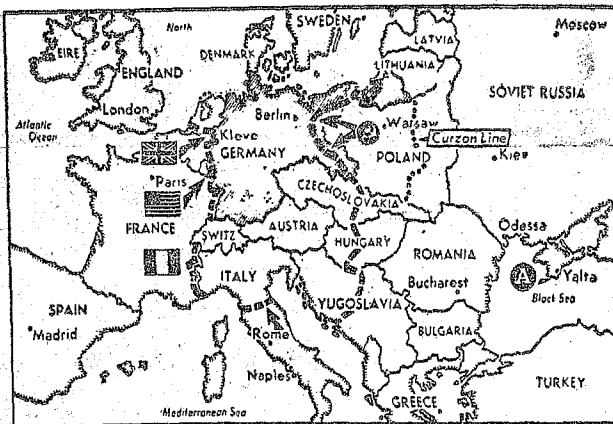
Reparations Left Open

Provision for reparations "in kind" apparently left the way open for the Russians to insist that the Germans provide labor to rebuild devastated Russian cities.

The declaration on liberated Eu- rope's problem emphasized that the rebuilding "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," in line with the Atlantic Charter.

Assistance to liberated and Axis- satellite nations will be provided jointly on the following announced basis:

1. To establish conditions of in- ternal peace.
2. To carry out emergency meas- ures for the relief of distressed peoples.
3. To form interim governmental



Associated Press WIREPHOTO. BY "BIG THREE"—Map shows where armies on three fronts (broken lines) are pressing against Germany (shaded), subject of "Big Three" discussions at Yalta (A). Curzon Line (dotted) is recommended, with slight digressions as Poland's eastern border

security reasons, pending his re- turn to Washington.

A Moscow dispatch by the United Press revealed that Stettinius ar- rived in the Russian capital yester- day.

Terms Are Perfected

Common policies and plans "for enforcing the unconditional sur- render terms" were worked out, but are not to be disclosed until German armed resistance has been crushed.

A central control commission of the supreme commanders of the three powers (Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower would be the American representative) to operate from Berlin, was provided for, with each commander to administer a sepa- rate zone of occupation.

As for France, "it has been agreed that France should be in-

authorities broadly representative.

4. To facilitate the holding of free elections.

The declaration provided for im- mediate consultation of the three governments whenever such action is required.

To Meet First in London

During the conference, Secretary of State Stettinius met each day with Molotov and British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden. The three foreign secretaries decided to meet at least once every three or four months, with the first meeting to be held in London after the San Francisco conference, with subse- quent meetings in Washington and Moscow in rotation.

A by-product of the conference was the reaching of a compre- hensive agreement among the three powers for the protection, main- tenance and repatriation of prisoners of war and nationals of the three nations liberated by Allied forces now entering Germany.

Provisions was made for each Ally to provide food, clothing, and medical needs for nationals of the other countries, until transportation home is available. Officers of each nation will be made available to assist their own nationals under the agreement.

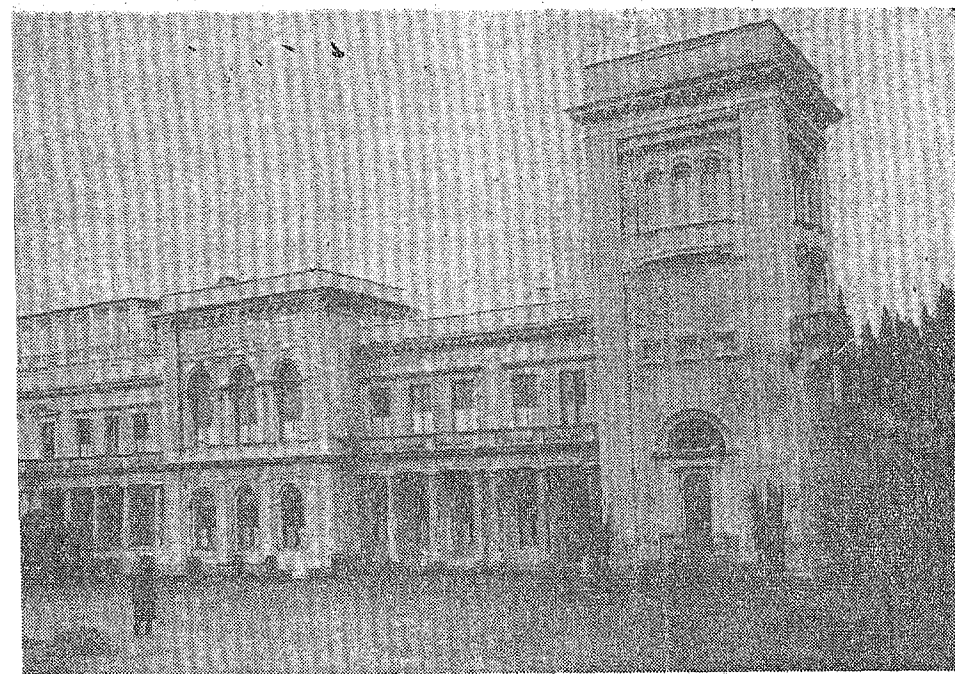
Miners Expected To Be Readmitted To AFL Today

Miami, Fla., Feb. 12 (P).—Labor observers predicted tonight that John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers would be welcomed back into the American Federation of Labor tomorrow.

Lewis, 65 today, refused com- ment on the reaffiliation in a birth- day interview in Washington. AFL President William Green, however, said that Lewis' reply to a demand for written conditions of member- ship would be submitted to the executive council in the morning.

The agreement reportedly pro- vides for reinstatement of the UMW and binds both parties to set- tle probable jurisdictional strife in conference, with the AFL council as final arbiter.

Leaders Conferred



at Yalta, scene of the Big Three conference. President Robsovelt's quarters and main conference room were on the ground floor, right wing

Reader's Scope

Happiness has many roots, but none more important than security.—Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.



Dumbarton Oaks

First Step Towards Peace

Dr. Philip C. Nash

THAT Dumbarton Oaks is an excellent foundation on which to build a world organization seems to be the opinion of almost all persons who have studied the proposals. But that it is only a beginning and that even some vital foundation stones have not yet been put in place, seems equally evident.

The work of an international organization falls into two major classes, first the increasing of men's happiness and well-being in all the many fields of economic, social and humanitarian problems, and second, the preservation of world peace.

Chart No. 1 on page 4 shows how the United Nations will attack these general problems and also indicates the things that should be added if the organization is to be reasonably complete. The Assembly is the heart of the United Nations and its more important functions are shown on the chart. Its executive committee is the social and economic council, composed of

★★ Dr. Philip C. Nash, President of the University of Toledo has long been a student of international affairs. As Executive Director of the League of Nations Association of the United States, he came in direct contact with the problems discussed here and with the men in other countries who were trying to solve them at Geneva. As a member of the Executive Committee of the Commission for The Study of the Organization of Peace, he has continued to take leadership in this field.

representatives from eighteen nations elected by the Assembly for three year terms. All the work of this council, and most of the work of the Assembly will be carried on by majority vote although some elections, admission of new members, amendments, etc. will require a two-thirds vote.

The present Dumbarton Oaks proposal lists only the social and economic commissions as working groups to carry out the various programs. Others should be added,

