Parley Will Accomplish Its Task, Timing Is Proper, Soviet Radio Says

A Moscow broadcast on the San Francisco world security conference said yesterday that the meeting was being held "at the right time from every point of view" and that it would "accomplish its task."

The broadcast, which was composed of excerpts from an article by David Zaslavsky, editorial writer for Pravda, was made in the Hungarian language and reported by the Federal Communications Commission. It said that it was "significant" that the parley was to be held in America, since this was "proof of the defeat of United States isolationism."

The text of the broadcast was as follows:

"The peoples of the world are getting ready for the San Francisco conference. The calling together of the conference happens at the right time from every point of ivew.

"The conference will take place at the end of this month. The few weeks up to then may mean a whole epoch under present circumstances.

"The armies of the United States have crossed two of the greatest rivers of Germany. The Red Army has crossed the Oder and is continuing its advance into Germany westward. Anglo-American troops have crossed the Rhine and are pressing into Germany from west to east.

"Once upon a time Kipling

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PARLEY TO SUCCEED, SOVIET RADIO SAYS

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wrote: 'West is west, and east is east, and never the twain shall meet.' Although the west remains west and east remains east, west and east are meeting in front of our very eyes. The scene of this renowned meeting will be Berlin.

"The Germans are trying to postpone the end of the war. The San Francisco conference is an answer to this. The conference will meet despite the thousands of intrigues and machinations of the German Fascists and advocates in their defense, and it will accomplish its task.

"There are people who try to illuminate every new phenomenon with the light of an old historic example. These people see a new version of the League of Nations in the San Francisco conference, and for this very reason are beginning to play old records on their gramophones and strike up sentimental tunes about the small countries, which they allege will have to sing in tune with the great powers, the powers that defeated Germany.

"We have heard many such concerts from Geneva. Political eunuchs want dto sing in a sonorous bass voice, but just because they were eunuchs their voices broke and they sang out of tune. The German Fascists prepared for a new world war to the melody of such serenades.

"The San Francisco conference has nothing in common with the League of Nations. This conference does not repeat the past, but opens a new chapter in world history.

"Stalin said (in a Moscow speech Nov. 6, 1944) the following about the new international organization: 'This organization must not be a repetition of the ill-starred League of Nations which had neither the right nor the means to avert aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorized world organization having in its command everything necessary to uphold the peace and avert new aggression.'

"It is a significant fact that the conference that proceeds the formation of the new international organization will meet in the United States. This is proof of the defeat of United States isolationism was one of the reasons of the weaknesses of the League of Nations. The United States are now not only participating in the construction of the international peace organization but are amongst the powers that are convening the conference, which means that they share in the responsibility for peace.

"Another significant fact is that another organizing and inviting country is the U.S.S.R. This country never suffered from isolationism. The situation was that others wanted to isolate it.

"There was a time when some people wanted to organize the world without a strong Soviet State. What is more, they wanted to organize the world against the Soviet State. In other words, this means that they wanted to organize war.

"Hitler's Germany realized this criminal ambition by her own methods. But Hitler was rudely disappointed. He did not count on the strength of the Soviet people.

"This also was the fatal shortcoming of the League of Nations. The League of Nations was based not on realistic conditions, but on its own desires and ambitions.

Based on Realistic Conditions

"The San Francisco conference is based above all on realistic conditions. Its initiating powers are the strongest States of the world: the U. S. S. R. the United States and Great Britain. These States united in war against the Fascist bloc. Their coalition stood every test, at the time of reverses as well as in the period of victories. The basis of the Anglo-United States-Soviet coalition is formed by the most important life interests of three States, and these interests demand a durable and solid peace.

"The experience of the Second World War has proved that weak peoples, defended by nothing but beautiful words and procrastinated treaties, are always the first victims of aggression. Nothing but force permeated by the ideals of democracy can defend these people. Only such force can guarantee the freedom and independence of such people.

"It is now no longer necessary to prove to he peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Finland, Rumania and Hungary that their freedom and security depend upon their friendly association with the U. S. S. R., because it was the strength of the Soviet Union that rescued these peoples from the Fascist invaders.

Links Peace to Big Powers

"It is clear that if the strongest states of the world find a common platform for the protection of the peace there will be peace on earth. If this common platform is not found, no clause in the constitution of any organization whatever will help.

"In connection with this Stalin clearly said: 'Can we count on it that the international organization will function effectively enough? It will be effective if the great powers that bore the greatest burden of the war against Hitler's Germany continue to deal in a spirit of understanding and harmony. It will have no results if they offend against this essential condition. The Crimea Conference was an example of unity and understanding.'

"The basis of the International Security Organization is permeated by the same spirit. The possibilities of the effective functioning of the internatonal organization ar eat hand. The conference can begin its work in a fovorable atmosphere.

"The concerted stragey of the Allies is to bring great results on the battlefields. We can hope that this harmony will bring similar results on the field of diplomacy, too."

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Moscow Calls Coast Parley a Hope; Stresses Force of Bilateral Pacts

Papers Silent on Move for Three Votes in United Nations Assembly—Annesty Bid Laid to Spain, Portugal, Argentina

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

MOSCOW, March 30—The Soviet Press has not yet published the report concerning the request for three votes to the Soviet Union in the United Nations Assembly, a request disclosed yesterday by the White House.

In quarters where comment can be elicited, no surprise at this was evident. It was known that the Soviet Union felt itself entitled to more than one vote, not only thus holding the full prerogatives as a great power but also placing it on a more nearly equal basis with the British Commonwealth.

The Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Socialized Republics have demonstrated their direct capacity to act in foreign affairs and matters concerning their own regions, it is asserted. Last autumn each concluded agreements with the Polish Committee of National Liberation of Lublin for a voluntary exchange of each other's nationals.

The question that becomes important now is whether, first, any other individual Soviet republics will begin to demonstrate greater initiative in foreign affairs and, second, whether an exchange of diplomatic missions between the Ukrainian and White Russian S.S.R. and foreign countries will now be instituted.

There has been no press comment here on the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations, set for April 25, since the announcement that United States Ambassador Andrei Gromyko and not Foreign Commissioner Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff would head the Soviet delegation to the conference. No foreign reaction to this appointment has been evident on the foreign news pages.

The latest issue of the publication War and the Working Class described the conference only as a "hope" and stressed the realistic character of the Soviet Union's bipartite treaties with France, Chekoslovakia and Britain as a defense against potential German aggression.

The Moscow press has recently published the demands of both the Polish Provisional Government and the new de facto regime in Albania to be invited to San Francisco.

The Soviet viewpoint on another international body was expressed clearly today when Vasili V. Kruznetsoff, chairman of the All-Union Central Committee of Soviet Trade Unions, strongly advocated the adoption by a future world labor federation of the principle of "obligatory decisions for all members." He regretted that this principle was turned down at the recent London conference of trade unions.

Newcomers to War Scorned

MOSCOW, March 30 (AP)—The Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia accused Spain, Portugal and Argentina today of "attempting, under the flag of false democracy," to save fascism and protect fascism's agents from full retribution.

"Slanderous pro-German articles of the Vatican's official organ, Observatore Romano, about 'Soviet terror in Poland' and foolish rumors of reactionary American newspapers, The New York World-Telegram and The Chicago Tribune, concerning 'bolshevization of Rumania'—all these open attempts of reactionaries to help Hitlerites spread differences among the United Nations are invariably put forth in the form of 'concern about democracy,'" Izvestia continued.

The publication asserted that Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain was "looking for a cheap chance to buy amnesty and even is ready to break off with his patron, Hitler, more easily to serve him."

"Since the recent examples of convenient and purely symbolical declarations of war, Franco is preparing himself to announce war with Japan," it said. "Of course, he does not intend to send his hatchet men to fight the Japanese, because these hatchet men are busy waging a ferocious war against the Spanish people.

Cheap war gestures relative to Japan now have been taken by Portuguese reactionaries, and Argentina also has declared war against the Axis powers.

"All these events show how low has dropped Germany's chances even in those pro-Fascist spheres sympathetic to her. This does not mean actual disarmament of the accomplices and worshipers of fascism. Quickly putting on the vestments of democracy, they are attempting, under the flag of false democracy within the limits of their strength, to save fascism and protect fascism's agents from full exposure and retribution."

McCormick Says Russia Cheats

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHICAGO, March 30—Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and published of The Chicago Tribune, issue dthe following statement today in reply to the attack by Izvestia:

"The bloody-handed Communist attack on The Chicago Tribune comes at an appropriate time when it is known that Russia is to have three votes in any post-war league. She will also have the votes of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Finland—that gives her eight votes to the British six and the American three. I do not think the Americans will be such suckers as to stand for that kind of cheating."

4/16

FIRST SUCCESS

The decision of Marshal Stalin to send Mr. Molotoff to the San Francisco Conference is gratifying. Previously the Russian Government had chosen to be represented on that occasion only by its Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Gromyko, despite the fact that our own Government had made known its earnest hope that Russia would add to the prestige of the San Francisco meeting by sending its Foreign Secretary himself, as Britain is sending Mr. Eden. Now Marshal Stalin reverses his earlier decision in what can only be interpreted as a gesture deliberately made for the purpose of pleasing the new President of the United States and demonstrating Russia's desire for close and confident collaboration. It is a particularly welcome move, coming as it does in one of the great moments of the war, when the triumphant Russian and American armies are about to effect a historic meeting on the field of battle.

The incident is just as reassuring when it is turned around and viewed from the American angle. Mr. Stalin's new decision is the direct result of the initiative of President Truman, who had instructed our Ambassador in Moscow "to assure the Marshal that the coming of Foreign Secretary Molotoff 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." Surely a sound instinct prompted this initiative. Looking for some means to demonstrate not only to our allies but to our own people that the new President of the United States, whose experience in foreign policy has been limited, nevertheless understands the realities of the international situation, Mr. Truman could not possibly have made a better stroke than by going straight to the problem of Russian-American relations, complicated recently by disagreement on several methods of procedure, and asking for a gesture of new cooperation on Marshal Stalin's part. This was a wise and timely move.

Mr. Truman's first success, coupled with the fact that he has had the quick understanding to see the wisdom of addressing Congress and the country today on the whole question of foreign policy, is highly reassuring.

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Abroad

The Headlights Beam Again on the Golden Gate

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The immediate effect of Russia's denunciation of the neutrality pact with Japan is to clear the air for the San Francisco Conference. The high hopes fixed on this meeting of the nations were undoubtedly dimmed by signs of strain among the Big Three. The Soviet Government's actions since Yalta greatly disturbed the other Governments, because they seemed to indicate that the joint declaration signed there did not mean in Moscow what it meant in Washington and London. And since the invitations to San Francisco were sent out on the basis of firm agreement among the sponsors, the doubts sown by evidences of difference cast a shadow on an enterprise that has to be founded on faith as well as interest.

There was something else. Whether it was made explicit or not, the British and American delegations left Yalta with a very definite idea of Russia's attitude toward Japan. Perhaps the chief reason for the subsequent uneasiness over the moves in Rumania, Turkey and Poland, and the composition of the Russian delegation to San Francisco, was that they raised a question regarding this larger issue. Were the President and the Prime Minister also mistaken in their understanding of Stalin's intentions in the Far East?

Perhaps Russia felt that these contradictions and uncertainties were clouding the prospects for success at San Francisco. Perhaps she felt the receding tides of pro-Russian sentiment here and in Britain. Perhaps the polite but firm refusal of the British and American Governments to recognize the Lublin committee as representative of Poland convinced Moscow that "compromise" means compromise. At any rate, that action was followed by articles in the Moscow press playing up San Francisco and predicting its success. This reassures those who feared that Stalin was inclined to minimize the importance of world organization, or to question the timing of the President's effort to lay the foundations of a peace structure before the war partnership dissolved.

But far more significant in this respect is the notice to Japan that her neutrality treaty with Russia is null and void. This was the step foreshadowed at Yalta. No date was set, but it was expected that the announcement might be made on the eve of San Francisco. There is reason to believe that it was issued ahead of time as a sign of the reality of the Grand Alliance in both theatres of the war, and therefore as a move to dissipate the doubts and misgivings that trouble the political atmosphere at the very moment when military victory is sure, and the United Nations are gathering to lay the foundations for a post-war order.

If this is true, if Russia sought to give a high sign of her solidarity with her allies and her resolve to support a world security system, she could not have done it more spectacularly than by this gesture at this time. If her previous actions seemed to stress a determination to build up her own security system, and thus threw a dash of cold water on the efficacy of the idea embodied in the League of Nations and now about to be tried again, this move goes far to dispel this impression. Whatever else it does, the break with Japan, or the threat to Japan, certainly brightens the prospects for San Francisco, gets the fateful conference off to a better start than was thought possible a few days ago.

This result is quite aside from its effect on Japan or its possible military consequences. At present it is wholly a diplomatic move. It opens the way for other moves, but meantime far-away observers would do well to heed the warning conveyed in a dispatch by Cyrus Sulzberger from Moscow yesterday. "For the moment," he wrote, "the statement should be read exactly for what it is, and no more. * * * It would be foolish to assume that more dramatic and positive events must necessarily follow swiftly." There are some who think that this is Stalin's way to hasten the surrender of Japan.

Russia has every reason to desire the Asiatic war to end as soon as possible after the European war. From the beginning Stalin's argument to his allies was that they should take larger risks in order to shorten the conflict. The domestic problems in Russia become more urgent as the battle is prolonged, and the strain on the civilian population becomes almost unendurable. The Soviet leader is reported to be impatient to get the thing over and begin to organize the "new Russia" that has emerged out of the struggle, a Russia with larger vistas and stirring urges for more comforts and wider freedoms.

It is inevitable that at some hour and on some terms the Soviet Union should enter the Asiatic war. It is a great Asiatic power, hitherto far more interested in expansion in the East than in the West. The hour is nearer than it was, because the progress of the battle in both areas is ahead of schedule. It will never be so easy for Russians to settle their old scores with Japan as when the power of the United States and Britain is massed for a knock-out blow against the island empire. Nor is it conceivable that Russia would be satisfied to leave to the western powers the deciding voice in the reorganization of Asia. And this leads straight to the political problems that will arise when Japan also is defeated. Assuming that the congress for a new international order is held in the United States because we are the initiating power, is held in San Francisco because it looks across the Pacific and underlines our interest in the Orient, and particularly in the future of China, it is clear that if Russia cannot afford to be out of the Pacific war, still less can she afford to miss any opportunity of building up a system of world peace.

SOVIET REAFFIRMS FRIENDSHIP TO U. S.

By CYRUS L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 16—The Soviet press has not yet carried any news to the effect that Foreign Minister Molotoff will go to San Francisco.

There is no doubt, however, it represents a desire by this Government to demonstrate to Americans Soviet desires to cooperate in world peace endeavors now that the program has lost its greatest sponsor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

When Averell Harriman, United States Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., was instructed by President Truman to request Marshal Stalin to send Mr. Molotoff, the marshal was in a receptive mood and his affirmative answer was given with alacrity.

Mr. Molotoff had not left by last night, since he attended memorial services for Mr. Roosevelt at Mr. Harriman's residence. Although the American Ambassador's speedy private plane is coming here, probably today, bearing General Hurley, and will return to America with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Molotoff is not going on that aircraft. Details of his route and means of transportation cannot yet be disclosed but he will be at the conference by the opening time.

This move is clearly an evidence of the Soviet desire to cooperate and marks Mr. Truman's first initiative in his policy with the U.S.S.R. as successful.

The Soviet mood concerning Mr. Roosevelt and the United States is again expressed today in a Pravda editorial which concludes: "Grieving together with the American people because of the untimely death of Franklin Roosevelt the Soviet people feel certain that the cause to which the late President devoted so much of his force and energy will continue and cooperation between the great powers will develop and strengthen.

"The Soviet people will never forget how much was done by Mr. Roosevelt toward strengthening Soviet-American friendship."

Molotoff to Visit Truman

LONDON, April 16 (AP)—Russian Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotoff will visit President Truman at the White House on the way to the San Francisco World Security Conference, the Moscow radio announced today.

"Despite the difficulties arising through Comrade Molotoff's absence from Moscow in connection with the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet, the government—in view of the circumstances set forth—has accepted the invitation," the Kremlin said.

Marshal Stalin's decision was acclaimed in London diplomatic circles as the British press praised President Truman for a statesman-like act in making a direct bid for Mr. Molotoff's attendance.

The general view here was that the development had enhanced the outlook for the impending world security conference and that any decisions reached there would carry a weight which they would not have had otherwise.

Some observers saw in Marshal Stalin's decision a hint that agreemen on the vexing Polish problem was near—arguing that he would not have consented to have Molotoff go to San Francisco unless he were sure a Polish delegation would be present.

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Molotoff Visit Will Mean Talks On Important Issues Facing Big 3

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 15—Marshal Stalin's decision to send Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar and Vice Premier, to this country a few days after the arrival of Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, and the inauguration of President Truman has provided an opportunity for a series of important conversations about the issues which have arisen among the major Allies over the San Francisco United Nations Conference to form an international organization and the developments in eastern Europe.

The visit of M. Molotoff is welcomed not only because the new Administration is eager to satisfy the natural desire of the Kremlin to learn at first hand as much as possible about President Truman and his policies, but because Mr. Truman and his colleagues are said to be desirous of learning what they can about certain "inconsistencies" which they believe have developed in Moscow's interpretation of the Yalta communiqué.

It is known that even those officials who have full knowledge of the complexities of the Polish question have been disappointed that no more progress has been

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made by Mr. Molotoff and the American and British ambasadors in Moscow in working out the three-power settlement of the Polish issue forshadowed in the Yalta communique.

Note Sent to Marshal Stalin

What is not generally known is that the United States and British Governments sent a not to Marshal Stalin some time ago expressing the hope that more rapid progress could be made and seeking an explanation of the delay in gathering together representative Poles from inside and outside Poland to form "a Polish Provisional Government of national unity," which all three capitals could recognize.

But in spite of this note, weeks have passed in which Mr. Molotoff and the two Ambassadors, to whom was assigned at Yalta the task of forming a commission to work out the problems of forming an independent democratic Polish government, failed—at least until yesterday—to agree on which Poles should be allowed to go to Moscow to discuss the formation of the new government.

Until a few days before his death Franklin D. Roosevelt had concerned himself with this problem and had written another messabe to Marshal Stalin.

It is hoped here that this issue can be discussed and solved during the Soviet Commissar's visit, or better still, that some formula may be devised before he arrives which will enable high officials of the three Governments to start their conversations on less inflammable issues.

Mikolajczyk Backs Yalta Plan

Hopes that such a development might be expected were revived tonight by the announcement that Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Premier of the Polish Government in London, had accepted the decision of the Yalta conference on the future of Poland. This was interpreted as a preliminary to the withdrawal of Moscow's objections to him as one of "the democratic Poles" who would be permitted to go to Moscow to discuss broadening the Lublin Government.

Also there is a sincere and evident desire in the capital to see that the Poles, who were the first to stand against the German Army at the beginning of the war, are not only represented by a Government which can honestly be recognized by Moscow, Washington and London, but that they can be seated at the San Francisco conference.

The present Polish Provisional (Lublin) Government has already requested that they be invited to the conference. This request is acceptable to the Kremlin, but not to Washington or London, which continue to recognize the Polish (exiled) Government in London. More than any other question, the Polish controversy has divided the major Allies. The Truman Administration can be relied upon to take any honorable action that will bring about an honest settlement of the issue.

"Concert" on Europe Stressed

The visit of the Foreign Commissar is welcomed in Washington for other reasons. At the Yalta conference to three Governments stated that it was their policy to consult together and 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."

It is something less than an exaggeration to say that some responsible officials of the United States Government do not believe that this pledge of joint action with the United States and Great Britain has been carried out in every respect by Moscow.

In fact, the truth is that the right of both the United States and Great Britain to ascertain the facts about developments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria has been greatly restricted.

Our officials do not seem to be convinced, moreover, that the policies of the Soviet Union are being "concerted" with ours in these countries or that the problems there are being settled "by democratic means," as the Yalta communiqué seemed to indicate that they should.

Principle of Joint Action

These questions have undoubtedly impinged more than Washington desires on the question (a) of the three major allies continuing in the future to work out joint policies and (b) of working out the questions of forming an effective international security organization.

The State Department has been hoping to establish with London and Moscow the principle of joint action defined at Yalta. Our officials express belief that the British are cooperating fully in this policy and they point to the fact that while Soviet Russia did not help to liberate Italy, the Russians received every opportunity to cooperate with us on the Allied commission there.

The hope here has been that the same principle would operate in eastern Europe and that the three allies would not seek to establish spheres of influence in their own parts of the world but would gradually work out together fair settlements in all parts of the world.

From time to time, however, it has been feared here that the Russians might insist on a unilateral settlement of affairs in Eastern Europe and thus encourage a similar settlement by Britain and the United States elsewhere rather than a system under which the three powers would cooperate jointly in all areas.

Recent Events in Europe

Recent developments in Eastern Europe have not encouraged American officials to believe that a joint policy was being worked out. Recent reports of Russian activity in Bulgaria close to the Dardanelles; the failure to get Russian permission to send more observers to that region and to Rumania, Czechoslovakai and Poland; the sudden decision of Moscow to indicate a change of policy with Turkey, and especially the failure even to agree, not on who should go into the new Polish government but even on who should be allowed to go to Moscow to discuss it—all these factors have not contributed to the development of that trust which is generally thought to be necessary to the successful operation of a joint policy or the success of an international organization which depends on the collaboration of the Big Three.

These are a few of the things which President Truman and Secretary Stettinius and Mr. Eden are undoubtedly eager to discuss with Mr. Molotoff, while at the same time President Truman himself will no doubt take the opportunity peresonally of reassuring the Russian Vice Premier of the sincerity of his statement that the new Administration is eager to demonstrate that there will be no break in the continuity or the purpose of tthe Roosevelt foreign policy under the new Administration.

Dumbarton Oaks Accepted

Certain commitments were taken by the late President at the Yalta Conference. Mr. Roosevelt for the first time accepted the Dumbarton Oaks proposals there as "a basis for the charter," to be created at San Francisco.

He also undertook to support Marshal Stalin's request that White Russia and the Ukraine should become initial voting members in the general assembly of the new security organization and he proposed the revised compromise veto voting procedure in the Security Council, which was finally accepted there.

That the new Administration continues to support these commitments there can be no doubt and the impression here is that President Truman will certainly reassure Mr. Molotoff on this point.

The President, meanwhile, is confronted with his own problems in preparing for a series of conversations of this magnitude and at this particular time. Many of the conversations at Yalta were conducted at the highest level and in the greatest secrecy.

The records kept of these conversations were limited and are not always at hand. Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Byrnes and Harry Hopkins, who were at the Crimea conference, are available to report to the President on much of what happened there and they and the British Foreign Secretary will hold many conversations with him about these matters this week.

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Fear of British Seen in Soviet Acquiescence on Molotov

London, April 15 (AP).—Russian concern over possible British dominance of the World Security Conference following President Roosevelt's death was credited by some diplomats today as perhaps the chief reason why Marshal Stalin decided to send his right hand man, Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov, to San Francisco.

But, simultaneously, it was believed the sudden Soviet reversal of the earlier decision against Molotov's attendance generally strengthened reliance in the Big Three accord on plans for insuring peace.

Truman's suggestion that Molotov come to the Conference, undoubtedly was welcomed in Moscow, if for no other reason than to give Russia's leaders a first-hand appraisal of the man who must take over where Roosevelt left off.

It was felt, too, that Stalin, for the double purpose of aiding the United States' new President and of underscoring Russia's points in the absence of first-hand arguments laid before Roosevelt, had decided to assign Molotov to make the Soviet viewpoint clear.

Pravda Urges Gooodwill

Moscow, April 15 (AP).—Russia's Communist Party newspaper Pravda today urged that American and Soviet friendship "continue to flower as a genuinely majestic monument to the great President Roosevelt who departed so untimely to his grave."

In tribute to the President, the newspaper declared that "the Soviet people will never forget how much Franklin Roosevelt did to strengthen Soviet-American friendship."

The President, Pravda said, was "a genuine public crier for the organization of peace and security. The world will never forget the contribution made by him, this outstanding participant in the Big Three, to the cause of the liberation of humanity from Hitlerite tyranny and the establishment of universal security."

NYT 4/15

Molotoff to Head Soviet at Parley

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, April 14—Marshal Stalin advised President Truman today that Foreign Secretary Molotoff would represent the Soviet Government at the San Francisco Conference starting April 25.

President Truman directed the United States Ambassador, Averell Harriman, to assure the Marshal "that the coming of Foreign Secretary Molotoff to the conference at San Francisco would be welcomed as an expression of earnest co-operation in carrying forward plans for formulating the new international organization as laid down by President Roosevelt and confirmed by the Yalta Conference."

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Moscow Calls On Turkey

By Andre Visson

United Nations' Inside Front

SOVIET DESIRE to revise substantially the Soviet-Turkish treaty expiring on November 7, 1945, announced last Tuesday to the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow, Selim Sarper, did not come as a surprise to official quarters in Washington and London, it is learned here from unimpeachable diplomatic sources.

At the Yalta conference, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had been informed by the Soviet leaders that, this war having radically changed the general political and military situation in the Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean, the Soviet Union considered itself entitled to ask for a revision of her relations with Turkey as established by the 20-year treaty concluded in 1925.

When the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Viachaslav Molotov, invited the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow, last Tuesday, to communicate the Soviet demand for "considerable improvements" as an indispensable condition for the conclusion of a new treaty, he mentioned to him that American and British leaders had been informed of this demand at Yalta. Mr. Molotov did not specify what Moscow would consider the minimum "considerable improvements," nor whether the Allied leaders were informed of that. But the Turkish Ambassador, who is supposed to see Mr. Molotov again next week, hopes at that time to obtain precise terms which he will bring personally to his government at Ankara.