UNITED NATIONS CHART NO. 1

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graph TD
    A[ASSEMBLY  
ALL MEMBER NATIONS REPRESENTED] --> B[ADMITS AND SUSPENDS  
MEMBER NATIONS]
    A --> C[APPROVES BUDGETS  
AND  
APPORTIONS EXPENSES]
    A --> D[INTERNATIONAL  
LABOR ORGANIZATION]
    A --> E[INTERNATIONAL  
LABOR OFFICE]
    A --> F[FOOD AND  
AGRICULTURE  
ORGANIZATION]
    A --> G[SECRETARIAT  
AND  
SECRETARY GENERAL]
    A --> H[ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL  
18 MEMBER NATIONS  
ELECTED BY ASSEMBLY]
    A --> I[MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS  
TO MEMBER NATIONS  
FOR GENERAL WELFARE]
    A --> J[ELECTS NONPERMANENT  
MEMBERS OF SECURITY  
COUNCIL AND THE  
JUDGES OF WORLD COURT]
    A --> K[REFERS TO SECURITY  
COUNCIL DISPUTES  
THAT THREATEN  
WORLD PEACE]
    F --> L[MONETARY  
ORGANIZATION]
    F --> M[OTHER AUTONOMOUS  
ORGANIZATIONS]
    H --> N[ECONOMIC  
COMMISSION]
    H --> O[SOCIAL  
COMMISSION]
    H --> P[CULTURAL  
COMMISSION]
    H --> Q[HUMAN RIGHTS  
COMMISSION]
    H --> R[OTHER  
SPECIAL  
COMMISSIONS]
    H --> S[DEPENDENT  
PEOPLES  
COMMISSION]
```

There now exist several autonomous agencies such as the International Labor Organization and the Food and Agriculture Administra-

Thus the Assembly with its secretariat, its subsidiary groups, and its specific organizations in the proposals, will have great and developing power to push forward proposals for human progress.

READER'S SCOPE

case to show how the machinery would work. Let us assume that opium was being grown in Iran and smuggled into India. The League of Nations has developed excellent machinery and treaties to handle the problem of habit-forming drugs and although Dumbarton Oaks does not yet make provision for taking over League responsibilities in these matters it will doubtless do so later. Presumably, therefore, the Indian delegate would protest in the Assembly that Iran was allowing this illegal smuggling. The matter would be referred through the Economic and Social Council to the proper special or standing commission which, with the help of the secretariat, would get the facts and recommend a solution. In almost all cases the recommendations would be accepted, effectively carried out by both nations and the matter would be ended. This technique was carried out by the League of Nations machinery in hundreds of cases and the Dumbarton Oaks machinery is apparently somewhat better than that of the League.

II.

But suppose this dispute was among the very small number that could not be settled by this machinery, and both nations should get wrought up about it so that war clouds appeared. What then?

At this point the Assembly drops out of the picture and the Security Council moves in.

Chart II on page 7 shows how Dumbarton Oaks contemplates action in the settlement of disputes. This is the other great field in

which international organization must work, and this is infinitely more difficult than the ordinary social and economic problems for two reasons, (a) the machinery is seldom used because very few disputes will go so far as to need international attention, and (b) the undertaking to stop aggression by force is difficult and dangerous.

The center of the new machinery is the Security Council composed of representatives of the five great powers — Soviet Union, Britain, China, France, and the United States — and six non-permanent representatives as elected by the Assembly.

When the dispute between Iran and India gets hot the Assembly retires and the Security Council takes over. First, it asks the two nations to settle the dispute by the ordinary means of diplomacy, arbitration, or mediation. In 99% of the cases this will be done.

But suppose this is the 1% of disputes that cannot be settled this way. Then the Council investigates the matter itself and (usually with the help of the World Court) will "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment."

Even this may fail. What next? If the Council finds that failure to settle the dispute as it has recommended "constitutes a threat to international peace and security" it will either (a) put on economic, financial and diplomatic sanctions against the nation at fault or (b) send air force contingents against that nation.

These air force contingents will be followed up if necessary by

other contingents of army and navy forces from the member states of the Security Council or other states as agreed upon in advance. A military staff committee composed of the chiefs of staff of the five great powers, Britain, Soviet Union, China, France, and the United States will advise the Security Council on the military problems involved.

Chart II shows how this is worked out and also shows three commissions (dotted) which ought to be added. These are first, a commission to investigate continuously the regulation of world armaments looking towards eventual substantial disarmament, and second, a commission to study the problems of economic and financial sanctions so that, before any armed force is used, a boycott of an aggressor nation can be imposed promptly and effectively.

Dumbarton Oaks mentions both regulation of armaments and economic sanctions but these subjects are of such vital importance that permanent standing commissions should be envisaged. The third commission suggested is one that shall investigate the handling of strategic world bases. The United States will presumably take over the Pacific Islands under such authority from the United Nations.

The hypothetical case between Iran and India was a rather simple one between nations that would not have the power to start any real aggression. This same procedure would be followed, of course, to halt any imperialistic gesture or aggression by any nation against any

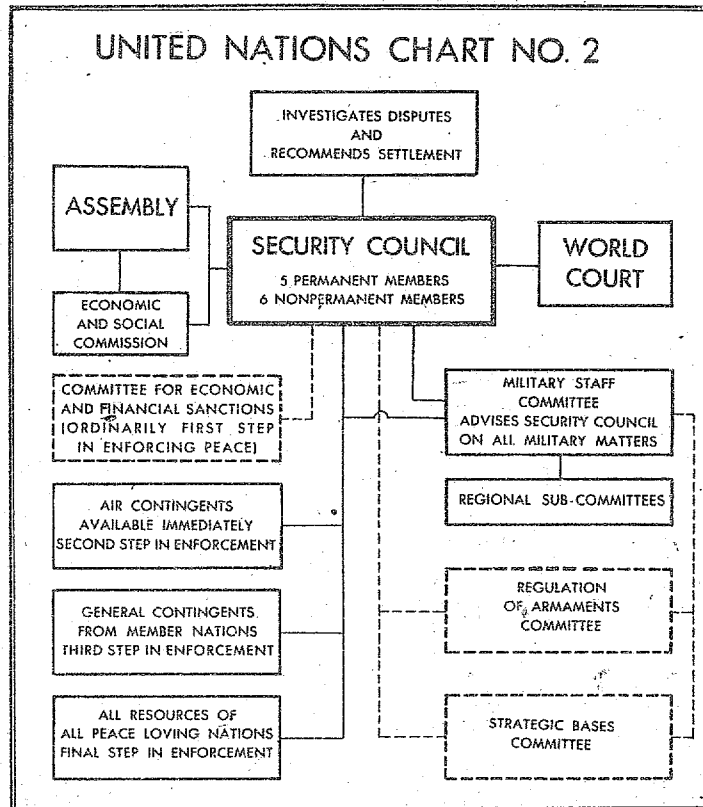
other. Does the new machinery of Dumbarton Oaks have the strength to withstand an attempt at imperial aggression made by a powerful nation? One cannot be sure until such a case comes up but apparently it *can* work if the leaders of the future have the nerve to make it work, and each of these parts of the machine must be oiled and ready for immediate use, because if it ever fails and the international bandit succeeds in his aggression, the fat is in the fire and eventual world war is certain.

Therefore it is absolutely essential that the exact procedure of settling disputes and protecting nations from aggression be worked out step by step, up to the point where the full forces of the peace loving nations will be used against an aggressor. This last step is left for the nations themselves to decide "by their own action" in cooperation with the Security Council after the contingents previously agreed to have been called upon, and it appears that these partial forces would not be enough to control the aggressor.

III.

The two charts have shown the principal activities of the United Nations as outlined at Dumbarton Oaks, but it is evident that some important matters have not yet been settled. The first omission is the exact determination as to how votes will be taken in the Security Council when it comes to the use of force against an aggressor.

It would seem now that action under Sec. A of Chapter VIII of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals will re-



quire only a majority vote of the Security Council. This is the part of the document which discusses the settlement of disputes. But under Sec. B which provides for actual use of force against an aggressor, I suspect the nations will require a majority vote including the votes of all the permanent members.

Some idealists fear the consequences of one nation being able to prevent by her one vote any action

ON WORLD AFFAIRS

against her if she is the aggressor.

But is it politically probable that the Great Nations, especially our own, will join a world organization in which contingents of our armed forces can be used without our consent? Is it in fact wise that armed force be used unless all the great nations are agreed? For instance, take a dispute which might develop into aggression between Mexico and Venezuela. Would it be

wise for Russian and British contingents to be sent to put force on Mexico if United States officials should think that further delay to try to secure peaceful settlement was necessary? Or in an incipient war between Czechoslovakia and Poland would it be wise to use United States and British contingents if Russia objected?

Let us in fact support whatever can be agreed to by the nations on this point. It is far better to take something you and I realize is only a foundation rather than to say that because the complete structure is not yet built we will not accept the building at all. Let us not deceive ourselves. If the United States does not join this new "United Nations," there won't be any world organization at all. The other nations are not going out on a limb without us again, as they did in the League. True it is that the United Nations may not succeed in keeping the peace forever, but *certain* it is that without world organization there will be no peace!

There are other omissions in the present Dumbarton Oaks structure. The principal ones that must be supplied before the United Nations can become an effective living organization are as follows:

(1) What shall be done about colonial and dependent peoples, the responsibility of giving them good education and preparation for essential self-government and non-exploitation in the meantime?

(2) Shall nations be allowed to withdraw from the United Nations when once they become members?

(3) The League required that

every treaty made between member nations must be publicly filed with the League before it became binding. Shall this very important principle be continued and what provision shall be made for the change of treaties that have become inapplicable or detrimental to human progress?

(4) The League specifically guaranteed that boundaries would not be changed by force but the League was too weak to make the provision work. If nations could be absolutely sure that they would not be invaded or that if they were invaded, the Security Council would come to their aid, it would go far to lift the fear of a catastrophe from their hearts and they could proceed to solve the problems that determine the happiness of their people. Should the new charter include such a provision?

(5) And lastly where shall be the headquarters of the League? It must be a truly international spot belonging to no one country and not subject to any interference from any country.

One last word. These decisions, at the moment somewhat tentative or not yet even outlined, will be crystallized into a formal charter within the next few months. If we have learned anything from the experience of the League, we, the people of the world, should be able to do better this time and set up a world organization that may perhaps keep the peace for centuries.

Let us realize that even the winning of the war itself is only the first step towards our final goal, the winning of the peace.

SECURITY

From Page 1

third high State Department official said that "a situation of very delicate relations" has developed.

Officials also expressed increasing concern over reports reaching them that the Nazi propaganda machine was grinding out reams of comment on the widening split of the United Nations in their plans for the world security meeting.

At least five major problems are under consideration for the agenda of the proposed Big Five conference meeting, it was learned. Some diplomatic sources opposed the suggestion for this emergency meeting for the very reason that it would probably have to be held behind doors barred to the press, risking further and more intense criticism of the unpopular policy of secrecy which marked the Dumbarton Oaks conversations. These

French attitude towards the conference resulting in that government becoming cosponsor of the San Francisco meeting at the last moment.

Diplomatic sources believe that the hottest fights in the discussions will develop over the Polish and Argentine issues, which in the opinion of informed circles actually have a close relationship. There is strong belief that Moscow raised the Polish question only when it became apparent that the United States and Great Britain would sponsor Argentina's membership in the United Nations, so as to improve her qualifications for an invitation to the San Francisco Conference.

The Soviet government, through its official organ, Red Star, recently leveled charges of fascism at the South American government and within hours followed this action by requesting American and British agreement to authorize the Lublin government to send the Polish delegation to San Francisco. Russia and Argentina have never established diplomatic relations.

To some diplomatic observers this raised the grave possibility that Russia was indirectly threatening to withdraw from the San Francisco conference if the United States and Great Britain insisted on having Argentina sign the United Nations charter in a step toward invitation to the world security meeting.

State Department officials later said there would have to be consultations "probably among the Big Five" to determine future procedure for qualifying a government as a signatory. These consultations would likely have to take place within a matter of days, it was said, in view of the mounting Soviet criticism of Argentina.

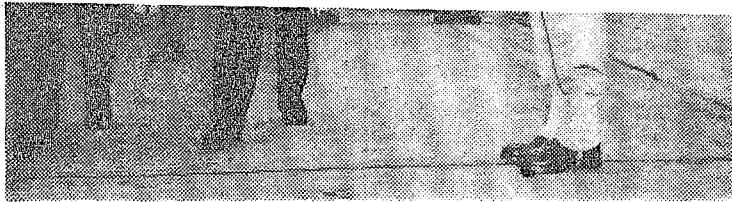
The State Department yesterday denied Paris reports that a Big Five meeting had been scheduled between April 8 and 10 solely to discuss the problem of trusteeship of mandates.

Reds Say Deal Was On Conference Votes

London (Monday), April 2 (AP). The official Soviet Tass Agency said today that the United States and Great Britain agreed at Yalta to admit the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet republics to the San Francisco Conference and in return Russia agreed to three conference votes for the United States.

(Statements attributed to the White House declared the Yalta arrangement concerned votes in the proposed security organization's assembly.—Editor's note).

In this first comment from Russia on the recent declaration from Washington that the United States would ask three votes to match the Soviet Union's total, Tass said the United States and Britain also agreed to Soviet proposals that the two Soviet republics be made charter members of any international organization formed at San Francisco.



Lieut. Gen. George Grunert (left) and Admiral Sir James Somerville

Admiral Sir James Somerville, head of the British Admiralty Delegation in Washington and representative of the First Sea Lord on the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, paid an official visit yesterday to Lieut. Gen. George Grunert, commanding general of the Eastern Defense Command at his headquarters, Governors Island.

A veteran of forty-seven years in

the Royal Navy, Admiral Somerville was honored on his arrival at the Soissons dock by ruffles and flourishes by members of the Fort Jay band. Accompanied by General Grunert he then inspected a guard of honor lined up on the dock approaches.

Among high Army and Navy officers who welcomed the British

AVILA CAMACHO SEES AMITY PARTY THEME

By Telephone to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, April 4—President Avila Camacho today urged the big powers to subordinate purely nationalist aspirations to the loftier task of creating a peace structure based on the universal concepts of justice and fairness for all nations—large and small.

Mexico's policy at the San Francisco conference will be that of supporting the general aims of all Latin-American republics, namely, "an honorable and dignified life in a free world of free peoples conscious of their destiny," President Camacho said.

A new world security organization, he added, must rest on a world understanding that will concede to the strength wielded by the big powers only one privilege—its responsibility to cooperate with smaller nations for the welfare of all.

"Our partnership in war," he said, would lose the ethical meaning we all give it if at the end of the conflict we should let ourselves flounder in isolated and specific controversies arising from aspirations which, if they are righteous, cannot be in opposition to the aspiration common to us all for the new world we desire."

Fatten Up in Jail

J. E. Warnock, Minister of Home Affairs, told the Ulster Parliament the other night that political prisoners in Belfast Prison gained an average of seven pounds in weight; one man put on twenty-two pounds.

PRAVDA SAYS RUSSIA SETTLED REICH'S FATE

MOSCOW, April 4 (P)—Saying that "there is no room for jealousy here," a Pravda article by Ily Ehrenburg declared today that the "fate of Germany was decided not on the Niemen or the Rhine, but on the Volga."

"The Germans are surrendering wholesale to the Americans," Mr Ehrenburg wrote. "Probably the Fritzies think that, as they have not visited America, the inhabitants of the State of Nevada will receive them with more hospitality than the inhabitants of White Russia."

The writer declared that "I sincerely admire the military operations of our Allies" and "surely before being able to rush through Westphalia, Hessen and Bavaria they had to break through the enemy defenses," he added:

"I want only to recall, in the days of dazzling harvest, other stern days and sowers of victory. Our English friends who went through Dunkerque realize what an army marched on Russia in the Summer of 1941. It was the conquerors of Narvik and Crete, not those whining Fritzies who inquired by telephone: 'Please do not shoot.'"

"Why do the tank men of the American First or Third Armies meet with no opposition? Where are the Germans who should be defending Darmstadt, Mannheim and Frankfurt?"

"They are in Russian soil. Our Allies occupy German towns and see there women, old men and children. The young men are decaying between the Volga and the Vistula."

Costa Ricans to Work for UNRRA

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica, April 4—A former President of Panama, Ricardo J. Alfaro, here in the interests of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, has appointed Francisco Jimenez, former Minister of Finance; Julio Pena, manager of the National Bank, and Victor Manuel Iolesias to represent that organization here.

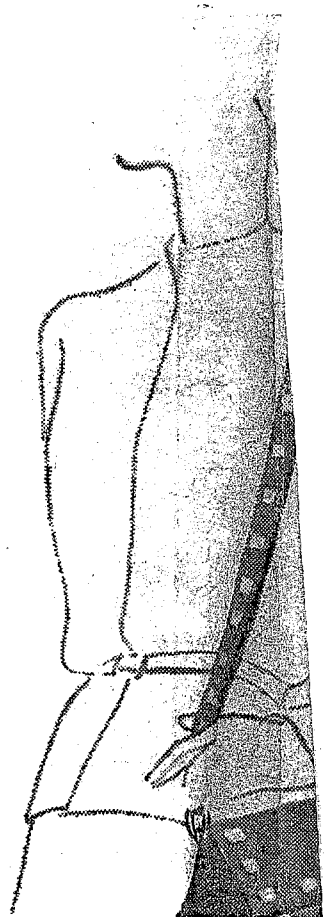
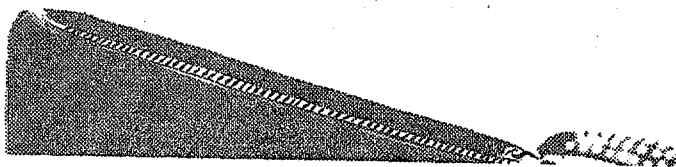
SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

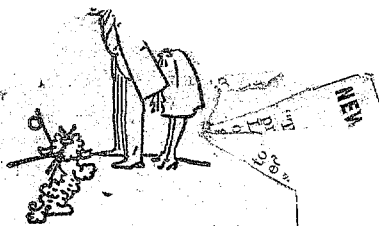
at Rockefeller Center, New York 22

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SECOND SENSATIONAL
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Council on Foreign Relations, the Secretary said that "we are resolved to make" the San Francisco security conference the "success it ought to be" and disclosed that the Government was "at this moment engaged in very active efforts" to end the "temporary difficulties of a political nature" that have arisen in connection with the meeting.

Mr. Stettinius said the proposed trade parley would prepare the way for "establishment of a permanent trade organization within the framework of the world organization" to deal with economic problems "on a continuing basis."

Policy Based on Hard Facts

"Our foreign policy," he continued, "is based upon the hard facts that if we are to prevent the disaster of another war for the United States we must find the means to act effectively with other nations to prevent aggression anywhere in the world. We cannot have prosperity in the United States if the rest of the world is sunk in depression and poverty."

"After two World Wars and a terrible world-wide depression, all within the space of twenty-five years, we are convinced that political isolationism and economic nationalism are utterly unrealistic and can only lead on to complete disaster for our country and for the world."

"Economic warfare, depressions, hunger, poverty and despair—these are the conditions that undermine democracy and block its development, that breed tyrants and aggressors and that turn nations one against the other. These are the conditions that we must fight to master if any international organization is to succeed in preserving the peace. That is another of the realities upon which our foreign policy is based."

Recalling that much of the discussion about the proposed security organization revolves around its power to prevent aggression, the Secretary said that was only part of the new league's job if it were to be successful, adding that it was vital for the organization to be geared to remove the political, economic and social causes of war.

Responsibility of Assembly

Elimination of these causes, he said, "is the responsibility which will fall principally upon the assembly and the economic and social council of the organization, rather than upon the Security Council. That is the task to which the energies of the United States and other members of the world organization must be principally directed now and in the years following the war."

"There are many pitfalls ahead of us," he continued, "but if we fail we are not likely to get another chance to fulfill the purposes for which we have fought, the assurance of a secure peace and a decent life for all Americans."

"The preservation of peace requires something more than a desire for peace, no matter how strong that desire may be. It requires, in a world as complicated and as closely inter-knit as this modern world of ours, a great design. It requires, in other words the same courage, the same boldness and realism in the field of international relations."

persuading other countries to reduce their tariffs against our exports, therefore, we have asked Congress to authorize an amendment which will apply the 50 per cent tariff rates as they stood in 1945."

"Specialists in this field estimate," he said, "that it will be necessary to export the figure of \$10,000,000,000 (in exports) a year if we are to maintain our production and employment at the levels we seek."

Says Disputes Will Be Settled

Turning to the San Francisco Conference, the Secretary said that he had "full confidence" that the present difficulties and others that might arise would be settled.

"We are going right ahead with our plans," he asserted, "and we are resolved to make it the success," adding:

"I ask you to remember, first, that the United Nations have repeatedly overcome other difficulties and dangers far more serious in the past three years; second, that the vital national interests of the United States and of each of our Allies are bound up in maintaining and cementing in the peace our wartime partnership; third, that the extent of our agreement is far wider and more fundamental than the extent of our differences."

His remarks on differences apparently referred to the Russian request for three votes in the proposed assembly, the Soviet demand that Poland's present Warsaw Government be invited to San Francisco and the Moscow decision to have Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko in Washington head its conference delegation.

In conclusion, Mr. Stettinius said, "believing in America as I do, I am confident that we will meet the greatest crisis of our modern history as we have met all the crises of our history before."

E. B. VAN ZILE JR. IS KILLED

Native of Flushing Met Death

World Court Needs Power

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

At this fateful time there is naturally great interest in the revived discussion of the World Court and of international law; also there is misconception concerning the status of the one and the implications of the other.

The Hague Court, long since reduced by circumstances to the condition of innocuous desuetude to which it was predestined, was not, as has been pointed out, a court of law as the term is

commonly understood, but merely an equity tribunal whose findings, not being binding, could be ignored by both nations, or either nation, submitting cases to it.

The late Lord Davies wrote: "There is no such thing as international law (1) because there is no international lawmaker, (2) no international law administrator or interpreter, (3) no international law enforcer."

Unless a new World Court were vested with authority as an integral part of the peace machinery by a universal League of Nations disposing of an international police force and irrevocably committed to employing that force against any country engaging in warlike activity, would the court's judgments stand any better chance of being accepted as final than were those of its predecessor?

JOHN W. HARDING,
New York, April 12, 1945.

WASHINGTON SEEKS FORMULA ON ISSUES

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charter. These include proposals to increase the authority of the General Assembly, to impose standards of justice on the Security Council, and to give to the world organization a flexibility to meet future changes that the Senator does not think it now has.

Comdr. Harold Stassen is also said to have expressed the intention of introducing an amendment that would provide for reconsideration of the entire world security charter for a sort of "constitutional convention" in ten or fifteen years.

These amendments are not being put before the President as demands; he is not being forced to accept them as conditions of the support of Senator Vandenberg and Commander Stassen, but he is said to be well aware of the advisability of accepting some of the amendments not only in the interest of strengthening the Dumbarton Oaks plan but also as a means of gaining support for it in the Senate.

Thus, the President is being urged to make clear to the Russians that it is necessary to straighten out this question before or early in the conference if the charter drafted by that conference is not to have trouble in the United States Senate.

Problem of Poland

The second question, on the settlement of the Polish issue, is more complicated and it is no more than fair to report that the negotiations among Washington, London and Moscow on this subject are not going well.

The Yalta communiqué was announced on Feb. 12, more than seven weeks ago. The wording of this communiqué produced a conflict which is still unresolved. On the one hand, it suggested that the present Polish (Lublin) provisional government should be reorganized "on a broader democratic basis," and on the other hand it talked about the formation of a Polish provisional government of national unity and referred to this as a "new government."

The communiqué also stated that the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Vyacheslav Molotov, and the American and British Ambassadors in Moscow should form 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 re-

organization of the present government."

For weeks now this commission is understood to have been arguing, not about who should be made members of the "new" or "reorganized" Polish government, but over who should be allowed to go to Moscow to discuss with the commission the problem of forming it. Several have been submitted by the British and Americans, including the former Polish Premier, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, but these are understood to have been vetoed by the Lublin authorities, who are sticking to the thesis that their government is to be "reorganized" and rejecting the thesis that what is being formed is a "new" government.

Washington Impressions

This is not a dispute over shadows behind words. The impression is growing in Washington that, despite the Yalta communiqué, the Russians are not eager to permit anything more than the appearance of a three-power settlement of the Polish question. The Russians are saying that they want "a strong, friendly and independent Polish Government, but after seven weeks of discussions about arranging this, doubts are growing in Washington that the Polish Government can, under present conditions, be both "friend" to Russia and at the same time "strong and independent."

The Russians are now making clear that in their opinion they must rely on bilateral defense arrangements with their neighbors and other allies at least until the new security organization has proved its effectiveness.

"One may and should hope," M. Nokolayev says in War and the Working Class, "that the new organization (at San Francisco) will perform its duty successfully and unfailingly. But experience has shown that individual obligations of individual states in respect of allied assistance are observed to a greater degree and more rapidly than obligations assumed under collective agreements.

"That is why the countries which are most directly threatened by

German aggression value the bilateral agreements they have concluded, and it is scarcely likely they will want to renounce them or agree to make their operation contingent upon the decision of an international organization which has still to demonstrate its effectiveness."

Conflict Over Primary Aims

Considerable significance is being attached here to these observations from Moscow about alliances and their relation to the international organization. The United States has been arguing for the creation of a security organization which would be a primary organ of general defense; the Russians appear to be arguing that the security organization must play a secondary role until it has proved itself.

Thus, they are said to be proceeding on the theory that they must make the fences secure in their own area above everything else, and this gives to the settle-

ment of the Polish question an urgency and importance which influential officials here are certain will affect the atmosphere, if not the outcome, of the San Francisco conference.

SECURITY

From Page 1

were informed that Russia had demanded three votes in the proposed assembly, presumably to balance the six held by Great Britain and the British dominions and that the United States had agreed, provided it also could have three votes.

Repeatedly in defending the voting procedure on the proposed United Nations Security Council which arms the five permanent members of the council with individual vetoes, State Department officials have explained that this is mitigated by the fact that all powers, great and small, have an equal voice in the assembly where questions relating to keeping the peace can also be discussed.

Meanwhile, the State Department disclosed that acceptances have been received from all nations invited to the San Francisco conference except Peru and Yugoslavia which are in process of appointing their delegations. Representatives of 46 nations are expected at the parley.

The "open" nature of the new proposal was emphasized by Stettinius with the suggestion to reporters that they read closely the last line of the White House announcement of the multiple vote plan for the assembly.

This line read: "These conversations at Yalta related to the submission of a question to the San Francisco conference where the ultimate decision will be made."

Stettinius talked to reporters after conferring with members of the American delegation to the Golden Gate conference on the matter. He said further discussions would be held in the near future.

Intensive daily conferences of the American delegation are to start April 9 when Commander Harold Stassen is expected to return from the Pacific.

Asked why the multiple-vote plan was not announced in the three-power communique issued after the Yalta Conference, Stettinius explained that only decisions relating to the prosecution of the war were announced in the communique. The communique contained the announcement that the San Francisco Conference would be held, starting April 25.

Asked to explain the basis for his confidence that the Frisco parley will be successful, Stettinius said it was based on faith that what we have gone to war about is not in vain.

When asked whether the United States was disappointed that Soviet Russia had decided to send Andrei Gromyko, Ambassador to the United States, instead of Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov, as head of the delegation to the conference, Stettinius replied that the United States would welcome any delegation sent by the Soviet Union.

As reporters rolled off the ques-

tions, Stettinius flashed his characteristic smile, but demurred at answering most of them. Among those he failed to answer are the following:

"Were there any other secret agreements on the Dumbarton Oaks plan made at Yalta?"

"How does this policy of secrecy fit into the State Department's professed new policy of taking the people into their confidence and of building a people's foreign policy?"

"Dispatches from London said British officials were surprised at the White House announcement, especially the reference to three votes for the United States. Their understanding was that the Yalta secret agreement concerned only three votes for Russia. Can you explain that difference?"

"Will the Ukrainian and White Russian republics have separate representatives and thus a separate vote at San Francisco?"

"Is the autonomous status of the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet republics such that we could exchange ambassadors with them just as we do with Canada and the other autonomous members of the British commonwealth?"

"Some of the Latin American countries are unions of states like the United States. Would these Latin American countries not be entitled by the same token to three votes in the assembly?"

"Is it true that at Yalta, the three powers agreed to give one Latin American country, presumably Brazil, a permanent seat on the council?"

"How will the principle of sovereign equality be expressed now that at least two nations want an unequal distribution of votes in the assembly?"

"Do we really want any nation to have more than one vote in the assembly, or was our request for three votes merely an indication of opposition to the Russian request?"

"If the U. S. and USSR are to have three votes, wouldn't France and China be justified in asking for more than one?"

"Wouldn't some of the middle powers like Brazil, the Netherlands, Mexico, etc., be reasonably expected to ask for more votes than El Salvador, Liberia and Saudi Arabia?"

Plan Opposed in France

Paris, March 30 (P).—France named her delegation to the San Francisco Conference today as opposition rose in governmental circles to the Yalta agreement giving three votes each to the United States and Russia in the proposed world security organization as an offset to the British Empire's six votes.

Officials said France probably would oppose the granting of extra votes in the assembly to any power and, failing that, would demand additional votes for the French

Empire. There was an obvious determination to attempt to maintain the equality of all nations in the assembly and to prevent a "dictatorship" by the Big Three.

"We had thought we knew all about the Yalta decisions," said one official, "but now, obviously, we do not and we do not know what else may be forthcoming."

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, who will head the five-man French delegation to San Francisco in April, was said to have learned of the vote proposal through his morning newspaper.

Millions Will Pray on April 21 and 22 For Delegates to San Francisco Parley

Millions of Americans will pray in places of worship on Saturday and Sunday, April 21 and 22, on behalf of delegates to the United Nations Conference, which opens at San Francisco on April 25, officers of the Laymen's Movement announced yesterday.

A recent telegram from the Laymen's Movement offices at 347 Madison Avenue to leaders of business, labor, agricultural and veterans' groups said: "We urge laymen of every faith throughout the United States and Canada to pray with all the power that is in them that God may give to the delegates of all nations the wisdom, understanding and courage to do His will."

Wallace C. Speers, vice president

of James McCutcheon & Co., who is chairman of the movement, said: "The gratifying response of these organizations is renewed affirmation of the faith of our fathers. The delegates face a trying task. Every American devoutly trusts that their deliberations will be successful and the cornerstone of a lasting peace laid down. We are seeking the largest-mass outpouring in history of the soul of man in search of God's help."

Among the groups agreeing to cooperate are the United Farmers, Inc., the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Legion, the Association of American Colleges, the National Retail Dry Goods Association and the Mutual Broadcasting Company.

VANDENBERG URGES FLUID WORLD PLAN

Continued From Page 1

do not attempt to alter the voting procedure or deal with the problem of what happens if one of the permanent members of the Security Council uses its veto power to protect its own aggression; nor do they disclose whether or not the Senator wishes to support the executive branch of the Government in its plan to have authority to use limited American forces against a future aggressor without the approval in all cases of Congress.

But they do emphasize the Senator's opinion that no league can be successful for long, either in the Senate or in the world, unless it uses its power in support of justice and unless it makes provision for changing the status quo whenever that status quo involves serious injustice to any country.

Adjustment Plan Is Suggested

Senator Vandenberg deals with this problem in the seventh amendment, which he submitted to the State Department last month. This amendment states:

"If the Security Council finds that any situation which it shall investigate involves injustice to peoples concerned, it shall recommend appropriate measures of adjustment which may include revision of treaties and of prior international difficulties."

It has been reported that the Senator was insisting that the new security organization review all international agreements entered into before the league charter should come into force. He emphasized in his memorandum to the State Department, however, that what he was proposing was that the new league have the power not to impose its idea of what was "just" but to "recommend" change whenever it found any situation the injustice of which threatened the peace.

Five of the eight Vandenberg amendments, the first, third, fourth, fifth and seventh attempt to write this principle of "justice" into the charter.

The other Vandenberg amendments provide these things:

That the General Assembly should have the right to make recommendations on any matter relating to international peace and

security, regardless of whether the Security Council is dealing with it, and that the Assembly, specifically, should be obligated to make recommendations for adjusting situations which violate the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

That the Security Council should not be able to evade responsibility for dealing with any dangerous situation merely by ignoring it, but should be obligated to deal with it if it looks as if the dispute might endanger international peace and security.

That the members of the General Assembly should not be obliged to take action to perpetuate any situation which the Assembly had decided was unjust and should be corrected.

Senator Vandenberg referred to his amendments in general as "essential" but it was clear from the text of his memorandum that he was particularly eager to see written into the charter to be recommended at San Francisco an article equivalent to Article XIX of the League of Nations Covenant, which also sought to deal with the problem of reviewing agreements the continuance of which might lead to war.

A clause obligating the Security Council to take note of any serious injustice to any country and to make recommendations to deal with the injustice was "indispensable," Mr. Vandenberg said.

Progress of Change Stressed

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

Senator Vandenberg avoided any suggestion that he was demanding acceptance of his amendments as a condition of his support of any enabling legislation in the Senate, but he did point out that any attempt to allow the conception of power to overwhelm all considerations of justice in establishing the new League might have serious repercussions in the Senate.

In this preliminary memorandum, he stated, "I wish to present certain specific amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks framework. I

believe they are essential for three reasons:

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

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

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

Ever since the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were announced the small countries have been complaining that they not only would receive a secondary position under the proposed charter but that to them was even denied the right to express themselves on security questions which were being studied by the Security Council. The Vandenberg amendments would strike out this limitation on the members of the General assembly.

"It seems to be quite in order," the Vandenberg memorandum stated, "to constitute the Security Council as the sole organ of action in the maintenance of peace and security, because 'action' requires the prompt and continuous functioning of a relatively small body. But the broad base of the Assembly qualifies it to be the conscience of mankind, and that conscience should not be stilled at the behest of a Council dominated by a few great powers.

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

PRINCE VOICES HOPE OF ARABIA FOR PEACE

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, leader in the Pan-Arab Federation, will join other nations in seeking peace and security at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, Prince Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz, Foreign Minister of his Government, declared yesterday.

Accompanied by three of his brothers, all sons of King Ibn Saud, he touched briefly upon matters relating to the conference and recent events in his own country in an interview at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

In response to a question concerning the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Prince declared that it was a great loss "for all the nations of the world." It was disclosed that the late President had made a gift of an airplane to King Ibn Saud when he visited the Near East.

The Prince explained that the Pan-Arab Federation had been established "for economic and social cooperation," and no comment was made upon present relations with Palestine, which, he pointed out, was not "a matter for discussion at this time."

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SENDS PLEA TO ROOSEVELT

Negro Group Urges Opposition to Colonial Empires

The attitude of the American Negro to the peace will be "conditioned in an important degree" by the consideration given to "750,000,000 persons of color living under colonial governments," the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said yesterday in a resolution addressed to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr.

The resolution expressed "deep concern" that no post-war plans for these peoples were made at Dumbarton Oaks or are scheduled for consideration at San Francisco. It pointed out that "requests for the designation of spokesmen on colonial questions to appear in an official or semi-official capacity at Dumbarton Oaks have been ignored."

In conclusion, the resolution urged the United States Government to "make clear to friend and foe alike that it is not fighting this war to perpetuate or extend colonial empire and that it is unequivocally opposed to imperialism, particularly that based on race."

Catholic Action Paper Contradicts Pravda With Denunciation of Russian Imperialism

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROME, March 26—Ilya Ehrenburg's assertion in Pravda that the Vatican and "many North American Catholics" have undertaken the task of "salvaging" German imperialism was sharply rebuked today in the Quotidiano, a Catholic Action paper, which said that he was wrong.

In effect, the Quotidiano declared Russian imperialism is just as frightening as German—both having "partitioned" Poland since 1939. "But the writers of the totalitarian regimes are all obliged to tell only part of the truth," the paper concluded.

The Vatican expects a visit from

another man who, like Edward J. Flynn, former Democratic National Chairman, might be expected to add another piece to the jigsaw puzzle of Vatican-Kremlin relations. He is Ignatius Gabriel Cardinal Tappouni, Roman Catholic Patriarch of Antioch. He is an expert on the nondissident Eastern Church and is expected to report to the Pope on the situation arising from Soviet sponsorship of the dissident Russian Orthodox Church under Patriarch Alexei.

Mr. Flynn, who flew to the front today, is expected to return here tomorrow night or Wednesday and will probably see Crown Prince Humbert on Wednesday.

considerable difficulty making up its mind. Even today's events did not occur according to the established plan. The Argentine press and all foreign correspondents were summoned to Government House at 10 o'clock this morning and the stage was set for a historic communication to be made. After having been kept waiting three and a quarter hours, they were finally told that the decisions would be made known tomorrow.

Today's Cabinet council was attended by all Ministers except Dr. Etcheverry Boneo, whose resignation was accepted later. Col. Amayo Avalos, Minister of Agriculture, was appointed to act temporarily in his stead. The meeting was attended also by Gen. Carlos von der Beck, Chief of the Army General Staff; Vice Admiral Hec-

tor Vermengo Lima, Chief of the Naval General Staff; Brig. Gen. Bartolome de la Colina, head of the air force, and Gen. Eduardo T. Lapez, secretary general of the defense committee.

WDC Post 4-2-48

Rebuff to Reds Welcomed by Senate Leaders

By the Associated Press

Rejection of Russian demands for a San Francisco conference invitation to the Warsaw Poles was interpreted yesterday by some Senators as marking the possible emergence of a firmer American policy toward the Soviets.

It has been no secret on Capitol Hill that legislators have been irked by the series of jarring actions that have come out of Moscow lately. Senator George (D., Ga.) told a reporter the time has arrived when the United States must speak plainly.

He said he did not see how the United States could have done other than join the British in a joint refusal of the Soviet demand that the Warsaw-Lublin government, which neither of the former countries recognizes, be invited to the United Nations meeting.

Chairman Connally (D., Tex.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a delegate to San Francisco, also applauded the State Department's action.

Senator Hill of Alabama, the Democratic whip, said he thought the Yalta agreement on the Poles "should be carried out in letter and spirit."

sources, therefore, favored the method of consultation through normal diplomatic channels.

The five items proposed for discussion by the Big Five are:

1. Reconsideration of the Big Three secret agreement reached at the Crimea conference to raise the votes of the United States and Russia to three each in the assembly of the world organization.

2. Consultation on the request of Russia to authorize the Lublin provisional government to send the official Polish delegation to San Francisco.

3. Discussion on whether the Argentine government is to be permitted to sign the United Nations agreement and then receive an invitation to the world organization conference.

4. An effort to reach an understanding regarding the problem of trusteeships for mandates.

5. Decisions on the voting procedure to be followed by the United Nations at San Francisco in arriving at decisions on the formation of a world organization.

It was presumed in diplomatic circles that these consultations might develop a change in the

Belgium?---'We Are Not Important, We'll Just Wait'

Round-faced Paul Henri Spaak, Belgium's Foreign Minister, grinned at reporters in the lobby of the Fairmont Hotel.

"But I am not important," remarked the former Prime Minister of Belgium, who has been Foreign Minister under five different Belgian governments.

A small nation, he said quietly, must wait its turn to speak.

"Plans?" Mr. Spaak shrugged.
"We have no plans."

More Soviet Parley Delegates