Problem of the Straits

If the exact character of Soviet demands to be presented to Turkey is still unknown, their main objective is no mystery to Allied diplomatic observers. Moscow is going to claim from Turkey a new status in the Straits of the Dardanelles, which link the Black

centuries. Were it not for the Soviet revolution, Russia would have achieved her objective by physical control of the straits after the last war.

1915 Treaty

The secret treaty by Britain, France and Russia signed in London in March, 1915, assured to Russia the possession of Constantinople and of the western coast of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles. America and allied diplomatic observers in Washington do not believe, on the basis of the information they possess, that Moscow's demand will go as far as what was promised to the Russia of the Czars by the British and French in 1915.

They believe that the Soviet Union will now try to achieve its objective by the "friendly" method. In their opinion, Moscow is likely to ask the Turks to transform the Soviet-Turkish nonaggression pact of 1925 into a full-fledged military alliance on the pattern of the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty. This would assure to Moscow control of the outlet from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean both in peace and in war.

It is an interesting point that Moscow did not wait for the notification date of May 7, 1945 (six months before the expiration date), to inform the Turks that the Soviets would renew the treaty only on "considerably improved" conditions. This haste by the Soviets, it is believed here, is due to the fact that the official notification date coincides with the San Francisco Conference. Moscow must have desired to open negotiations for a new treaty before the Turkish diplomats attending the San Francisco Conference meet not only the Soviet representatives there but also those of five of the other na-

of a victim of aggression to whom Turkey might be bound by a mutual assistance pact (Balkan Entente).

Thus the Soviet Union, as well as Great Britain and the United States, found the use of the Dardanelles closed to them in this war as long as Turkey considered herself neutral.

In addition to the treaty of 1925. Soviet-Turkish relations have also been conditioned by an "escape clause" which Turkey inserted in her mutual assistance pact with England and France of October, 1939 (the pact was not to function as long as the Soviet Union remained neutral), and by the assurances of complete Soviet neutrality which Turkey obtained from Moscow on March 24, 1941. After Germany's attack on Russia, the Soviet Ambassador to Ankara, together with his British colleague, assured the Turks on August 10, 1941, that Moscow and London were satisfied with Turkish rule of the straits and had no aspirations in that direction. At that time both Moscow and London had to be satisfied with Turkish neutrality, but with growing Allied successes they felt free to express their growing dissatisfaction with Turkey's attitude.

Profitable Neutrality

In September, 1943, the Soviet magazine, War and Working Class, attacked Turkish neutrality as being more "profitable" to the Germans than to the Allies. Since then the Soviet press has intensified its criticism of the Turkish attitude. It has been gradually building up a "case against Turkey."

On their part, the British also had some misgivings in regard to the Turks. Churchill could not persuade Turkey to open the straits when he visited Presi-

across the river. The east bank is believed one of the strongest fortified lines in Europe.

It also is significant that the Germans suddenly stopped talking about plans for underground resistance some time ago—apparently for fear of Allied countermeasures.

Junkers Too Weak

The Allied world in general has long since abandoned hope of unconditional surrender from Germany. They are convinced that nothing will change Hitler's determination to carry out his oath never to give up and, if he is defeated, to pull the whole world

This grim plan of the Nazi hierarchy is no less important than the future peace of the world.

From their festungsbirge mountain fortresses), defended by SS (elite guard) forces, SA and Gestapo troops, Nazi leaders plan to spread secretly their poison throughout Germany and the world through a program of guerilla warfare and underground sabotage unequaled in history.

Its structure is believed something like this:

When the Wehrmacht finally collapses, the Nazis will withdraw into their fortress with as many trustworthy troops as they can

ropean theater, armies and corps of which they are a part, together with their commanders, in cases where they have been identified.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower,
Supreme Allied Commander.

Army Groups

Twenty-first—Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery. Twelfth—Lieut. Gen. Omar N. Bradley. Sixth—Lieut. Gen. Jacob L. Devers.

Armies

First—Lieut. Gen. Courtney H. Hodges. Third—Lieut. Gen. George S. Patton, jr. Seventh—Lieut. Gen. Alexander M. Patch, jr. Ninth—

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In The Nation

What Stalin Has Revealed "in Due Course"

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 5—One month ago today, some time after the Yalta conferees had risen, the agreement reached there on the voting plan in the proposed world security council was announced, and statements began to be made that the President and Prime Minister Churchill had yielded to Marshal Stalin on every point, including the Polish boundary, and got nothing in exchange but the continued advance of the Red Armies in Germany, which would have advanced anyhow.

More recently, when the White House confirmed the report that the President and Mr. Churchill had agreed to support at San Francisco the Russian request for three seats in the proposed assembly of the security league, these statements were repeated and intensified. This particular viewpoint was strengthened by the impasse formed at Moscow over the promised reorganization of the Lublin Government, despite the three-power pledge at Yalta; and by growing appearances that the Russians would resist any changes in the Dumbarton Oaks pattern, including some proposed by Senator Vandenberg and former President Hoover. Suspicions were voiced that the President and the Prime Minister had given Marshal Stalin reason to think they also would stand against such changes. And that the Anglo-Americans had conceded everything and gained virtually nothing at Yalta was more strongly reiterated.

In the March 7 issue of this newspaper, reporting the beginning of this line of criticism in the Senate, this correspondent wrote:

> Well-informed persons here * * * predict confusion to those who charge [that the Anglo-Americans got nothing at Yalta, etc.]. * * * The prediction 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 * * * that the American public will find more than satisfactory.
>
> For reasons of state, and for military reasons, those 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 * * *.

Comes the Revelation

Now, "in due course," it has been revealed that Soviet Russia has decided not to continue its neutrality pact with Japan, which would have remained in force for five more years if it had not been denounced by April 25, also the date for the convocation at San Francisco. Since such a decision was not the matter of a day, a week or a month, it was obviously made some time ago. The conditions on which the decision was based, as stated in the official Moscow announcement today, all existed long before the Yalta meeting. Therefore, it is logical reasoning that Marshal Stalin had made up his mind to take the step well prior to that date, and all that remained for him at Yalta was to strengthen his national position against the consequences.

That is logical reasoning. But the "well-informed persons" quoted above based their prediction on more than that. It is now plain their information was that Marshal Stalin had communicated his plan to the President and the Prime Minister at Yalta in the most definite terms he has ever employed, even to the approximate date, and that this announcement was the foundation of certain concessions made to him by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. Former Secretary Hull came back from Moscow in 1943 convinced that, by the required date in the Russo-Japanese neutrality treaty, Marshal Stalin would denounce it. But expectancy became certainty for the first time at Yalta.

Think People Will Approve

The opinion of these "well-informed persons" was and is that, in contrast to the magnitude of this news and its probable effects on our cause in the Pacific, the compromises made with Russia and the differences that remain become very minor matters, and that the American people will so regard them in the light of today's announcement. That is why they predicted that the critics would find their faces red and the people of the United States would find the exchange "more than satisfactory." In some degree this prophecy must await events that will follow the expiration of the treaty and the collapse of organized German resistance. But it seems to have a very good chance of coming true.

Whatever the popular impression, however—and there is little disposition here as yet to dispute that the immediate one is as prophesied—some close observers of the post-war security prospect were disposed today to greet the news from Moscow with rejoicing that was tempered with anxiety. Not doubting that Marshal Stalin confirmed his decision to his two colleagues at Yalta, not doubting that this explains some of the compromises, these observers privately expressed the fear that "the price may be too great" and that another decision at Yalta is still being concealed from the peoples of the United Nations.

The price was "guessed"—by one of these anxious persons—to be an Anglo-American pledge to Russia of a free post-war hand in Korea and Manchuria. And if this guess, or anything approximating it, is near to the truth, then there is still a momentous undisclosed chapter of the Yalta meeting. But even this observer agreed that neither price nor secrecy, if they be these, would be disapproved by the American people.

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MOSCOW STRESSES DESIRES FOR PEACE

Leaders Imply Rehabilitation Is Principal Aim—Health of Roosevelt Watched

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 22—Generally speaking, the Soviet Union emphasizes its desire for peace and international security during the post-war years. It is underscored, though, that this must be a joint undertaking by both large and small powers.

Within this peace framework the Soviet Union hopes to recommence its internal building and production of consumer goods in a series of long-range plans. The destruction caused by the war will be made up in part in the form of reparations in kind, including machinery.

In the liberated areas, healthy manpower and woman power already is being set vigorously to work.

The Soviet Union desires mightily to maintain excellent relations with the United States and Britain but, on the other hand, it feels that its own immediate needs and requirements must be clearly admitted and recognized.

Roosevelt's Health Watched

Many Soviet figures have expressed interest in President Roosevelt's health. Mr. Roosevelt is known as a friend of the Soviet Union and the Russians have shown concern over occasional rumors that he was suffering from strain. They are interested to know Vice-President Truman's views.

In the lands bordering the Soviet's western frontiers, the Soviet is eagerly encouraging purge movements.

Soviet observers have often shown pique with certain American elements, including conservative circles and Catholic quarters, claiming that they were working against a full and just treatment for eGrmany. Izvestia's "observer" said that 'i'nstances of a cordial attitude to the Germans are not isolated."

The opinion here is that in Finland the new Democratic Union Party, which includes Communists, did fine in teh recent elections to the Diet. An article in Izvestia said that th

LEAGUE'S FAILURE CITED BY MOSCOW

Broadcast Warns of Danger in Giving Equal Voting Rights to Smaller Nations

Criticizing advocates of a change in the voting procedure at the coming world security conference in San Francisco, the Moscow radio declared in a broadcast, reported yesterday by the Federal Communications Commission that attempts were being made under the guise of a "sincere regard for the small countries" to "return the future organization of security to the evil days of the League of Nations.

"The future international organization of security," the broadcast asserted, "can in reality insure the interests of the small countries only if it becomes an effective organization; that is, if it will be built on the same foundation on which is being the great structure of our common victory; that is, on agreement and unanimity and the close collaboration of the main great powers of the anti-German coalition."

The broadcast declared that the small countries in the League of Nations had had "formal equal rights." This made it possible," it said, "for one or another small country, on the instructions of a large assessor, to disrupt important measures intended for the insurance of peace and hecurity."

The broadcast reminded the small nations that the League of Nations, in which they had "formal equal rights," had done "absolutely nothing to insure real security and peace and to save the first victims of the murderous Fascist aggression."

In this connection it cited the cases of Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Bulgaria and recalled what it said was the observation of the late Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain "that in practice it was demonstrated that the small nations could have no hope of the help of the League of Nations and that they must deal with the aggressors in any way they could.

"This is how the League of Nations defended the small countries," the broadcast declared.

20-Year Pact

TIME MAG. 12/25/44

Eight articles of the mutual assistance pact which General Charles de Gaulle and Marshal Joseph Stalin negotiated in Moscow were made public last week.

They provided 1) that the treaty, like the Anglo-Russian pact, should continue in force for 20 years, and in perpetuity thereafter unless denounced, after a year's warning, by either party; 2) that both countries would cooperate to end German aggression now and in the future; 3) that neither nation will enter into alliances or coalitions disagreeable to the other. The treaty's preamble resolved "to collaborate with a view to creating an international system of security. . . ." Next step: a similar Anglo-French pact.

General de Gaulle was also reported to have brought back from Moscow Russia's agreement to a plan to amputate the Rhineland from the Reich, convert it into an independent state under international, mainly French supervision. Twice before—in 1801-15 and 1919-30—France had briefly held the left bank of the Rhine. This time France intended her "Left Bank" plan to be more permanent. But whether or not General de Gaulle had convinced the Kremlin of the validity of Foch's dictum—". . . the Rhine is the military frontier of the western European nations against Germany"—his 20-year pact meant that he had brought France from 1939's mass of military wreckage and mobs of frightened fugitives back to her old standing as a No. 1 European power. And he had made himself one of the new Europe's most potent statesmen.

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United Nations Conf
WDC Post
2-21-45

France to Take Part in Parley Despite Tiff

WDC Post 2-21-45

Paris, Feb. 20 (AP).—France definitely intends to participate in the United Nations conference at San Francisco on April 25, Foreign Office spokesmen said today as the French public heard for the first time of Gen. de Gaulle's refusal to meet President Roosevelt at Algiers.

In its account of De Gaulle's action the newspaper Combat said that Foreign Minister Georges Bidault an dsome other ministers wanted the President of the Provisional French government to forget national pride and meet Roosevelt anyway. De Gaulle was sustained in his refusal by a large majority of the cabinet, this account said. The French were disappointed at having been left out of the Big Three conference.

A communique issued tonight giving the official account of the invitation to De Gaulle and its rejection, said that on February 12 Caffery gave De Gaulle a message from Roosevelt expressing regret that he could not come to Paris as he had been invited to do last November and inviting De Gaulle to meet him in Algiers at a date to be set later.

De Gaulle, it said, told Caffery that the invitation from the President "came unexpectedly at a moment when many pressing affairs demanded his presence in Paris" and followed the Crimean conference "on whose objectives she (France) still was without information."

"General de Gaulle asked the Ambassador to assure President Roosevelt that he still hoped to see him come to Paris, where the government and the whole population would be at any time extremely happy to see him," the communique continued.

"It is well known that since that date, the French government and services have worked actively in the necessary exchange of views between France and the Allied governments on the subject of conclusions of the Yalta conference."

While the French Foreign Office is withholding formal acceptance of an invitation to the San Francisco meeting pending a study of the decisions made by the Big Three in the Crimea, officials said there never had been any question of her refusing a place at the United Nations table.

The Foreign Office particularly wants to study the decisions of Roosevelt, Premier Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill concerning the definition of zones of occupation in Germany.

French Foreign Office officials said they expected British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden to arrive within a few days for talks with De Gaulle on the Crimean decisions.

De Gaulle's refusal to meet Mr. Roosevelt was both defended and criticized in the French press.

Without mentioning names, Aurore asserted that France still was a great power but asked: "Should we not be all the more careful to avoid manifestations of bad moods which are never manifestations of force"

This newspaper said that France's alliance with Russia was a diplomatic masterstroke, and added: "We should not think because of this that henceforth we can do as we wish toward our other great Allies. They will need us. But we still need them."

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FRENCH REFUSAL LAID TO MOSCOW

Russia Said to Have Rejected Paris Reservations to Role of Parley-Inviting Power

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 5—The reason France is not among the inviting powers for the San Francisco conference on a world peace program is that Moscow declined to agree to the terms the French had attached as conditions for their acceptance of a position among the inviting powers.

In view of the fact that Premier Stalin and Gen. Charles de Gaulle had signed in December a military alliance on behalf of their two countries and the stand that the French reservations regarding the San Francisco meeting were designed, above all, to safeguard the independence of that alliance in relation to the new system of security, Moscow's attitude shocked and puzzled French authorities.

The French are embarrassed because their Government announced last Wednesday that it had agreed to be an inviting power, yet the Paris press, without explanation, said today that France was not an inviting power.

One explanation of Moscow's attitude offered by the few who knew of it was that it had been offended by Moscow's not having been consulted socner regarding the reservations that the French had attached to their acceptance.

The French said that they had had no idea that it was necessary to consult Moscow until about a week ago, though some said that it was not until last Wednesday, when the Paris Government announced its acceptance. They said that when United States Ambassador Jefferson Caffery conveyed the invitation to the French they thought that he spoke for the Big Three, and not for the United States alone. This error, they said, was discovered when Foreign Minister Georges Bidault was in London a week ago and discussed the question with Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. There he learned that all three powers had to agree on the form of the invitation the French desired.

Washington and London seem to have accepted the French reservations in substance and to have referred them to Moscow for approval. Before that was obtained the French Government announced its acceptance of the role of an inviting power. Moscow's negative response nullified that decision of the French Cabinet.

The original time limit for acceptance by France and China was Feb. 25, but Washington had it extended twice. The final deadline was yesterday. General de Gaulle was in Limoges yesterday, and it is said that he could not readily be consulted. However, Russia's reply reached Paris two days before General de Gaulle left.

Behind this singular drama of diplomacy are these facts:

General de Gaulle, who objects to being rushed, felt that the Big Three had taken at Yalta decisions on which the San Francisco conference April 25 was designed simply to place a stamp of approval. He did not want to participate in any such ratification of faits accomplis reached in his absence, as were both the Dumbarton Oaks plan and the Yalta amendments to it. Hence his reservations to make sure that the French had a right to put in amendments and were not merely underwriting decisions of the Big Three.

The feeling persists in circles close to General de Gaulle that the Big Three intend to be a kind of directorate to run Europe, with France on the outside and asked to follow along.

It is thought here that Moscow may have believed that the French reservations were intended to reopen the whole question of the Oaks plan, but the French accepted that as a basis of discussion when their Government named a special committee to study it and propose the amendments that the French now insist on presenting.

The upshot is that the French proposal to rewrite the invitation to the San Francisco conference to safeguard their alliance with Russia has caused a comedy of tragedy of errors and the French, who complained of not being in the great power group, are left out of the first such group formed to guide the world security conference.

An article by the semi-official French News Agency's diplomatic correspondent says that France's not being a sponsor of the San Francisco meeeting is due to a French fear that the text of the invitation implies "tacit acceptance of the Dumbarton Oaks plan in its present form."

"If everybody is in agreement on the principle that a charter of collective security should constitute in the future the basis of the organization of peace, it is nevertheless thought necessary to take account of the immediate practical relaities which govern the relations of the nations," the article continues.

It adds that the functioning of the new peace system must be more supple and efficacious than the League of Nations was "or than the Dumbarton Oaks plan seems to be. But for France the essential problem is to reconcile the charter of security with regional pacts."

PARIS, March 5 (AP)—France has informed the United States, Great Britain and Russia that she will attend the San Francisco conference as an invited nation.

SINATRA BACK IN 4-F

Board Rules His Crooning Is Not Vital to War Program

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., March 5—Selective Service Board 19 decided tonight by unanimous vote that the crooning of Frank Sinatra did not contribute to the war and reinstated the singer in the classification he held in December, 1943—4-F.

On Saturday the board chairman, Ira W. Caldwell, recommended that the idol of the bobby-sockers be rated 2-A-F, occupational deferment for a man not physically qualified for military service. However, when a vote was taken tonight the four-man board held Sinatra unessential and like any other man in 4-F, he now is liable to be ordered into war work.

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ALLIANCES AND LEAGUE

From Paris, our correspondent Mr. Callender reports that one important factor in the reluctance of the Provisional French Government to serve as a sponsor of the forthcoming San Francisco conference is concern over a possible conflict between the operation of the new league of the United Nations and the "automatic working" of the new Franco-Russian alliance, which General de Gaulle regards as so important. The point is an interesting one, and the question it raises goes beyond this specific case and applies generally to the relationship between special alliances on one side and a general world security organization on the other.

It is a mistake, we believe, to regard these two methods of keeping peace as necessarily in conflict. The effectiveness of a general security organization will be helped, and not harmed, by special alliances which are wholly consistent with its purposes. As Americans we ought to welcome, for example, closer cooperation between the French and the Russians, between the British and the Russians, and between the British and the French, for the purpose of preventing further aggression by the Germans. Such cooperation can supplement the authority of the new world organization which will be created at the San Francisco conference. In the same way a regional alliance between the Pan-American nations, such as that contemplated in the present Declaration of Chapultepec, can also be useful for the broad purpose of maintaining peace. There is no essential conflict here. There is, however, an obvious necessity of making certain that there is no confusion or authority and no conflict of method between the general organization and the special or regional alliances.

The point can be illustrated by the example of the new Russian treaties. The alliance between Russia and Britain (May, 1942) pledges joint action to restrain Germany, but provides that this special two-party guarantee may be "superseded" by a broader guarantee in the event that "other like-minded states [adopt] proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period." The alliance between Russia and France (December, 1944) carries no similar clause. It provides instead that Russia and France will themselves undertake "all measures necessary to eliminate any new threat on the part of Germany." This is what the French describe as the "automatic working" of the new alliance.

On its face, this proposal would leave to France and Russia the responsibility of deciding what "measures" were necessary, at any time in the next twenty years, "in order to eliminate any threat on the part of Germany." But under the plan for a general world organization which will be submitted to the San Francisco conference next month, this would also be the direct responsibility of the Security Council of the new league of nations, of which Council France and Russia will be members. We are therefore faced with the question: Is any necessary military action against Germany to be taken in the first instance by the joint decision of France and Russia; or, as the new "Yalta formula" provides, by a majority of seven votes in a Security Council of eleven members, with unanimous concurrence in the decision on the part of all five Major Powers?

We are still in the experimental stage of planning the post-war peace; but it is highly important, even in this preliminary stage, to avoid all possible future misunderstandings and all confusions of authority. For this reason it should be made clear, with every step that is taken, that all special and regional alliances are in fact supplementary to, rather than substitutes for, a new general world organization. This principle should apply equally to our own Pan-American Declaration of Chapultepec and to alliances in Europe.

945.

DE GAULLE'S FAITH IN METHODS GROWS

Views on Yalta and Impending Conference Strengthened by Allies' Discords

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, April 3—What one observer called Gen. Charles de Gaulles' "Sinn Fein speech" yesterday—"Sinn Fein" meaning "ourselves alone"—expressed his growing confidence in the rightness of his diplomatic methods, greatly criticized though they have been lately at home and abroad.

It is understood that General de Gaulle now feels that events have justified his recalcitrance regarding the Yalta decisions, President Roosevelt's invitation to meet him and the San Francisco Conference. He believed that skepticism and its reservations toward all these moves are now proved right. The reasons for his conviction are that the Yalta arrangements seem to him to be collapsing at least as they related to Poland, regarding which Russia and the United States disagree; and that the outlook for San Francisco grows somewhat dimmer as the Allies argue over the admittance of the Polish regime of Lublin and over plural voting by the great powers in assembly, with the result that a preliminary conference of the Big Five now seems deemed necessary to remove obstacles.

Moreover General de Gaulle notes that Russia seems to show a qualified faith in the San Francisco meeting by sending only an Ambassador and a general, not her Foreign Minister.

As for Poland, General de Gaulle thinks that he is on a better position that the western Allies since three months ago he sent a French diplomat—Roger Garreau, former French emissary in Moscow—to represent France in Lublin and since he has with Russia an alliance of which Moscow now emphasizes the value to judge by an artticle in War and the Working Class.

So General de Gaulle believed that he practiced smart diplomacy in frowning coolly on Yalta and in remaining outside the inviting-power group for San Francisco. A few weeks ago it appeared that this policy was isolating France from the now united great powers. But today the pendulum seems to have moved back and rifts are showing in the great powers' unity, while General de Gaulle again congratulates himself on being on good terms with Moscow.

When he was striving for the Allies' recognition, General de Gaulle took a proudly independent line and won out. When he was

resisting the Allies' plans for the administration of the liberated areas of France, he folloiwed the same tactics, even withholding liaison officers and taking into France his own administrators, and again he won out. He now follows the same methods with the same confidence, saying that France will obtain by her own efforts the place in the world that is coming to her and that obstacles are preferable to an easy path. His ally, Russia, has asked for $6,000,000,000 worth of industrial supplies from the United States, and France has asked—and received a promise of—$2,000,000,000 worth. But General de Gaulle sees no inconsistency in saying that "France must count only on herself" while at the same time he counts on large American credits.

V-E Day Store Closing

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FRENCH REVAMP OAKS PLAN VIEWS

Officials Seek to Minimize Differences With Moscow on Future World Set-Up

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 8—In view of the Russian attitude, the French Foreign Office is rewriting in less provocative form the French amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

Meanwhile official efforts were made today to minimize the differences between that plan and the French-Russian pact and the differing viewpoints expressed by Moscow and Paris. It was argued that there was no incompatibility "in principle" between the two instruments or between the two capitals.

This thesis was presented at length to correspondents and in the columns of the semi-official newspaper, Le Monde, on the note that the French clash with Moscow over the San Francisco conference involved nothing really important, and as if Section C of Chapter Eight of the Oaks plan did not exist—the section in which it is stipulated that no action shall be taken under regional agreements without the authorization of the Security Council.

The truth is, as many observers see it, that French officials are fully aware that between this clause and the French-Russian pact there is a fundamental difference, since the clause subordinates all such pacts to the world peace system while the text of the pact makes it independent and "automatic."

French Reported Mystified

This is the reason for the only French amendments that matter—the amendments which caused annoyance in Moscow and thus led France to drop out of the ranks of the sponsoring powers for San Francisco.

French authorities seemed still mystified today by the Russian attitude which they apparently thought cast doubt on the whole relationship between the French and Russian Governments which the French had believed to be defined for twenty years by the alliance signed in December.

FRENCH WILL SEEK RESTORING OF TIES

Delegates to San Francisco Are Expected to 'Strengthen Bonds With Allies' for 'Security'

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 10—Some disquiet over "the diplomatic isolation" of France was expressed today by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly and several newspapers.

After hearing an explanation by Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister, of France's failure to be one of the inviting powers for the San Francisco Conference, the committee issued a statement saying that it was "indispensable to strengthen the bonds between France and her allies," that there could be "no real security for France apart from collective security" and that "the French delegates to San Francisco should act on this thesis."

The committee expressed regret that "public opinion had been misled by information from French sources which did not correspond to realities and aggravated misunderstandings which the committee hopes will be removed as soon as possible."

This referred to reports published here about Gen. Charles de Gaulle's reservations to the San Francisco agenda.

"We were not at Yalta with the Big Three because we were not invited and we refuse to sit at San Francisco on a basis of equality with them, although we were invited," Pierre Bourdan wrote today in Carrefour, a weekly.

"If our idea was to become leader of discontented nations it was an idea that boded ill for our international position and the moral state of the country. It is dangerous to put upon others the responsibility for our situation."

In criticism of Gen. de Gaulle's foreign policy, the newspaper Combat deplored any notion that France might go to the conference "to support the theories of Foch in 1918 or to wave the flag of small nations."