Vassily V. Kuznetsov, head of Russian trade unions, and A. I. Lavrentyev, Deputy Foreign Commissar, have been appointed delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, the Soviet Tass Agency said tonight. The broadcast dispatch from Moscow to the domestic press was reported by the Federal Communications Commission. Mr. Kuznetsov was elected president of the world trade union conference held in London last February. He is chairman of the Presidium of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

More About Stettinius Telling Plans

Continued from Page 1

of justice" covered the same ground as a recent pronouncement by the Michigan Republican. The Secretary let Vandenberg answer the query.

"There is nothing I can say on that this afternoon," was Stettinius' comment on the issue of whether the Soviet Union should get three votes in the General Assembly of the world security organization.

The Argentine and Polish questions, likewise, were out as far as comment was concerned.

Allocation of duties among the United States delegates will be as follows:

Representatives Sol Bloom, House Foreign Relations chairman, and Charles A. Eaton and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve will "have responsibility for general provisions," including such matters as the Preamble, Purposes, Principles, Membership, Secretariat, and Amendments.

Advisers on these questions will be John Foster Dulles, Hamilton Fish, Armstrong and Harley Notter.

Questions relating to the General Assembly, including its structure, powers and functions, and arrangements with respect to economic and social co-operation and trusteeships will be entrusted to Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom and Dean Gildersleeve. Advisers will be Leo Pasvolksy, Dr. Isaiah Bowman and John Foster Dulles.

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, senior adviser to the delegation, Senator Tom Connally, Senate Foreign Relations chairman, Senator Vandenberg, and Commander Harold Stassen were assigned to the Security Council and related matters, including arrangements for peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace.

Senator Connally and Commander Stassen will deal with Judicial organization and related matters.

Advisers for economic and social co-operation problems will be Leroy

City Establishes Information Bureau

For every question an answer.

This is the goal of the information service set up for conference delegates by Mayor Lapham's United Nations Conference Committee.

Should hurry-up information be needed by visitors they may call MAket 8930.

Stinebower, Harry White, Charles Brennan, Frank Waring, Daniel Tracy and Oscar Cox.

Admiral Russell Willson, General Stanley D. Embick, Abe Fortas and Charles Taussig will advise on trusteeship problems.

THE DAY'S WORK

Special advisers for military problems include John J. McGloy, General R. L. Walsh, General Kenner Hertford, Artemus Gates, General Stanley D. Embick, General Muir Fairchild, Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn, Admiral Russell Willson and Admiral Harold C. Train.

Pasvolksy, Armstrong, Bowman, Green Hackworth, John D. Hickerson and Avra Warren will advise on Security Council matters.

Hackworth and Charles Fahy will be the advisers on judicial organization and allied matters.

Senator Connally was the only missing member of the delegation at the press conference. He arrived later in the day.

Secretary Stettinius presented each of his colleagues and the several advisers present along with other functionaries of the delegation.

The Secretary of State welcomed the members of the press and declared the delegation would meet from time to time with the newsmen.

During the day, the members of the delegation met with Secretary Stettinius, first briefly upon his arrival and then again later in the afternoon. Meantime, they held delegation conferences on a variety of matters, particularly the necessity of proper press relationships.

India Seeks Changes in The Council

The delegates from India want changes in the planned makeup of the Security Council.

Their proposal to enlarge the Council was explained yesterday in the Mark Hopkins suite occupied by chief Indian delegate, Sir Ramasswami Mudaliar.

"We believe there should be three groupings of the powers, instead of the present division of two," he said.

"First, you would have the five permanent major powers. Then there should be a non-permanent group of secondary powers, and finally the smaller nations, also chosen on a non-permanent basis.

"We feel that India is so near the top powers in regard to strength, population and resources, that we should have a more reasonable chance to be elected to the Council by being placed in the second group."

On the whole, the Dumbarton Oaks plan is a good basis for the beginning of a secure world, Sir Ramaswami said.

"Now we must come to a working compromise by supplanting our idealism with realism."

The dark-skinned, graying Indian statesman, who wears the vertical red mark of the Hindu on his forehead, is equipped with the experience of 25 years government service.

Clement Attlee

The Road to a Secure Peace Runs Through Prosperity, Briton Says

Permanent peace among nations cannot endure on a foundation of security alone. It must be bulwarked with prosperity.

The man who made that assertion here yesterday spoke from experience. He came up the hard way through London's poverty-stricken East End. He kept

on coming until he became the leader of Britain's Labor party in Parliament, Churchill's right-hand man as Deputy Prime Minister, and a delegate to the San Francisco Conference.

Clement Richard Attlee spoke in all three capacities to the biggest preconference press gathering to date, and came off very well, although 300 newshawks at the Mark Hopkins Hotel took potshots at him for an hour.

"TWO SIDES"

In his opinion, there are two distinct "sides" to the San Francisco Conference:

"Trying to build up the means of preventing war" and "eliminating the conditions which make wars easy to start."

Four other members of the delegation flanked him as he outlined Britain's attitude and hopes: Dingle Mackintosh Foot, Liberal member of Parliament and parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare; the Right Honorable Florence Horsbrough, parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Health and one of the two women members of the delegation; William Mabané, National Liberal member of Parliament and that body's secretary to the Ministry of Food, and George Tomlinson, joint parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Labor and National Service.

None of these participated in the questioning. Mr. Attlee carried the ball.

DEPRESSION CITED

"If we want to prevent war," he said, "it is not enough to build a security organization. We have got to have a prosperity organization as well."

"One of the things that led to this war was the great depression of the thirties. We hold it was due to the fact our economic system failed to create abundance, it went on the line of artificial scarcity. We hope the Nations will get together and never again see food being destroyed in one country and people starving in another."

"We have got to get a freer interchange of services and commodities, if we are to raise the standard of life. Europe has got to get away from narrow economic nationalism."

Reminding that Britons have "suffered pretty terribly" from bombs and rockets, seeing their neighbors and friends being killed and their homes destroyed, Mr. Attlee cited the ravages of war at first hand as the reason for the British delegation's "determination" to give and take at the San Francisco Conference, adding:

"All of us are anticipating building up something necessary to raise

We see in this Conference the possibility of building up an organization which, on the negative side will prevent war, and, on the positive side, building up human betterment and social progress."

VERY PRACTICAL THING

"We know," he amplified, "that none of us will get exactly what we want, but we will have discussions and get the best possible agreement."

That agreement, Mr. Attlee predicted, will be based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which he characterized as a "very fine document," but which he indicated will have to be implemented, because:

"We shouldn't just have a debating society but a world organization with the will to act and the power to act. We're looking at this Conference as not an idle dream of some perfectionist but as a very practical thing. Behind that we are deeply concerned with an organization which will try to make full use of the powers of the world to give a decent life to all our people. It can be done."

—Floyd Healey

In Ancient Dress, Arabs Fly Into S. F.

By STANTON DELAPLANE

Out of the afternoon's cloudless blue sky yesterday, a silver four-motored TWA Stratoliner settled on the San Francisco airport bringing the most colorful delegation yet to arrive for the Conference.

The military snap of "present arms" by an Army honor guard ushered into San Francisco the five royal princes of Saudi Arabia. Music spilled over the runway from the Navy band. The big door swung open and the Arab delegation descended with dignity and in accordance with rank.

The royal princes arrived in a modern air transport. But their dress was ancient as Arabia.

They were dressed in flowing brown and black robes, the abas, all made in material so finely spun that it brought a gasp from dozens of women who crowded against the wire fence just off the field.

The white headdress—the chafeyah—was held in place by gleaming gold head ropes. And the faces were deeply tanned from Arabian suns.

Princely Dignity

Beside each prince stood a towering bodyguard, each dressed in the same manner except that a more modest head band of black held the snow-white chafeyah in place. As one of the bodyguards turned to the crowd and smiled, the sun reflected suddenly and brightly on a glittering gold tooth. Somehow it didn't seem out of place.

While photographers crowded around for pictures and bulbs flashed and movie cameras whined, the delegation stood quietly and at ease alongside the big shining plane.

The contrast—the plane so modern, the dress and the men, by comparison so ancient—must have affected the crowd. They were very silent, and even the hub-bub of cameramen seemed quieter than usual.

The fine brown robes whipped in the afternoon breeze and showed that most of the men wore modern business suits beneath.

Scimitars . . . and .45s

But the big and black bodyguards, the only ones who smiled during the proceedings, were robed throughout in the fashion of their land.

And against each man's middle, there was a curved and deadly dagger, sheathed in embroidered gold and red. A green and gold embroidered scabbard swung from a black band with the richly embossed scimitar handle changing color as it hung there.

Apparently they were no ornamental bodyguards. Each gust of breeze that blew back the aba showed a heavy, American Army .45 caliber pistol clipped in a modern pistol belt.

But the attention of the crowd centered on one prince, a son of King Ibn Saud himself, young, 12-year-old Amir Nawaf, Ibn Abdul Aziz.

He was dressed like his brothers, except his aba was black and theirs were brown, and his dark eyes seemed to move over everything. He jumped each time a flashlight went off.

Through an interpreter, the young prince said yes, he liked America. It was his first visit. He intended to see everything he could.

No Coats

Amir Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz, Minister of Foreign Affairs and son of the King, heads the delegation. He had little to say through the interpreter. He said that Sau-

The King, he said, had instructed the delegation to act in the American way and eat in the American way. And from the appearance of the inside of the chartered plane, the delegation had followed his advice, concentrating on American candy bars. There were wrappers everywhere.

The Oil Angle

The delegation was in Washington for the funeral of the President and then flew to Houston and Corpus Christi where oil men gave them a royal time, Texas fashion. They stopped over for a rest in Santa Fe and then flew here.

The trip, by the way, was on the American-Arabian Oil company which has a good deal of interest in Arabian oil and is well hooked up with well-known American oil companies here and in Texas.

Besides the youngest prince and Prince Faisal who heads the delegation there were: HRH Amir Mohammed Ibn Abdul Aziz, son of the King; HRH Amir Fahad Ibn Abdul Aziz, son of the King; HRH Amir Abdullah El-Faisal, eldest son of Prince Faisal; H. E. Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; H. E. Shaikh Asad El-Fakh, Minister to Iraq; H. E. Shaikh Ibrahim Suliman, secretary; Shaikh Ahmed Abdul Jabbar, interpreter; Shaikh Saleh El-Abbad, clerk; Dr. Rashad Faroun; Shaikh Abdul Rahman El-Basam and Sayyid Jamil Decoud, members of the Judicial party; and Mr. Rawaf, interpreter from New York.

The official delegates will be housed at the Fairmont Hotel and the others at the Claremont Hotel in Berkeley.

By EARL C. BEHRENS

Political Editor The Chronicle

American delegates to the San Francisco Conference will meet this morning to discuss the question of the makeup of a World Court for the proposed international organization of United Nations.

The makeup of the International court of justice, the principal judicial organ of the new world organization, is one of the few major issues left open by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which has not been settled by the United States delegation.

Yesterday, most of the delegates enjoyed a day of relaxation. One exception was Senator Tom Connally, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, who was given credit by the Associated Press for the information that led to the false "peace in Europe" report Saturday.

"NO COMMENT"

The Senator spent much of his day at the Fairmont Hotel in what was obviously not a happy frame of mind.

In mid-afternoon, Robert V. Shirley, the Senator's secretary, gave this statement to newsmen:

"The Senator has authorized me to say that he is not available to any of the newspaper men for comment at the present time."

Senator Connally was absent from his hotel for some time yesterday morning, returning from an undisclosed mission shortly after 1 o'clock.

He was accompanied by Silliman Evans, former Texas editor and now a Nashville, Tenn., publisher, and other friends from the Lone Star State.

THE DOG HOUSE

The Senator was in no mood for conversation with reporters. He retired to his suite and sent word he had no comment to make, presumably upon any subject.

A short time later, he made a trip up the service stairway to the floor upon which Secretary of State Stettinius' office is located. Whether he talked with the Secretary was not disclosed.

The delegation's press headquarters announced that Mr. Stettinius had no appointments for the day.

As a co-vic chairman of the United States delegation as well as Administration spokesman in the Senate on foreign affairs, it was plain that Senator Connally bore a heavy cross for the part attributed to him in the premature peace rumor.

In addition to the World Court issue Senator Connally and his colleagues are due to consider again the question of trusteeships of Pacific areas formerly held by the Japanese.

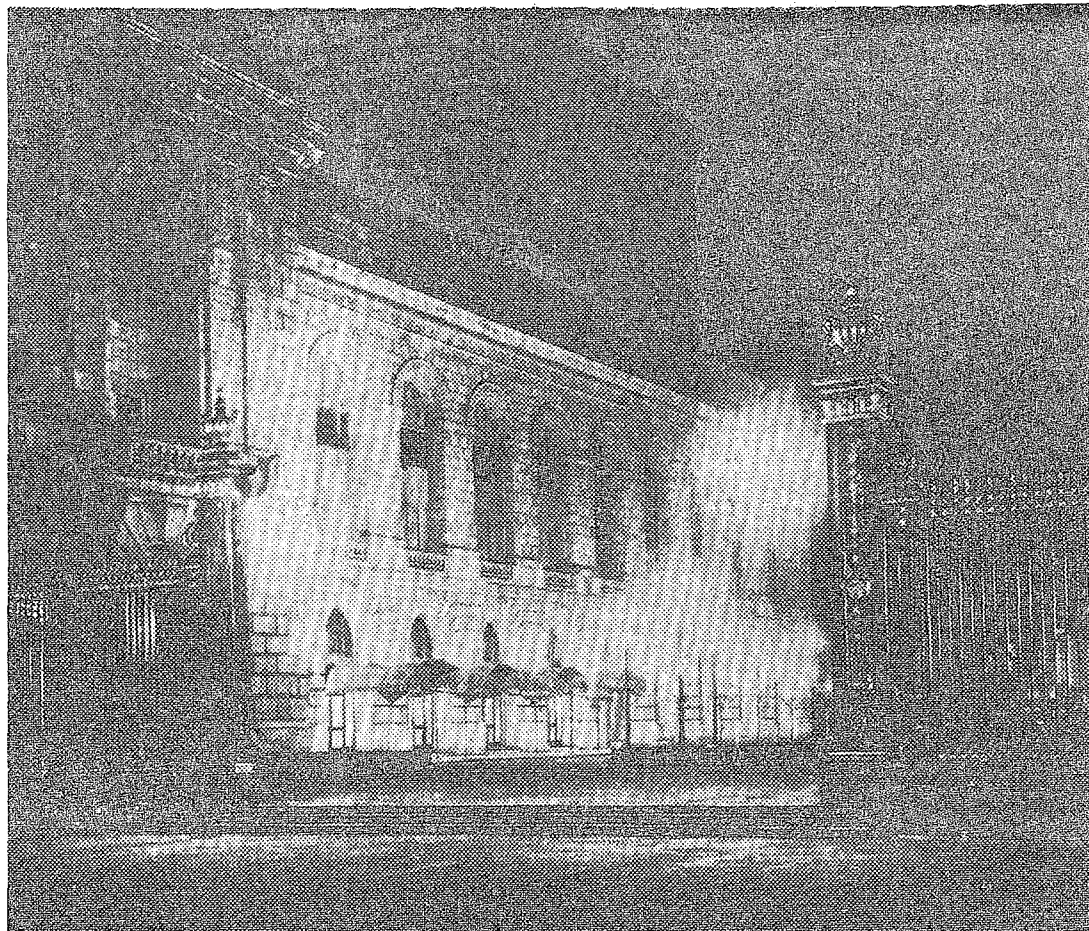
Before the delegates meet today, advisers to the delegation will hold a conference at the Fairmont.

THE WORLD COURT

The Dumbarton Oaks proposal set forth that the World Court to be set up should be either "the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable," or, "a new statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis."

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals further provide that "all members of the Organization (the new United Nations) should ipso facto be parties to the statute of the international court of justice."

Another important provision is that "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."



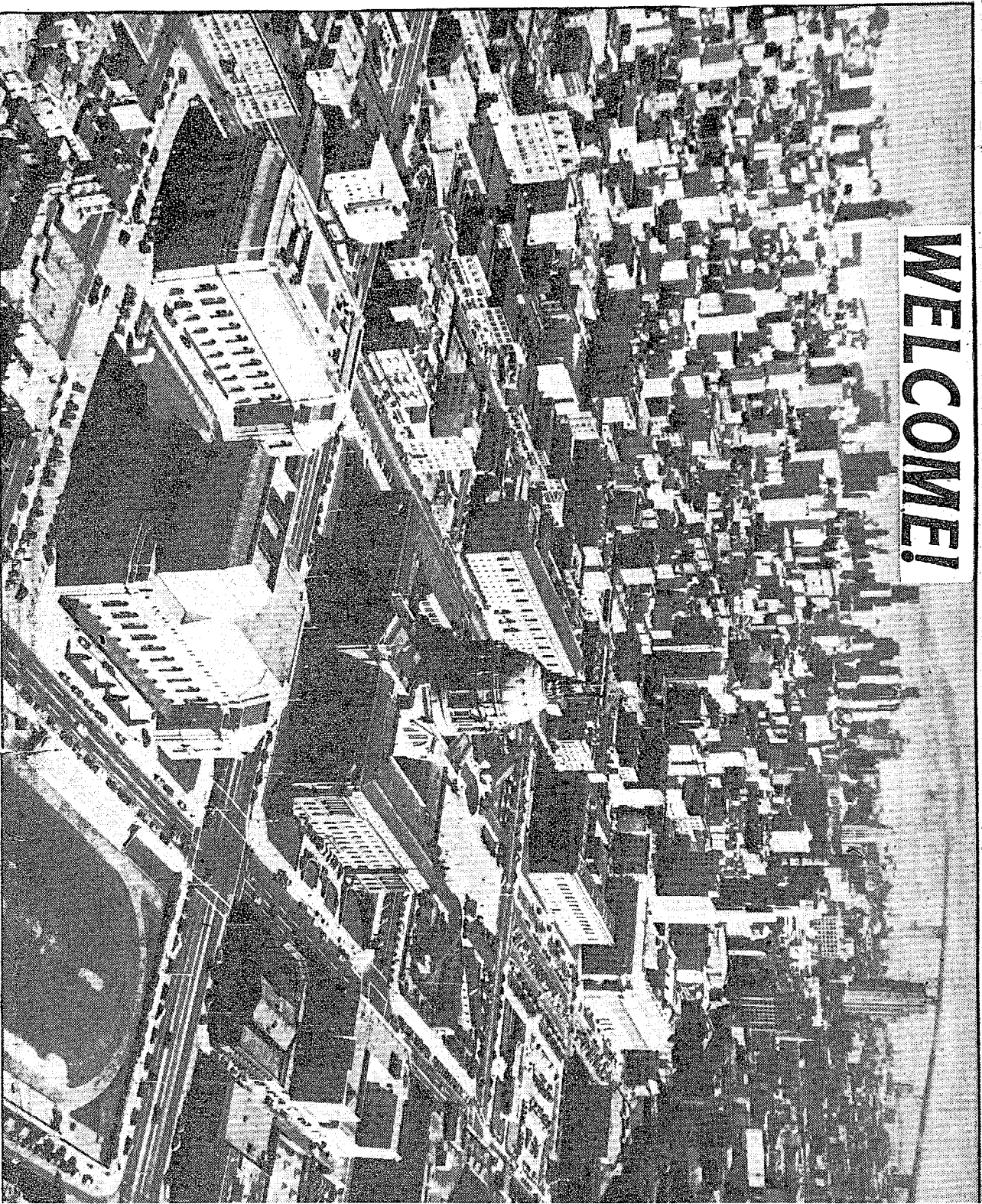
Side entrance of the War Memorial Opera House, scene of the Security Sessions

LIBERIA
CO. CHRONICLE, FRIDAY, AP



CLARENCE L. SIMPSON
A Greater Stake

WELCOME!



PEACE DOVE'S VIEW.—Around San Francisco's Civic Center will revolve the United Nations Conference activities which may make or mar the peace of future generations. (Official Navy photo from blin

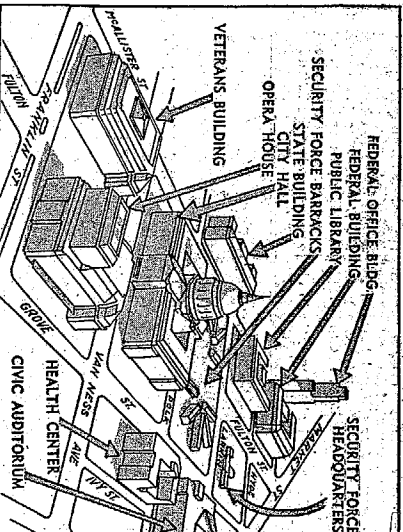


DIAGRAM.—The sketch above identifies the buildings seen in the accompanying large photograph.

Max Werner Warns of Peril To Security

Among military analysts Max Werner has a reputation for accuracy. In his book, "The Military Strength of the Powers," published in 1939, Werner, alone, expressed belief that France would collapse, and hinted Russia, underestimated by most of the "experts," would prove to be a first-class military power.

By MAX WERNER

A powerful bloc for the preservation of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals appears to be a reality.

The future of the Conference can be viewed with a realistic optimism. But the dangers must be signalized, too. Two eventual dangers can menace the work of San Francisco.

The first would be an attempt to thwart the general plan of the Dumbarton Oaks and especially the veto and the voting agreements.

The second would be the protracted quarreling about the details.

It may happen that the so-called case of the "small nations" will be inflated to a political conflict stuff. The aggressive statement of the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr. Van Kleffens, against the Big Three agreement on veto was conspicuous.

Can Mr. Van Kleffens count on the support of any other small European nations even from the Western European area only?

It is hardly likely that there will be a Dutch-Belgian bloc in this questoin. The first utterances of the Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Paul Spaak, were cautious and reserved.

It is almost certain that the attitude of the Norwegian delegation will be different from that of Mr. Van Kleffens.

The start of this discussion is of basic importance. The Dumbarton Oaks plan is a bloc, an entity. There is no alternative to the Dumbarton Oaks. Its details may be changed, but its core is fundamental because it represents the working agreement of the leading powers.

The opponents to the Dumbarton Oaks and its passionate reformers are called perfectionists. I would suggest to call them rather deteriorationists.

The attacks of these perfectionists-deteriorationists will be probably more active outside of the Conference. The tensions at the Conference can be used outside by the disparate bloc of the reactionaries with the confused liberals, of the isolationists with the pseudo-superinternationalists.

The main danger for this Conference is the confusion—and this danger must be fought with all determination.

We will judge the Conference in first instance according to the effect it will have on the co-operation of Big Five, of the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, France and China.

The main task of the Conference is the transition of the United Nations from the war coalition into the peace coalition led by the big powers. The confusion begins with the wholesale suspicion of the big powers. But the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China are in a two-fold sense pillars of peace: the peace depends on their relations; and furthermore they alone can guarantee the peace.

—George Mathew Adams Service

Army Flies 24 Delegations

S. F. Conference Visitors
Paying Customers

WASHINGTON, April 24.—(INS)—Twenty-four of the forty-six foreign delegations were flown to the San Francisco World Security Conference by the Army's Air Transport Command, it was disclosed today.

Gen. H. H. Arnold, air forces commander, in making the announcement, said that the delegations were fare paying passengers on regularly scheduled passenger aircraft.

The flights are evidence "that air transport, so remarkably developed by this war, can become the medium of mutual understanding for all nations when peace comes," Arnold declared.

The delegations which were transported wholly or in part by ATC were Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Union of South Africa, So-

viet Union, United Kingdom and Yugoslavia.

The Chinese delegation traveled the longest distance along ATC routes, flying from China by way of India and North Africa. Delegates from South and Central America used commercial aviation facilities.

Stettinius Here

More on First Press Conference And Delegation's Plan of Work

Continued from Page 1

at San Francisco Municipal Airport:

"I come to San Francisco with the firm belief that the United Nations are united in their determination to succeed in establishing a world organization.

"I say this with no wish to minimize the difficulties that we must meet both at this conference and afterward. I say it because I believe all the peaceful peoples of the world demand this of us and the governments represented at this conference must not and will not fall them."

Three hours after Mr. Stettinius arrived, another Army transport put Mr. Molotov down on the field, and again there were the flourishes and fanfare of a military welcome. Dr. Soong arrived a half-hour later, and Mr. Eden during the night.

There was no immediate indication when the Big Three discussions on Poland would be resumed. The White House announcement Monday which said that the conversations would be continued to San Francisco indicated that time would be required for Mr. Molotov to obtain a decision from Premier Stalin.

THERE'S STILL TIME

The Russians had asked twice that the provisional Polish government at Warsaw be seated at the San Francisco Conference. The Americans and British said they preferred to wait until a provisional government of national unity had been reorganized along the terms laid down at Yalta including with the Warsaw Poles other democratic Polish leaders both at home and abroad.

There still is time for Polish representation if an acceptable plan is reached early in the stages of the global Security Conference, but the matter last night was superseded in interest by questions as to Big Four policy on other Conference problems.

There is the matter of trusteeships for occupied enemy territory after this war, the French proposals for modification of voting procedure in the Security Council, and the problem of how much authority shall be given the new world court.

The Big Four presumably will discuss some of these other questions this morning. A meeting of the Conference executive committee, consisting of the heads of all delegations, had been scheduled for today, but was canceled late last night.

DOMINION'S VIEW

Deputy British Prime Minister Clement Attlee told a press conference that his government would fully support any request by Russia for independent membership in the world organization for the autonomous Soviet Republics of White Russia and the Ukraine. A subsequent poll of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India indicated they also would support such a move. (See Page 9.)

Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, said on arrival by the last special train, that he would exclude the small nations which have contributed comparatively little to the war effort from membership on the Security Council.

Tentative approval by the American delegation of a plan to permit reviews of international treaties as a war preventive was related by Democratic Senator Tom Connally of Texas on his arrival by the same train. Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was the last U. S. delegate to get into town.

Mr. Stettinius' announcement of the Russian, American and British decision to back the three Chinese

States, the United Kingdom and China," said Mr. Stettinius. "They have now been considered with the Soviet government, and that government has agreed to join in sponsoring the proposals for presentation to the San Francisco Conference."

TRUSTEESHIPS

The statement was an immediate answer to widespread demands, both in this country and from many other countries, that both justice and international law be established as the basis for international relationships in the future.

Newsmen sought answers to other questions, but without success except for the statement that the American delegation had reached agreement on the matter of trusteeships.