FRANCE AND THE LEAGUE

Our Paris dispatches say that a fundamental factor in the reluctance thus far of the Provisional French Government to take a more active part in sponsoring the San Francisco Conference is General de Gaulle's desire to make sure that the Franco-Russian pact shall operate independently of the new world security system. In General de Gaulle's eyes this assurance is said to be essential to the protection of France against a renewal of German aggression.

That there is some conflict between the Franco-Russian pact in its present form, on one side, and the Dumbarton Oaks-San Francisco plan in its present form, on the other side, is evident from an examination of the two texts:

The Franco-Russian pact provides that during the lifetime of this treaty (a period covering the next twenty years) France and Russia will themselves undertake "all measures necessary to eliminate any new threat on the part of Germany." That is, these two nations are made the sole judges of when the time has come to take enforcement action in the interest of peace, under their regional agreement. But the Dumbarton Oaks-San Francisco plan provides (Chapter VIII, Section C) that "no enforcement action should be taken under regional agreements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council" of the new league of nations. Such authorization would require the approval not only of France and Russia but also of Britain, the United States, China and at least two of the six smaller nations which will be represented on the Security Council. How is some conflict of authority, or at the very least some confusion of purpose and some risk of misunderstanding, to be avoided unless one plan or the other is amended? And if this is true, which plan — Franco-Russian or Dumbarton Oaks-San Francisco—should be amended?

One factor in the situation which is not yet clear, and which is of great importance, is the position of Russia in the matter. Does Marshal Stalin fully share General de Gaulle's belief that at this point and in this respect the Franco-Russian pact should have pre-eminence over the general security system? But even if de Gaulle obtains Stalin's agreement in this matter, there are good friends of France who must wonder why he should seek it. Surely, great as Russia's future power seems certain to be, there is an even larger measure of security for France in any enforcement action against Germany which finds the immense resources of the United States and Britain thrown into the action contemporaneously with the power of France and Russia. And surely the machinery of the proposed new league of nations is far better devised than that of the old League for prompt decisions in matters of this kind.

Is there not, in fact, some danger that if General de Gaulle continues to press hard for bilateral rather than multilateral guarantees, and achieves his purpose, he will lead France into a position of comparative isolation, rather than place her where she belongs, in the center of the Great Powers, in a general security organization?

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OAKS AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY PARIS

French to Propose Revisions That Will Not Subordinate Soviet Pact to Council

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 15—The amendments that the French Government will propose to the Dumbarton Oaks plan, having been revised in the past few days by Gen. Charles de Gaulle, will be submitted to the Cabinet tomorrow. Soon thereafter they will be embodied in an official note to be handed to the American Ambassador for inclusion on the San Francisco agenda.

The main purpose of the amendments is to insure that the French-Russian pact shall operate independently of the world security system.

A principal French proposal in its final form is for adding after the second division of Chapter VIII, Section C, in the Oaks text, which provides that enforcement actions taken under the regional arrangements must have the authorization of the Security Council, the following words:

"But application of urgent measures provided by treaties of assistance concluded between members of the organization and notified by them to the council of security will be exempt from this rule. However, the states signatory to such treaties shall render to the council as soon as possible an accounting of the measures they will have taken in the execution of said treaties."

This would mean that France and Russia could take military action against Germany under their pact without the authorization of the Security Council. Thus their pact would remain "automatic" in the sense that it would require no prior consultation with anyone except the two Powers concerned. The French regard this as vital in an age when rocket-bombs, if used in sufficient quantities, might wipe out Paris before the Security Council could even get together.

Treaty Rights Preserved

French concern for his treaty is revealed in several of the amendments they propose. In the first section of Chapter I, where the purposes of the organization are defined, the French would insert a clause to the effect that peaceful settlement of international disputes should be sought "without losing sight of treaties binding those who have signed them, or of the fact that respect of these treaties constitutes one of the essential conditions of international order."

Again, in the first sentence of Chapter VIII, after the words "security council," the French would insert "without losing sight of respect for treaties."

In Section B of Chapter VIII, which deals with the determination of the threats to peace and the action to be taken, under Division 5, which describes the facilities to be placed at the disposal of the peace organization, the French would stipulate "notably the right of passage."

Russian troops therefore would have the right to pass through Poland to move against Germany under the French-Russian pact.

In the same division the French would provide that agreements regarding the forces to be lent to the world organization should specify "how soon they will be placed at the council's disposition and, where appropriate, the zone in which they normally will be stationed, and should define the facilities, the aid and the means of communication to be furnished."

In the next division—Six—in the first sentence, the French would provide that "national contingents of forces of all branches stationed in appropriate zones of security, or for which stations would be permanently prepared, should be permanently at the disposition of the council."

Treaty Registration Asked

The French would also make an amendment to this effect:

"Every treaty of international engagement of a political character concluded in the future by a member of the organization shall be immediately registered with the secretariat and published by it as soon as possible. No treaty or engagement is to be binding before being registered."

The French recommend that in a case where the council does not succeed in adopting a resolution, the members of the organization retain the right to act as they deem necessary in the interest of 'pea'ce, law and justice." This means that if the great powers are not agreed on the action to be taken, all states are free to act on their own. A similar clause in the League of Nations covenant left the way open for a warlike action that would not violate the covenant.

In Chapter VI, Section A, dealing with the composition of the security council, where six nonpermanent members are provided, the French propose to insert: "At least three to be chosen from among the States that will have undertaken, and will have the means, to participate in an appreciable degree—to be determined by the council—in the active defense of the international order."

Regarding the membership of the organization—Chapter III—the French would write the existing clause to read:

"Membership of the organization should be open to all States that prove they are peace-loving by their instiutions, their international behavior and the effective guarantees they give to respect international engagements. Participation in the organization involves engagements incompatible with the status of neutrality."

Racial Bias Barred

In Chapter I, Division 3, which says the purpose of the organization is to achieve international cooperation in the solution of international, economic, social and other humanitarian prblems, the French would add "and to watch over the respect of essential liberties for all, without distinction of race, language or religion."

Again, in Chapter VIII, Section A, Division 7, which exempts domestic questions from the jurisdiction of the organization, the French would add "unless manifest violation of essential liberties and rights of men constitutes in itself a menace calculated to compromise thhe peace"—as the Nazi and Fascist systems did.

In Chapter V, Section B, the French would replace the final sentence of Division 1 with this sentence:

"The General Assembly may always draw the attention of the security council to situations that may endanger the peace. But it may not take up questions touching the maintenance of peace and security that the security council has itself taken up."

In Chapter VIII, Section B, Division 9, dealing with the military staff committee to advise the council of regulation of armaments, the French would include also "all measures of control that are deemed appropriate."

Economic Section Amplified

To the composition of the committee, the French would add "one delegate from each member of the organization that has agreed to put substantial forces at the disposal of the security council."

In that part of the Oaks plan dealing with economic cooperation—Chapter I—the French propose several alterations. They suggest—Section A, Division I—that the organization shoudl press for the solution of social problems and that the Assembly and Economic and Social Council under it should collaborate with the security council in doing this. They propose that at least half of the eighteen States represented in the Economic Council should be "the countries whose economic importance is greatest." Regarding the voting in this council—Chapter IX, Section B—the French suggest that, while decisions may be taken with a majority vote, at least two-thirds of the members of the council must participate in any vote.

In Section C, dealing with the powers of the Economic Council, the French would authorize it "to envisage the creation and control of similar organizations concerning, especially, the distribution of raw materials." In the same section the French would provide that the Economic Council should present to the security council in emergencies "any humanitarian, economic or social or like question that it deems susceptible of endangering the peace. The security council to report to the assembly."

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FRENCH WOULD AID ALLIES IN EUROPE

Delay Formal Word Pending Plan for Situations Like Crisis in Rumania

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 19—The French Government intends to join the Big Three in assisting liberated Europe to find stable regimes but will formally agree only when it has worked out a proposal for machinery to deal with situations like that in Rumania, official quarters said today.

On the receipt of the Yalta memorandum regarding the decision of the Big Three, the French asked how it was to be applied. Receiving no explicit answer and suspecting that pronouncements in general terms might mean in practice rule by the nearest great power the French hesitated to commit themselves to this as to the other decisions of the Big Three made in their absence.

They contemplate permanent machinery, perhaps in the form of a great power commission that alone would be authorized to act in crises in newly liberated countries and whose decisions all the powers concerned would be committed in advance to accept in order to rule out unilateral action such as the Russians appear to have taken in Rumania. In other words, this machinery would be an example of collective security—in which Gen. Charles de Gaulle seems to have manifested a new interest since Moscow blocked his conditional acceptance of a place among the inviting powers at the San Francisco conference.

This kind of collective security seems to the French to be urgent. But the Dumbarton Oaks kind is regarded as the "third story of the house," as Philippe Barrès expressed it today in explaining an idea known to be General De Gaulles'.

In Paris-Presse, M. Barrès said that the first story would be the French army on the Rhine, with a Rhineland State, "run by an Allied commission in which France would have a predominant position," turning the "economy and thought of the Rhinelanders toward the west." The second story would be a French-British alliance working automatically in case of German aggression and supplementing the French-Russian alliance. The third story would be collective security "with the maximum possible participation of the United States."

The French were much interested today in a dispatch from Washington indicating that Senator Arthur D. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan wanted to amend the Dumbarton Oaks plan to permit quick action against possible aggression—this being exactly the reasoning of the French in defense of their "automatic" pact with Russia.

FRENCH EXPLAIN VIEW ON DUMBARTON VOTES

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 22—The proposed French amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan, providing that in case of disagreement each nation should have the right to act on its own, was designed to anticipate any obstacle that the United States Constitution might present again to collective security, official circles said today. Recalling that the necessity for Senatorial action kept the United States out of the League of Nations, the French suspect that a President in the future might fail to get the power for immediate action under the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

The French said they had not consulted Moscow on their amendment to protect the Franco-Russian pact but believed that Moscow was in agreement because an article in the Russian magazine War and the Working Class, expressed the same views as the French.

It also was contended that the French formula for voting in the Dumbarton Oaks council was simpler than the Yalta formula, since it provided two instead of three categories into which any contentious issue would fall.

The Socialist-Radical newspaper, Aurore, in an editorial to be published tomorrow, will say: "The accord between Russia and the United States is a fact that doubtless will dominate world policies for several years to come, and we must take it into account if we have any sense of realities."

France Strong for Collective Security

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 20—That France favors collective security and will make sacrifices of sovereignty to insure it on condition that it be real and not deceptive, as in the case of the League of Nations, is the outstanding point made in the preamble to the French amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks project, which were handed to the Allies' Ambassadors today. The text of the proposed amendments is similar to that published in these dispatches last Friday, except for a slight change permitting the Assembly take up any issue threatening peace even if the Security Council has also taken it up.

The ten-page preamble was rewritten at Gen. Charles de Gaulle's instigation after a Cabinet meeting on Friday to bring out more emphatically the French Government's interest in collective security, which General de Gaulle's concern for regional pacts had obscured.

Moreover, General de Gaulle seems lately to have grown more receptive to the argument that, in the long run, a collective system wdith the United States is vital to France's safety. So keen is General de Gaulle to counteract the impression that he is cold toward the Dumbarton Oaks project, that some think that he may go to San Francisco for a short visit to the conference.

The preamble recognized that an immediate post-war peace will depend mainly on the harmony of the great powers. It says that regional pacts like the French-Russo alliance should not be slowed up by the need to consult the Security Council, but that, on the other hand, such treaties should not be regarded as a means of evading a world peace organization.

The French contend that the world security machinery must take account of the fact that some nations are close to danger and able to act quickly, while others are farther away and less immediately concerned. They contend that the world system must be guided by the conceptions of responsibility and solidarity among the nations adhering to it. They sustain their argument by recalling that the League of Nations failed for want of determination to make it work and by saying that Germany's annexations leading to war could have been avoided if the nations now aligned against Germany had supported the League as an instrument of collective security.

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France to Seek Stronger World Police at Frisco

WDC News 3-17-45

By United Press

PARIS, March 17—The newspaper Franc-Tireur today gave a 10-point summary of suggestions France will make at San Francisco on the Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta decisions, based on a study made by a consultative assembly committee appointed by Foreign Minister Georges Bidault.

The paper said France would bring up these points:

1. The Dumbarton Oaks plan for collective security should be open to criticism by small as well as great powers.

SEEKS CLOSER HARMONY

2. Dumbarton Oaks marks a notable advance over the League of Nations in creation of an international police.

3. France would like to go further and suggest that lasting peace is only possible if each nation limits its sovereignty in favor of a world authority.

4. The war will be succeeded by a difficult period necessitating world support of complete harmony between the great powers. France will do nothing to threaten this support.

5. If the great powers are to enjoy authority in keeping with their responsibilities, non-permanent council seats must go only to those smaller powers having sufficient physical resources to actively assist in maintaining peace.

6. Neutrality is no longer possible even among nations not belonging to the council.

ASKS TWO-THIRD VOTE

7. Recommendations made to governments implicated in disputes not threatening war, should be made by a two-thirds vote with the disputing powers not voting.

8. In the event of war being threatened, the voting should be by two-thirds, including the big powers.

9. When immediate action is necessary to guarantee peace, regional pacts such as the Franco-Soviet treaty should be operative after the council is advised.

10. An international police force must include all armed services as well as the air force envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks.

TURDAY, FEBRUARY 17

FRENCH SEEK DATA ON CRIMEA ACCORD

Cabinet Asks Bidault to Get Details Before de Gaulle Acts on Invitations

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Feb. 16—The French Cabinet approved today a message to be sent by Foreign Minister Georges Bidault to the French Ambassadors in Washington, London and Moscow asking for further information about the decisions of the Big Three that have been announced to the French. It is expected that pending this information the French will make no reply to the invitations transmitted by the Big Three to Gen. Charles de Gaulle to participate in the San Francisco United Nations meeting, in the plan for liberated Europe and in the military régime for Germany.

Members of the Government said tonight that the information so far vouchsafed to them was very scant and that the memoranda sent to General De Gaulle by the Big Three contained less than the communiqué issued to the public by the Big Three Monday. French officials feel that they are being asked to accept decisions touching on the future of France and the world when they have been told exceedingly little about those decisions.

Lack of Data Resented

The memoranda from the Big Three were handed to General De Gaulle Monday, along with the invitations to participate in the future organizations. French officials have read and reread them since then with growing indignation. To the resentment caused by the failure to invite General De Gaulle to Yalta was added the new resentment born of the limited scope of the documents forwarded to Paris about what happened at Yalta.

The French point out that they were present neither at Dumbarton Oaks nor Yalta, yet are asked to accept the schemes formulated at both places.

This resentment goes so far in some cases as suspicion that behind the refusal to invite General de Gaulle may lie Allied designs against the interests of France. The French have long been touchy about their colonies and bases, and it was notable that the Paris Government announced its decision to fortify Dakar on the day the Big Three finished a meeting that the French thought might have involved those bases.

It is understood that the communications from the Big Three to General de Gaulle expressed regret that he was not with them, but this struck the French as less than gracious in view of the absence of any explanation for his exclusion.

French officials wondered today how the Big Three conceived the future of Germany, whether as a great power and with what kind of eventual government; what the Big Three intended to do to liberate Europe and whether they meant to intervene by force as in the cases of Greece and Poland; how long France's exclusion from Allied councils would be continued in the form of meetings of the Big Three Foreign Ministers without the French Foreign Minister.

De Gaulle Called Bitter

They also wondered about certain clauses in the voting amendment to the Dumbarton Oaks plan which seem to affect France directly.

It is known that General de Gaulle is bitterly incensed against the Big Three and that in discussions in the Cabinet Tuesday and Wednesday a majority of his Ministers upheld his strong views, although M. Bidault took a much more moderate line, as do most of the officials at the Foreign Office. General de Gaulle feels that he—and through him France—have been victims of an affront and he, consequently, is exceedingly cool toward all invitations emanating from the Big Three.

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FRANCE IS WILLING TO SPONSOR TALKS

Agrees to Join Other Powers in Issuing Invitations, but on Secret Condition

WASHINGTAN, Feb. 27 — The French Government has communicated to the American, British and Russian Ambassadors — Jefferson Caffery, Alfred Duff Cooper and Alexander E. Bogomoloff—its decision to accept the "offer" forwarded to Paris on the termination of the Yalta conference.

This means that France is willing to join the Big Three in issuing invitations to the San Francisco conference on April 25. The French Government had been approached by the State Department of Feb. 11 and pressed to return an answer at the earliest date. But the French Government had been unwilling to commit itself as long as full explanations were not made available on the various aspects of the Yalta discussions.

There is reason to believe, however, that the acceptance carries one reservation, the nature of which is still undisclosed. The impression obtains that its purpose may be to make it possible for the French delegation to the San Francisco conference to submit amendments.

In other words, the French Government does not want to be indiscriminately committed to the letter to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the organization of world security. Moreover, the scheme of international trusteeship, which has been put on the agenda of the conference, may give rise to some criticism in Paris.

Paris Wants Plan Included

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Feb. 27 — The French have asked Washington to include in the invitation to the United Nations meeting in San Francisco the French proposals for the modification of the Dumbarton Oaks project.

Washington's desire to consult the other inviting powers has delayed these preliminaries and also the fixing of the date of the meeting of the Big Five to be held before the general meeting. The French desire, it was explained today, that their proposals should go on the agenda of the meeting on the same footing with the original plan. This was the condition attached to the French agreement to join as one of the inviting powers.

They also hope that the Big Five will agree in advance of the meeting to support the French method of "integrating" the French-Russian alliance with the Dumbarton Oaks project so that there will be no doubt on this point.

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault returned tonight from a two-day visit to London. He will tell the Cabinet tomorrow what he learned from Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. A statement from Gen. Charles de Gaulle's office said that the London talks had been concerned particularly with "preparations for the conference in San Francisco."

François Mauriac said in the Figaro today that the French should "keep quiet and suppress our grievances. One has the right to oppose a victorious enemy, but not Allies and friends who are liberating Europe and whose heroic blood flows everywhere."

In the Populaire, Albert Gazier, who speaks for the unions, lists "disquieting elements" in the Government's foreign policy. "Have we faithfully kept our Allies informed of all our diplomatic conversations?" he asked. He urged a change of methods and the quick acceptance of the decisions made in Yalta.

FRANCE REJECTS BID TO JOIN AS SPONSOR OF SECURITY PARLEY

Deadline for Acceptance of Offer Made by Big Three Passes Without Word

ATTENDANCE HELD LIKELY

Invitations to United Nations Will Join Names of U. S., Britain, Russia, China

By PERTINAX

North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.

WASHINGTON, March 4— France will not be one of the inviting powers to the United Nations' San Francisco conference of April 25.

The date limit set for her acceptance of the offer made by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, when they conferred together at Yalta, has passed without the receipt of word from Paris that the French Government was ready to join the "sponsoring powers"—the United States, Britain, Russia and China. Therefore, the letters of invitation will be issued (probably tomorrow) by the United States on behalf of Britain, Russia and China, France being unmentioned. At the same time, all the indications available here are that a French delegation will attend the conference.

This development is the direct outcome of France's non-participation in the Dumbarton Oaks negotiations last summer, and, quite recently, in the meeting at Yalta. There the Big Three settled the text of the letters of invitation.

Seek Counter-Proposals

As interpreted by the French Government, the wording on which they agreed is such as to make it difficult for any of the inviting powers to submit amendments and counter-proposals and not to endorse as it stands the system of world security pieced together in August. Since the French Government was not represented at Dumbarton Oaks, the proposals that go by that name do not entirely fit its views. Consequently, until the last hour, it insisted on placing some formal reservation on record.

Throughout last week all concerned believed that a compromise had been arrived at. Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, and Jean Chauvel, the secretary general of the Foreign Office, had gone to England to work out wi thForeign Secretary Anthony Eden, Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Rene Massigli, the French Ambassador to London, a formula that could prove acceptable to all. M. Bidault was reported to have been successful. But, although it was recognized that France had a fairly good case to make and that she could not be bound to a project that she had never had a chance to discuss, the suggested compromise failed to win approval everywhere.

Details are not disclosed. However, it may be surmised that an insuperable obstacle originated in the capital that is the most reluctant to put up with modifications of the Big Three's scheme.

Uninvited to Ministers' Talks

PARIS, March 4 (AP)—France has not been invited to participate in the conferences of the American, Russian and British Foreign Ministers arranged at the Yalta meeting, a spokesman for the Foreign Office said today. He denied accounts printed in Paris under a Washington dateline to the effect that Foreign Minister Georges Bidault had been invited to join in the regular talks. "I know nothing at all about it," he said.

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FRENCH TO DISCUSS COUNCIL VOTE PLAN

Cabinet Expected to Ratify Solution Adopted at Big Three's Conference

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Feb. 14 — The Cabinet will discuss the question of voting by the security council under the Dumbarton Oaks project on Friday.

It will be brought up by a report of Foreign Minister Georges Bidault on the formula adopted by the Big Three and a report by the special committee appointed by the Government to study the Dumbarton Oaks scheme.

Since the Big Three's formula insures the great powers' immunity from military sanctions, on which Moscow insisted and which it induced General de Gaulle to support, there seems to be little doubt of the Cabinet's decision.

The French special committee, in making its report, foresaw the problem that the Big Three faced and left allowance for a compromise much like that hit on by the Big Three. The committee favored the exclusion of an accused power from voting in its own case but suggested that, if this were impossible, a majority vote might suffice for recommendations, but a unanimous vote of all the great powers should be required for graver decisions entailing the possible use of force. Such a unanimous vote was accepted by the Big Three. The French resented having the Big Three's decisions handed to them suddenly when those decisions had been made without French participation and transmitted without Frenchmen's having had time to study them. But in the case of the Dumbarton Oaks voting, French logic and realism largely anticipated the Big Three's inevitable conclusion and, indeed, arrived at it first.

French officials were uncertain whether they would be joining the Big Three with China merely to prepare for the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations to ratify this and other formulas for the Dumbarton Oaks scheme or whether the Big Three would undertake something more serious. The French do not take the Dumbarton Oaks project so seriously as Washington apparently does.

The recurrence of familiar words like "reparations" and the Wilsonian doctrines revived in the Dumbarton Oaks plan have led many Frenchmen to react as if they were from Missouri. "Germany will pay" was the phrase used two decades ago to soothe the French and justify inflation. Writing in the Figaro, Wladimir d'Ormesson separates the Yalta facts from what he calls "international political literature." The fear that the Big Three are going to play Metternich's role in Europe by telling small nations how they should be governed is expressed by Marc Blancpain in the Parisien Libéré, as well as by officials who compare 1945 to 1815.

The irony of this is that the French have long complained that the United States refused to mix in European affairs and now they complain that the United States, Britain and Russia are mixing too much. This applies especially to Russia, even though she is France's special Ally, and the Big Three's declaration for liberated Europe is regarded as handing over eastern Europe or most of Europe to Russian domination.

Alluding to the Big Three's meeting, François Mauriac of the French Academy will say in the Figaro tomorrow:

"For the first time in history, the 'Big Ones' foregather with the chair of Talleyrand and Chateaubriand remaining empty. Even after her disasters, France had always occupied among the nations the place that was her due. Her friends today refuse to her what her most hateful enemies would never have dreamed of disputing for centuries past."

But M. Mauriac says that, of all political attitudes "pouting is the most foolish. We shall react, but our reaction must be healthy. It is up to us and to us alone to become again the nation whose absence from a European congress was formerly inconceivable."

He says that it is a question not only of having an army and a navy but of having the nation from disease and race suicide.

Washington Says France Got the Data On Invitation to the Conference Here

WASHINGTON, March 6 (AP)—he State Department denied tonight that the French had been kept in the dark about some of the preliminaries to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

The denial carried an implication of weariness over what officials here regard as a French technique of "needling" this and other Allied Governments by means of press reports in Paris.

Until late today, the department deliberately soft-pedaled discussion on the failure of the French to become one of the sponsoring powers for the conference. It had tried to minimize concern over why and how that failure came about, presumably trying to make a bad matter better by not talking about it.

Finally the attitude changed, however, for the department, through its press section, was obviously delighted to answer this question:

"Reports from Paris indicate that the United States Government did not make clear to the Provisional Government of the French Republic the basis upon which it was conducting with France the consultations in connection with the Provisional Government's joining the other four Governments in sponsoring the San Francisco conference. Will the department comment?"

This question referred to Paris reports that the French did not know that the reservations they proposed, in order to give themselves a free hand for making amendments at San Francisco, had to be approved by Moscow. The fact is that they did have to be approved by the Russian as well as the British and American Governments and also the Chinese Government. It is understood that it was the Soviet Government, impatient with French protests on various points, which vetoed the French suggestions and thereby caused France to refuse to sponsor the conference.

The State Department said that Ambassador Jefferson Caffery presented to the French Government Feb. 12 the invitation which had been drawn up at the Crimea conference. Mr. Caffery told the French that he was acting on behalf of the American, British and Soviet Governments.

The French, the State Department added, pondered the problem for two weeks, then sent back a reply suggesting reservations in the wording of the invitation. If they were accepted, the French said, France would become a sponsor. Meanwhile China had joined the Big Three.

Therefore, according to the department's account, Mr. Caffery told the French it would be necessary for the United States to consult with the other sponsoring countries on the French reservations. Moreover, it was added, while the consultations were going on Mr. Caffery kept the French fully informed of their progress.

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FRANCE EXPLAINS NON-SPONSOR ROLE

Says Inviting Powers Did Not Have Time to Agree on Modifying Security Parley Bid

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 6—In an official statement after a Cabinet meeting today, it was explained that the Government desired to be one of the five sponsoring powers for the San Francisco conference, but that the French had asked that the invitation be "slightly modified," and that the inviting powers had not had time to agree.

The French public, however, is beginning to realize that it was not a question of a phrase or two, but of cooling relations between Paris and Moscow. Although most of the press so far has contented itself with printing vague official communiqués, two newspapers spoke today of Moscow's role in blocking French reservations, and informed French circles admitted that for once it was not Washington that had thwarted General de Gaulle's will.