Secretary Stettinius declined to disclose whether the Big Four foreign ministers had discussed trusteeships, or when the Big Three conversations on Poland would be resumed. He was asked about the possibility of Argentina attending the Conference, and again replied that it was a matter on which he could say nothing at this time.

A TECHNICAL SESSION

The formal Conference opening will come at 4:30 in the afternoon, with Mr. Stettinius on the rostrum as representative of the host nation.

The Secretary will call the session to order and then introduce President Truman, who will welcome the delegates by radio from Washington.

President Truman went to work on his speech yesterday after conferring at Bethesda Naval Hospital near Washington with former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, venerable elder statesman of American foreign policy. Mr. Hull is a Conference delegate, but will be unable to attend the opening session because of poor health.

President Roosevelt had planned to open the Conference in person, but President Truman announced in Washington a few days ago that the pressure of his new duties would not permit him to leave Washington for the initial session. There is still the possibility he may come here before the Conference concludes.

WARREN, LAPHAM TO SPEAK

Governor Earl Warren and San Francisco's Mayor Roger Lapham will also deliver brief messages as hosts, and then Mr. Stettinius will close the initial session. The full proceedings will be broadcast by all radio stations, and are not expected to run much more than half an hour.

How long the Conference will last was anyone's guess last night. The original conversations among the Big Four at Dumbarton Oaks, Maryland, which formed the basis for discussion at the San Francisco Conference were scheduled to last two weeks and instead occupied seven.

There were certain favorable indications yesterday that the San Francisco Conference might not take more than eight weeks.

Korea's Rhee Has Tried For 40 Years

The soft and patient voice of Korea, asking recognition and independence, was heard in San Francisco yesterday afternoon.

The speaker was Dr. Syngman Rhee—small, graying and intense—Korea's tireless champion.

"I am here again to repeat the same old story," Dr. Rhee explained.

"Our simple message to the peace-makers is that justice is the foundation of peace among men, and should be the foundation of peace among nations."

"Any peace palace that is built without this foundation is an air castle."

40-YEAR FIGHT

Dr. Rhee is head of the Korean provisional government's delegation to the San Francisco Conference. The delegation does not have official recognition. However, Dr. Rhee and his staff say they are representing the Korean government in Chungking, headed by Kim Koo.

The San Francisco Conference is the latest chapter in Dr. Rhee's 40-year fight for Korean independence. He has been knocking at the doors of peace conferences ever since 1905, when the Japanese took over his country.

He was in New Hampshire in 1905 when the Treaty of Portsmouth ending the Russo-Japanese war was concluded. Korea was forgotten and became a Japanese appendage.

He rang the doorbell of the Paris conference in 1919, but again, he says, Korea was forgotten while the peace makers worked on Versailles.

Dr. Rhee was on hand for the Washington disarmament conference three years later. Still no luck.

In 1931, Dr. Rhee, older but still tilting with the world's peace makers, was in Geneva, protesting to the League of Nations while the Japanese Army marched into Manchuria.

TOO MUCH REALISM

Now Dr. Rhee is in San Francisco ready to fight as hard as he did 40 years ago in New Hampshire.

"So far we have been barred from this conference," he shrugs.

"We Koreans are here to see what we can do to contribute to permanent world peace."

"For the last half century, instead of upholding the sanctity of international treaties, the world leaders have sought the expedient of realism and appeasement."

"If the peace makers here in San Francisco are going to do any appeasing or hand over special privileges to the powerful nations, they might as well pack up and go home right now."

What Does S. F. Promise?

IF THE BIG THREE CAN STAY TOGETHER, THE PEACE PROBLEMS ARE SIMPLE, WERNER SAYS

Among military analysts Max Werner has a reputation for accuracy. In his book, "The Military Strength of the Powers," published in 1939, Werner, alone, expressed belief that France would collapse, and hinted Russia, underestimated by most of the "experts," would prove to be a first-class military power. In his "The Battle for the World," published in 1941, one of the best examinations of the war to that date, he said Russia would not capitulate to the Germans and would defeat Hitler. In his "The Great Offensive," published in 1942, he outlined the pattern of the great coalition that has now brought victory to the Allies. Few commentators have a better record. The Chronicle will publish his articles on the Conference.

By MAX WERNER

Within four weeks the political shapes of the post-war world will be defined.

The San Francisco Conference which opens today will be not an isolated council of experts. It will be rather the diplomatic clearing house of the United Nations. It will reflect the big political events outside of the conference and it will be connected with those events. The fall of Berlin, the end of the German resistance, the settlements for Europe and Germany, the Washington parleys, the entire complex of the relations between Washington, London and Moscow belongs to the realities of San Francisco.

The Conference will not only deliberate the paragraphs of the international security organization. It will be the organ of world contacts. It will be the first general confrontation of positions and attitudes about international politics. It will bring a parade of conceptions and plans. The Conference will take the inventory of the United Nations, and because of that San Francisco will be for weeks the foremost observation point of in-

Soviet Union's Official Tribute To Roosevelt

MOSCOW, April 24 (AP). — The Supreme Soviet, Russia's chief governing body, paid unprecedented tribute today to the memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Soviet leaders, after greeting Marshal Stalin with ringing applause, stood to honor the late American President, first foreigner ever accorded such a tribute.

"Let the future friendship of our people continue as a magnificent memorial to the great American President Roosevelt," said M. M. Shvernik, chairman of the Soviet nationalities.

"His death was a great loss for the American people, for the United Nations. He was a great friend of the Soviet people from the day he recognized the Soviet Union until his very last acts."

international affairs.

A BASIS OF CO-OPERATION

But first things must come first. International security must rest on the co-operation of powers which have saved the world: the United States, Great Britain, Russia. Its real basis must be the realization of the victory and the durable political settlement of the most vital and urgent post-war problems. International security demands political premises.

After victory has been achieved, total and brilliant victory, the groundwork of security must be established in Europe. Therefore, in the interest of the work undertaken in San Francisco, let us watch from San Francisco what kind of administration will be established in Germany, how the question of reparation will be treated, what will happen in Eastern Europe, and above all how the American-Brit-

ish-Russian co-operation will work.

Following the discussions, differences, compromises about the details of the international security organization let us not lose ourselves in the jungles of formalism and legalism. The honorable Joseph Paul Boncour of the French delegation can bear witness to the formalistic illusions of the twenties and thirties. These shortcomings should not be repeated.

THE RUSSIAN PIVOT

We know today that policy has priority over the legal technicalities of the international organization. No serious conflicts about the details can be expected in San Francisco, if agreement is reached on urgent political matters. If there be no differences over the treatment of Germany and if a solution is found for the Polish question one need not fear a conflict about—let us say—procedures in the general assembly.

The key to success of the Conference must be sought in Europe and in the relations of the Big Three.

One can predict that everything here will revolve particularly around American-Russian relations.

If the arrangements will be reached in policy, the organizational technique will follow without difficulty and without delay.

It is generally conceded here among the delegates, the experts and the journalists that the Dumbarton Oaks plan with the clarifications of Yalta gives a sound groundwork for the international security organization. No frontal attack on and no earnest basic opposition to this groundwork is to be expected. The Dumbarton Oaks plan needs not a revision, but a strengthening by international economic co-operation.

And now the curtain rises in the monumental Opera House building. (George Matthew Adam Service)

The Meaning of Today

(EDITORIAL)

There is something essentially mystic about the tide in the affairs of men which has been running now for upward of ten years. We know it flows, intensified, from the old tension which made the 1914 war, but we can't quite fathom its true character.

The pace and mass of modern existence is such that it is difficult for the human mind to grasp its fundamentals.

So we have arrived at one of those junctures of the crisis where we can catch our breath. The enemies of the civilized order are near the end of their rope. We see a little daylight, where perhaps some of the immense problems besetting us may be talked down, where perhaps some of the immense forces battering us may be harnessed. We believe we may be able with God's help to establish some kind of association of men, a framework within



(See Page 18)

which they can attack and in some measure cool off the fiery forces and the smoldering maladjustments which threaten to consume us.

We believe—this newspaper believes—that the opportunity will not last forever. It is a focus of psychological time, and something must be done within its bounds, or nothing will be done to solve the riddle of this crisis.

As we see it, the main problem is not to set the sorry world to rights in San

Francisco. The main problem is to forge an association in San Francisco through which the longing of mankind for a stable world can be materialized.

The association itself, if established, cannot make a stable world. Only men using association as a foundation can make a stable world. The chance is there.

Nothing is there if the foundation is not there—if everybody goes his own way. That is the way of menace against menace, force against force, and devil take the hindmost. Or more likely, devil take all.

Again, as we see it, if the San Francisco Conference is driven into a corner where it can't see the target, where it is compelled by intolerable pressures to attempt to set the world to rights—by deals, by specious words, by unreasonable blockades of reasonable compromises, by the "gimmes" of peoples and the "compensation for suffering" complex, then the Conference will fail.

This town is gorged with people with Causes with a capital C. Many of them are good people, and their Causes worthy, though some are undeniably smooth or sinister. They come from every area on the globe, they are bred of every wrong, or imagined wrong, of this century.

But good or bad, these Causes are all irrelevant to this day. Even such good Causes as delivering the oppressed and punishing the guilty are irrelevant. The only Cause relevant today is that of trying to lay a foundation upon which a stable world can be built if we have the heart and the mind to do it. All other Causes for the moment tend to subvert this one Cause.

If the foundation is not built, or if it is dishonestly built for one reason or another, then the day of those with other Causes than the building of the foundation will come. Then there will be plenty of work at hand, delivering the oppressed, punishing the guilty, for the world will be full of both, until doomsday.

Stettinius, The Press

U. S. Delegation Will Go Slow on Delicate Issues

By **EARL C. BEHRENS**
Political Editor The Chronicle

The United States Delegation will not make hasty decisions on ticklish Conference issues.

Secretary of State Stettinius indicated this would be the American policy during the coming weeks in his first San Francisco press conference yesterday.

Mr. Stettinius faced more than 400 newsmen in the Red Room of the Fairmont Hotel.

The Secretary had a smile and "no comment at this time" to most of the touchy questions fired at him during the 30-minute news conference.

However, Mr. Stettinius pledged during the interview that "the delegation would do everything in its power" to aid the press in keeping the people of this country informed of the progress of their deliberations.

The Secretary of State also made it clear that "we are prepared to discuss trusteeships at this conference."

Pressed for more information on trusteeships, Secretary Stettinius declared "the United States' position relative to trusteeships is established."

Asked how this position had been established, Mr. Stettinius answered "through consultation." He did not elaborate.

Two formal statements were issued at the conference. The first was from the delegation as a whole, and enumerated the assignments to be given each member "for the handling of the various aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals at the United Nations Conference."

The second of the statements was from Secretary Stettinius. This dealt with the agreement of the Big Four, sponsors of the Conference, to sponsor the proposals of the Chinese government for "adjustment of international disputes" with "due regard for principles of justice and international law," as well as promotion by the Economic and Social Council "of educational and other forms of cultural co-operation."

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg produced a laugh when he added: "I'm happy to welcome Justice to its first appearance at this Conference."

Secretary Stettinius had been asked if the mention of "principles

Continued on Page 11, Col. 4

Dorothy Thompson

Opening Test Is Polish Issue

LONDON, April 24 (By Wireless)—The San Francisco Conference opens tomorrow with the greatest hopes but alas not without considerable fears. In this country, its statutes have been debated in both houses of parliament in extenso, discussed on a very high level in the press, and have furnished an endless topic of conversation in private gatherings.

The Dumbarton Oaks plan has both its supporters and critics here, but among the latter are few who will not accept it in lieu of anything better and in the hope that with time it will be improved.

Supporters, who on the whole are more often conservative than liberal or labor, say the Dumbarton Oaks plan avoids hypocrisy and recognizes the world situation for what it is. "The old League pretended to be able to settle quarrels of great powers and failed. The new League does not even pretend and so long as great powers do not quarrel, the new organization will be able to prevent minor wars and do much useful work. It is better, says the Economist, that these limitations should be realized from the beginning and those dangerous illusions of millennial peace that stood at the cradle of the old League should not greet the birth of the new.

In general, the viewpoint is that although there could be much better schemes for an international organization than that drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks,

none would be practical in present circumstances because none would be accepted by the present Allies.

The opposition to this viewpoint has perhaps been best and most briefly expressed by Professor Gilbert Murray, a leading champion since the last war of a general system of collective security. Professor Murray in a letter to the London Times says, "I have read many speeches on the Crimean compromise with growing conviction that people do not understand what a profound reversal it involves of the Dumbarton Oaks policy and how absolutely necessary it will be to reconsider one part of it."

The Dumbarton Oaks scheme provided that the five great powers should maintain large forces of arms instantly ready to prevent aggression. The veto introduced by the Crimean compromise enables any great power (1) to commit aggression if it likes, and (2) to veto any action by the other powers to prevent the aggression. That is to say the large armaments proposed at Dumbarton Oaks are to be kept in constant readiness but their purpose is reserved. They are free to commit but are not permitted to prevent aggression. Obviously, this was never intended and it will have to be modified.

Aggressions by small powers can be stopped without much trouble unless they are insti-

gated or supported by a powerful protector. To this must be added that small powers seldom engage in wars unless they have the previously promised support of great powers, but the test whether great powers can get on together is not something for the unknown future—it is, alas, of the present.

At the opening of the San Francisco Conference that test is the issue of Poland. Both in this country (Great Britain) and the United States the Governments recognize it as the test. They are united in that the Crimea agreement must be scrupulously kept.

Mr. Roosevelt, in particular, was not wholly satisfied with the frontiers drawn in Yalta, but accepted them for the sake of agreement. Neither here nor in the United States is the London Government anyone's pet. Every pressure has been put upon it and on the individual or former members to make peace with Moscow. But both Governments are resolved that Poland, within whatever frontiers, shall have a government of its own choice with all parties that participated in resistance to Germany able to present their views without fear of suppression or arrest and with the will of the majority absolutely free to function.

If that first test of the world organizations fails, the augury for its future success will be poor indeed.

T. V. Soong Flies In

There Was a Colorful Scene at the Airport When the Chinese Arrived

China's Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, brother of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and leader of China's delegation, gave the spirits of San Francisco airport crowds a lift yesterday.

The crowds needed a lift.

They were bedraggled and dismal after the long wait for Commissar Molotov. And after Mr. Molotov had come and vanished without exposing himself to public gaze, military guards and civilians and officials crowded inside, out of the wind, to rub the sand out of their eyes and thaw their frozen features.

After half an hour the white-helmeted military guard formed their double line from Gate 3 through the waiting room. The people who had stood on rooftops and trucks for an unsuccessful try at a glimpse of Mr. Molotov, were cheered.

One sailor said to another, "Who's next?"

"Madame Chiang," he answered.

"Naw—her brother," shouted a third.

Suddenly the sailors opened their eyes wider. Down between the double guard walked pretty, young Mrs. T. A. Soong, sister-in-law of Foreign Minister Soong. With her were her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Y. C. Wu, and Mrs. C. T. Feng, wife of the Consul General.

MRS. T. V. IN SABLES

The band and guard of honor lined up, and a United Air Lines DC-3 taxied up in front of the gate. The earlier arrivals, Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Molotov, had come in special C-54's.

As the flourishes sounded, attractive Mrs. T. V. Soong, decorated with sables and wearing dark glasses, stepped out on the platform and waved to her in-laws. The Foreign Minister joined her, and they beamed for photographers.

Dr. T. V. Soong came down the steps to his family, like a man coming home. He shook his head and grinned when newsmen asked for statements, then led the march off through the guard to the automobiles.

Commented Mrs. Soong, "the last two hours were pretty rough. I'm afraid I'm not a good traveler."

Her husband added, "I would like to say that I had a very good trip—but I'm a little tired."

Pink-coated Mrs. T. A. Soong, wife of the Minister's brother, called to friends, "But you haven't even stopped to meet my husband!"

Husband T. A. Soong, San Francisco resident and general manager

of the China Development Finance Organization, had flown in with his older brother.

"GREAT OPTIMISM"

In front of the airport Army, Navy, and State Department officials explained their transportation plans. Mrs. Soong interrupted, "But please don't worry about us. I'm sure we can all go in our two cars."

The Army compromised by taking the baggage, and a motorcycle escort was provided to rush tired Dr. Soong off to a secret destination.

"I cannot face a hotel lobby now," Dr. Soong explained.

Later, the two cars, the motorcycle escort, and the luggage-laden Army sedan drew up on a quiet residential street. There were no spectators but a nursemaid wheeling a baby and a gardener mowing a lawn.

As the Soongs stepped out of their cars, the army driver shouted to the police: "Hey, don't leave without me! I'll never find my way out of here!"

Inside, Dr. Soong settled himself on a comfortable chair.

"I have great optimism regarding the Conference," he said, quietly. "After what the world has been through, it is our only hope for the future."

The three ladies came down, Mrs. Soong showing no signs of 20 hours of travel. They sat down together and posed for a family portrait.

—Ruth Newhall

Women in War--Senora Santacilia

A Member of Mexico's Official Delegation Is a Lady With a Great Humanitarian, Educational Record

By ZILFA ESTCOURT

Out of Mexico to the San Francisco Conference as a member of the official delegation headed by Ezequiel Padillo, comes one of the truly great women leaders of Latin America—a woman who shatters the old tradition of señoras and señoritas languishing behind the heavy doors and grilled windows of their haciendas and rarely participating in the broader activities outside their home.

She is Adela Formosa de Obregon Santacilia—petite, young, beautiful and having a record of achievement comparable with that of the great women of the United States. Senora Santacilia's fame long since preceded her for it was she who headed the crusade against blindness in Mexico.

In three years at the head of the Association for Prevention of Blindness she raised the funds and built a \$300,000 hospital for treatment of eye ailments, and sent a fleet of clinics on wheels, she calls them medical ambulances, out into the villages and rural areas where thousands lost their sight from some strange insect infection. At present 258,000 patients have been cured! Her ambulances now cover nine states and she hopes soon to have enough to cover the whole Mexican Republic.

A Dream Realized

Having started this tremendous humanitarian movement on its way, Senora Santacilia turned her extraordinary organizing talents to another matter that had long interested her—wider opportunities for education for young women. Outgrowth of her dream of a day when women of Mexico might take their place side by side with men in civic, governmental, and professional fields was the founding of the Universidad de Femenina de Mexico—now three years old and having 300 students and a faculty of 45.

"It is real career school," she says proudly. "Five of our girls are here for the Conference with the Mexican secretariat. We train young women looking toward professional careers in diplomatic and consular work, library administration, chemistry, pharmacy, journalism, medical and laboratory technique, food



SENORA SANTACILIA
A delegate of Mexico

and nutrition, social work and interior decoration. General education and cultural opportunities are a part of the courses offered. Our buildings are beautiful—very modern—and look out on Chapultepec Park. We are most proud of them."

Senora Santacilia's dark, luminous eyes have a look of sadness when she talks of her own young girlhood and youthful dreams of achievement. Broader opportunities for education would have solved her youthful yearnings, she believes.

Founded Orchestra

"I wrote a great deal and felt very unhappy because my words were not as pretty as those I read—that made me read and study each day with greater enthusiasm," she reveals. "I played the violin, studied composition and planned a musical career but gave it up for a time to devote myself to poetry interpretation—ultimately I founded the first feminine symphony orchestra."

After her marriage to one of Mexico's most distinguished architects, she began to turn her attention to civic and sociological affairs. She was one of the founders of the Latin American Feminist Union.

"In these times," she says, "women need to be educated and prepared to improve new generations of men. I am deeply interested in the union of the people of the Americas. I want and hope to take part in the organization of the civil and social service of my country."

Race for Alps

Examiner
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ISH ISSUE MOLOTOV

Russ Block Naming Stettinius President

Conference Mystery

Chairmen Meet In Secrecy

By HARRY LANG

It was probably history they were making—but they certainly spelled it "mystery!"

That was yesterday morning, when the chairmen of the forty-six United Nations delegations—including the Big Four—got together as a steering committee "to consider the organization of the conference," as the official journal neatly put it.

They got together in the most profound secrecy, and behind the hardest-boiled set of military police that were ever gathered together to keep people away.

DEEP SECRECY.

It was in a second floor meeting room of the Veterans Building—a room specifically designed for secrecy, even to an anteroom with a peep-hole in the door.

And at all stairways and all elevators, husky, white helmeted military police barred the way for any except those forty-six delegates and their official attendants, including Molotov's five bodyguards. No other persons were allowed on that second floor at all—and a Russian photographer who tried to sneak up a stairway with a set of trick credentials didn't get to first base.

Nor would any of the delegates themselves, as they entered the building in time for the 10:30 opening of the huddle, vouchsafe one word of information to the scores of pressmen who clamored for some bit of news of prediction.

NEWSMEN CLAMOR.

The newshawks clamored in Chinese and Hindustani and United States and British English, in Dutch, in French, Belgian and in all the languages represented here. But all they got were silent smiles or silent glances.

Steering Committee Fails To Name Permanent Chief

By RICHARD V. HYER

With its ponderous machinery rumbling into motion at last, the United Nations Conference made an official beginning yesterday on the task of establishing security for all the world from the ravages of war.

The day was marked by developments both peculiar and hopeful. They included:

1—Russia's Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov formally expressed doubt that the "Big Three" controversy over the Polish Government can be settled in time to bring Polish delegates to this meeting.

State Department sources said that as a matter of fact Molotov has not yet received new instructions from Premier Stalin following the second Anglo-American refusal to seat a delegation from the Moscow-sponsored Lublin regime.

2—At the initial meeting of the conference's all-important Steering Committee yesterday morning, according to the Associated Press, Molotov astonished the delegates by blocking the selection of Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius as permanent president of the conference despite the fact that it has long been the custom to give that honor to the head of the delegation of the host nation at international gatherings.

3—Molotov, the consistent storm center, announced in effect that Russia would not back down from her

demand for three seats in the proposed United Nations General Assembly. Britain and the United States have agreed to support the demand, but this country has done so in the hope that the demand would be withdrawn.

4—In his opening speech to the first official plenary session of the conference, the Russian committed his country to acceptance of revisions or amendments of the original Dumbarton Oaks world security plans. He gave no particulars.

5—The American delegation went a step farther. It agreed that the international organization to be established here should have a flexibility which would permit future revisions. This has been sought by Senator Tom Connally and is not included in the preliminary Dumbarton Oaks pro-

conference objectives—maintenance of peace, by force if necessary.

7—Latin American delegation heads are scheduled to make their first conference addresses at today's plenary session and this, it was learned, may precipitate a minor revolt among the small countries. It was reported that they had been asked to limit their speeches to ten minutes. But they were said to be taking the stand that, inasmuch as the big powers have been doing the talking for months, Latin Americans intend to state their views at considerably more than ten-minute length.

AT INTERVIEW.

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Stettinius smiled gracefully, but popped into an elevator so fast that he almost left a trail of smoke.

Anthony Eden of Britain—"Common Anthony," some of the British newsmen affectionately

(Continued on Page 5, Col. 6.)

5 Ex-Legislators Start Prison Terms

LANSING, April 26.—(AP) — Five of six former legislators convicted yesterday of graft conspiracy during the 1941 legislative session already were serving prison sentences today.

They were accused of accepting bribes to influence their action on an unsuccessful bill to recognize and regulate the healing art of naturopathy as a medical science.

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6—At yesterday's first official plenary session, the foreign ministers of the four sponsoring powers—Edward R. Stettinius Jr., China's T. V. Soong, Britain's Anthony Eden and Molotov—all pledged the full support of their nations to the

conference objectives—maintenance of peace, by force if necessary.

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AT INTERVIEW.

Molotov's doubts that the Polish question would be settled in time to bring delegates here were voiced at his press interview. He termed the problem difficult of solution. He said it would be solved in accordance with the Yalta agreement through a "more democratic" Polish government. He declared the Poles themselves must be consulted first.

While Molotov was talking,

Grew Given New Mystery Note by Russian Envoy

WASHINGTON, April 26.—(AP)—Soviet Charge d'Affaires Nikolai Novikov today called at the State Department with a diplomatic communication. Acting Secretary of State Grew conferred immediately afterward with President Truman.

The circumstances suggested that Premier Stalin had sent a message to the President concerning Big Three issues up for

action at San Francisco.

When Novikov left the State Department after two minutes in Grew's office, he said merely: "It is a pity; I can say nothing."

Grew then walked across the street with a folded sheet of paper to the White House where he went at once into President Truman's office. When he came out he declined to make any statement.

Trusteeships

Secretary of State Stettinius was not extraordinarily communicative on his arrival in San Francisco. That does not surprise us; in fact, we should be astonished if it were otherwise. Secretaries of State are not usually loquacious. If they are, they are bad ones.

So what the Secretary had to say about trusteeships for orphan islands and peoples needing guardianship was not illuminating. Stettinius did bring himself to utter the word; that was about all. He offered no definition of what it means.

Possibly the Secretary of State, or even an Under or Assistant Secretary, in an expansive mood, could work out a distinction between a trusteeship and a mandate. But to a man in the street they are one and the same, as indistinguishable as a hare and a rabbit. The words are spelled differently, that is all.

It may be more than a suspicion that the matter is entirely one of semantics. The present world leaders, and their entourages concerned with the Conference here at San Francisco, guard their lips and tongues against the word "league" in speaking of the future world security body. They have found no smooth substitute; they do not care for either "confederacy" or "confederation," because these have unlucky American connotations; "union" is out because pre-empted by Clarence Streit, the world has seen too many bad "alliances," "cartel" has acquired a specially damnable meaning, but "league" is impossible.

A world association saddled with that reminder of Geneva would be doomed before it started. So for the present they stand on such harmless generalizations as "organization," "body," "community of nations," and the like.

So it is with "mandate." The mandates were not only creatures of the League of Nations, some conspicuous ones have turned out to be exasperations to the world. Thus, all of them, good or bad, have acquired a bad name, no proper appellation for a new-minted device. Yet in this case a substitute of eminently respectable sound has been discovered. It is "trusteeship."

The cynical may remark that the breakfast pot boils and bubbles in the same fashion whether called mush or porridge. As for us, we shall wait to see the difference that develops between mandates and trusteeships.

Belgium

We take friendly issue with Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak, who says for Belgium that it is a small country, unimportant in the Conference.

Belgium is the archetype of a small nation living surrounded by powerful neighbors. Twice in a generation Belgium has been overrun by one of those powerful neighbors.

The test of what the United Nations are trying to do in the Conference is whether a small nation like Belgium can live securely under world justice.

If the purpose of the Conference were merely to find an area of agreement for the three great powers emerging victorious from the war, it would be better confined to their three voices alone. The United States, Great Britain and Russia have the physical force and economic strength to impose any order on which they agree jointly so long as they remain strong, vigilant and in agreement.

But that is not the purpose of this Conference as we understand it. The effort is to find a framework in which the world can live in reasonable security, where force is the implement of justice and not the instrument of power.

The big nations obviously must underwrite the program of world justice. This being so, it is admirably modest for the Belgians not to clamor to speak first in telling what is to be done and how to do it. But the importance of Belgium in the results of the Conference is great in relation to its weakness in a world ruled by force alone.

Iwo and Java

Senator Connally of Texas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is quoted as saying that "the door is still open" to joint trusteeships of the Pacific territories which were placed under mandate following the First World War; that these territories would include Pacific islands mandated to Japan for which the United States has had to fight. (Trusteeships are discussed elsewhere on this page.)

Developing the idea, the Senator appears to be thinking of a sort of compromise joint trusteeship, rather than international-committee control of every moye made in future on such "territories" as the bleak islet of Iwo Jima. It is around such points of land, devoid of economic value, that vital American interests center.

The United States Navy has asked for outright American annexation of such points, clearly for their strategic value alone; indeed, no such point yet wrested from the Japanese has any value to American economy. But the United States State Department sees possibility of precedent in outright annexation, and is reported to be moving toward some sort of compromise under which even in the operation of American naval bases on otherwise worthless pinpoints in the Pacific the principle of accountability to an international trusteeship will be retained. It is perhaps this view that Senator Connally has in mind when he speaks of American operation of a base like Iwo Jima being made "subject to inspection and regulation by an overall organization."

The State Department's trend toward this compromise is reported to have alarmed delegations from Holland, England, France and Belgium, some of whom are said to fear that such trusteeship would set a precedent for putting all colonial territories under international trusteeships.

These delegations are reported as urging outright American annexation of spots like Iwo Jima and Okinawa. This sounds like an effort to create the reverse precedent and, if this is so, the State Department's current trend toward retention of the trusteeship principle is understandable.

What should be the ultimate disposition of such colonial territories as Java or French Indo-China is to be decided later, and we do not pretend to recommend a course of action now. We do say, however, that it is legalistic and specious to argue that the same principle is involved at Iwo Jima and at Java. All delegates to San Francisco know, or can easily learn, that the United States will maintain these bases at no economic advantage but at considerable cost, and it is obvious that all civilized peoples will share in the protection.

This does not mean that the United States, from its fortunate vantage of needing no colonial territory, intends to be sanctimonious about this economic accident, but it does appear to mean that the United States does not propose to allow its operation of military points in the Pacific, necessary for the peace of the world, to be confused with the colonial issue.

This distinction clearly drawn, we believe that no delegation in good faith and good sense can oppose this country's complete control of certain small but crucial areas in the Pacific when military leaders designate these areas as necessary to the security of the American Nation. For if the lessons of history and the purposes of the San Francisco Conference are to prevail, security of the United States is necessary to security of the world.

MOLOTOV HOPE ON POLES TOLD

Russ Minister Pledges Yalta to
Be Used as Basis

(Continued from Page One)

it were not intended to amend the proposals, it would be useless to convene this conference."

4—Whether Russia will oppose representation of Argentina at the conference was one question he dodged entirely, replying: "This is a new question to me."

Asked if he agreed with the appraisal of President Truman that international chaos is the only alternative to success of the conference, Molotov promised a complete and unequivocal answer in an address to be delivered, later in the day, at the plenary session of the conference.

QUESTION REPEATED.

The extreme importance which the world attaches to settlement of the Polish question was readily apparent at Molotov's press conference. The first question trained on him concerned that situation directly, and throughout the half hour that followed, it repeatedly popped up, in one form or another, until at last the Commissar requested:

"If there are any other questions bearing on this matter, let us have them now, so we can clear up this question."

He spoke rapidly, making circular gestures with both hands, and moving ahead so quietly that he frequently overran his interpreter, who was far from slow.

INVITES QUERIES.

After a brief greeting, an apology for appearing a few minutes late, and a bow to other members of the delegation, Molotov asked for questions. At once came the query:

"What is your Government's attitude on the Polish question?"

With a grin, Molotov blinked and asked with obvious double meaning: "Are there any other questions?"

Then he set forth this thesis:

The Polish question is not one to be settled at this conference. A very good settlement was reached at the Yalta Conference. In accordance with that decision, the Government of Russia intends that the present, provisional government be reorganized on a broader, more democratic basis.

BROADER BASIS.

Asked if he meant "broader and more democratic," he repeated: "On a broader and more democratic basis, in accordance with the decision of Yalta."

Then he pointed out: "The Polish question cannot be settled without the Poles themselves," and asked: "Do you understand?" To a chorus of "No" he replied: "Then I recommend your careful study of the Yalta decision."

CONSULT POLES.

He explained that the Poles must be consulted in the attempt to set up the desired "broader and more democratic" Government, and that such consultation, involving negotiations with the Polish Commission set up at Yalta, takes time.

Declining to predict whether Poland will be represented at San Francisco, he went no farther than: "I am anxious to have Poland represented."

Again, he pointed out that the question is complicated and time consuming, but most certainly subject to solution under terms of the Yalta agreement.

OTHER ISSUES.

To other questions, Molotov gave these replies:

The Soviet delegation has not discussed the matter of a permanent headquarters for the United Nations organization—but there are "not a few fine places."

The war in Europe—the resist-

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The war in Europe—the resistance of the Germans—is near an end.

His first press conference ended abruptly as an unidentified interrogator attempted to involve the commissar in a discussion of vodka, its pronunciation and effect. The Commissar rose and bowed and offered the Russian equivalent of "Goodbye, now."

Then he went away.

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Liberia Has a Small Nation Council Plan

Small nations have an even greater stake in working for world security than have the larger countries, Clarence L. Simpson, chairman of the Liberian delegation, declared yesterday.

For that reason, the Liberian delegates will seek enlargement of the proposed Security Council to include a greater number of secondary nations.

Mr. Simpson also disclosed his Government's plan for a fair selection of smaller nations to serve two-year terms on the Security Council, which is an alphabetical arrangement, giving every country an opportunity to be represented in turn.

Mr. Simpson, a serious young man, is fully aware that this is his nation's opportunity to speak while the world is listening. He has been vice president of Liberia for more than a year.

Other members of his delegation are Gabriel L. Dennis, Secretary of State; Senator Joseph L. Gibson, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Colonel Moses N. Grant, Commander of the Frontier Forces; Walter F. Walker and Richard Henries.

Liberian delegation headquarters are in the Mark Hopkins Hotel.

The Speeches—Highlights of Addresses by Delegates of Five Nations

The chief delegates of five nations represented at the United Nations Conference set forth their countries' positions on the proposed world organization. Here are highlights from the addresses made by the delegates of Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil and Canada.

Rt. Hon. F. M. Forde, For Australia:

The Australian delegation is determined to do its utmost to make this Conference a success. We share the desire for despatch expressed yesterday by Mr. Eden. We too are anxious to get down to business. We believe that yesterday's speeches indicated a real willingness to see the Charter improved without impairing its fundamental principles.

In our view, the success of the Conference will be measured by one test. Will it bring into existence an organization which will give to the peoples of the world a reasonable assurance of security from war and a reasonable prospect of international action to secure social justice and economic advancement?

The acceptance by the nations of the invitation to this Conference means that we are already agreed that world organization is necessary; and that the Dumbarton Oaks draft is a suitable basis of discussion.

The new association of nations must be endowed with sufficient military power to deal effectively and ruthlessly with any resurgence of fascism and with any immediate threat to world peace. At the same time the constitution of the association must be made capable of development to meet new situations as they arise.

The cardinal points of Australia's policy, in relation to security, may be restated as follows:

(1) There must be speedy and orderly procedures for the peaceful handling of disputes between nations.

(2) There must be a system of sanctions which can be imposed very rapidly and which will be based on the united military strength of the great powers, but shared in by all powers.

(3) A permanent system of security can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic and social justice, and real international stability can be achieved only by promoting measures of economic advancement as well as by maintaining security.

There is one basic requirement fully and fairly recognized by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. For the organization to succeed, all members of the United Nations must pledge themselves to co-operate in carrying out, by force wherever needed, the decisions of the organization for the preservation of peace.

The Australian government urges that the charter of a world organization should recognize that the main purpose of the administration of dependent or undeveloped territories is the welfare and advancement of the peoples of those territories. This was recognized in the

war of 1914-13. While no doubt certain modifications arising out of experience should be made in the terms of existing mandates, on the whole we believe the system worked reasonably well.

We believe also that this principle of trusteeship, which in modern times powers have frequently recognized in relation to their colonial possessions, by positive unilateral declarations, can not in principle be confined to undeveloped territories formerly belonging to our enemies in World War I or World War II.

We, therefore, wish to see provision in the charter for the continuance of the mandate system; the establishment of new mandates; the recognition of the principle that the purpose of the administration of dependent territories is the welfare and advancement of the peoples of such territories.

Foreign Minister Spaak, for Belgium:

A perfect and complete international organization, subordinating personal interest to the collective interest, is surely in the prayers of humanity. If they had consulted us, I am sure that I would have carried the reflected and enthusiastic consent of my compatriots.

It would be inaccurate to imagine that the proposition of Dumbarton Oaks and of Yalta have brought us all that we desired, that they have incorporated all our hopes, that they have represented the entire effort that we were prepared to accomplish. But my compatriots and I are not among those who become discouraged if the ideal is not reached the first time. We know that the road which leads there is long and at times tortuous, that progress is made by successive steps and repeated efforts, and that which comes from the combined work of four great powers friendly to peace has been loyally accepted by us as a base for fruitful discussion.

We would be wrong, moreover, to let pass a systematic criticism of the propositions which have been made for us and not seen by us, not to underline that which appears new and progressive in certain aspects.

How could we fail to greet with joy the fact that the new system

The absence of these two nations had consequences which weighed on all international politics between the two wars. Their presence here is a reason for hope and confidence.

Ambassador Andrade, For Bolivia