In these circles it was believed that Marshal Stalin had grown weary of the General's attitude of distrust toward the Crimea conference. After that meeting, Foreign Commissar Molotoff told the French Ambassador in Moscow that the Big Three had done nothing to impair the validity or effectiveness of the French-Russian alliance. He added that in inviting France to participate in the occupation of Germany in the Big Three's scheme for liberated Europe and in sponsorship of the San Francisco meeting, the Big Three believed they had taken generous account of France's role and interests in the peace settlement.

General de Gaulle, however, immediately showed that he was suspicious on all these points, and comments here reflected his reaction. From this Moscow is reported to have inferred that General de Gaulle doubted that Marshal Stalin had looked after French interests adequately at the Crimea conference.

Some here believe that this time General de Gaulle went too far, and the newspaper Liberation today suggested this by saying:

"It may well be asked whether scruples of the French Government were not excessive, since invitation to San Francisco is signed by Russia who saw no incompatibility between the Dumbarton Oaks plan and the French-Soviet pact."

But the newspaper Parisien Libere wrote that "it appears now that the Dumbarton Oaks project approved at Yalta is not reconciliable with the French-Russian pact," since the automatic character of the pact "might be annulled by necessity of unanimous vote of the Great Powers in the security council."

This is understood to be General de Gaulle's view, even though when he returned from Moscow with the pact it was reported to fit into the Oaks plan, but since the Crimea Conference the impression has existed here that the Big Three intended to make the action under the pact dependent on the prior approval of the Security Council. Such dependence, it is said, would destroy the automatic working of the pact, which for General de Gaulle is its principal virtue.

The French are also reported to suspect that the Big Three plan a "dictated peace," which France will be asked to accept without having helped to shape it.

Newspaper Attacks Britain

In commenting on the diplomatic situation as outlined to the Cabinet by Georges Bidault, the Foreign Ministeer, the newspaper Figaro will say tomorrow that Great Britain is so closely linked to the United States that she can make no concessions to France without American consent, and that Russia is equally unwilling to take the French view.

"Britain is still less able to go back on decisions taken at Yalta with her two partners, Figaro will say, adding:

"Russia did not sustain our viewpoint regarding our participation at Yalta, nor does she supply the clarifications we ask.

"Now we learn that the (Big) Three have decided upon the creation of a Rhine-Westphalian State. At Lodnon (when M. Bidault visited there) we were told nothing of this. Nor were we told anything by the Americans or Russians. In the circumstances nobody can guarantee that there will not be more surprises of this kind.

"The head of the Government believes it is preferable that at San Francisco we retain our full liberty to defend our interests and those of all the small nations that have confidence in us and for whom we have been historically the spokesman.

Roosevelt Is Misquoted

Meanwhile, reports have been current here that President Roosevelt in his speech on the Crimea conference referred to General de Gaulle as a prima donna.

[President Roosevelt in his speech to Congress referred to prima donnas generally and did not connect them with any individual of any nation.]

Replying to these unverified reports, Albert Bayet writing in the newspaper Resistance said today that "the whole French resistance felt offended by the President's phrase.

"We have not forgotten that Washington took the side of (General) Giraud against the French resistance, but once de Gaulle was installed in Paris, we hoped the United States would treat him as representative of France."

The French resistance, he asserted, had never ceased to be Gaullist, adding that "the words Gaullist and French are synonymous when national honor is involved."

Hassan Saka to Head Turk Group

ISTANBUL, March 6 (Reuter)—The large Turkish delegation to the San Francisco Conference will be presided over by Hassan Saka, Foreign Minister, and will include counselors, experts and secretaries.

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FRENCH WOO DUTCH FOR RHINE ACCORD

Arrival of van Kleffens to Sign Trade Pact Spurs Paris Hope for Regional Peace Link

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 18—Dr. Eelco N. van Kleffens, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, arrived in Paris today to sign with the French an economic accord identical to the one the Belgians recently signed. Since this is a mere formality, it is expected that Gen. Charles de Gaulle may broach broader questions, such as control of the Rhineland, regional security and colonies. At least, so the French indicated today.

His principal interest being in control of the Rhineland and pacts that would insure peace on the Rhine, General de Gaulle has lately sounded his neighbors regarding a pact that would include France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and one that would be more than merely military. These countries—already linked by economic accords—would then negotiate with Great Britain regarding her possible membership in what, pending that membership, would be a continental bloc under the leadership of France.

This idea has made hardly any progress outside France. Netherlanders have declined to join any bloc in which Britain is not a charter member. The Belgians, who likewise lean toward Britain, also are understood to be shy of a continental bloc.

Netherland interest in the Rhine differs from that of the French, for the Rhine is not a strategic frontier for the Low Country. But Netherlanders probably would accept whatever Rhineland settlement Britain accepted. The French and British conceptions are not fully in accord, as was shown by the disappointing visit of Foreign Minister Georges Bidault to London recently. The disagreement is understood to involve especially the future of the Ruhr rather than the French claim to permanent occupation of the left bank of the Rhine. This disagreement is one of the main obstacles to a French-British alliance.

While the Netherlands will not join General de Gaulle in any strictly continental bloc, they share his apprehension regarding "trusteeship" for certain colonies—whatever that may mean. Like the French, Netherlanders have strategically important colonies in the Far East and the West Indies.

Netherlanders are proud of their colonial record and their active defense of their colonies, which is contrasted with the Vichy regime's collaboration with the Japanese in Indo-China. But they are in the same boat with the French in being a lesser Power that wonders what the great Powers have up their sleeves.

This disquieting uncertainty might be allayed if the Big Three should explain that in speaking of "trusteeship," they meant only the international availability of colonial bases, or whatever it is that they do mean. Obscurity breeds dark suspicions in Paris, where suspicions dominate foreign policy.

Meanwhile, the French seek light in any promising quarter. The newspaper Combat today quotes THE NEW YORK TIMES' editorial saying that trusteeship could apply to French colonies only if it applied to those of other Powers. French officials have been reading Sumner Welles' book "The Time For Decision" in quest of enlightenment on this point, and have been disturbed by what they find there.

FRANCE'S JOINING BIG FOUR ENVISAGED

Emergence of Colonial Issue at San Francisco Seen Changing Her Stand

By PERTINAX

North American Newspaper Alliance.

WASHINGTON, March 20—The emergence of the colonial issue as a factor in the United Nations' forthcoming conference in San Francisco has made it possible that, before it is too late, France may yet joint the four great powers—the United States, Britain, Russia and China—that issued invitations for the meeting.

Last week the French Government learned that, before the San Francisco conference, representatives of the four inviting powers would discuss principles of colonial policy to be inserted in the charter of the United Nations. In the Dumbarton Oaks meeting the colonial problem was not on the agenda. The British Government wished the preparatory work to be restricted to maters having an immediate bearing on the maintenance of peace.

It insisted that colonial affairs were a subsidiary subject and had better be left over. In Yalta the gap was filled in. A new chapter is therefore to be added to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the rough draft of the charter.

Only the structure of a system of international control or cooperation will be outlined. All reference to particular colonies will be ruled out. The time has come for the "inviting powers" to write that missing chapter.

colonialism, which their rulers of today are ready to do.

This forthcoming colonial discussion is loaded with explosive material. It can easily lead to mutual recriminations, to invidious comprasions of past records concerning the treatment of subject populations. The colonial nations, so sorely tried during this war, are sure to do their utmost to retain in full their sovereignty in overseass territories.

France has already applied for admission to the preliminary pourparlers among the inviting powers. She was reminded forthwith that she had the opportunity to enter the group of the four powers and had not availed herself of it. However, diplomatic circles believe that it is still up to her to retrace her steps and accept the offer that came from Yalta. But would the French Government be at liberty to submit amendments and counter-proposals? The British Government is inclined to answer affirmatively. Yet it remains to be seen whether Russia has moved from the negative position that she took three weeks ago.

French Lean Toward British

Britain and America must attempt to reconcile their views. France more or less agrees with the British thesis, but she wants to share in the debate otherwise than by proxy.

In the colonial debate, Britain and American stand rather far apart. American diplomacy thinks in terms of "international trusteeship" and British diplomacy in terms of "international partnership." International trusteeship means that the community of nations has a responsibility for dependent peoples in Asia, Africa and Oceania and that the sovereignty of the colonial powers may be interfered with. International partnership means that the system of consultation and free cooperation first put to the test whe nthe Anglo-American Caribbean Commission set to its task in 1939 is to become of general application.

The pattern now tried in the Caribbean area would be improved and strengthened. Delegates of the International Labor Office would in all probability play a part. But no international body would be allowed to intervene in the internal management of a colony.

Different Outcomes Explained

Under the American scheme, the British, French, Netherland, Belgian and Portuguese empires might ultimately pass under some form of international authority. A lengthy process indeed. At the beginning (the point was cleared up in Yalta), only the mandated territories of 1919 and the territories taken from the enemy on the termination of this war would be affected. Nevertheless, sooner or later the general trend could not help asserting itself. Under the British-sponsored plan, the various colonial empires have the prospect of a new lease on life provided that they part with what still remains of the old tenets of

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France Worrie

Curious Policy Points To Possible Dissension In Laying Peace Plans

By Ben W. Gilbert

THE curious diplomatic policy pursued by the provisional government of France will not cost France a place among the Big Five on the United Nations Security Council proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, but if the policy is continued, the other powers may wish they had never saved a place for France.

To the other powers, the uncooperative attitude displayed by France is a source of concern for at least two reasons: (1) to recoup its badly shattered prestige, the Paris government may now try to provide a rallying point at the April 25 conference at San Francisco for other nations which are not satisfied with the structure planned at Dumbarton Oaks and (2) the proposed international machinery is so delicately geared that it cannot work to prevent aggression unless the Big Five act as a team.

CAFFERY

As one of the Big Five, France would share with the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and China the right to veto use of force of any kind to stop aggression. If France were to continue to travel a different road from the other four powers, the veto may develop as one of the most serious weakness of the proposed international organization.

The veto could be used in two ways—by one of the great powers to block action against itself, or to prevent action against any other nation.

American defenders of the voting procedure formula explain readily that the whole international structure would collapse if it ever became necessary to use force to stop aggression by one of the great powers.

The explanation of why the powers must retain individual veto over use of force against other nations is a bit more involved. It is expected that the armed forces of the Five Powers will be the main forces used to block aggression. As the organization is set up, all the member nations would be bound to act against aggression as soon as the council decided that the action is necessary.

Therefore, proponents of the procedure which was worked out finally at the Yalta conference of the "Big Three" say that it would be inconceivable for the United States to agree to commit our armed forces against aggression over the protest of our representative on the council. By retaining this veto, it is argured, the United States will be in a better position to persuade the United States Senate to agree to our participation in the proposed international organization.

But this reservation also vests enormous power in the hands of France or any of the other powers which might decide not to play the game. France's long-range policies are also important because of her strategic location in Europe, vis-a-vis Germany.

Impression Develops She Won't Give Up Freedom

France has been annoyed at the failure of the "Big Three" to grant full equality on all questions to the French nation. But sources here say that if an effort is made to explain French actions merely in terms of pique, one is forced to conclude that they are taking a course which is preventing the nation from achieving the status to which she aspires.

In fact, a definite impression has developed that the French goal goes beyond mere recognition as an equal—that the nation is not yet ready to give up some of its freedom of action as the others have by joining the team. Reports from Paris and elsewhere have indicated that France is concerned about subordinating her alliance with Russia to the proposed world security organization. They also have indicated that France wants assurances now as to what will become of her colonies and League of Nations mandates; that she would like to evolve a security organization for Europe comparable to the Pan American system in the Western hemisphere.

It is significant, however, that France has failed to make known officially that she has these goals. To achieve some of them, changes might have to be made in the Dumbarton Oaks draft. American sources make it clear that such proposed changes will be given full consideration if and when they are advanced.

France has "acted up" diplomatically recently in three ways: (1.) Gen. Charles de Gaulle rejected a Presidential invitation to meet at Algiers after the Yalta conference of Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin. (2.) France rejected an invitation to join the other four powers with permanent reserved seats on the proposed council in sponsoring the San Francisco conference. (3.) France has failed to indicate what changes she desires in the proposed international structure, although she has made it clear that she plans to propose several amendments.

From Paris has come a stream of diplomatic excuses which almost invariably place responsibility for the failure of French relations to jell with other powers on the other powers.

On this side of the Atlantic, a different picture is provided. According to American sources, De Gaulle had ample opportunity to meet the President at Algiers or some other place if he was so inclined.

And, France, if it had been so inclined, could have joined in sponsoring the San Francisco conference and then announced that it considered itself free to submit amendments at the conference.

Here's Story Revealed by State Department

As revealed by the State Department, France was invited to co-sponsor the San Francisco parley along with the United States, Britain, China and Russia on February 12, one day after the conference at Yalta adjourned. Jefferson Caffery, United States ambassador to the provisional government, presented the invitation on behalf of the "Big Three."

France took almost two weeks to reply. In the interval, she requested clarification of some of the actions taken at Yalta, which, although related to the San Francisco conference indirectly, were not tied up with it.

The reply indicated that the French would accept the sponsoring role if the invitations could be reworded to permit her to propose amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan. As worded originally at Yalta, the invitations suggested that the Oaks plan be used as a basis for a charter for a world organization. The other sponsoring powers which had worked on the Oaks plan were prepared to support it enthusiastically.

Caffery then told the French that he would have to present their suggestions to the other sponsoring powers. The proposed changes did not appear too great an obstacle to some of the powers, including the United States, it has been indicated unofficially, but Soviet Russia balked at rewording the invitation.

During the discussions, the French government announced to the press that it was prepared to accept the invitation to sponsor the parley with the understanding that it considered the Oaks proposal only a "basis for discussion" which could be modified at San Francisco. When Russia balked at changing the invitations, the suggestion was made to France that she accept them as worded but make her position clear in an explanatory statement.

Gains Made at Yalta But They're Minimized

This suggestion was not immediately satisfactory. A deadline to get the invitations and the companion release of the text of the voting proposals out to the participating nations in time to discuss them at the inter-American conference at Mexico City had been set. To meet the deadline, the French announced rejection of the sponsoring bid. However, the French did agree to attend the parley along with the four sponsoring nations and 39 others which declared war against one or both of the Axis powers by March 1.

Meanwhile, American policy toward France continues to be geared to restoring her status as fast as military and world political conditions permit.

Her cause was advanced at Yalta by the agreement to permit France to occupy one-fourth of Germany and to participate in settlement of problems of liberated areas. However, French discussion of the Yalta decisions has permitted the fact that she was not invited to participate in quarterly meetings of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Russia to overshadow her gains.

A lend-lease agreement to provide for the restoration of French industry to put the nation's economy back in the war has been negotiated with the United States but less is heard about this pact, under which plans ot rehabilitate France may be initiated, than of admittedly inadequate shipping allocations.

Supplies sent over even prior to the conclusion of the lend-lease agreement made possible the arming of eight French divisions. At least another eight are to be outfitted. But these lend-lease armed divisions are the only adequately supplied ones possessed by the French nation—a prime indication that it is not now a great power, even though plans are being made for the time when she will once again become one.

Sources here have made clear that no reprisals will be taken against the French, even though her attitude is quite irritating. Her permanent seat on the council, main guarantee that she has of eventually reachieving great power status, will be saved for her, unless she decides she does not want the responsibility.

The Honduran Minister in Costa

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ALLIES BID FRANCE TO TERRITORY TALK

Four San Francisco Sponsors Invite Her to Pre-Parley Trusteeship Meeting

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 28—The French Government received today from Washington the reassuring news that the four sponsoring powers had agreed that France might be represented at their meeting to be held just before the San Francisco conference to discuss "trusteeship" for certain territories.

Trusteeship concerns mandated areas, certain areas to be taken from the enemies and such countries—possibly Korea—as may apply for that status. It is understood that trusteeship will involve far more direct international control than did the mandate system of the League of Nations. [The French say that they understand that the Americans will not raise the question of colonies—for instance, French Indo-China—at the five-power meeting on trusteeship. This news, almost coinciding with Foreign Minister Georges Bidault's speech yesterday alluding to a "campaign of ignorance and calumny" in the United States against the French colonial system, is expected to allay the apprehension that he betrayed on the official attitude toward the French Empire. It is not fully realized here that the French Government has had a bad press in the United States lately because of Gen. Charles de Gaulle's refusal of President Roosevelt's invitation and his reservations regarding French participation in the invitations to San Francisco at the very moment when the French were asking American aid for supplies, for arms for Indo-China, for arms for the French Army and now especially for the French prisoners liberated by the Allies' forces in Germany. Appeals for our aid to the prisoners have just been made by General de Gaulle.

General de Gaulle has not yet understood the importance of the Dumbarton Oaks plans as a means of committing the United States to participation in a collective-security system at just the moment when American opinion is keener for such a system than it may be a year or so hence. Consequently he failed to realize the effect of his reserved and cool attitude toward a wold organization for peace as contrasted with his insistence on the value of the bilateral pact between France and Russia.

Obsessed by the Rhine frontier, Gen de Gaulle has been inclined to give first priority to direct guarantees for that frontier and not to take equally seriously those broader but less direct guarantees represented by the adherence of the United States, Britain, Russia and France to a general scheme for security. Even as late as yesterday, M. Bidault expressed this attitude by saying that "collective security does not yet exist."

Mingled with General de Gaulle's qualified estimation of the value of the United States future contribution to security is an accumulation of grudges against Washington, the latest of which is the fear that the United Staes has an eye on French colonies or bases. Many Frenchmen believe that French interests would be furthered more effectively of General de Gaulle could shake off or conceal his suspicions—and if some of his close associates—but General de Gaullle is the boss here and few are those who venture very bold criticism or advice.

FRENCH CRITICIZE YALTA VOTE PLAN

Oppose Three Ballots for U. S. and Russia—May Demand Additional Voice, Too

BIDAULT TOPS DELEGATION

Suspicion of Paris Officials of Proposed 'Trusteeships' of Colonies Increases

PARIS, March 30 (AP)—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."

Bidault to Head Delegation

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.

The other chief delegates will be Réne Pleven, Minister of Finance; Francois Billoux, Communist Minister of Public Health; Joseph Paul-Boncour, one-time Premier and before the war France's permanent delegate to the League of Nations; and Henri Bonnet, present Ambassador to the United States. M. Paul-Boncour now is a member of the Independent Socialist party and holds a seat in the Consultative Assembly.

Chosen as alternates were Jean Monnet, the French special envoy who negotiated the lend-lease agreement with the United States; Gen. Alphonse Juin, Chief of Staff for National Defense; Admiral Georges Thierry d'Argenlieu, vice president of the Navy's Superior Council; Jules Basevant, chief legal advisor to the Foreign Minister; and Dr. Paul Emil Nagiar, a veteran of the French foreign service.

About fifty advisors and experts will accompany the delegates.

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 30—Having received no enlightenment from official sources in Washington, the French scan the American press and listen to noted American broadcasters for some hint of what lies behind the undefined term "trusteeship" that was contained in a memorandum from Yalta to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, caused him immediately to inquire suspiciously what this latest "Anglo-Saxon dodge" was.

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NEW POLISH REGIME IN TIME FOR PARLEY IS STETTINIUS' HOPE

Our Government Is 'Doing All in Its Power' to That End, He Says in Address Here

PATIENCE ON ISSUES URGED

World Organization and Peace Settlement Will Be Kept Separate, Secretary Insists

The address by Secretary Stettinius is on Page 7.

Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., who is temporary chairman of the United Nations security conference to be opened at San Francisco April 25, said yesterday that Poland as a member of the United Nations should have the right to participate, and that the United States Government was doing "all in its power" to bring about establishment of a new Polish Provisional Government of national unity in time to be represented.

In an address before the Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East Sixty-eighth Street, Mr. Stettinius conceded that the delay in setting up the new Polish Government had been "disappointing," but added that "nothing has happened to shake my belief" that the Crimea agreement on Poland would be carried out. He laid stress on the fact that the Big Three had agreed on a "strong, independent and democratic" Poland.

The agreement reached by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Marshal Joseph Stalin at Yalta seven weeks ago specifically provided that the new Polish Government should be formed by reorganizing the Lublin Government, which has close relations with Moscow, with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland and abroad. Washington and London reports have indicated that things have not been going well with the discussions of this subject at Moscow between Foreign Commissar Molotoff of Russia and the British and American Ambassadors.

Perspective on Issues Urged

Mr. Stettinius, however, urged the American public not to give way to "panic" at this or other difficulties, including the Soviet request for three votes in the Assembly. He said such problems were inevitable, and new ones would continue to arise. But they should all be kept in perspective, he went on, as "lesser differences" and as "temporary" ones, bound to be overcome by the "paramount" consideration that it is of "vital interest" to all the United Nations, large and small, to remain united in the future as they have been during the war, to organize the world for peace. World organization could never be accomplished, he said, if its architects allowed themselves to be disheartened by every difficulty.

Taking up other "forebodings and difficulties" that have beset plans for the San Francisco conference, Mr. Stettinius declared that this Government is determined to respect the "legitimate" rights of the small nations, but warned them that their freedom and independence could not be maintained unless the large countries were able to unite their military and individual power effectively. The alternative, he said, would be world anarchy under which the small nations would be the first to be overrun.

He answered those critics who have said the separation of the world security organization from the peace settlements to come later would commit the United States and other members to perpetuating all the peace settlements, good or bad. Just the contrary is the case, he said, since the world organization would be placed "above and apart" from the peace settlements, and would be free to deal with any

Continued on Page 7, Columr

NEW POLISH REGIME IS STETTINIUS' HOPE

Continued From Page 1

future threats to peace which they may develop.

The sole purpose of the San Francisco conference, he emphasized, is to draw up the charter of a world organization to keep the peace in the future. Not only is it not a peace conference, he said, but it will have nothing to do with boundaries, reparations, or the disarmament and control of Germany and Japan.

Although Russian sources have indicated they expect the British and American Governments to support the Soviet Government in resisting any substantial changes at San Francisco in the proposals drafted at Dumbarton Oaks, Mr. Stettinius made it clear that some changes are to be expected. He said the charter would "inevitably" represent "compromises" and "adjustments," just as did the United States Constitution when adopted at the convention in Philadelphia in 1787.

Future Improvements Expected

He also compare the world organization to the Constitution from the standpoint of future amendment. He said the San Francisco charter probably would not satisfy any of the nations completely, but would supply the framework for improvement as experience is gained in the functioning of world organization, just as the Constitution has been amended from time to time.

Speculation to the effect that the conference might be postponed because of the problems arising out of the approaching end of the war in Europe was dismissed by Mr. Stettinius as unfounded. He said the present military situation made it "more important" to hold the conference on schedule and to complete its work promptly. Winning the peace and preventing a third world war will be a longer task than winning the war, and will require as much or more international cooperation and unity, he warned, so that there should be no unnecessary delay in getting started.

was presented to the council by Mrs. Harriet Barnes Pratt as a memorial to her husband, Harold I. Pratt, for many years a member of the council. John D. Rockefeller Jr. has contrimuted a fund whose income will be used for the upkeep of the headquarters, and 192 members of thee council have supplied additional moneys to support the scholarly work to be carried out there.

The headquarters will provide quarters for the council's reference library on international affairs, conference rooms for meetings and discussions, and editorial and research offices. A tablet designed by Paul Manship has been placed in the hall of the building to commemorate Mrs. Pratt's gift.

New Headquarters Opened

The occasion for Mr. Stettinius' address was the opening of the new headquarters, known as the Harold Pratt House, of the Council on Foreign Relations. John W. Davis, a former president of the council, introduced Mr. Stettinius and paid tribute to the "foresight and consideration" shown by this Government in the organization of the post-war world. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of Foreign Affairs, the quarterly review published by the council, also spoke. R. C. Leffingwell presided.

The new headquarters building

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MIKOLAJCZYK SIDES WITH BIG 3 ON POLES

Ex-Premier Fully Endorses the Yalta Formula, Considers Amity With Soviet Vital

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 15—Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Premier of the Polish Government in Exile in London, who conferred with Anthony Eden just before the British Foreign Secretary went to Washington, issued an unequivocal statement today endorsing the Yalta formula for Poland.

This and other developments aroused speculation that the solution of the Polish deadlock might be imminent and might even take place in time for Poland to be represented at the San Francisco conference. But London was not quite sure what the solution would be. It has been reported on good authority that Prime inister Churchill will be able to announce some progress in his speech to the House of Commons Thursday.

Now that the Soviet Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff Molotoff, is going to represent the Soviet Union at the conference and British Commonwealth delegates have endorsed the Soviet's request for three votes in th future World Security Assembly, the outlook for San Francisco seems better to British observers. They hope that the last big cloud over the conference will be driven away by a settlement of the Polish issue.

In his statement today Mr. Mikolajczyk seemed to be trying to clear a way for himself to take part in a unified Polish Government.

In Czechoslovakia and Finland, it appears that the Soviet Union is not averse to non-Leftist government so long as they give evidence of being genuinely friendly to the Soviet Union. Mr. Mikolajczyk gave assurance tonight that he considered "close and lasting friendship with Russia" as "the keystone of future Polish policy."

Conscious of the propaganda campaign directed against him by the Warsaw Provisional Government, and that his own statements might have left the impression that he did not wholeheartedly agree with the Yalta formula, he said:

"To remove all doubt as to my attitude, I wish to declare that I accept the Crimea decision in regard to the future of Poland, her sovereign, independent position and the formation of a Provisional Government of national unity.

"I support the decision arrived at in the Crimea that a conference of leading Polish personalities be called with a view to constituting a Government of national unity as widely and fairly representative of the Polish people as possible, and one that will command recognition by the three major powers.

That statement seems plainly designed by Mr. Mikolajczyk to make himself acceptable to Moscow. It is doubly significant since it was issued after a talk with Mr. Eden, who has consistently sponsored him as a candidate for inclusion in the future Polish Government, but whose efforts have been met with vilification of Mr. Mikolajczyk from the Warsaw group.

It suggests that Mr. Mikolajczyk feels that it is time to make his position unequivocally clear.