Security as a result of collective and immediate action on the part of the states for the elimination of the causes of aggression; right and peace as the necessary means for attaining justice; and the different recourses of International Law, with equal guarantees for all, will give a lofty significance to the ends and objectives which the world proposes to attain.

In order that such objectives may be more effective, there is also a need for the classification of an aggressor in the Charter of the World Organization. Thus all countries would know in advance what they must avoid in their international conduct, in order not to incur collective sanctions.

Oppression and tyranny are peculiar not only to political power but also to hunger and want. Well-being is liberation, and it is justice.

The ideal thing is for all men to have equal opportunities for attaining happiness and enjoying the benefits of civilization. The peace for which we long must not have for its purpose the establishment of a social status quo, because in addition to being anti-human and consequently impossible, such a thing would mean a new form of oppression which would put a fatal end to the principles on which we wish to build peaceful human harmony. It must be a peace dynamic, in the desire to find a solution to the social and economic problems of the world.

On these fundamental concepts we base our opinion that raising of the standard of living of the nations, co-operation in the campaign against disease and assistance in improving food, shelter and living conditions should no longer be the modern world be attitudes emanating from the humanitarian and charitable instinct of the strongest, but rather the elementary rights of man and of the need to live in peace.

It has fallen upon the representative of a small nation possessing a deep historic tradition to reaffirm the criterion that the greatest power involves always the greatest responsibility. The exercise of such power constitutes for mankind and for conscientious peoples a series of difficult obligations and duties, rather than a privilege.

Foreign Minister Velloso, for Brazil:

Delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization:

In the name of the Brazilian delegation, I wish to say a few words on the death of President Roosevelt.

The Brazilian people have lost a devoted friend with the passing away of the "greatest champion of freedom," as he was fittingly called by Winston Churchill.

The years of President Roosevelt's life at the White House were years of closest co-operation between Brazil and the United States. Fortunately, we were not deaf to the repeated warnings which, on the eve of war, he gave on the evils which confronted the world. When the hour struck, without counting sacrifices or seeking any reward but the friendship of the American people, Brazil responded to his call for the defense of the Americas and of the civilized world.

On the death of such a great friend, my country feels a certain consolation in the thought that it understood his aims and that it did not spare any effort within the scope of its possibilities to help bring about his high designs.

He spoke for all of us when he said that in the future juridical world organization there should be no attempt, with the attributions

conferred upon the great powers, to create a super State possessing its own policing authority.

"We are seeking," he said, "agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces, to meet the needs of preventing war and making impossible deliberate preparation for war, and to have such forces available for joint action when necessary."

It is, therefore, in the equality of political rights, beginning by those of sovereignty, that we must set the foundations of our system, as was recognized by all the speakers in yesterday's session. A nation which has always held in repugnance the resort to force for the solution of disagreements between peoples and which has always favored moral and juridical solutions, Brazil has never hesitated, when wounded in its sovereignty, or in virtue of international obligations, to assume the responsibilities and the burdens of war.

The time is past when nations situated at a distance from the initial field of struggle could stay aloof, in selfish isolation, safe from destruction, from the crimes and monstrosities of war.

Traditional principles, geographical imperatives, all impel us, therefore, to prevent war and to desire the solid organization of a definitive system of security, for the efficiency of which we pledge all our resources in peace and in war, without demanding rewards and without measuring sacrifices.

Mackenzie King, For Canada:

We would do well to seek to match our deliberations to the rapid movement of events. While the fires of war are still burning fiercely, the opportunity is given to this Conference to forge and fashion from those fires an instrument for world security. In the execution of this great task, there should be no avoidable delay.

I can express to those who have

come to this continent from other places no higher hope for the future of mankind than that, out of the instrument we are now fashioning, there may develop relations among all nations similar to those which, for generations, have been a common possession of Canada and the United States.

The proceedings of this Conference have been greatly facilitated by the preparatory work already done at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta by the inviting powers. We may all rejoice that the Great Powers have achieved unified proposals for a world security organization. That is a great step forward—a mighty contribution already made to the establishment and maintenance of world peace.

It is not the intention of the Canadian delegation to put forth, in plenary session, specific amendments to the proposals. Our delegation will express its point of view, at an appropriate time and place, on specific questions as they arise.

Our sole preoccupation in any amendments which we may put forward or support at a later stage will be to help in creating an organization which, over the years and the decades to come, will be strong enough and flexible enough to stand any strains to which it may be subjected.

RAMESES

A Grand Old Name Going Places With MODERN MILDNESS



Mrs. T. V. Soong Will Sponsor a Ship

Mrs. T. V. Soong, beautiful wife of China's Minister for Foreign Affairs, will not be on hand for this afternoon's plenary session.

Instead of occupying her usual seat in the Opera House she will act as sponsor for a new Henry Kaiser ship, the Grove City Victory. The launching will take place at Yard 1 in Richmond at 2:30 p. m.

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be-restated as follows:
 (1) There must be speedy and orderly procedures for the peaceful handling of disputes between nations.
 (2) There must be a system of sanctions which can be imposed very rapidly and which will be based on the united military strength of the great powers, but shared in by all powers.

(3) A permanent system of security can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic and social justice, and real international stability can be achieved only by promoting measures of economic advancement as well as by maintaining security.

There is one basic requirement fully and fairly recognized by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. For the organization to succeed, all members of the United Nations must pledge themselves to co-operate in carrying out, by force wherever needed, the decisions of the organization for the preservation of peace.

The Australian government urges that the charter of a world organization should recognize that the main purpose of the administration of dependent or undeveloped territories is the welfare and advancement of the peoples of those territories. This was recognized in Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations in respect of territories which were at the disposal of the Allied powers as a result of

A perfect and complete international organization, subordinating personal interest to the collective interest, is surely in the prayers of humanity. If they had consulted us, I am sure that I would have carried the reflected and enthusiastic consent of my compatriots.

It would be inaccurate to imagine that the proposition of Dumbarton Oaks and of Yalta have brought us all that we desired, that they have incorporated all our hopes, that they have represented the entire effort that we were prepared to accomplish. But my compatriots and I are not among those who become discouraged if the ideal is not reached the first time. We know that the road which leads there is long and at times tortuous, that progress is made by successive steps and repeated efforts, and that which comes from the combined work of four great powers friendly to peace has been loyally accepted by us as a base for fruitful discussion.

We would be wrong, moreover, to let pass a systematic criticism of the propositions which have been made for us and not seen by us, not to underline that which appears new and progressive in certain aspects.

How could we fail to greet with joy the fact that the new international organization is proposed to us, this time, by a group of nations in which the United States of America and the U. S. S. R. are prominent?



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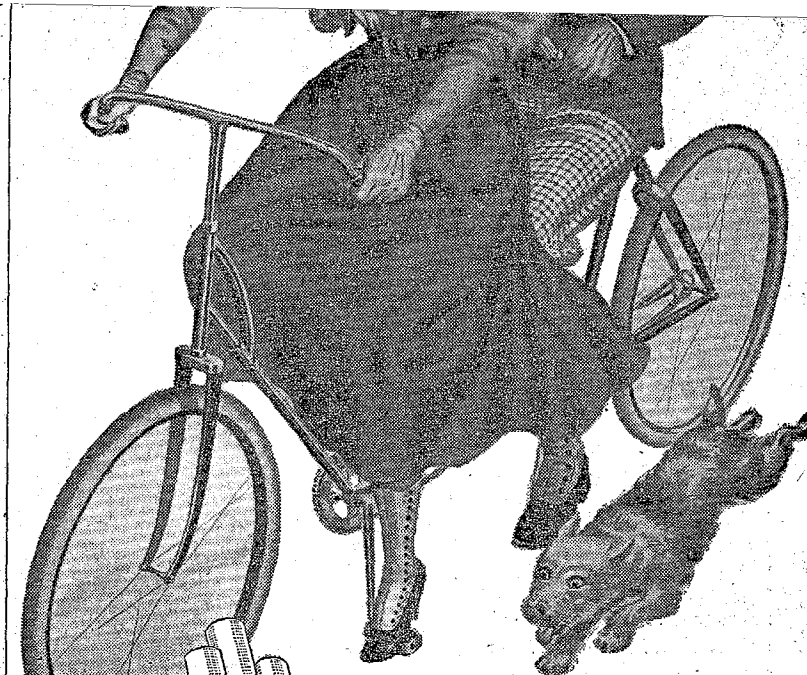
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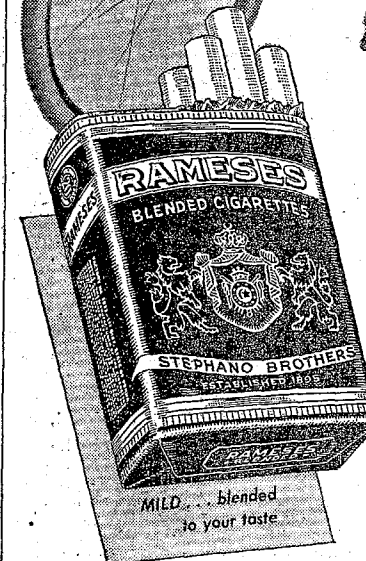
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Parcheesi!



SAN FRANCISCO, May 2—Settlement of future threats to world peace, as being worked out at the United Nations Conference, is going to be just like a game of parcheesi, also spelled parchisi.

This important discovery is announced after study of an elaborate 24-page, four-color booklet just put out by the State Department. Title of the booklet is, "Proposals for a General International Organization as Developed at Dumbarton Oaks, 1944." To make it

simple, 12 of the pages are given over to diagrams that resemble nothing so much as variations of old-fashioned parcheesi boards. There are brown, green and black arrows all over the pages to show you what to do next.

* * *

TURN, for instance, to Page 16, which shows a parcheesi board pattern titled in small letters, "Functions of the Security Council," and then in bigger type, "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes."

It may be a little difficult to explain this to you without having the chart right before your eyes, but if you'll follow directions closely you'll get the general drift.

Just take it as a game of parcheesi. Instead of having a tiddedewink, which you call a "man" and move from one space to another on the diagram, just take a button and call it a "dispute." The idea of the game is to take a dispute and play it thru successive stages of settlement.

* * *

OF course, not all disputes can be settled peacefully. In that case, the dispute leads to war. Go back and start over. Disputes, according to the directions on Page 16, start between two nations, which are indicated by two black squares on a blue globe at the bottom of the board.

Just as in parcheesi, you can put your dispute into play at several places. The dispute may be started towards

By Peter Edson

settlement from space marked, "any state," "regional security agency," "secretariat," or "general assembly."

* * *

SPIN the wheel and see what you do next. If you don't have a war and have to go back and start all over, you move your dispute along any of four brown lines to a space marked "one." This is temporary safety zone in an area marked, "security council."

Move on to "two." Your dispute is still in the security council, but from here there are four possible plays.

Move on to "two." Your dispute is still in the security council, but from here there are four possible plays.

The security council, according to the directions printed along the black arrow line leading from space "two," now "calls upon the disputants for direct peaceful settlement by (1) negotiation, (2) mediation, (3) arbitration, (4) judicial settlement."

* * *

IN other words, if you get any of these numbers on your next move you reach home on a short cut by achieving peaceful settlement and the game's over. But if you don't win on this move, the directions say, "parties are obligated to refer their dispute to security council." That means you have to follow the reverse black line arrow and go back to "two."

Your next move is then to "three." It's also in the security council safety zone.

Again four possible plays, for the security council may move your dispute along four green lines to either (a) recommend procedure for direct settlement between disputing nations, (b) refer dispute for local settlement to regional security agency, (c) refer back to general assembly for recommendation, or (d) refer to international court of justice for advice.

What happens if none of these work, the directions don't say. But if along any of these lines your dispute reaches home and you achieve settlement, that's parcheesi—also known as peace.

Hoover Asks That Political Rights Be Proclaimed in Peace Charter

He Urges Explicit Statement of 14 Ideals and Special Committee to Promote Justice for All Nations and All Men

By HERBERT HOOVER

Former President of the United States

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ARTICLE II

In Article I I stated that positive standards of political rights of nations and men should be incorporated at San Francisco if we are to mobilize the moral and spiritual forces of the world in the charter of peace.

Some of these principles and ideals are stated in the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Wilson stated part of them in his Fourteen Points. Part of them appear in the Atlantic Charter. Some of them are referred to in the Moscow Declaration and the Yalta Declaration. Many of them are thus accepted by the United Nations, but they are not expressed in any binding treaty.

It would not seem unreasonable that they should be codified and specifically stated in the new charter of peace. If so, we may at least have a hope that the day may come when they will prevail.

Principles and Standards

From these declarations we can condense some of these specific principles and standards of conduct between nations:

1. No aggrandizement or annexations, territorial or other.
2. No territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.
3. The restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been deprived of them.
4. The right of all peoples to choose their form of government by free and unfettered elections and secret ballot.
5. Equality in trade.
6. Freedom of the seas in peacetime.
7. Disarmament of aggressor nations.
8. Reduction in arms of all nations.

Of equal importance to these standards of conduct between nations, the history of the last thirty years cries out for the establishment of definite rights and protections to individual human beings. These principals have been eloquently proclaimed time and

again as elements of peace by the leaders in this war. They include:

9. Protection from execution or imprisonment without fair trial.
10. Prohibitions against compulsory labor or slavery in any disguise.
11. Protections to minorities and backward peoples.
12. The freedom of the press and religion.
- And why not again fly these great banners at the masthead of the charter?
13. Renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.
14. The relations between nations must be founded upon honor and justice.

Basis for Council Decisions

My proposal is therefore, first, that such fundamental principles and ideals shall be set out in the charter itself. The security council would then have standards of conduct upon which to make decisions. And, of equal importance, if they be proclaimed to the world, at least public opinion can define, judge and support. Without them the San Francisco Charter will not be a chart of peace. It will be simply another transitory pact or a declaration.

My second proposal arises from the fact that the Dumbarton Oaks plan includes the creation of one world committee to promote economic welfare and another to promote social welfare. Therefore, I propose the creation of a third world committee to promote political rights. It is a more important function than the other two worldwide committees, great as they are.

If we are to delegate any part of our national sovereignty, we have a right to know exactly what the standards of conduct of other nations are to be. If the five great nations are to be above the law through this voting formula, it becomes all the more important that we definitely express the standards of conduct to which they are committed in relation to the smaller nations and ourselves.

In The Nation

The Product of Brains and Experience

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, March 28—Through this and other newspapers served by the North American Newspaper Alliance former President Hoover has now, in four brief articles, given to the public and the Governments of the United Nations the product of his mentality and experience with respect to the objectives of the San Francisco conference on world security. The practical common sense and foresight of what Mr. Hoover modestly titled "Some Additions to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals" make his omission from the American delegation to San Francisco the more remarkable.

It is difficult to think of any other country where its only living former Chief Executive would be excluded from such a group. But, in view of two other facts, the difficulty is increased. These facts are that Mr. Hoover is a veteran of the Paris-Versailles conference in 1919 where a previous attempt was made to set up a world security system; and that his book, "The Problems of World Peace," published in 1942 (in collaboration with Hugh Gibson), was the source of the fundamental ideas that were reduced to writing at Dumbarton Oaks. Also, Mr. Hoover is not only a veteran of Paris-Versailles, he was in the top rank of President Wilson's advisers on the League covenant. And, furthermore, he has had more first-hand experience with the economic and social problems that follow conquest and liberation than any other living man.

Only for personal reasons could a citizen of this distinction and equipment be obliged to make his contribution in such a grave matter through books and the public press instead of in official committee and conference. Had these reasons been rejected by the President as unworthy of the times and the need of the world, Mr. Hoover, as his writings on the subject reveal, would have helped directly to insure the success of San Francisco and of the post-war security system to be drafted by the United Nations there.

His Six Points

The four articles are simply and clearly written, and the suggestions they contain cut through many complications. Most important are these:

1. There is little in the Dumbarton Oaks draft that reflects the standards of future conduct to which all nations must adhere if war is to be minor and infrequent. "We are in danger of setting up a purely mechanistic body without spiritual inspiration or soul," wrote Mr. Hoover, and he urged the inclusion of these standards in the Charter. They are, he said, implicit in the Declaration of Independence, the Fourteen Points, the Declarations of Moscow and Yalta and the shattered codes of international law.

2. Since it may be years before the final peace settlements are determined, including boundaries, and since one reason for the failure of the League of Nations was insistence by the victors that the Versailles peace terms were permanent, Charter should provide for periodic revision of these settlements—say, every ten years—negotiated by a Committee on Political Rights which should be added to the proposed economic and social committees of the projected world organization.

3. There should be more accent on regional peace—keeping machinery as the foundation of a world peace-keeping system, to "deal in the first instance with all controversies that might lead to war." In these small and intermediate nations would have a greater voice than they can have for years under the Dumbarton Oaks Charter. And the anxiety of Americans, among others, that they may find themselves "involved in secondary problems all over the earth" will thus be relieved.

The regional method should also be employed with the social, economic and political rights committees and with the new world court.

4. Total disarmament of the enemy nations, their internal order to be kept by a constabulary, should underlie the Charter, so that occupying forces of 100,000 soldiers each in Germany and Japan would suffice to keep these nations demilitarized—though these forces would have to remain "for a generation." But, as a corollary, an agreement should be reached at once

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Limit on Council Member

5. Not to our delegate on the Security Council, but to the President, should be given the authority for a vote by that delegate that would engage the United States in war. And this power should be limited by requiring the President to abide by the decision of the majority of a joint Congressional committee on foreign matters whether he should submit the issue to the whole Congress.

This is not a matter for San Francisco, but it is proposed for inclusion in our treaty of adhesion to the Charter of the world security league that is intended to be written there.

6. As many parts of the San Francisco structure as possible should be set up tentatively so that time may be given to perfect them in the light of change and experience.

These six points were the major ones made by Mr. Hoover in his newspaper articles. The Government over which he once presided did not ask for them. But, if the unacknowledged use of his 1942 book is a guide, and the former President's wisdom is received according to its need and value, the suggestions will affect the conclusions.

HOOVER ASKS PACTS
BE OPEN TO CHANGE

He Declares Nations Cannot
Be Frozen and Need Scope
for Adjusting Status

SAYS OAKS IGNORES POINT

Former President Presses the
Proposal That Peace Be Based
on Three Regional Groups

By HERBERT HOOVER
Former President of the United
States
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ARTICLE III
The second proposal I have made for the San Francisco Conference is that there be provision for revision of onerous or inapplicable treaties or of the wrongs of imposed settlements. There is no such suggestion in the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

The future of nations cannot be frozen. The forces which will arise out of this war cannot be foreseen.

If we are going to accomplish anything in our time we must approach our problem in the knowledge that there is nothing rigid or immutable in human affairs. History is a story of growth, decay and change. If no provision, no allowance is made for change by peaceful means, it will come anyway—and with violence.

There was an indefinite provision for change of onerous or inapplicable treaties in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but it was never allowed to function. This failure to recognize inevitability of change became one of the definite causes leading to World War II.

There is one overall effect of both the Covenant of the League and Dumbarton Oaks proposals which the American people should understand.

Question of Yardstick
Once we settle down to peace again there will be treaties defining boundaries and other relations or imposed relations of nations. The yardstick of who is an aggressor then becomes one of determining who violates the then existing situation or law. Thus the world organization automatically becomes the guarantor of the existing situation, that is, the status quo.

Experience demonstrates that there are unpredictable areas of most dangerous controversies which rise from the pressure for change in the relations between nations. Among them are provisions imposed during the heat of war emotions, shift in economic pressures and population, the growth of ideas and inventions. There are shifting rights of minorities and the development of backward nations which become conscious and capable of self-government.