One commentator suggested tonight that there was a connection between the decision to send Mr. Molotoff to the United States and a new optimism over Poland; that Mr. Molotoff would not have been assigned to San Francisco if some solution of major outstanding issue between the three powers were not in sight.

It was granted, however, that the factor of wanting Mr. Molotoff to talk with the new President of the United States might have influenced Premier Stalin most to change his mind about sending Mr. Molotoff.

Whether a unified Polish Government can be formed in time to send a delegate to San Francisco remains to be seen, but the British Government is eager for that also.

Reports persist in London, despite lack of official confirmation, that the leaders of the Polish underground who "disappeared" last month after meeting Red Army officers are in fact negotiating on the question of entering a re-forming the Polish Provisional Government in Warsaw.

HEARING ON POLAND ASKED OF SENATE

Committee Directs Appeal for Immediate Study of 'Intolerable Conditions'

The Coordinating Committee of American-Polish Associations in the East made public yesterday an appeal addressed to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate requesting an immediaite hearing on "the intolerable conditions in Poland."

The committee pointed out that at the Yalta conference this country assumed co-responsibility for conditions in Poland and, citing evidence admitted in the House of Commons since the Yalta conference, called on the Senate to demand either that the United States be given joint power in Poland to fulfill the joint responsibility of the "Big Three" or that this country admit its inability to keep its promises.

The committee charged that deportations of Polish citizens to Russia were continuing on a vast scale and that five permanent and several temporary concentration camps were opened by Russia for members of the Polish Home Army and underground movement.

"Hitler sought to destroy the Polish nation by killing all its educated democratic leaders because only a leaderless people can be enslaved," the committee declared. "The Communist totalitarians now carry on where the Nazis left off."

"No one can dare speak of a free election if the heroes of the underground are treated as criminals, if there is no freedom of press and assembly, if Russia, a totalitarian power, occupies Poland alone, if the 150,000 soldiers of the Polish Army who fought for our side on most of the bloodiest battlefields of this war are not allowed to vote, if the millions of Poland deported to Germany or Russia are not returned," the committee asserted.

The committee demanded that American officials, social workers and newspapermen be permitted to go to Poland and in sufficient numbers to supervise conditions and report to the American people.

The committee asked that its representatives be permitted to appear at any hearing to be held on the question by the Senate foreign relations committee.

The appeal to the Senate committee was signed by Joseph S. Kaszubowski, president of the Co-Ordinating Committee of American-Polish Associations, which claims to represent 150 Polish organizations in the East.

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Allies Reject Red Bid That Parley Admit Pole Proteges

NYC Post 4/2/45

Refusal to Invite Warsaw Regime Is Seen Widening Rift Opened by Vote Deal

By Ben W. Gilbert

A sharp new split in the ranks of the "big three" threatening the accord reached at Yalta developed yesterday with the disclosure that the United States and Great Britain have rejected a Russian bid to seat the Soviet-backed Warsaw government of Poland at the San Francisco conference of the United Nations.

Both American and British replies to Russia expressed the hope that agreement could be reached on the make-up of a broader and more democratic government for Poland in accordance with the Yalta agreement, but the hope was qualified by the fact that only 25 days remained before the conference.

The blunt way in which the Russian demand on behalf of the former Lublin committee was revealed publicly in a dispatch from Tass, Soviet news agency, stirred speculation that the Soviet was presenting it on a take it or leave it basis, with Russian attendance at the San Francisco conference hanging in the balance.

Concert of Discords

The Tass announcement followed closely the disclosure that Russia was demanding three seats in the proposed United Nations assembly to balance partially the six votes held by the United Kingdom and the British Empire, including India, and the announcement that Andrei Gromyko, Russian Ambassador to the United States, rather than Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov is to head the Russian delegation to the April 25 Golden Gate conference.

The demand for three assembly votes and a countering American demand for three votes is expected to draw sharp opposition from many of the smaller powers, and is probably doomed to fail for want of a majority.

These issues, adding to the storm already brewing over proposals for colonial trusteeships, voting in the top security council where the demand of France for special guarantees threaten to turn the Golden Gate parley into a diplomatic cockpit.

The possibility also developed that the United States and Great Britain would find themselves in disagreement with the Russians over Argentina, which is now dressing its windows to meet inter-American and United Nations requirements to get an invitation to

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the parley. Russian publications have made no secret of Soviet opposition to Argentine participation in the conference.

Her Chance Slight

American sources have conceded that Argentina has only an outside chance to get an invitation.

Another source of possible controversy at San Francisco is the voting procedure to be adopted for the conference. It is conceivable that the Soviets may couple their demand for three votes on the assembly with a demand for three votes at the conference.

Meanwhile, a dispatch from Australia has indicated that the dominion "down under" does not plan to be bound by any British empire unit rule at the conference.

The belief that the British empire would vote as a unit is said to underlie the Russian demand for additional assembly votes, and also possibly may be a factor in her insistence that the Warsaw—or Lublin—Poles be represented at San Francisco.

Postponement Discussed

So completely had the public attitude toward the San Francisco conference changed since the decision to hold it was announced at Yalta that it was being suggested unofficially that it might be well to postpone the conference for a time to work out the problems that have appeared since Yalta.

It has also been argued that April 25 might prove an inappropriate time to hold the conference. If German resistance ceases by that date, the political leaders of the United Nations world will have their hands full with the task of settling German political problems.

The American attitude on the Polish question was revealed by a State Department spokesman.

"It is the hope of this Government," he said, "that the formation of the new provisional Polish government of national unity in conformity with the decisions of the Crimea Conference will be completed in time to send a delegation to the San Francisco conference.

Broader Basis Is Crux

"In view of the current consultations respecting the formation of this new government, reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad in accordance with the Crimea agreement, the United States Government does not agree to the extension of an invitation to the present provisional government now functioning at Warsaw."

Both Great Britain and the United States previously had cold-shouldered a demand from the London Polish government in exile that it be invited to the San Francisco Conference, even though the two powers still recognize it officially. Russia, which broke with the London Polish group two years ago, sponsored the Lublin committee and then allowed it to establish itself in Warsaw as the provisional government of Poland.

A committee of the American and British ambassadors to Moscow and Commissar Molotov was set up in Yalta to meet in Moscow and Warsaw and work out plans to broaden the Warsaw government.

The three-power committee ran into difficulty almost immediately with the Warsaw government objecting to names submitted by the British and American representatives.

According to the Tass dispatch, the Soviet government suggested to the British and American governments prior to March 22 that the Warsaw regime be invited to attend the parley if the three powers failed to agree on a reorganized Polish government in time.

On March 22, Tass said the Warsaw regime addressed a request to the four sponsoring powers—United States, Britain, Russia, and China—for a ticket to San Francisco. Subsequently, Tass indicated, the Soviet government asked the United States for an "early answer" to its previous suggestion, advising that it supported the statement of the Warsaw Poles "and trusts that Poland will be given the possibility of participating in the San Francisco Conference."

In its original statement to Britain and the United States and Russia, as reported by Tass, suggested that the absence of diplomatic relations with Poland by the two western powers should not be a barrier to an invitation to Frisco, and pointed out that Russia has no diplomatic relations with India, Liberia, Haiti, or Paraguay—four countries which Russia was willing to have attend the conference.

In London, a British spokesman objected to the comparison.

"There is no parallel between the two cases," the British official said. "After all, there are not two governments in those nations. We are not asking that the emigre Polish government, which we recognize, be invited either."

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TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 1945.

STANCZYK FAVORS POLISH SOLUTION

Former Exile Minister Ready to Work for Peace on Basis of Crimea Decisions

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 19—Jan Stanczyk, former Minister of Labor in the Polish Government in London who resigned from the executive committee of the Polish Socialist party and conferred last week with Prime Minister Churchill on the Yalta decisions, declared today that he was ready to take part in a settlement of the Polish question on the basis of the Crimea communiqué, but he urged an early agreement.

A union leader, he is a member of Premier Tomasz Arciszewski's party, but he declined to enter the Cabinet when it was formed and he joined former Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk in retiring from office. Mr. Mikolajczyk has generally been expected to be one of the Poles from London to be invited to Moscow to participate in the formation of a unified Polish Government.

After his conference with Mr. Churchill, Mr. Stanczyk said today that he was ready to help settle the Polish question "because I have long striven for good-neighborly relations between Poland and Russia. I think such relations are in the interest not only of Poland but also of Russia."

Assumes Sincerity

He explained that his attitude was not to question in advance the sincerity of the framers of the Crimea decisions, as Mr. Arcizewski's Government has done, but to put them to a practical test and, by participating in the negotiations for a new government to prevent the great powers from saying that the Yalta formula failed because the Poles would not give it a chance.

Mr. Stanczyk, who has met President Roosevelt twice, asserted that he had found both the President and the Prime Minister to be sincere friends of Poland, interested in securing her independence and integrity. "In spite of the fact that the Crimea decisions are not just to Poland, especially as they take from her the Lwow and Doryslow district, I have not lost hope of creeating neighborly relations between Russia and Poland," he said.

"But the conditions for this are that Poland receive a truly representative government composed of the leaders of the main political parties and that this government have freedom of action within the frontiers of the new Poland. If Marshal Stalin would like to win not only the confidence but also the enthusiasm of the Polish population, he could do nothing better then to leave to Poland Lwow, which Poles regard as not only a Polish city, but the cradle of their culture."

He urged that the new government of Poland be created quickly and made truly representative in order to remove suspicion that Russia did not intend to treat Poland as free and independent. "I am convinced," he continued, "that this new Poland must align its foreign policy with that of the Soviet Union. This means she should not make any treaty which might be interpreted by Russia as an anti-Russian coalition.

Sees Danger in Germany

"The security of both Poland and Russia will be best served when Poland and Russia can stand together againsts every danger from foreign attack. I still see in Germany a danger for both nations, and one has no security without the other.

"But the internal life of the Polish nation," he continued, "must be free. I am very afraid that postponements or delays in creating the new Polish Government can create dangerous differences because Polish public opinion is beginning to be suspicious that, after the painful operation of frontier changes, other parts of the Crimea decision are not being sincerely executed by the three great powers.

TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1945.

MIKOLAJCZYK STEP IRKS LONDON POLES

Ex-Premier Accused of Trying to Enter Talks of Soviet and Men Who 'Disappeared'

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 16—Reports that Polish underground leaders are conferring with Soviet authorities on the creation of a new Polish Government have been so persistent that even the exiled Polish regime in London, which first reported the "disappearance" of those men, showed today an inclination to believe them.

A statement of the Polish Telegraph Agency, official news service of the London government, accused former Polish Prime Minister Stanilaw Mikolajczyk of trying to insinuate himself into the supposed conversation. Mr. Mikolajczyk issued a statement yesterday endorsing the Yalta formula for Poland, indicating that he believed a break was coming in the Polish deadlock and was ready for any role that might be assigned to him.

The Polish Telegraph Agency's statement said:

"Mr. Mikolajczyk, by accepting without reservation the results of the Crimea conference and by placing himself in opposition to the attitude of the Polish Government and unanimous public opinion on this question, clearly appears as a belated candidate for inclusion in the conversations which are perhaps already in progress somewhere and to which quite possibly he will not be admitted.

"The direct result of Mr. Mikolajczyk's statement can only be to render more difficult the defense of the real interests of the Polish public by the missing politicians who in any case find themselves in circumstances which give no guarantee at all of their being able to make a free decision.

"For the Soviet parties to the conversations, Mr. Mikolajczk's attitude may serve as a tactically convenient asis for negotiations.

The Polish Telegraph agnecy again stated the familiar position of the Polish Government, that it desires an understanding with the Soviet Union, but on a basis of democracy and a guarantee of the true independence of Poland.

The sixteen Polish underground leaders who "disappeared" after receiving an invitation to parleys with Soviet authorities, were part of the "shadow government" of Poland allied with the London regime formerly headed by Mr. Mikolajczk and now headed by Tomasz Arciszewski.

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LONDON POLES END NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dissolution Decree Is Laid to Cabinet Fear of Group's Support for Yalta

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 21—The Polish National Council, wartime parliamentary body established when the Polish Government was set up in London, was dissolved by a decree of President Wladislaw Raczkiewicz tonight.

The decree said the action was taken in preparation for the organizing a new council more representative of the Poles inside Poland and in the liderated and other countries. Presumably the latter referred to the United States and Canada, and its is believed that representatives of Polish organizations there will be appointed to the new council in an attempt to bolster the tottering Government of Prime Minister Tomasz Arciszewski.

Although the National Council had mainly a consultative role, it was one of the branches of government lending a democratic basis to the London government. Its dissolution was viewed here as another step forced by events in the slow disintegration of the Polish Government in London. That process, it is expected here, will continue until only a few die-hards remain around the Arioszewski Government to continue opposition to the Yalta decisions.

Move Laid to Cabinet Fear

The decision to dissolve the Council was speeded, it was thought, by the fear of the present Cabinet that the Council would give its support to the new government of national unity, whenever it is formed, according to the Yalta formula.

Organized on a party basis, the Council's support of the London government has been weakening since Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, chairman of the Peasant party, resigned as Prime Minister last September.

As a consequence of his resignation the Peasant party members of the Council and some Socialists, National Democrats and Christian Labor representatives have since become the anti-government majority in the Council. The Government's fear that it could not count on the Council's support was reflected in the fact that it did not submit a protest against the Yalta decisions to the Council, which afterward refused a request to identify itself with the protest.

The British Government was asked in the House of Commons today whether the negotiations being conducted in Moscow to form the new Polish Government were progressing and Richard K. Law, Minister of State, replied that Prime Minister Churchill or Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden would make a statement "at the earliest opportune moment."

He added that the Government "fully understands the importance which the House attaches to these most important negotiations."

[Asked whether the Government had taken or was taking the same action as the United States in reinforcing the British Ambasasdor in Moscow with officials from the Foreign Office, Mr. Law, according to The United Press, replied:

["I am afraid I cannot answer that offhand, but I can assure him (the questioner) that we are as one with the United States Government in this matter."]

In a written answer to a question on Polish representation at the San Francisco conference, George H. Hall, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied that Poland could be invited only if the Polish government of national unity were formed, because the Soviets do not recognize the present London government and the other Allied Governments do not recognize the provisional government now established in Warsaw. He hoped the new government would be formed in time to be represented at the conference.

U. S. Said to Spur Solution

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP)—The United States has taken diplomatic steps to quicken the Russian pace in negotiations for a new Polish Government, it was stated here today.

Somewhat impatient with delays that may keep Poland from the San Francisco conference, this country has made it clear in Moscow that it would like to see the talks cleared up soon.

The Moscow negotiations stalled for almost a month after Yalta, but officials say they now are under way again.

This may be due in part to specific American actions taken to show Russia how anxious Washington is to have the Polish question solved before April 25, date of the United Nations meeting.

Diplomatic quarters take the view that a democratic answer to the Polish problem would be one of the best assurances the major powers could give smaller nations at San Francisco that they can work out peace problems together.

FOOD CRISIS IN CUBA

Soviet Backs San Francisco Seat for Poles

WBC Post 3-23-45

By Frederick Kuh

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London, March 22.—A communication from Moscow to the British Foreign Office declares that in the Soviet government's view it would be unfortunate if Poland were not represented at the San Francisco Security Conference.

Two constructions are being placed upon this Russian observation. One is that the Soviet Union has simply expressed the regret which the other powers also feel at the prospect of Polish absence from the conference.

The other is that this communication was intended as a hint that, failing agreement on the new Polish Government of National Unity in time, Premier Stalin would like to see a delegation from the Warsaw-Lublin administration attend the conference.

The London Poles also are keeping alive their intense concern at their omission from the governments invited to San Francisco.

Having failed to get an invitation, however, the Polish government in London will have two observers at San Francisco.

French Seek Change

Paris, March 22 (AP).—The French delegation to the world security conference at San Francisco next month will urge adoption of "a more simple" voting procedure, officials said today, and also will ask that members of regional pacts be allowed to act in cases of emergency without prior approval from the council.

French ideas on the voting procedure among proposed amendments ot the Dumbarton Oaks plan were communicated to the sponsoring governments yesterday and made public today.

The Quai d'Orsay voting amendment would divide all council votes into "recommendations," and "decisions." An unqualified two-thirds vote would be necessary to pass a "recommendation," while a "decision" would necessitate a two-thirds vote, including all permanent members.

Officials stressed that provision for regional pacts remained a cardinal point in the French proposals. One amendment would allow nations signatory to a regional pact to act without prior approval from the world council "in cases of emergency."

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Unprepared WDC Post 4-2-45

Russia's request that the unrepresentative Polish government first set up at Lublin be invited to the San Francisco conference and the British-American denial of that request has put this much-heralded meeting in a new light. The incident has brought into the open the lamentable fact that inadequate preparation was made at Yalta for a conference to bring into being a United Nations charter. That fact and all its far-reaching implications must now be thoughtfully faced to avoid any further damage than has already been done to the prospect of organizing the world for peace.

When Messrs. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill made their historic report on the Crimea conference some weeks ago, we assumed that there had been a meeting of minds about Poland. That impression was confirmed by the President's address to Congress and by numerous reports from his associates who had joined in the discussions at Yalta. Now, however, it appears that there was no real meeting of minds on this issue. Rather there was an agreement on words which mean something quite different to the Russians than they mean to our own officials. The disparity of viewpoints on this highly controversial problem naturally raises the question as to whether the agreement at Yalta is equally inconclusive on other vital points.

What the Big Three agreed to work for in this case was a "Polish provisional government of national unity." The government now functioning at Warsaw was to be "reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad." Apparently Russia interprets this to mean the mere inclusion of some outside elements in the Warsaw regime. The American and British members of the Polish Commission have been seeking a new provisional government. The State Department too speaks of the agreement to form a "new" provisional government for Poland. Here is the first major source of the present misunderstanding.

Franco-Russian alliance. She is mainly thinking of a resurgence of German militarism.

The argument advanced on behalf of the French contention is understandable. The French point out that in an age of air power and rocket bombs speed in countering the moves of an aggressor is of the essence. A nation might be overrun, a city such as Paris completely wiped out, before the Security Council could even get around to discussing the aggression and approving the types of action automatically provided for in such special security arrangements as the Franco-Russian pact. A bird in the hand, moreover, is worth two in the bush. France has reason to remember that in 1919 the United States and British governments made a treaty with France guaranteeing her against aggression by Germany. For that treaty she had agreed to give up permanent control of the Rhineland. But our Senate failed to ratify the treaty and, as Britain's agreement was contingent on American participation, the pledge became a dead letter.

Let us first think of the French wonder as to whether the interest of other countries in preventing German aggression may be counted upon. The defeat of Germany, which only now in the sixth year of the war is being brought to accomplishment, is taking the combined efforts not only of France and Russia but also of Great Britain, the United States and other nations. All of these powers, having had to do this job, are equally concerned in remaining on the job, for the memory of two world wars in a generation cannot easily be erased. All of them seem to be planning to underwrite a guarantee against German aggression, and it is scarcely conceivable that there will be any repetition of the resignation of responsibility on the part of the United States. The fact remains in support of the French doubt that the guarantee is still in the talking stage.

Moreover, regional pacts have a place in the general scheme of peace. The Dumbarton Oaks plan makes provision for regional arrangements, and there is everything to be said for solution of regional problems by action of the parties most directly interested. This problem of how to reconcile regionalism with universalism is likely to be one of the most difficult as well as one of the most important problems at the San Francisco conference. We have ourselves raised the problem in the Act of Chapultepec, as well as France. At San Francisco, the object, it would seem, should be to let enforcement of purely regional disputes be undertaken by the regional agency, if the parties so desire, but if the dispute involves a nonsignatory or otherwise has a nonregional significance then the Security Council must be the agency to take cognizance of it.

The second point on which there was no meeting of minds is procedure in the Big Three Commission on Poland. Messrs. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill merely created this body to aid in working out Poland's problems without specifying how it should operate. Our delegates returned assuming that its decisions would be made by majority vote, but the Russians insisted on unanimity of action. This makes it possible for them to reject suggestions for the inclusion of any Polish leaders in London in the provisional government. Consequently, the Warsaw regime has not been reorganized; the deadlock which the Big Three was supposed to have broken at Yalta remains in effect; and Russia has indicated a dwindling interest in San Francisco by naming Ambassador Gromyko instead of Foreign Commissar Molotov to head her delegation.

It is not surprising in these circumstances that the Russians should ask that the Moscow-sponsored Polish regime be invited to San Francisco without reorganization. Nor is it surprising that the United States and Britain should reject this plea. They could not reasonably do otherwise. The pity is that they did not make their position clear at Yalta. Apparently the Big Three were so congenial about reaching compromises that they didn't even bother to make certain what those compromises meant.

International collaboration for peace cannot be securely built on such a foundation. It requires a definite and positive meeting of minds as to how the peace system will operate, even though long and tedious negotiations may be necessary to bring about such understandings. To be sure, such negotiations have the effect of emphasizing differences at the outset and thus clouding the path toward agreement. The impact of such differences is likely to be much greater, however, if they are concealed beneath vague generalities and spring out to plague the peace system after the public has assumed that harmony has been attained.

Officials may well ponder, therefore, postponement of the San Francisco conference until a more complete meeting of minds has been attained. That course would unquestionably involve risks. Once postponed, the conference might never be held. But that risk must be balanced against the risk of having the conference end in failure or of setting up a peace system without any closer meeting of minds than was achieved at Yalta on the Polish issue. Certainly the conference ought to be given the best possible chance for success whenever it is held. There is nothing compelling about April 25. If the prospect for bridging the gaps in the Yalta agreement could be improved during a longer preparatory period, we see no reason why a new date should not be fixed.

Security Issue

Wash Post 4-2-45

Pending the official publication of the French memorandum on world organization, comment is necessarily inhibited. But the newspaper digests from Paris seem to give a pretty fair idea of its content. It would seem that doubt as to the efficacy of the new world organization is implicit in the memorandum. France lays considerable stress on keeping intact and not subject to the Security Council's veto the enforcement provisions embodied in such "regional" pacts as the

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Misc.

WDC Post
2-15-45

Six Arab Nations Endeavor To Organize League of Own

Cairo, Feb. 14 (U.P.).—Foreign Ministers of six Arab nations met today to form an Arab union to protect their immensely rich and important interests in the Middle East.

After years of effort they hoped now to draw up statutes which would amount to the establishment of an Arab League of Nations. Their success might have tremendous effect on the plans and interests of the United States, Britain, Russia and France after the war.

Delegations from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon attended the opening session. A delegate from the little state of Yemen at the lower end of the Red Sea was expected.

Gen. Georges Catroux, French government expert on Arab affairs, arrived Monday for a visit. It was believed he came to watch developments.

(In London, Minister of State Richard Law said to a questioner in Commons that the government would consider sending a message of good will to the conference.)

It was indicated that the conferring nations hoped to form a union which could present a united front to the big powers on Middle-Eastern problems. It was believed also that they would try to compel France to grant complete independence to Syria and Lebanon, mandated to her after the last war.

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REPRESENTING SAUDI ARABIA AT WORLD SECURITY PARLEY

Five members of the royal family, who are part of the country's delegation to the San Francisco meeting, at La Guardia Field before boarding a plane for Washington. Left to right: Princes Nawaf, Abdullah, Mohammed, Faisal and Fahad. The New York Times

EGYPT TO DEMAND WIDER WORLD PLAN

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, April 10 — The position which Egypt will take at the San Francisco conference, as stated by Premier Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrasky Pasha, was debated in both Houses of Parliament tonight, but without any doubt that it would receive full approval.

The Premier, in identical statements submitted to the houses last night, declared that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals did not go far enough and that Egypt intended to present at San Francisco concrete proposals of her own concerning the basis for a post-war international organization.

He said that Egypt attached the highest importance to full recognition of the sovereignty of all nominally independent States. Concerning the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, he stated:

"Egypt appreciates the motives which dictated these proposals as well as their tendencies. She feels, however, that they do not reach the goal aimed at either as to the purpose of the future organization or the balance between the great powers and the small."

It has been emphasized by the Government that Egypt's primary concern at San Francisco will be to obtain unqualified equality among the nations which plan the security organization. In the debate tonight one deputy demanded that Egypt go farther and assert the right, "in view of her position among the countries of the East," to a permanent seat in the security council."

His suggestion failed of adoption, but it gained stress for the increasingly influential position of Egypt among the countries of the Arab world.

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SAN FRANCISCO BAN FOUGHT BY ARABS

Invited Countries Join Syria, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan in Collective Protests

SAM POPE BREWER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, March 21—The Arab countries intend to make a major issue of the question of including Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan in the San Francisco conference or barring them from it. The Syrian Foreign Minister, Djamil Mardam Bey, announced here today that Syria would send a delegation to San Francisco even if uninvited.

Arab circles take the view that the whole spirit of the forthcoming post-war settlement is open to suspicion if there are any reservations in the treatment of these countries as fully independent. Mardam Bey's announcement followed a session at which the Arab League delegates voted to send a collective protest, to be signed by the Egyptian, Iraq and Saudi Arabian delegates as representatives of those member states that have been invited.

The Lebanese, Syrian and Trans-Jordanian delegates to the Arab talks conferred this morning with the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Abdul Hamid Badawi Pash, and the Trans-Jordanian Premier, Samir el Rifai Pasha, conferred with the British Ambassador to Egypt, Lord Killearn, long enough to miss today's Arab League session. Rifai Pash declined to comment on the invitation controversy beyond saying: "I think that my country should take part in this world conference."

After the League session, Badawi Pasha also visited the British Embassy. The purpose of his call was not revealed.

Mardam Bey, who has been vehement on Syria's right to participate at San Francisco, said that the delegates would leave about April 15 for America regardless whether an invitation was received. This was the method used at Geneva by the Syrians to protest their lack of League of Nations membership, since they felt that the presence of the delegation would have the moral effect of keeping their grievances alive in the delegates minds.

Along the sidelines of the current meetings of the Arab League there has been a host of private meetings and conferences on special points. Premier Abdul Hamid Keramy of Lebanon and the Palestinian Arab delegate, Moussa el Alami, had long interviews yesterday with Sir Walter Smart, the British Embassy's senior expert on Middle East affairs, and there have been numerous meetings between various delegates.

The Arab League's meeting winds up tomorrow with the formal signature of the League's constitution as definitely approved. It is still subject to ratification by the Governments concerned but they aer expected to push that through in time for the first full session of the League's council early in April before proceeding to San Francisco.

Cairo, which has long been the unofficial center of the Arab political world, is consecrated in that position by the new constitution, which makes Cairo the sea of the League Council. This is natural in view of the superior facilities for communications and accommodation. The meetings are to convene twice yearl and the first secretary general is expected to be Abdel Rahman Azzam Bey, Egypt's Minister for Arab Affairs.

CHARTER ADOPTED BY ARAB LEAGUE

Palestinian Delegate Barred From Signing—Yemenite on Way to Cairo

By SAM POPE BREWER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Dumbarton Oaks
WDC Post
2-8-45

WDC Post 2-8-45

Halifax Urges Security Order On 'Oaks' Basis

Aserting in his opinion development of the flying bomb and rocket was the greatest military revolution since gunpowder, Viscount Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, said last night it is vital to world security to establish a watertight order on the basis of Dumbarton Oaks.

Lord Halifax spoke before a preponderantly military audience of approximately 300 persons at a meeting of the American Veterans Committee in the Statler Hotel.

He said he thought it possible that in the "next five and 20 years a 10-ton projectile could be sent "on New York, or any worthwhile cities of the United States."

The diplomat, said: "Most of you here are younger than I am. Some are younger than others. And it is to the lower end of youth that I wish to especially address my remarks because in their generation will rest the greatest weight of responsibility."

He said Britain perhaps feels more intensely about the necessity of secure world order because "we can never forget that for long we stood on the White Cliffs of Dover and knew that just 20 miles across the English Channel the Germans were marshaling their forces.

"Peace aims of Britain are the same as those of the United States," said Lord Halifax. "We want a secure international order, respect for law, and fair opportunity for men and women everywhere to get jobs and live decent lives."

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BRITAIN AND SMALL NATIONS AWAIT WORD ON OUR POLICIES

Doubts as to the Future of World Peace Are Revived by Roosevelt's Death

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 14—In 1940 and 1944 the Europeans could not believe that Franklin Delano Roosevelt would not be re-elected President of the United States. They could not understand why other candidates should even be considered.

Today they find it equally difficult to conceive that they have lost him. As Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, wrote United States Ambassador John G. Winant Friday: "His courage, his imagination, his concept of democracy and his personality seemed absolutely essential yesterday. Today we must do without him. I hope we can."

M. Masaryk's sense of loss was particularly poignant because he had intended to see Mr. Roosevelt next week, but it is no exaggeration to say that he expressed the sentiments of many millions, especially among masses and in the small nations.

"Where Mr. Churchill gave us strength, Mr. Roosevelt gave us faith," The London Evening Standard said.

Effect on Europe

He restored Europe's faith in America and helped the Continent to keep the faith in its own future.

What the people of Europe now want most to be assured is that his passing does not make any difference. Lacking that assurance, until they know President Harry S. Truman better, they are beset by fear not that the war will be lost but that the peace won't be well and truly won.

As for the war, Europe feels that Mr. Roosevelt's task was all but finished. They are grateful for the human sympathy and the unerring instinct for history that impelled him to lead a reluctant nation into preparing for the war that overtook it at Pearl Harbor.

They consider Mr. Roosevelt's greatness as a war leader assured. His part in planning of European strategy was played long ago. His day-to-day intervention in the conduct of the campaign was slight.

But in the planning of the peace Mr. Roosevelt's work had just begun. Western Europe, at least, felt the need of his concerts to guide and inspire the organization of the future world society.

Although the spirit of the United States has obviously been remolded in the crucible of World War II, thinking Britons have long been afraid that the United States would revert after the war, as it did in 1920, to isolationism and withdraw its material and moral support.

That fear was associated in British minds with the uneasiness that Mr. Roosevelt, the internationalist, would be superseded too soon by another man. They trusted him and no other to keep the Americans' face turned toward Europe.

A subconscious resurgence of that fear was undoubtedly one of the reasons why London newspapers this week wrote of Mr. Roosevelt's death as a "disaster" and a "calamity."

Await Truman's Course

They will take their loss—and they speak of it as their loss as well as the Americans'—with less distress if, in the coming months, Mr. Truman gives evidence of being able to hold the United States on the course set for it by his predecessor.

In a more personal sense the British always took courage from the thought that Mr. Roosevelt was on their side and in fact, in person and in spirit, was beside their adored Prime Minister.

Britain showed courage in 1940, but she also felt the loneliness of the abandoned, and the rifles that Mr. Roosevelt sent to rearm this defenseless nation had more spiritual than real value in that foreboding hour.

First, when the Atlantic Charter was drafted, and thereafter it heartened also to see Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill standing together both against the common enemy and in negotiations with their mutual friend, the Soviet Union.

It is no disparagement of the Soviet Union's war effort or her aims to say that her ideas for the future management of Europe and enforcement of the peace do not accord always with those of her western Allies.

Gained Strength After Yalta

That is a fact that the people of Britain appreciate while at the same time having a fervent desire to collaborate in permanent peace and friendliness with the Soviet Union.

Especially since Yalta, the British people have come to realize how effective Mr. Roosevelt was in obtaining a compromise between the principles of three allies without yielding too far on the ideals that are shared by the American democracies.

More often than not, the British and Russian aims were more nearly in accord than the Russian and American. But it frequently happened that Mr. Roosevelt's attitude accorded more closely with the aspirations of the people of the free and liberated countries.

Probably even more than the proud and self-reliant British, the peoples of the smaller democracies of Europe applauded the moderating influence that Mr. Roosevelt exercised on the deliberations of the Big Three. They were undoubtedly disappointed in their hopes for their liberation, but Mr. Roosevelt's forthright and constant insistence upon their rights as free nations helped to perpetuate their trust in him and in the future.

How much Mr. Churchill valued Mr. Roosevelt as a friend, counselor and supporter could be told from the tears in his eyes on Friday morning.

Reaction in Russia

Premier Stalin, they say, succumbed, as many a lesser man has done, to the Roosevelt charm.

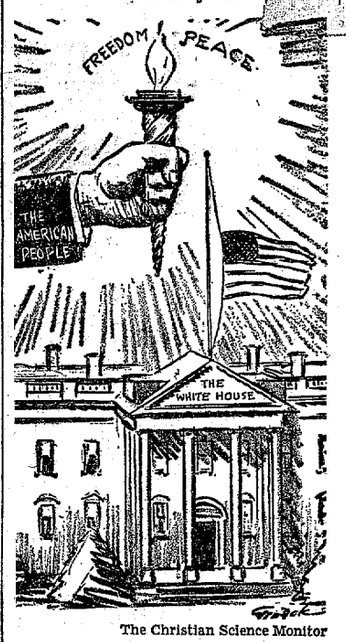
The Soviet press on Friday acknowledged that Mr. Roosevelt had "contributed much to the success of the Allied conferences," and paid a notable tribute to the political views of a non-Communist.

At this hour the Soviet Union, glorying in its triumphs, confident of its future and determined upon its course, undoubtedly does not feel the loss of Mr. Roosevelt as keenly as western Europe.

It is mainly in the west that people have come to realize that when Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill were able to meet and agree all seemed well and that otherwise everything political seemed to go awry.

When President Truman contemplates these intangible realities of his predecessor's spirit it is no wonder that he seems awestruck. Europe prays that Mr. Roosevelt's spirit will inspire him to greatness.

"THEIR JOB"



The Christian Science Monitor

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WDC Post 4-4-45

British Nations Open Meeting Today on Unity

London, April 3 (AP).—Britain mustered diplomatic representatives from her dominions today for an exploratory meeting opening tomorrow to weld empire solidarity—particularly on economic problems—in preparation for the San Francisco conference.

The meeting, with no public discussions planned, will begin in an atmosphere of uncertainty over whether possible war developments may delay the world security assembly set for April 25.

Talk that VE-Day might come before April's end was increased by the presence here of White House Advisers Bernard Baruch and Edward J. Flynn, both on secret missions. London police were known to have been placed on one-hour call for victory celebration work and an authoritative British source said "it's only common sense to realize that things may happen which will necessitate its (the world conference's) postponement."

On the eve of the empire meeting, there were indications of some differences of opinion among dominion representatives. There was a tendency to discount any likelihood that Britain would be able to commit them to a united stand on all issues.

One of the major differences of opinion may arise over the issue of relative authority within the Security League. England is sure to seek authority as great as that of Russia and the United States, and Canada and Australia are likely to press for authority commensurate with their claimed positions as "middle powers."

Other questions which probably will be discussed here involve the future of mandated territory and land recaptured from the enemy, the position of dominions in regional security arrangements and in the development of world air routes, and the empire's preferences in future trade relations.

Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts of the Union of South Africa, veteran of negotiations which followed the last war, arrived with the South African delegation today. Representatives of New Zealand, Canada and Australia also arrived.

Peace Parley 'Last Chance,' Eden Asserts

WDC Post 3-22-45

Glasgow, March 21 (AP).—Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden told the Scottish Conservative Party conference tonight that the San Francisco world security conference would be a new experiment in international practice which "may well prove to be the world's last chance."

The Foreign Secretary, who will head Britain's delegation to the Golden Gate meeting, hinted at some form of link-up among European powers in which Britain would play a hand. Declaring that Britain always had opposed domination of Europe by any one power, he added:

"We are determined that Europe shall only be united by the free will of its separate states. When that happy day comes, we shall, we hope, be in partnership with it."

Imperial Unity Is Goal

Eden indicated that the whole British Empire might seek to speak with a single voice at the world conference. The purpose of the dominions' meeting in London early next month, he said, was so all would be "made fully aware of each other's point of view before we join the other United Nations at San Francisco."

Eden said, however, that it had never been Britain's policy to "create coalitions against great European powers unless they have pursued a policy of agression."

Touching the problem of voting and veto powers by the big nations in the future world security organization, as agreed by the big three at Yalta, he commented: "I would not say we have found a final solution.

Cites Powers' Obligations

"There can be no freedom in the world unless the smaller states can be joined with the great powers in protection of their common interests. Their right to have their own way of life must be respected. They must have their due share in making the great decisions. . . .

"But one fact stands out. Responsibility and power must be related if institutions are to survive the test of experience. But if this is true, it is also true it is the duty of all great powers to use their exceptional strength with restraint. It is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

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BRITISH ACCLAIM ROOSEVELT'S STAND

Gratitude Voiced in Press for Renunciation of Plea for Extra Council Votes

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Wednesday, April 4—London is pleased over the renunciation by the United States of its demand for additional votes in the proposed world security organization because this decision removes one of the issues which some have feared might wreck the San Francisco conference.

Proposals that the conference be postponed have not ceased although the obvious intention of the inviting powers is to convene it as scheduled. Demands for another meeting of Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin to be held in advance of the conference have been renewed although it was less than two months ago that they last met.

The Russian-American request for additional votes in the security organization were an unexpected shock to the British and the possibility of a scramble for power among the major countries at San Francisco was viewed with grave misgivings here.

The British Government could apaprently foresee the argument at San Francisco that Russia and the United States shauld have additional votes to counterbalance the six votes of the British Commonwealth, for yesterday Britain's answer to that argument was quietly put forward. With inspired unanimity the British press announced this morning that the conference of the British Commonwealth delegates here today could not in any sense be considered as an effort to "gang up" on the other nations.

The source of this assurance was not permitted to be given, but emphasis was laid on the independence of theh Dominions, an independence which is so real, it was pointed out, that Ireland has refrained from entering the war.

In its leading editorial, The Times of London says that Mr. Stettinius' statement "will be generally welcomed as clearing the ground for an unhampered consideration of the Russian claim which is advanced as a special case."

While the statement will allay some uneasiness, says The Daily Telegram, it does not remove "the dissatisfaction concerning the possibility tha one great power might take aggressive action if it chose despite the censure of the others."

To that disquieting factor The Daily Mail added several others, including Russia's "half-hearted attitude toward the conference, failure to resolve the stalemate over Poland's representation at San Francisco and the question of the operation of regional pacts within the world security framework."

In an editorial headed "San Fiasco Query," The Daily Mail said that the confeernce, "is already surrounded by an air of scepticism which might lead to disillusionment and failure. 'Failure,' The Mail said, 'would leave in its wake a feeling of oitter frustration which would be of the blackest augury for the prospects of peace.'"

DOMINIONS DEMAND BIGGER PEACE VOICE

Seek British Support for Changes in Oaks Plan at Empire Talks Opening Today

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 3—Representatives of the Dominions at the British Commonwealth "family discussion," which will open here tomorrow preliminary to the San Francisco conference are reported to be planning to take a strong stand under aCnadian leadership to gain United Kingdom support for two points they consider essential to any world security organization.

These points are that the so-called "middle powers" shall have a fixed proportion of seats on the proposed council, and that means should be devised so that small nations will have a voice in major decisions involving the use of force or sanctions.

At the Empire meeting, there will be as one delegate described it, "hard and plain talking," especially by delegates of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

It was stated today that the British Government, which has closely consulted with the Dominions on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, has formed no rigid attitude toward points to be made by the Dominions and will listen with an open and sympathetic mind.

Canada's Position Supported

Support for the Canadian position has been voiced privately here by delegates from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. New Zealand is reported to feel especially strongly that an inadequate place has been provided for small nations in the Dumbarton Oaks plans.

To remedy this New Zealand would give every nation in the proposed assembly a vote when an issue involved sanctions or war. Under the Dumbarton Oaks draft, these issues would be decided by the security council. The argument which New Zealand is expected to advance at the Commonwealth talks is that after a few years of peace, peoples of small nations will not participate in any punitive war, in the making of which they had not vote or voice.

Although the New Zealand delegates are not optimistic that Great Britain will support their proposal, they argue that a majority vote in the assembly—not unanimity as was required in the League of Nations—should decide questions of sanctions or war.

With the five permanent members of the council voting in the assembly, the New Zealanders believe that a majority should be easily obtained unless there was something very wrong with the case under consideration. At the same time, they added the dignity and sovereignty of each small nation would be upheld far more.

Recall Chapultepec Agreement

The New Zealand delegates point to the Chapultepec agreement, in which the political and territorial integrity of each American republic is guaranteed by all others on a basis of equality as a preferred model for world organization. Although Britain's attitude toward New Zealand's case is not expected to change at the talks here, support for Canada's "middle power" proposal is reported as such that the United Kingdom may go to San Francisco as its champion. Australia's bid for similar status also has aroused interest here.

The empire talks are expected to last through next week, and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden will review for the delegates developments in the world situation since Dominion Prime Ministers met last May.

Prime Minister Churchill, it was stated today, may attend some sessions if points arise in which he is interested.

While there is no agenda for the discussions, they are likely to fall into four parts covering the colonial question, the world situation, Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the world court of justice.

In the consultations between the United Kingdom and the Dominions there has been a general identity of views, it was stated, but there are some points to be cleared up, and the primary purpose of the talks is to attempt to eliminate these differences.

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FORCE FOR SECURITY ASKED IN COMMONS

Group of Conservatives Would Have 'National Contingents' Ready When Needed by League

LONDON, April 11 (U.P.)—Nine Conservatives, headed by Sir Cyril Entwistle, introduced a motion in the House of Commons today urging the British delegation to the San Francisco Conference to see that "national contingents" of armed forces were "immediately and automatically available" to the projected world security league to put down aggression.

Reliance upon national contingents alone should be regarded only as a preliminary measure, the motion said, and later steps should be taken to create an international force under the direct control of international authority.

The motion also said that "arrangements whereby permanent members of the council may veto the application of sanctions in any issue in which they are directly involved shall be regarded as a temporary measure to be reviewed as confidence grows."

The United Nations War Crimes Commission recommended to its fifteen member Governments today that plans for dealing with war criminals be discussed at the San Francisco Conference. The decision came after the commission turned down a Czechoslovak proposal that it submit a memorandum direct to the conference asking it to put war crimes on its agenda.

Dr. B. Ecer, Czech representative, voiced fear that the end of the war would find the Allies without machinery to punish Hitler and other war criminals. In an article in the official Czech newspaper, he charged that the delay might be due to sympathy for Hitler in some high circles.

Czechoslovakia, possibly with the aid of Yugoslavia, would bring up the war crimes issue at San Francisco if no one else did, Dr. Ecer said. The impatience of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia apparently reflected their close ties with Russia.

The official Soviet press often has criticized the United Nations War Crimes Commission. It has said that Hitler was put on the criminals list only after considerable public pressure.

The commission, however, is powerless to enforce its recommendations. It is an advisory organization only and has made several recommendations to Allied Governments which have not been approved.

CHURCHILL NAMES PARLEY DELEGATES

Eden Will Head Nine-Member Group at San Francisco—Four Parties Represented

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 22 — Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced today the appointment of a nine-member British delegation to the San Francisco World Security Conference that, like the United States delegation, gives strong representation to both principal political parties and ot the same time notable recognition to Labor and the women's vote.

As expected, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden will head the British delegation, although over the protest of some Labor Members of Parliament.

Within less than two weeks, Mr. Eden will preside over a meeting of the British Commonwealth delegates to the conference that was called to coordinate British policies on the most important matters to be decided at San Francisco. The meeting tentatively is scheduled for April 4 in London, and Mr. Churchill will address the delegates.

There is no Great Divide in British foreign policy like that which separates isolationists and internationalists in the United States but particularly with the approach of Britain's first general election in ten years there is a rivalry between Right and Left that manifested itself today in the reception to Mr. Churchill's announcement of the delegation. The conference, incidentally, will have the effect of postponing the election—probably until fall—no matter when the war in Europe ends, since it will remove from the country some of the principal figures in the campaign.

Shinwell, Bevan in Attack

Mr. Churchill in fact told the Commons today that "whatever happens," the present coalition Government should be continued until after the San Francisco meeting.

When Emanuel Shinwell and Aneurin Bevan, Mr. Churchill's personal bull-baiters, demanded to know why their fellow Laborite, Clement Attlee, as Deputy Prime Minister, did not head the delegation instead of the Conservative, Mr. Eden, Mr. Churchill replied that "the title of Deputy Prime Minister is a courtesy title and one which has no constitutional authority at the present time." He said Mr. Attlee, whose constitutional post is Lord President of the Council and who "is not a self-seeking man," entirely agreed that Mr. Eden, who bears the constitutional responsibility for foreign affairs, should head the delegation. In passing, he took a personal swipe at his tormentors.

Later it appeared that some militant Laborites had taken the subordination of Mr. Attlee to Secretary Eden as a serious affront and would try to make an issue of it at the next meeting of Labor M. P.'s. They were annoyed that Mr. Attlee himself had not insisted on the leading role.

Except for this political byplay, Mr. Churchill's announcement seemed to please the largest possible number of people. The principal delegates besides Messrs. Eden and Attlee will be Lord Cranborne, Dominions Secretary whose knowledge of Commonwealth policy is desirable and who is intimately identified in the public mind with Mr. Eden's upright anti-appeasement policy; and the Earl of Halifax, who like Cordell Hull is a former Foreign Minister.

Two Women Are Named

The junior delegates will be the following Parliamentary secretaries—that is under-secretaries—of various ministries: George Tomlinson, Labor; Miss Ilen Wilkinson, Home Secretary; Miss Florence Horsbrugh, Health; William Mabane, Food, and Dingle Foot, Economic Warfare.

The delegation contains four Conservatives, if Lord Halifax, who is a member of the War Cabinet when he is in the country, is considered still an active politician, three Laborites, one Liberal and one Liberal National. Mr. Attlee is chief ornamente of the Labor party in Parliament, while Miss Wilkinson is chairman of the party and Mr. Eden is leader of the House of Commons — corresponding to majority leader in the United States House of Representatives.

The composition of the delegation corresponds roughly to the strength of the parties in the Commons. By giving proportionate representation to the parties, Mr. Churchill, like President Roosevelt, has placed a certain obligation upon the minority parties to share the responsibility for the San Francisco decisions.

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SMUTS DEMANDS PARLEY SUCCESS

Warns Dominions That Failure at San Francisco Would Be 'Disaster for Mankind'

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 5—Warning that there were indications of a lack of spirit among the Allies to make the San Francisco conference a success Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts told delegates at opening session of the British Commonwealth talks yesterday that "colossal victory" was in sight for Allied arms, but "stark disaster" faced mankind if the conference failed.

The speeches of all the delegates were released today and several emphasized, in the words of Viscount Cranborne, Secretary for the Dominions, who is presiding over the talks, that their purpose was not to "gang up on anybody" or to "obtain any sectional advantages for ourselves."

In the most important speech, Field Marshal Smuts, Premier of South Africa, who is ranked second only to Prime Minister Winston Churchill in the councils of empire statesmen, said that the Dumbarton Oaks plan corresponded more to realities than the high idealism of the League of Nations.

Significance of New Councils

"We have now seen that they who would wield power must also carry special responsibility," he said. "That is why the Council now becomes something very different from the old Council of the League.

"It is no longer a body for gate-crashing by smaller powers. It is no longer a body on which to seek prestige for ambitious minor states.

"It is a body which has a special duty for world peace, for world security and great powers on it have special duties thrown on them such as they never had under the old League."

Some of the lesser powers, he said, would have to make "very considerable sacrifices" and concessions will have to be made on all sides to keep the more powerful nations together.

The basis of the League Covenant that big and small were equal was true in theory, but did not work out in practice, he went on, and if the Big Five could not keep together the position of the smaller nations who could not defend themselves would be hopeless.

"If we go under others also will go under and it is not only we who will suffer. * * * We know that our sea power is not supreme and the oceans do not keep us together any more. We know we are not the greatest air power.

"We know that with all these vast assets and responsibilities, hese opportunities for human good, we are in a somewhat insecure position.

"And I hope that whilst we shall not be selfish at San Francisco we shall bear in mind that we stand for something very great, in the order of the world and for the progress of mankind."

Position of Australians

Francis M. Forde, Deputy Prime Minister and War Minister of Australia, said that the Australians did not think that thhe present proposals for a world organization were "entirely acceptable," but, in approaching the problems, they felt that "self-interest can only be synonymous with the interest of all."

Marshal Smuts Expected Here

Meanwhile the prospect of a visit here by Jan C. Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, prior to the San Francisco conference developed with the announcement from Praetoria that Marshal Smuts would head his Government's delegation to the conference.

"Prime Minister Smuts," Mr. Grew said at his press conference, "has given long and profound thought to the problems of international organization. In his famous memorandum of 1918 he foretold with uncanny accuracy why the League of Nations would not be successful and his counsel at San Francisco will be particularly welcome.

"All of the British Commission are sending representatives. Canada is sending Prime Minister Mackenzie King, with whom the President has just had such constructive talks. We look forward to similar talks with Deputy Prime Minister Forde and Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia and the representatives of New Zealand."

Roosevelts to Entertain Athlone

President Roosevelt will receive tomorrow for a two days' official visit the Earl of Athlone, Governor General of Canada, and his wife, Princess Alice. The official functions in their honor will include a state dinner in the White House Friday night.

Meanwhile the voting procedure at the San Francisco conference remains undecided. Each country will have one vote, it was said at the State Department, but it has not yet been decided whether a project to be adopted will require a bare majority, or a unanimous vote, or the unanimous vote of at least the great powers. This question of procdure, it was explained, would either be worked out by the conference itself or through diplomatic exchanges before the conference.

The White House announced that President Roosevelt called on Cordell Hull at the United States Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Md., yesterday to discuss the San Francisco conference and found the former Secretary of State much improved in health. However, the White House was unable to say whether Mr. Hull would be able to attend the San Francisco conference.

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Eden to Head British Delegation to San Francisco Parley

London, March 22 (U.P.).—Prime Minister Winston Churchill today named Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden chairman of a nine-member delegation to the San Francisco security conference over the angry protests—which he called "churlish"—of two Labor Party members.

Emanuel Shinwell and Aneurin Bevan, tireless critics of the government, charged that in making Maj. Clement Attlee, Laborite deputy prime minister, an ordinary member of the delegation under Eden, Churchill, was trying to grab power for his Conservative Party with a view to the election to be held after the European war.

Churchill made history by naming two women to the delegation—Ellen Wilkinson, veteran Labor Party member of the House of Commons and parliamentary secretary to the ministry of home security, and Florence Horsbrugh, parliamentary secretary to the health ministry.

Halifax Is Named

The Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States, who is also a war cabinet member, will be on the delegation.

Other members are Lord Cranborne, dominions secretary; George Tomlinson, joint parliamentary secretary to the ministry of labor; Dingle Foot, parliamentary secretary to the ministry for economic warfare, and William Mabane, parliamentary secretary to the food ministry.

As soon as Churchill had announced the make-up of the delegation to Commons, Shinswell and Bevan objected. Shinwell asked Churchill:

"Is it not all quite consistent with his (Churchill's) declaration at the Conservative conference that the Conservative Party, having got all they wanted in the way of assistance and guidance in the war, are now going to get everything which is useful in their own hands?"

This was a reference to the Labor membership in the wartime coalition government.

"I never said that," answered Churchill. "There could hardly be anything more unfair, or a more characteristic utterance than that."

Praises Attlee

Churchill defended his choice of delegates by saying that Eden was leader because he was foreign secretary. He said that Attlee had agreed to the arrangement and praised Attlee for always trying to "play the game and do the best he can in the circumstances."

He charged that Shinwell was trying his hardest to break up the coalition government.

"Any fair-minded man would say that the Labor Party have had fair representation," he added.

"Not from you!" shouted Shinwell.

"I am the person responsible for nominating this delegation," Churchill said, "and the Labor Party have had fair representation in it."