Oppressed peoples will agitate and even rebel against oppression. They are hardly likely to go on considering themselves bound by a bargain entered into unwillingly by their fathers. As a rule they would be willing to readjust matters without going to war.

Boundary and peace treaties

SURVIVORS OF THE BITTER STRUGGLE FOR IWO ISLAND



Leathernecks and Navy men, recuperating from wounds at the Naval hospital in San Diego, form the letter "M" for the Marines.

Associated Press Wirephoto

are not inspired documents. Certainly the whole experience after the last war shows that peace can be preserved, not by preventing change and putting the future in a strait-jacket, but by seeking to control change and direct it. Any attempt to maintain the status quo indefinitely is a direct cause of war—for, peaceful means being denied, the change can come only through force. War becomes the only available solvent.

Settlements Do Not Hold

Each and every plan for preserving peace, whether it be the Pax Romana, the balance of power, the legitimist theory at the Congress of Vienna or collective security of the League, however divergent they may appear outwardly, have this one thing in common. They set up a new order and, knowing it to be good, they provide that the new boundaries and other conditions shall be kept and anyone who violates it is evil. Never yet, however, have settlements been made after firing ceases that held against growing and changing forces after the war.

After the last war, whenever there was an appeal for revision, the world was flooded with speeches on the "sanctity of treaties," and it was represented that any attempt to reconsider a single article of the Versailles Treaty was nothing less than a sinister attempt to undermine the whole fabric of peace which must be resisted as such by all law-loving peoples.

Many people were led to believe that all change was to be resisted on high moral grounds. We can agree as to the sanctity of the pledged word—but most of this talk meant something quite different. What was really meant was not the "sanctity of treaties" but the "sanctity of the status quo."

Provision for Revision Urged

And this question becomes far more important to Americans today than ever before. The peace settlements, the form of governments and the boundaries of many nations have not yet been determined. Unless there be provision for revision of treaties we will at San Francisco become the blind guarantors of peace settlements of which we, as yet, know nothing.

To meet this problem Mr. Gibson and I made a suggestion three years ago and I again propose that there be a definite provision in the United Nations charter that the application of any nation for revision

of treaty provisions, not sooner than ten years after its conclusion, should be considered and, if advisable, negotiated by the committee on political rights which I have suggested.

There will be continuing gigantic wrongs in the world. Americans for all time will sorrow for the fate of Finland, of Estonia, of Latvia, of Lithuania, the partition of Poland, and other states that will be partly or wholly submerged by this war. We cannot even think of another war to secure their freedoms, but we do not need to sacrifice our ideals by acquiescing in their plight.

We could at least leave a hope open for their long future.

Regional Organization

My third proposal for the San Francisco Conference is that there should be a much more definite regional organization of the whole machinery of the charter at San Francisco than that suggested at Dumbarton Oaks.

Three years ago Mr. Gibson and I proposed that regional organization should be the foundation of the whole machinery and that three regional groups should be established—the Western Hemisphere, Europe and Asia. A year later Mr. Churchill publicly supported this idea.

In the Western Hemisphere the long development of the Pan American Union pointed in that direction and the recent agreement at Mexico City advances it one step further. The success of the nebulous "Concert of Europe" in preventing world war for nearly a century pointed in that direction for Europe, and the practical problems which developed in the League of Nations abundantly confirmed the need for that form of organization.

Such regional councils should embrace all United Nations areas and should deal in the first instance with all controversies that might lead to war. If they fail to secure settlement by pacific methods, then, and only then, should the world security council intervene.

Six Prospective Benefits

If regional organization were established at once, it would bring six powerful benefits:

First, it would give the smaller nations a greater voice, for they should be more largely represented in the regional councils and could well be given equal standing;

Second, policies which would

prevent conflict are different in the three great areas and need separate organization;

Third, these regional organizations would relieve the security council of many problems and controversies before they reached it;

Fourth, such an organization would relieve the whole mechanism of much of its present color of a military alliance of a few great powers;

Fifth, regional organization at once lessens the pressure for military alliances.

Sixth, such a regional organization would greatly relieve the anxieties of the American people and probably most nations lest they be constantly involved in secondary problems all over the earth.

There is no reason why the proposed economic, social and political rights councils should not also be regionalized for the better handling of problems peculiar to those regions. Their top world councils would be the more free for coordination of the three great areas. It might also be worth consideration that the World Court be organized with three regional courts which would act as courts of first instance in questions involving nations in that region alone.

Some objection has been raised that there would be some implied rivalry of interest between regions which would be thus emphasized. The contrary is the truth, for such decentralization would make co-operation the more easy.

ITALY OUT OF PARLEY

State Department Statement
Bars Country at San Francisco

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 26—

Italy's chances of representation at the United Nations Security Conference in San Francisco April 25 were ruled out today with a State Department statement indicating there was little likelihood of a change in Italy's status before the meeting. A State Department spokesman asserted:

"Italy's admission to the ranks of the United Nations is not a question for the consideration by this Government alone. Only United Nations have been invited to participate in the conference.

"No provision is being made for observers from countries not invited to participate in the San Francisco Conference."

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HOOVER PROPOSES FOES' DISARMAMENT

Former President Advises the
Parley at San Francisco to
Form Security Council

FOR ENDING WARRIOR CASTE

He Says Great Error of Treaty
of Versailles Was in Allowing
German Army of 100,000

By **HERBERT HOOVER**

Former President of the U. S.

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Alliance, Inc.)

ARTICLE IV

My fourth proposal for the San Francisco conference is that agreement upon continued and total disarmament of the enemy nations must be entered into either as part of the United Nations charter or a separate agreement. In any event it will have to be enforced by the Security Council. And it profoundly affects the whole question of peace.

Three years ago Mr. Gibson and I proposed that the enemy states must be completely disarmed and kept disarmed for an entire generation. We pointed out one of the great errors of the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany was permitted to retain a professional army of 100,000 men, supposedly for purposes of maintaining internal order. She was permitted to have a navy limited only in tonnage and types of ships.

We stated that this leeway perpetuated her professional armies and navies. It perpetuated the warrior caste and all its traditions. It afforded a skeleton army and navy of skilled men ready for quick expansion. It insured the continuity of the general staff with its military skill, brains and ambitions. It perpetuated their know-how to make war.

Warrior Caste Responsible

Repeated experience with the warrior caste of these nations in their intimidations, aggressions, blitzes, and attacks without even declaration of war should be enough for the world in this particular. We must make a better job of it this time.

We should require total dissolution of the military establishments of all enemy nations and the substitution, for purposes of civic order, of a constabulary of the police type, excluding the whole officer and military caste from such organization. And we should prohibit the manufacture of arms of any kind. We could thus assure the disappearance of them and their know-how from the world.

And if this were done an occupying force of men of the United Nations of a hundred thousand men in Germany and a hundred thousand in Japan would suffice. But it will need be kept there for a generation.

My fifth proposal for the San Francisco conference is that disarmament of the United Nations be more definitely dealt with. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals appear to contemplate a reduction of arms of the United Nations. But having regard to the fate of the same proposals in the League of Nations, a more positive program should be introduced. Obviously, our present war establishments will need be reduced. But they should be reduced relatively to each other and systematically. Obviously, huge military establishments are themselves a threat of aggression which it should be the purpose of any world peace organization to reduce—and quickly.

In 1932 I proposed to the then World Disarmament Conference that these aggressive weapons be suppressed in order to throw the military advantage into the hands of the defense and thus into the peace-loving nations. That proposal was accepted by over forty nations. It was renewed by Mr. Roosevelt in 1933. At least it is worth reconsideration.

But of more importance is agreement now upon the maximum size of armies, navies and air power for the principal United Nations. We should remember that after the disarmament of the enemy the only dangerous armaments are those in the hands of our Allies and it is imperative that we arrive at a method by which we do not start competition with our friends with all the dangers to good-will which would flow from that.

Limitation of Military Asked

The Covenant of the League of Nations provided for limitation of armaments at some future time, and the time never came so far as the efforts of the League were concerned. Therefore there should be incorporated in the new charter of United Nations a much more definite program for limitation of the size of military establishments in the United Nations than that provided in Dumbarton Oaks if we are not to repeat this failure of the League of Nations.

My sixth proposal refers to that most thorny question for the American people of whether the American delegate on the Security Council will be given the authority to make war. This is no doubt outside the provisions of the charter, but it will face the Senate when that treaty comes up for adoption.

I cannot bring myself to the delegation of such power to any one human being. That is what happens if he votes to apply either economic sanctions or military force against an aggressor. The most vital determination that can be made under the democratic process is war. It means thousands of our people are sent to death in foreign lands. To give that power to some one man who represents us is the negation of the democratic process. The other side of the question, however, is that to delay decision against an aggressor presents dangers that the whole world security may break down at some critical moment.

Extremists are perhaps exaggerating both positions. A study of a hundred years of conflicts which have led to world-wide dan-

if any, where there was not time for ample consideration by the Congress.

Upon this I offer the tentative suggestion that this power should not be given to our delegate on the Security Council but to the President. And the President should be required to secure the majority vote of the joint Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and the House on whether the issues should be submitted to the full Congress. Thus Congress would have a voice in determining both the urgency and the dimensions of responsibility. In minor and urgent undertakings there would need to be no full Congressional action. If action means war with a great power, the approval of the whole Congress is essential.

Settlements a Necessity

My seventh proposal for action at San Francisco does not as much concern that text as the procedure of the Governments in this crisis.

I have time and again urged that we should not attempt to determine a final organization for lasting peace until we have laid secure its foundations in the post-war settlements between nations.

We should take time to cool off from the hot emotions of war. Our indignation may lead us away from stern justice into vengeance. Victory with vengeance means ultimate disaster to the victor. We cannot have both peace and revenge. The men who led the world into this war should be hanged for murder and those guilty of other crimes must also be punished, but the masses of great races must be given a chance to enter the paths of peace where fear, hate and revenge may be turned aside and die. Our purpose must be to create a regime of law and justice in the world, not regencies of hate. We do not know the shape of things in the immediate settlements of this war. And we should take time better to understand the now unknown forces that will come out of this gigantic explosion. No human being can foresee them today. No one foresaw them at Versailles. Such forces will be more

powerful than any signed documents.

I suggest, therefore, it would be great wisdom if the peoples of the world should have time in which to consider and perhaps perfect any agreement at San Francisco.

Every thinking man and woman prays for a successful issue of the conference. The destruction of war is now so terrible and the animosities among nations have become so deep that failure to assure a lasting peace now means the end of all hopes of humanity. America has fought this war for the greatest purpose of all time. That is to secure a lasting peace. And this agreement at San Francisco will determine whether our purpose has been won or lost.

HOOVER WOULD BY ALIEN PROPAGANDI

He Declares Charter Should Define Its Use in Any Nation as Aggression

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, April 17 — Former President Herbert Hoover proposed here tonight that control of military alliances and a sharp definition of aggression be added to the seven-point program which he advocated three weeks ago for incorporation in any United Nations peace charter formulated at the San Francisco Conference.

Addressing the Foreign Policy Association of Philadelphia, he declared that aggression in the world was not confined "to the old-fashioned threats or to military action or even to economic pressures."

"Our experiences with the Nazis, who infiltrated their poisonous propaganda and fifth columns into the lands of peaceful neighbors," he continued, "should indicate that there is a new form of aggression in the world."

"Therefore, the San Francisco charter should agree upon a definition of aggression to include direct or indirect subsidized governmental propaganda in other nations. The enforcement of such a provision would help cure that cause of wars which grows out of crusading faith, political or otherwise."

Urges Free Initiative

He urged also the adoption of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg's proposal that the assembly of nations, as provided for in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, receive freedom of initiative.

He stated the purpose of the added proposals to be: "First, to surround the mechanistic bones of the charter with moral and spiritual forces. Second, to create those standards of conduct which should be the base of decision by the security council, as proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Third, to reach into the causes of war much more deeply than just the settling of quarrels and the curbing of gangsters. And fourth, to simplify the work of the organization."

Mr. Hoover demanded that there be formally recorded "the moral, spiritual and lawful standards of conduct among nations and men."

"Nor should this be done by timid references to the Atlantic Charter with all its qualifying words of 'hopes' and 'desires,'" he proceeded. "If these principles are right they should be boldly stated, and if these rights are to be effective, they cannot be left alone to perform themselves. There should be a world committee in the new organization whose job it is to look after them."

He said that the rights proclaimed by Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were again re-

affirmed in the "Atlantic Charter" and that these principles and others were affirmed in the Moscow and in the Yalta declarations and in a hundred speeches of our leaders in the war."

Stresses Rights of Men

Mr. Hoover stressed "the rights and protections of human beings." "Their establishment," he said, "is proclaimed to be also one of the purposes of the war, their all-inclusive term is freedom of men. They at least include protection of persons from execution or imprisonment without fair trial; prohibitions against compulsory labor or slavery in any disguise; protections to minorities and backward peoples; the freedom of speech, of the press and of religion."

"Nor are any of these rights of men strange ideas. The essence of them appears in American, British and also the Soviet Russian Constitutions. When we come again after twenty-five years to San Francisco to write the charter of peace, why do we not remedy the failure of a quarter of a century ago?"

Mr. Hoover labeled the League of Nations the greatest "experiment" in the world. He said that it settled many "secondary quarrels" but declared that its primary weakness, as well as that of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, was "the failure to face the facts as to the real causes of war."

"These gigantic explosions of modern civilization into world wars arise from more powerful forces than incidental quarrels," he asserted. "Quarrels are always the symptoms and not the disease."

Hits "Oversimplification"

The forces which caused war were too easily obscured by oversimplification, he said, and they were not wholly the work of evil men or perverted nations to be reformed even by a periodic spanking of aggressions.

The underlying dynamic forces behind such explosions, he stated, could be grouped as follows:

"First: Attempts at domination of other races and the counterstriving of nations for freedom. That is modern imperialism."

"Second: Its handmaiden, militarism, militarism with its train of armies and military alliances."

"Third: Economic pressures."

"Fourth: Crusades for faiths, including economic faiths. That is militant ideologies."

"Fifth: The impulses to change which are inherent in the progress of civilization."

"Sixth: The complexes of fear, hate and revenge."

PRAVDA CONDEMNS HOOVER PROPOSALS

His Views on Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Plans Called 'Most Suspicious'

MOSCOW, April 5 (AP)—A Pravda editorial writer asserted today that Herbert Hoover "not only fears but does not desire a long peace."

Jacob Viktorov, in an article discussing plans for world security, called Mr. Hoover an enemy of the Soviet Union and said the former President's suggestions regarding the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the forthcoming San Francisco world security conference were "among the most suspicious."

"Hoover calls for no haste in the formation of a security organization," said the writer, and he quoted the former President as saying: "We must have time in order to cool off from the emotions of wartime. We cannot have simultaneously both peace and retribution."

"His thoughts are clear," the Pravda editorial continued. "Hoover does not need peace, but he needs rejection of retribution in order to save war criminals from punishment."

Hoover's "Suspicious" Projects

"Among the security projects are many which undoubtedly are dictated by the desire to render auxiliary help to the United Nations," Mr. Viktorov began. "No few, however, are altogether suspicious prescriptions for strengthening 'peace and security.' Among the most suspicious, it is necessary to mention the projects advanced by Herbert Hoover, former President of the U. S. A. and a leading figure in the Republican party."

"The political physiognomy of Herbert Hoover is sufficiently well known. He heads the most reactionary wing of the Republican party. He spoke sharply against participation of the U. S. A. in the struggle against Hitler's banditry and imperialism. Hoover considered the invasion of the Continent unattainable, and assured that the U. S. A. needed no less than ten years to prepare for war."

"Hoover now is appearing in the role of defender of the United Nations and protector of all powers. In four lengthy articles published in THE NEW YORK TIMES he criticizes the projects worked out at Dumbarton Oaks and proposes to amend the Dumbarton Oaks decisions with additions in order thereby 'appreciably to strengthen the charter of peace.'"

"What kind of 'spirit' does Hoover want to breathe into the Dumbarton Oaks projects? His proposal presents itself despite all the author's efforts as if a badly camouflaged mine were inserted under the future security organization."

His Views on Baltic States

"Hoover not only fears but does not desire a long peace. He pours out tears because Poland, Finland and the Soviet Baltic republics were snatched from the chains of German imperialism. He 'of course' does not think about war for 'securing their freedom.'"

"Such are some of the aims of Hoover in perspective. But he pursues aims which are more actual, and one of them is to disrupt the possibility of quickly halting aggression in the case of its appearance."

"For this reason he opposes the idea that the U. S. A. delegation in the security council should have the right, in the name of the U. S. A., to enter into war. He proposes giving this right to the President of the United States, but with reservation. The President must receive in the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committee's a majority of votes on the question whether the decision must be adopted by all members of Congress."

Hoover Declines to Comment

In this city yesterday Mr. Hoover declined to comment on the editorial:

"I don't think I want to get into a controversy with them," The Associated Press quoted him as saying.

In his articles written for the North American Newspaper Alliance Mr. Hoover proposed that enough time be taken "in formulating the charter of the peace to do it right." He said he wanted to suggest "some important additions" to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Among these he included:

Establishment of positive standards of the political rights of men and nations; provision for "revision of onerous treaties between nations at, say, ten-year intervals" in order to insure that the settlements would not be static, and a regional setup for the organization to preserve peace, in three areas—Asia, Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Hoover also proposed "absolute disarmament of the enemy powers"; immediate "relative disarmament of the United Nations with establishment of maximum limit of armies, navies and air power among them"; and delegation to the President of the power to authorize the use of force.

This authority should not be given to the American delegate to the security council Mr. Hoover

asserted, and he added that the President in the exercise of such authority should be bound "by the majority of the joint Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and House as to whether a vote to employ American force shall be submitted to Congress as a whole."