Amid interruptions from the Labor side, Churchill continued:

"I must say I think it is a churlish manner in which to receive a statement of this kind. All my colleagues are in full agreement. I do not mean with what I have said just now, but with my statement on the delegation."

Churchill Jests

Churchill commented half-jokingly that the coalition government must continue until after the San Francisco conference, April 25. Actually, it has been agreed to hold an election after the war ends in Europe.

Three members of the San Francisco delegation are Labor—Attlee, Tomlinson and Miss Wilkinson. Eden and Miss Horsbrugh are Conservative. Foot and Mabane are Liberals. However, Lords Halifax and Cranborne are Conservative peers.

Eden announced that the government hoped to arrange a foreign policy debate in Commons before the British delegation left for San Francisco.

It was planned also to hold a dominions conference here April 4, for a week's discussion of San Francisco policy.

Canadian High Commissioner Vincent Massey will represent his country.

Miss Wilkinson, one of the two women delegates to San Francisco, is a slight but fiery champion of women's rights. Miss Horsbrugh is tall and regal-looking. Both are members of the King's privy council. Only one woman before them was a member.

Miss Wilkinson represents the shipbuilding area of Jarrow. She was first elected to Parliament in 1924.

Miss Horsbrugh is Conservative member for Dundee. She was elected in 1931.

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Eden Bars 'Bullying' by Big Powers; Sees 'Last Chance' on World Peace

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 21 — Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated tonight in an overture to the San Francisco conference that British policy is opposed to the bullying of small powers by the great ones. He added that the conference, which he will attend as Britain's chief delegate, may be the "world's last chance to create an effective peace organization combining responsibility with power."

In a political speech to the Scottish Conservative party's conference in Glasgow Mr. Eden restated the principles of British foreign policy and the changed circumstances that influence it. Notably, he recognized the prime reality of Britain's position in the world today—that she no longer is mistress of the seas.

As a Conservative and disciple of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who may some day inherit the master's mantle, Mr. Eden, speaking on domestic issues, echoed Mr. Churchill's advocacy of the post-war continuance of a coalition Government and endorsed Mr. Churchill as the best man "to call the nation to the great tasks of peace and inspire it to master them."

The principles of Britain's foreign policy, he said, were these:

(1) The responsibility of the executive to Parliament that gives the people's representatives a con-

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EDEN SAYS BRITAIN OPPOSES 'BULLYING'

Continued From Page 1

stant check on foreign policy but sometimes makes the Foreign Secretary feel "like a man playing a difficult hand of cards whose earnest friend says in a loud voice, 'Why don't you play that queen of spades.'"

(2) Constant consultation between the United Kingdom Government and the dominions.

(3) The traditional intention "to keep open the highways of the seas."

(4) Constant striving "to prevent Europe falling under the domination of one power."

As to freedom of the seas, Secretary Eden asserted that the time had long passed when the Royal Navy could command all seven seas and that Britain in relying on her allies to make up her deficiencies had consequently "lived dangerously."

"Now that the air has introduced a new factor in naval strategy," he said, "it is still more impossible for any one power to maintain control of the seas as we once did.

"These are considerations which no Foreign Secretary of this country should ever allow himself to forget," he added. What Mr. Eden undoubtedly had in mind was the axiom stated by Walter Lippmann and others that no nation should incur foreign policy commitments that it did not have the military resources to support.

Unity in Free Will

Concerning the fourth principle of British policy, Mr. Eden stated that while not seeking domination herself, Britain had fought three great wars to prevent Europe's falling under the domination of another single power.

"We are determined," he continued, "that Europe shall only be united by the free will of its separate states. When that happy day comes we shall hope to be in partnership with it. But we have never sought to create coalitions against European powers unless they have pursued a policy of aggression."

At the same time he asserted that British statesmen have been foremost among those seeking security by discussion and compromise among the great powers. While urging that the unity of wartime be maintained to produce post-war harmony of policy on the basis of a common interest transcending the aims of each individual power, he said:

"* * * it is against all traditions of our policy to allow unity among the great powers to become a means to bully the smaller. There can be no freedom in the world unless the smaller States can be joined with the great powers in their common interest."

A New Experiment

He acknowledged that the final solution for this form of collaboration had not yet been found, but said, "We are about to embark on a new experiment in international practice. We hope to lay the foundations of this at San Francisco. This endeavor may well prove to be the world's last chance."

Speaking on domestic issues, Mr. Eden joined Mr. Churchill in declaring that Britain could win her post-war aims of better housing, more education, full employment, social security and health insurance only by "hard work, by courage and by enterprise, by free enterprise."

While joining in the Conservative party's battle cry of "free enterprise" for the post-war general election, Mr. Eden warned that "some controls will still be necessary" after peace—controls that the recent Conservative party conference showed were an anathema to the right wing.

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DURABLE PEACE AIM OF BRITISH WOMEN

2 Delegates to San Francisco Parley Insist False Mercy Must Not Spare Reich

By KATHLEEN McLAUGHLIN

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 26 — Great Britain's two women delegates to the forthcoming conference at San Francisco are keenly concerned that a sound basis shall be reached there for international amity and cooperation to guard against the contingency of a third world war, which they feel would be inevitable in the event of failure.

Miss Ellen Wilkinson and Miss Florence Horsbrugh, both Members of Parliament and recognized as among the abler women in the United Kingdom, discussed the subject this afternoon from the perspective of their own experiences in the past quarter century.

"If the larger nations of the world do not get together, the outlook is too grim to bear thinking about" is the way Miss Wilkinson summed up her attitude. "What is achieved at San Francisco depends upon how much the Governments concerned are willing to sacrifice to secure the goal.

"As this war is ending, we can see the shape of the next one. We know now that rockets can be fired great distances with tremendous effect, and that similar weapons will create a robot war on civilians, whose Governments will have to see to it that such things are not allowed to take place."

Miss Horsburgh, parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Health since 1939, believes that the representatives of the Allied Governments will appear at San Francisco as the trustees of the future, because "it has taken two wars in our generation to teach us that the next generation does not understand."

It is easier for the governmental leaders of the United Nations who sustained their respective country's efforts through the present conflict to grasp the probability of another onslaught by Germany in another twenty years than it is for the troops who fought against the Nazi hordes, she feels.

This is an understandable reaction, in her opinion, because contact with German families tends to soften the impact of German cruelties and to blunt anger at atrocities.

"I feel we must not spare ourselves," Miss Horsburgh says, "in endeavoring to build up some organization that will prevent the youth of our countries having again to go through what he have. In the immediate post-war years, when memory is fresh as to what happened, the problem is not difficult, compared with the long-term arrangements we shall have to make to guard against another outburst by Germany.

"How that is to be done, I confess I don't know, but I believe that public opinion in Great Britain supports the view that whatever is decided must be backed with sufficient force to make the plan endure."

Like Miss Wilkinson, who is parliamentary secretary for the Home Office, Miss Horsburgh had previously visited the United States but neither has ever been west of the Mississippi. Both expressed eagerness about the trip to the West Coast and asked about the weather and the scenery in that part of the world.

Each of the two received a congratulatory cablegram this morning from Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, who will be a United States delegate. She expressed her hope of greeting them in San Francisco. Miss Wilkinson has already met Miss Gildersleeve, but Miss Horsbrugh, who has not, was particularly pleased to get the message.

Both the British representatives have been heartily felicitated on their appointment by both men and women in the British Isles, but gratification is especially strong, they admitted, among the women here, who had urged inclusion of some feminine representatives even more insistently since hearing that an American woman had been named.

THE COLONEL IS TAKING ORDERS

Col. Joseph Stilwell Jr., son of Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, commander of Army Ground Forces, playing with his children, Joe 3d and "Kiki," at their home in Columbus, Ga., after returning from service overseas.

Associated Press Wirephoto

SPECIAL PRAYER DAY

April 22 Set in Observance of San Francisco Conference

The official heads of thirty-four national church bodies issued yesterday a call for the observance of a special day of prayer on Sunday, April 22, for the success of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, which will begin on April 25, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America announced. The call was addressed to more than 140,000 churches throughout the nation and also asked that special services of prayer be held on April 25.

The signers include the heads of Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches and of interdenominational agencies. The message warned that failure of the conference would mark a long step toward a third world conflict and expressed the belief that its success could offer "reasonable hope for the development of a just and durable peace."

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DOMINIONS DISCUSS POLICY ON SECURITY

Canada's Spokesman at Empire Pre-Parley Conference Urges Dumbarton Oaks Changes

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 4—The delegates to the British Commonwealth Conference disposed of the preliminary work of procedure and agenda today and will get down to important business tomorrow when questions of colonies and mandates are expected to be taken up.

It is believed that general agreement will be reached favoring continuation of the mandate system in the new world security organization rather than an international authority delivered here to be favored in the United States.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden addressed the opening session of the conference. Viscount Crandborne, colonial secretary, was chairman. The talks are being held in private. A general communiqué probably will be issued at their close, expected in about ten days.

Views of Canada Voiced

A canadian spokesman emphasized that adoption here or at San Francisco of Canada's proposals for changes in the Dumbarton Oaks draft was not a price the Dominion was putting on her participation in a world organization. These points concern chiefly what the spokesman described as "functional principles" of influence determined by responsibility, or in other words, a bigger role in the world security council for Canaga as "a middle power."

The Canadian view is that a security constitution for the world cannot be drafted in final form while the war continues and until peacetime planning is further advanced in other fields.

"Whatever is done now should be subject to revision and amendment later," the Canadian spokesman said. "Points raised by Prime Minister Mackenzie King are points for discussion and consideration but are not conditions of ultimate Canadian membership."

This view is shared by representatives of other Dominions. They have specific objections to the present draft and are prepared to talk plainly about them in the privacy of the Commonwealth meeting. It is felt here, however, that they are unlikely to carry them into the open at San Francisco, on the theory that acrimonious debate might jeopardize what is obtainable at the moment.

Empire Tariffs in Background

It is understood that there will be no discussion of Empire preference tariffs during the London meeting and that the economic phase of the commonwealth gathering will be concerned solely with international regulatory councils. Australia is seeking additional powers for the coordinating economic council proposed.

Gen. Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, is expected to stress the need for regional commissions inside the framework of a world security organization. Dr. H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister of External Affairs, has already expressed the desirability of such regional pacts.

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International Bill of Human Rights To Be Offered at World Peace Parley

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 20—President Roosevelt today expressed sympathy and interest in proposals for three commissions to be set up in the world organization by the San Francisco Conference, to deal with the questions of human rights, migrations and statelessness.

The proposals were submitted to the President by ex-Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, formerly of the New York Supreme Court, and Jacob Blaustein, chairman, representing the American Jewish Committee. They announced that their organization has drawn up an interim report and specimen bill of rights which they will present to each individual member of the American delegation to the San Francisco meeting. Plans are being discussed with the State Department to place the proposal before the conference and obtain its incorporation in the structure of the United Nations organization.

After the White House visit Mr. Proskauer said that while the events of the war had made the subject of exceptional interest to the Jews, the program was submitter rather in the interest of obtaining world recognition of human rights for every one, regardless of race or religion.

The committee's proposals center on three principal permanent commissions to be included in the world organization.

The first is a committee to frame a world decision of human rights, which all nations will insure to all persons living within their boundaries, and which will deal constantly with problems in this connection as they arise.

The second commission, to deal with migrations, would concern itself with the vast question of transfers of populations which will come as a result of the war settlements, and will endeavor to facilitate unavoidable migrations as much as possible. The commission's aim also would be to eliminate, as much as possible, the necessity for migrations from the countries of origin.

The third commission would deal with the problem of statelessness, which affects not only Jews in many countries of Europe, but peoples of various countries who will have no nationality status. The international commission would aim not only to provide these stateless persons with a status, but to insure protection of their rights.

The final report which the committee for the peace conference will deal with problems of the peace settlement, the questions of indemnities and reparations and the punishment of war criminals.

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CHURCHILL DELAYS SPEECH ON POLAND

Hopes Settlement May Come From Foreign Ministers' Conference in U. S.

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 17—Prime Minister Churchill held out to the House of Commons today the prospect that the imminent meeting of the Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff Molotoff might pave the way for settling the problem of a new Polish Government.

Because the three men were soon to come together and he did not want to prejudice the position, Mr. Churchill postponed a statement that he was scheduled to make to the House of Commons on Thursday on Russian-Polish relations and the general war situation. "I think it might lie awkward with the general movement of events" to debate the Polish question then, he explained.

Announcing changes in the schedule of work before the Commons because of last Friday's adjournment on the death of President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill said: "Serious changes in the world situation have taken place since the order of business was planned. Now the Foreign Secretaries of Russia, Britain and the United States will have an opportunity of meeting which has been greatly needed since we left Yalta, and I would not like to plunge into discussions which might in any way impair the prospects of a definite improvement in regard to various subjects which were discussed at Yalta and have not yet reacheid their full fruition."

Members were well content to let the matter lie at this time, in strong contrast to their mood of last week. Then the anxiety over the deadlock in the efforts to reorganize the Polish Government was reflected in eight questions appearing on the order paper in one day and the anxiety was allayed by the promise of a statement from the Prime Minister.

Officials of the Foreign Office said tonight that, as far as they knew, there had been no new major developments on the Polish question. They were openly sceptical of reports reaching here from Washington that the Russians had drawn up an agreement on a new Polish Government satisfactory to the Big Three.

BRITISH HOLD BACK DOUBTS ON PARLEY

Debate in Parliament Reveals That Efforts at Understanding Are Worth Trying

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 17—Britain's delegates to the San Francisco Conference were told in Parliament today that the people's representatives still have grave misgivings about proposals for world security organiation but they are willing to swallow them in the interest of permanent understanding with the Soviet Union and the United States. Such was the tenor of the debate in both houses of Parliament.

Spokesmen of the delegates underscored Parliament's interpretation of the fundamental issue—that the Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta proposals were not perfect, but they were better than no agreement at all.

"I think that unless we combine with other nations," said Maj. Clement Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister, "the alternative is the continued menace of war indeed the probability of a devastating war which will destroy much of our civilization."

Both Major Attlee and Lord Cranborne, Leader of the House of Lords, emphasized that they would go to San Francisco with open minds, but they held out no hope of a drastic change in the proposed constitution of a world security organization. The public was advised to expect no miracles of perfectionism, but to have patience, understanding and faith in the efforts of the Allied nations to find a workable formula for peace.

The underlying worry of Members of Parliament and peers was the same as always—that the proposed voting procedure would exempt any one of the great powers from disciplinary action by the world security organization and that small powers conversely would be imposed upon. The Earl of Perth went so far as to call this arrangement "legally and morally wrong," although he admitted it was the necessary price of an agreement.

Major Attlee and Richard Law, Undersecretary of State, upheld the voting procedure as being based on realities and not legal fictions, while Lord Cranborne asserted that small nations would have an equal responsibility with the great powers in the sense that their participation was essential to success.

Still, members showed only "tepid enthusiasm," as Ivor Thomas said, and urged that security organization proposals be made subject to subsequent amendment.

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WIDE PARLEY VOICE HAILED IN CANADA

Prime Minister Praised for Decision to Have Opposition Sit at San Francisco

By P. J. PHILIP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 10 — The announcement made by Prime Minister Mackenzie King before he left for Washington that he would include representatives of the opposition in the Canadian delegation to the San Francisco conference has given universal satisfaction in the dominion.

Mr. King did not make it clear how many opposition representatives he would name, and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party is not certain that it will have representation. It is understood, however, that the Government will leave it to the four opposition groups to decide among themselves how the representation will be shared.

This is the first time in this war that the political opponents of the Liberal Government have been invited to share Government responsibility and it is accepted as a proof of a real desire by Mr. King to keep security organization decisions above party politics.

Signs of Political Clash

Canadian reaction to the Act of Chapultepec promulgated by the inter-American conference in Mexico City shows, nevertheless, that there is developing an uneasiness about the prospective Canadian position at San Francisco which might develop into a political issue.

Involved is insistence that Canada, as the fifth largest contributor among the United Nations to the winning of the war, should have a proportionate rank at the conference table and in the world security organization.

Another element in the uneasiness concerns the commitments which Canada may be called upon to make.

For half a century the principal political preoccupation of the people of this British dominion has been that they should be free to decide their course of action for themselves and in the years since the last war that preoccupation has been intensified.

Step by step, and with the full consent of the British Government and people, Canada has secured the liberty which was exemplified in September, 1939, when it exercised a free choice on whether to enter the war. It chose to join in the war and only occasionally, as in the Quebec Legislature this week, has the charge been made that it was compelled in its choice by the British association.

What is feared by some is that this freedom within the British Commonwealth may be surrendered to an international organization dominated by the three largest world powers. Throughout the history of the League of Nations the Canadian approach to any commitments was always cautious and that attitude is again developing with respect to the proposed world security organization.

Trend From Centralization

Sentiment in Canada is veering to local autonomy and away from centralized government. There is a resurgence of insistence on provincial rights and in the analysis of some this is a reaction to the extensoin of power of the Dominion Government to which the Provinces assented as a war necessity.

This attitude is showing itself most plainly in the French-speaking Province of Quebec, but it extends to the other provinces. The demand for provincial control of family allowances and for provincially owned radio stations are only two indications of the movement for the recovery of provincial autonomy.

Developing is a trial of strength between the central and the provincial Governments, and this at the time Canada is moving to share in an organization in which, possibly, national sovereignty must be sacrificed to a considerable extent.

In such circumstances there is complete approval in the country for Mr. King's decision to give to his political opponents a voice in the Government's deliberations at San Francisco.

Turkey Calls Moscow Envoy

LONDON, March 10 (AP)—Selim Sarper, Turkish Ambassador to Moscow, will return to Ankara early next week for a consultation, the Ankara radio said today.

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CANADA SUPPORTS SECURITY PROGRAM

But Mackenzie King Raises Problem of Secondary Nations' Standing

By P. J. PHILIP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 20—The position of secondary States in the world security organization was raised by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King in Parliament today when he moved a resolution aimed to obtain the widest possible support by Parliament to the delegation that will attend the San Francisco conference.

Exception, he said, could hardly be taken to the extending of special perogatives to the great powers, on which the major responsibility for keeping the peace must rest. That is a correct application of the functional idea of international organization and the position accorded to a state should correspond with the functions that it was able and ready to discharge, he added.

But, the Prime Minister continued, if this principle were granted it would seem right that its further application to secondary states should be both logical and appropriate. The contribution of states other than the great powers to the success of the security organizations will vary very greatly, is his opinion. It would be in the general interest, he said, to accept the guiding principle that power and responsibility should be made to coincide as far as possible.

Sees Gap Narrowed

If this can be done, the result will be to narrow the gap between the great powers and other nations while maintaining the principle of the sovereign equality of all member states, he added. It will mean that the smallest and least powerful members will not bear the same responsibilities as countries like Australia, the Netherlands and Brazil.

"It is the view of the Government," Mr. Mackenzie King said, "that the constitutional position within the organization of important secondary states should be clarified and that the delegation from Canada should exert the utmost effort to assure due recognition of their relative standing among the nations of the world."

This declaration was cheered by members of all parties in the House of Commons.

As the proposals stood, Mr. Mackenzie King continued, all states other than the great powers would have the same constitutional position in the organization. No regard would be paid to their national significance, to their record in resisting aggression or to their potential contribution to the maintenance of peace. It is surely desirable, he added, that, among the

states that are to be elected members of the security council there should be several that could make a valuable contribution to the maintenance of security.

At the same time, there should be representation from different parts of the world, he said. In San Francisco, he said, some method of selection will have to be decided with due regard for the power and responsibilities of the secondary states that would make the council a powerful an deffective body.

Sees Difficulty on Sanctions

The proposal that all members should bind themselves to carry out diplomatic, economic and military sanctions at the request of the Security Council raises another difficult question for Canada and other secondary States, Mr. Mackenzie King said. As the proposals stand, their acceptance will in no way commit Canada to send forces beyond Canadian territory at the call of the Security Council. If any such commitment were sought it would be embodied in a later agreement freely negotiated by the Government of Canada and coming into effect only after it had been approved by Parliament, he added.

It would seem desirable, Mr. Mackenzie King said, to develop some procedure whereby States not represented on the Security Council would not be called on to undertake serious enforcement action without the opportunity of participating in the council's proceedings or without agreeing separately to join in executing its decisions. The cooperation of States not represented on the council and especially of those bordering on an offending State would be essential and what would be a probable practice might well be made the formal rule, he added.

A third question that Mr. Mackenzie King suggested would have to be debated in San Francisco and would be brought forward by the Canadian delegation consirned transitional announcements that would be necessary for the enforcement of the surrender and peace terms against Germany and Japan. Special announcements, he said, will clearly be required as long as these countries are under full military occupation. It will therefore be necessary, Mr. MacKenzie King said, to have a definition of the relations between the security council and any international authority that may be set up to supervise any long-term measures of control of enemy countries.

While the Canadian Government approves the purposes and principles set forth in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and considers that they constitute a satisfactory general basis for a discussion of the charter of the proposed international organization, the Prime Minister suggested that, in view of the difficulty of planning a world sceurity organization, especially while the world was still at war, it might be desirable to include in the charter some provision for its general review after a term of years.

It will not be until the conclusion of the debate that the Government will announce the composition of the Canadian delegation, Mr. Mackenzie King said. It will include representatives of both Houses of Parliament and both sides of each house.

Before ratification, the charter will be submitted to Parliament for approval. In proposing that course the Government is following the procedure customary with respect to treaties.

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Rift in Canada's Security Aim Widens as Debate Progresses

MP's Insist Cleavage Is Not Political—Differences Hinge on How Strong War Policy Will Affect Empire Ties

By P. J. PHILIP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 23—The divergence of outlook on the policy Canada should pursue at San Francisco has become marked as succeeding speakers on the Conservative and Liberal sides of the House of Commons have taken part in the debate.

It is not a political difference in the strict sense. At least, those who support Prime Minister A. L. Mackenzie King's proposals and those who are critical of them will not admit that it is political. To them it is a fundamental issue that derives from ad ifference of philosophy, of conception, and of the interpretation of experience.

Translated into concise terms, the difference is between those who are willing to hope that the new peace organization will be a great improvement on the League of Nations and those who are anxious that nothing should be risked at the expense of the unity and collaboration of the British commonwealth which stood united in 1939 and came through the war united.

Members of the first group base their hope on the fact that this time the United States and Russia are not only ready to accept responsibility and membership but are in large part the instigators of the new conception.

Members of the second group welcome that event but keep urging persistently that Canada must do nothing that will in any way weaken the association of Canada in the British Commonwealth and the strength of that Commonwealth as a whole.

Too Much or Too Little

It is with variations on these two themes that the debate is being continued. There are those who put their entire confidence in Mr. King. The others are suspicious that his policy with regard to the new organization resembles too closely his old policy of no commitments to the Empire and to the League of Nations.

Today John Diefenbacker, Progressive Conservative, led the debate for the latter group, urging that if the new organization was to succeed every member must be willing and obliged from the outset to take full responsibility. In that course Canada should set an example and not seek in any way to whittle down her contribution, he said.

It should be in common agreement with the other Dominion countries in the first place, he added, that Canada should decide what share and part she should play. Together these nations, which had been the first to stand against the totalitarian menace, would form an immense contribution. If separately they set the example to other countries of keeping their commitments down, they would subtract from the importance of the strength of the whole organizations and expose it to the same weakness as rendered the League powerless in emergency.

It was the union of the British nations and not the union of the league, or of the democracies that withstood the challenge of Hitler, he said, and unless that close union was maintained the new league would be the loser.

Quebec Attitude Assailed

There are now four members from Quebec Province who have declared that they will vote against sending any delegation to San Francisco or taking any part in the international security scheme.

Referring to their attitude, Ernest Bertrand, Minister of Fisheries, himself a French-speaking Canadian from Montreal, today made this reply:

"If they are against war they should be in favor of an organization to prevent it. The class of people to whom these gentlemen are appealing have only one definite article in their program—the separation of the Province of Quebec from the rest of Canada. That is a program that would bring immediate civil war if Quebec tried to enforce it. A replica of the disastrous war that secession brought to the United States would undoubtedly be our lot."

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5 CANADIAN M. P.'S OPPOSE CONFERENCE

202 in House of Commons Vote for Participation in United Nations' Parley

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 28—Despite a pressing appeal from Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King to the House of Commons to make the vote unanimous, five Independent members from Quebec voted today against Canadian participation in the San Francisco Conference and all that it implies. The vote in favor was 202.

If the five dissidents voted against the motion, Mr. Mackenzie King told them, they would not be representing the feeling of Canada or Quebec or even their own constituents. All the other parties in the House voted solidly for the motion despite the disagreement between the Prime Minister and the Progressive Opposition leaders and speakers as to the wisdom of Canada's taking an independent position from Great Britain and the opposition of the Social Credit party to the Bretton Woods financial plan.

Mr. Mackenzie King had the last word in the argument as to Canada's proper part in the British Commonwealth. Although he had throughout pleaded that the Dumbarton Oaks debate should not be in any way political, he slashed out at his critics in good electioneering style. They were forever insinuating, he said, that he and his followers and Canada were trying to draw away from Great Britain and the Commonwealth.

No man, he said, has held more precious than himself the ties with Britain, but the constant repetition of these insinuations was doing immense harm. He added that they were spreading the idea among that there was a con-

for this type of labor will be paid, used daily, and prevailing wages

Fifty part-time workers can be able help.

The bottleneck, involving more than 400 freight cars that are paralyzing the movement of critically needed war material at the Central's Elizabethport freight transfer, is attributed largely to the earlier tie-up at Buffalo caused by heavy snow. When freight began moving out of Buffalo, such large quantities arrived at the Elizabeth yards that it has been impossible to handle it with available help.

that Canada's part in the war was due to the Liberal party. It was in the fullest sense a national contribution, but he did claim that its massive extent had been in large part due to the wise and generous direction of the Government.

There has never been closer, more intimate day-by-day consultation between Canada and Great Britain and among all the nations of the Commonwealth, he said, than there has been during the past five and a half years. The Commonwealth is not a power bloc but a group of like-minded nations each acting on its own responsibility and living up to its responsibilities, he said, adding that it was that freedom and free concert of action that gave it its prestige.

To change the system and try to have Great Britain acting as a single agent for the whole would be to turn back the clock and undo all the work that had been done during the past twenty-five years, he contended. It would be, he said, to weaken the structure of the Commonwealth and weaken its contribution as an example to the world in free association.

Canada, the Prime Minister said in reply to questions asked during the debate, has no intention of claiming an equal part with Great Britain or any of the great powers, or of assuming the leadership of the middle powers. It seemed to him, however, an elemental principle that there should be a system of functional representation on the council.

Canada might, he said, as other countries might, bring forward at S anFrancisco some amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. To the suggestion that he himself might be asked to preside, he replied that the suggestion was flattering but as Prime Minister of Canada at war and with an election pending he felt that it would not be possible for him to give his whole time to such a ressponsibility.

He hoped that the Canadian delegation, which he has not yet announced, would speak for all Canada at San Francisco but he said that there would be no desire on the part of the Government to prevent any member from making his own views known if he did not agree with the others.

The Prime Minister announced that he had received a letter from Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa accepting an invitation to come to Canada either before or after the conference.

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CANADIANS AGREE ON PARLEY PLANS

No Opposition Voiced to Four General Principles Laid Down by Prime Minister

By P. J. PHILIP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 21—In all debate by the Canadian Parliament on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, there has so far been general agreement with the four principal suggestions made by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King for the direction of the delegation at San Francisco. These are:

(1) If responsibility is to be fairly matched with power, as has been done in the case of the great powers, the position accorded to each State should correspond with the functions that it is able and ready to discharge. The method of selection to membership in the security council should therefore be planned with regard for the powers and responsibilities of secondary states.

(2) States not represented in the security council should not be called on to undertake serious enforcement action without the opportunity of participating in the council's proceedings or without separate agreement to join in executing its decisions.

(3) The relations between the security council and any inter-allied authority that may be set up to supervise any long-term measures of control of enemy countries should be clearly defined.

(4) The charter should include a provision for its general review after a term of years.

While various parties in the House of Representatives have criticized the general policy of the Government, these four provisions, which have not yet been framed as definite amendments to be presented in San Francisco, are accepted as fairly representing the special view of Canada. Other suggestions have been made during the debate. Concern has been expressed regarding the method of taking over the institutions and work of the League of Nations in different domains.

Mr. Paul Martin, who headed the Canadian delegation to the recent International Labor Office meeting in Londo, told the House that, in his experience, the workers of the world would look very carefully, even suspiciously, at any atempt to delimit the scope and the status of the ILO. Ultimately, he said, the ILO must be subservient to the world security organization, but it must be subservient to a body that represents the multi-

lished in San Francisco. While the secondary and other powers might accept, for the time being, something short of what they desire, he said, they should work toward a more just solution of the problem. Representation for all nations participating in such an organization should be equal before the law of nations, whatever their differences in power, he added. He thought that Canada should insist that all discussions affecting war and peace and other world interests should take place in the assembly in public session; there must be no secret or backstage diplomacy.

Gordon Graydon, House leader of the Progressive Conservative party, asked the Prime Minister for clarification of his intentions concerning the presentation of amendments that might properly come before the San Francisco conference. He asked also for further enlightenment regarding the point made by the Prime Minister yesterday—that under the present proposals members of the organization would not be required to place forces under the control of the security council except in accordance with special arrangements specially entered into setting forth the number and types of the forces. "We should be told," Mr. Graydon said, whether there will be one blanket agreement covering all contributions in this regard or whether there will have to be a special agreement covering each particular operation.

Nothing done by Canada at the conference, Mr. Graydon insisted, speaking for his party, must endanger her close ties with the British Commonwealth and Empire. These ties should be strengthened rather than relaxed in the days that lie ahead, he said.

Providing housing for this young army was a monumental task, but with the help of local officials it seems to have been arranged. Appreciable aid was received when

M. P. CHIDES CANADA ON SECURITY STAND

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, March 22—Criticism of Prime Minister W. L. Mackinzie King's attitude and policy in "shouting for a seat for Canada" as a secondary nation on the World Security Council instead of sharing a British Commonwealth permanent seat, was expressed by Howard Green, Progressive Conservative member for Vancouver South, when the debate on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals was resumed today in the House of Commons.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Green said, instead of raising the status of Canada in the eyes of the world, was placing her in a humuliating position. Canadians, he said, were not interested in seeing their country classed as a second-class nation.

What they were interested in was in seeing Canada stand beside the other nations of the British Commonwealth in upholding the principles of freedom and government by law, for which they had together gone to war against the totalitarian countries. It would be a grave mistake, Mr. Green said, for Canada to start or take any part in a row at San Francisco about the regrouping of nations in different categories.

An opposite view was expressed late last evening by a Quebec member, Wilfrid Lacroix, who said that the decisions taken at Yalta and likely to be ratified at San Francisco already included the germs of a new war because of the assent of Britain and the United States "to the spoilation of Polish territory" and because Russia had received the right of veto on whatever decisions might be taken against her interests.

MACKENZIE KING HECKLED

He 'Cannot Say' Canada Knows All Decisions Made at Yalta

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Ont., April 3—In a rapid-fire exchange of questions addressed by Gordon Graydon, leader of the Progressive Conservative party, and answers by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in Parliament today, the latter disassociated his Government from any decisions taken at Yalta.

To Mr. Graydon's query whether the Canadian Government had been fully informed regarding every decision taken by the Big Three at the Crimea meeting, Mr. King replied amid laughter: "I cannot say."

The Prime Minister had been informed of the Soviet demand for separate seats for White Russia and the Ukraine by President Roosevelt, he said, but he had no opinion to offer.

The possibility of admitting the Lublin Polish Government and Argentina to the San Francisco conference was a matter solely for decision by the inviting powers, he added, and to the final question, whether the Canadian Government had received any intimation of the postponement of the San Francisco conference he replied: "The answer is no."

Scrap paper is precious — the armed forces urgently need it.

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GANDHI DISOWNS PARLEY DELEGATES

Says India Should Send Elected Representatives to San Francisco or Not Go at All

BOMBAY, April 17 (AP)—Mohandas K. Gandhi said in a statement tonight that "an indispensable preliminary to peace is the complete freedom of India from all foreign control."

He asserted that the present delegation appointed to represent India at the San Francisco conference was only a "camouflage" and ought to be dropped.

The statement, on which Gandhi refused to enlarge because he is observing a period of silence, added that "such representation will be worse than no representation. Either India at San Francisco is represented by an elected representative or represented not at all."

"I reiterate my conviction that there will be no peace for the allies of the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deceptions and fraud, and are determined to hammer out a real peace based on the freedom and equality of all races and nations," the statement

"The exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world straining to put an end to all war.

"The freedom of India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near and that in no case will they henceforth be exploited. Germany and Japan should not be humiliated. Therefore the fruits of peace must be equally shared. The effort then will be to turn them into friends."

Gandhi declared that there should be no armed peace, but conceded the necessity of an international police force.

NYT 4/18

INDIA PRESS GAG IMPLIED

Plans for Sending Newsmen to San Francisco Canceled

NEW DELHI, India, April 15 (AP)—The Indian Government announced today that it could arrange neither transportation nor accommodations for correspondents from India to attend the San Francisco peace conference and that plans to send them "must be abandoned."

The Hindustan Times promptly printed an article expressing suspicion that "our rulers don't wish the conference to be reported from the Indian angle" and suggested that "British authorities are afraid" that a press delegation from India would win "support of the foreign press for India's cause."

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Argentina Declares War On Axis, Citing Pearl Harbor

Wdc Post 3-28-45

Buenos Aires, March 27 (AP).—Argentina's military government declared the existence of a state of war with the Axis nations today in a move frankly designed to end its diplomatic isolation.

The decree issued by the government stated that war was declared against Japan because of the attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor and against Germany because Germany was Japan's ally.

The decree also expressed the government's adherence to the Chapultepec acts in accordance with the invitation issued by the Mexico City conference of American republics.

The decision to declare war was the most difficult the administration of President Edelmiro Farrell has yet had to make.

The decision cost the government its minister of justice and education, Etcheverry Boneo, who resigned last Saturday when he saw that the declaration of war was inevitable.

A preamble to the war decree said the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor affected the interest of Argentina as recognized in a measure adopted in 1941 declaring the United States nonbelligerent in the struggle against the Axis.

The war declaration came little more than a year after the military regime, then headed by Gen. Pedro Ramirez, severed relations with the Axis. That rupture was the immediate cause of the overthrow of Ramirez.

The decision was made in the face of opposition from the now disillusioned nationalists who once were the government's most enthusiastic supporters. But it clearly was the result of realization hat the invitation of the Mexico City conference, suggesting that Argentina make herself eligible to join the United States, represented the nation's last chance to resolve its international difficulties and a move to acquire a seat at the forthcoming world security conference at San Francisco.

Aware that the war declaration is likely to be unpopular among those sectors of the population which sympathized with the Axis cause from the start, the government took extraordinary measures to preserve order.

There has been speculation tha. Argentina might offer to play an active part in the war. The Argentine navy, which ranked seventh in the world before the war, is understood ready to play an active role.

Invitation Held Doubtful

London, March, 27 (U.P.).—Argentina's declaration of war on the Axis is likely to win her a seat at the peace table and membership in the United Nations but it is doubtful she will receive an invitation to the San Francisco conference, a high diplomatic informant said today.

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ARGENTINA LIKELY TO JOIN WAR TODAY

Cabinet Decides Unanimously but Defers Announcement —Protest to Reich Bared

By ARNALDO CORTESI

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUENOS AIRES, March 26—The Foreign Ministry announced today that on March 3 it had sent through the Swedish Foreign Ministry an energetically worded protest to the German Government against the brutal treatment suffered by an Argentine citizen, Silvio Vaccarezza, his wife and two minor children at the hands of German military authorities in Italy.

This announcement followed by a few hours another Cabinet session called to consider the situation created for Argentina by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held in Mexico City. Acting Foreign Minister César Ameghino told the press that "the final decision concerning Argentina's international position was unanimously reached" at the meeting and that "the Cabinet will meet again tomorrow at 11:30 A. M. to sign the pertinent decrees, which will be made public immediately afterward.

The timing of the two announcements left little doubt of the nature of the unanimous decision reached by the Cabinet, though Dr. Ameghino carefully abstained from giving the slightest hint. Most Argentines will be surprised if they do not find themselves at war tomorrow.

[The newspaper Critica said that the Government had decided to "declare Argentina in a state of belligerence with the Axis," press services reported from Buenos Aires.]

Quarrel With Berlin Significant

Some doubt was still felt whether the intention is to declare war on both Germany and Japan or on Japan alone. That the news of Argentina's quarrel with Germany was kept hidden until today suggests, however, that Argentina will go the whole distance and declare war simultaneously on both surviving Axis partners.

The presumed imminence of a declaration of war gave rise this evening to demonstrations by groups of young Nationalists, who paraded in groups a few hundred strong shouting against war and asking for Vice President Juan D. Peron's "head."

The police were prepared for them. Strong contingents were kept in readiness at all strategic points, including the United States and British Embassies and the offices of principal newspapers. Mounted and foot policemen as well as tear gas squads intervened repeatedly, dispersing the demonstrators. Though these demonstrations never assumed a character of gravity, they kept the central streets in an uproar for several hours.

The Argentine note to Germany said that Señor Vaccarezza and his family not onlywere arrested in Santa Maria del Taro, Province of Parma, Italy, but also suffered "serious bodily lesions," were about to be shot and had all their goods, amounting to about $35,000 confiscated.

"Brutal Attempt" Charged

All this was defined by the Argentine Government as "a brutal attempt." The note added that "these acts require no qualification and are added to acts formerly perpetrated by the armed forces of the Reich against persons and property of Argentine citizens."

The note ends with a demand for moral and material reparations.

If Argentina declares war tomorrow, her decision will have been reached after three weeks of heated, often dramatic, discussions in which first one tendency and then another seemed to prevail. Tomorrow's Cabinet Council will be the eighth to have dealt exclusively with the situation that has arisen since the Mexico conference.

Officers Debate Issued

Numerous meetings of officers have been held at the Army base at Campo de Mayo on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, and at the Military Club in the city. The clash of opinions led to, among other things, the elimination of Dr. Romulo Etcheverry Boneo, Minister of Justice and Public Instruction from the Cabinet. His resignation was made known Saturday.

There was evidence that up to the last minute the Cabinet had

Military Controls Axis Firms

BUENOS AIRES, March 26 (U.P.)—The Argentine Government decreed today that Axis firms were to be under military control, effective immediately.

Chile Nears War on Japan

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 26 — Chile is taking steps to declare war on Japan shortly after Congress meets in special session April 2, it was learned today.

The public, usually unmoved by foreign affairs, now reveals great excitement as a result of the widespread cry of "sabotage" that followed the unexplained sinking of Chilean passenger and freight steamers off the coast a few hours after they had loaded nitrate for the United States.

While the Japanese colony in Chile numbers less than 1,000, most of the Japanese reside in the northern ports. There has been suspicion tthatt Japanese were responsible for recent strikingly similar explosions.

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BRAZIL ASKS VOICE IN SECURITY GROUP

Report to Mexico City Parley Requests More Authority for Smaller Powers Soon

MEXICO CITY, Feb. 22—The Brazilian Government has advised the delegates at the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace that it considers the Dumbarton Oaks security organization proposals "satisfactory for the period of transition from war to peace" but would like to have written guarantees that the authority of the smaller powers would be increased "in the near future."

In a written report, placed before the conference, Brazil emphasized the necessity of making written provisions for changes in the proposed security charter and suggested the creation of an international court of arbitration to pass on disputes before the security council takes final action.

Discussing the Dumbarton Oaks proposal, the report said:

"Brazil considers the plan under discussion satisfactory for the period of transition from war to peace. But it believes the powers of the assembly should be enlarged in time so that all nations, large and small, could make a greater contribution to the work of peace envisaged by the pact."

Provision for Court Action

"Brazil deems expedient," the report added, "that it be stated in the covenant to be signed that when a dispute is not settled by agreement between the parties the security council shall refer it to the International Court of Justice or to an international court of arbitration which it will organize in accordance with the methods provided for in the Protocol of Geneva of Oct. 2, 1924."

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals recommended the creation of regional security organizations "consistent with the purposes and principles" of the world organization but it was stated that "no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the security council."

The Brazilian plan, suggests that the security council should have nothing to do about regional disputes unless those disputes affect the peace of other regions of the world.

"Brazil is of the opinion," the report declared, "that the questions of exclusive interest to the regional groups must be solved by them, the intervention of the security council being justified in the solution of those questions only when they endanger peace in more than one regional group."

It is precisely this relationship between the regional and world security organizations that the present conference may do much to clarify. There is pressure to increase the authority of the general assembly at the expense of the security council, to increase the power of the Latin-American bloc by giving it a guarantee of permanent representation on the security council and to strengthen the inter-American machinery by giving more authority to the Pan-American Union and by creating new machinery such as an inter-American court of justice.

Clarification Is Expected

The first most important result of the conference in the political security field will be clarification of the relationship between the regional and world security machinery.

On the question of the make-up and voting procedure of the security council the report proposed that all parties to a dispute should be on equal footing. In Brazil's opinion, it declared, no party to a dispute should have the right to vote on its own case, but if one of the permanent members of the council demanded the right, then all other parties to the dispute, regardless of whether they were members of the security council, should be brought into the council and receive the same voting rights as the other parties to the dispute, great or small.

The report seemed to make a distinction between the voting rights that should be granted to "South America" as distinguished from "Latin America." It continued that a permanent seat on the security council should be given to "South America," which was generally interpreted here as a claim for a permanent place for Brazil on the council.

Czechs to Ask Voting Plan Clarification

By Frederick Kuh

Chicago Sun Foreign Service

London.—The Czechoslovak government is preparing a note to the United Nations on the Dumbarton Oaks plan and Yalta formula for the voting procedure of the world security organization.

Presentation of the note will await the return to London of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, expected to return from Moscow before the end of March. He will lead his country's delegation to San Francisco and will have the final say about the note.

Avoid Objections

It seems safe to forecast the trend of the note, which will refrain from raising any objections to the Crimea formula for the voting procedure, but will probably put forth three proposals:

1. That the charter of the new organization include a definition of aggression. Several treaties that Russia signed between 1933 and 1939 with Czechoslovakia, Romania, Turkey, Poland, the Baltic States and others embodied such a definition, which is regarded as suitable for use under the new security organization.

2. That Czechoslovakia intends to propose that the charter include a definition of national independence. For this purpose a provision in the Geneva protocol of 1924 may be taken as a model.

3. That Czechoslovakia wants the security charter to contain a clean and firm declaration outlawing any revision of frontiers after the peace conference has fixed them.

The Czechoslovak suggestion is that these principles shall receive the character of international law.

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BELGIANS DUBIOUS OF PARLEY SUCCESS

Wary of Small Nations' Fate at San Francisco—Dislike of Allies in Country Grows

By DAVID ANDERSON

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BRUSSELS, Belgium, March 12—Little faith can be found in Belgium for a happy outcome of the United Nations conference in San Francisco next month. Public opinion seems to be that it will be as if three masters were to call in a group of small boys to tell them how they must behave.

The most influential writers are warning he country against expecting too much—even against expecting anything at all. The example of Poland is still rankling Belgians, who cannot think which way to turn for security and postwar prosperity. Such warnings reach receptive ears because this nation has been disillusioned often in the past.

When the average informed Belgian thinks of San Francisco the chances are that he links it with the Americans and British he finds here and he dislikes the conference as he is coming to dislike the Allied visitors.

Belgians generally rebel against what they assume is going to be one law for the great powers and another for the small nations. Some argue that nothing could be more unfair than to aks the small powers to apply rigorous action against one of them when, they say, a great power would be immune for the same offense.

"It seems to us impossible for the little countries to accept such a regime," Paul Struye wrote in Libre Belique today.

In a forthcoming issue of the Revue Nouvelle, a semi-monthly political journal of conservative tendencies, the leading article will state:

"Why not admit it? For some time past there has been a certain malaise in the public spirit on the subject of our relations with our Anglo-Saxon allies. A deep understanding of gratitude certainly exists, but all the same public opinion is uneasy. It is one of those vague, ill-defined impressions, like the start of a cold.

"Fear crystallizes around the idea that we are being led toward an imperialistic peace, designed for the benefit of the Big Three and to the detriment of the other nations, great or small. It's doing a service to Anglo-Saxons to tell them that a peace of this kind may cost them very dear in a few years. It will create in our country a permanent discontent, a source of troubles and conflicts."

This conception of an "imperialistic peace" envisions preferential economic agreements and international monopolies that would strangle Belgium's freedom of action. France is seen embarking on a parallel policy in the Rhine.

The remedy, it is felt, must lie in a "federalist peace" which would assure small nations the right to speak on their own affairs and free participation in the essential means of production abroad. Here again the Rhineland is in the Belgians' mind.

The coldness toward the other Allies is traced to a lack of food imports, the blocking of raw materials, apprehension over the meaning of "trusteeship" in the Belgian Congo and widespread ignorance of what motives underlie in the policies of Washington and London. Belgians, when in doubt, distrust .

It is not rare to find a Belgian clothing his children in garments fashioned from army blankets bought for $12 apiece on the black market, eating a lowly ration snapped up at $1, smoking cigarettes stamped "exclusively for the forces," drinking a British whisky ration or putting away ample stocks of army foodstuffs.

BELGIANS PICK GROUP FOR SAN FRANCISCO

BRUSSELS, March 25 (AP)—The Belgian Council of Ministers announced last night the composition of the Belgian delegation to the United Nations' conference at San Francisco.

The delegation, which will leave between April 4 and 7, will comprise Paul Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister and head of the delegation; Frans van Gauwelaert, President of the Chamber of Deputies; Albert Marteux, Minister of Health; Charles de Visscher, former Minister without portfolio; Victor de Lavelye, former Minister of Education; Fernand de Houve, first secretary of the Ministry of Works; Fernand van Langenhove, Secretary General for Foreign Affairs, and Walter Loridan, first secretary to M. Spaak.

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TEGUCICALPA, Honduras, March 25—The Honduran delegation to the San Francisco conference will be headed by Julian Caceres, Ambassador to the United States, it was announced today. Other delegates will be Marcos Carias Reyes and Virgilio Galvez, with Jorge Fidel Duron as secretary.

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Koreans Seek To Share April Peace Talks

By Wilfred Fleisher

The Korean government in exile established in Chungking has asked the American Government to permit Korea to be represented at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco next month. According to present indications, the appeal is likely either to be ignored or rejected on the ground that there is no Korean government entitled to speak for the Korean people.

Government Unique

The Korean government is unique, for it is the only government in exile that has not previously functioned in its own country. It was established outside of Korea by Korean patriots at the close of the last World War. Syngman Rhee, now its Washington representative, was its first President.

Mainly for that purpose, Korea has never been admitted as a member of the United Nations.

The situation has been further complicated by several dissident Korean groups that have never been able to agree on a single representation.

Fear Long Control

It is likely that Rhee will be informed that Korean participation in the San Francisco meeting will not be possible because Korea is not a member of the United Nations. The State Department's attitude toward Korean groups might have been different if they had been able to agree among themselves on representation.

The Korean groups, however, are beginning to feel uneasy. They have put their faith in the Cairo declarations, but fear that Russia might establish control over Korea before anyone else has time to act.

They also are troubled by the reservation made at Cairo that Korea would be given independence "in due course." Some believe that means Allied control for many years.

DUTCH PICK PARLEY GROUP

Van Kleffens, Foreign Minister, Will Head Delegation

The Netherlands delegation to the San Francisco conference will be headed by the Foreign Minister E. N. van Kleffens, Radio Orange, the Dutch radio in London, said yesterday in a broadcast reported by the Federal Communications Commission.

Ambassador Alexander Loudon, Netherlands representative in Washington, will be vice-chairman of the delegation, the broadcast said, and other delegates will include Dr. Hubertus van Mook, lieutenant governor of the Netherlands Indies; Vice Admiral C. E. Helfrich, Maj. Gen. A. C. van Tricht and Father E. Beaufort of the Order of Franciscan Monks.

Among the assistant delegates will be Jonkheer H. L. F. K. van Vredenburch, embassy adviser, and Maj. A. Pelt, chief of the Netherlands Government information bureau.

The secretary of the delegation will be the Embassy Attaché B. Slingenberg, the broadcast added, and the assistant secretary a Miss Van Alpen. Raden Mohammed Moesa Soeria Nata Djoemena, embassy secretary, will act as personal secretary to Mr. van Kleffens.

LIBERATED ALBANIA SEEKS BID TO PARLEY

Col. Gen. Enver Hoxha, Prime Minister of liberated Albania, has sent a letter to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, asking "on behalf of the Government of democratic Albania" that the country be invited to participate in the San Francisco Conference, the new Yugoslav Telegraph Service (Tanjug) said yesterday.

In his letter, as transmitted by Tanjug in an English-language wireless dispatch and reported by the Federal Communications Commission, General Hoxha said:

"Amon the countries which fought on the side of the United Nations for the destruction of Hitler's Germany, Albania played an important rôle. Unfortunately, I must stress that other countries which in no way contributed to this war have already been invited and are preparing to vote their delegate to San Francisco.

"That is one more reason which proves that the democratic Albanian Government has the right to participate in the conference."

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DUTCH OPPOSE IDEA OF OAKS BIG 5 VETO

Plea to Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin Asks Wider Small Nations' Role in Security

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

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 — The Netherland Government transmitted to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, just before the Big Three meeting, a seventeen-page document containing "suggestions" for the improvement of the Dumbarton Oaks world security plan.

These suggestions, it was learned today, include proposals for strengthening the position of the smaller powers on the proposed World Security Council, and they argue specifically against the right of the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia, China and France to judge all charges against themselves.

The Netherland note, which was handed to our Government by Ambassador A. Alexander Loudon before Mr. Roosevelt went to confer with Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin, is open to several interpretations, one of which is that unless the position of the smaller powers is strengthened the Netherland people might not enter the security organization with satisfaction, but in general it seems to stress two points:

(1) It concedes that the powers

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DUTCH OPPOSE IDEA OF OAKS BIG 5 VETO

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that would have special responsibility for putting down any future aggression must have special authority in the new security organization but emphasizes that specific standards of conduct should be laid down to guide the permanent members of the Council in the exercise of their authority.

(2) It expresses the "hope" that the great powers will not insist on the unlimited right of veto and it proposes that the small non-permanent members of the Council receive greater influence than they would have under the rules arranged by the Big Four at Dumbarton Oaks.

"If the great powers," the Motherland aide memoire states, "were given the right to veto in cases to which they are a party, the Dumbarton Oaks plan would be useful only for promoting orderly settlement of international disputes between smaller states. In cases of disputes between great powers or between a great power and a smaller state, the plan would afford no protection."

Procedure on Voting

Under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, there would be eleven members of the Security Council, five of whom, the United States, Britain, France, Soviet Russia and China, would be permanent members; the other six members would be elected for two-year terms by the general assembly.

The voting procedure on this council was not announced and there was disagreement among the powers at Dumbarton Oaks as to the extent of the veto power in cases in which the permanent members were charged with aggression, but in all other cases it was agreed that the permanent members would each have the right to veto any proposal to use diplomatic, economic or military sanctions against an aggressor.

Thus, under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, to take specific action, it would be necessary merely for the five permanent members, plus one non-permanent member, to vote in favor of any proposition to produce the necessary majority of the eleven members of the council.

The Netherland Government suggested that this proposal be changed. It suggested that instead of requiring merely one of the smaller powers on the Security Council to side with the five permanent officers, at least two, or preferably three, smaller powers should be obliged to side with the big powers. Thus, the Netherlands, while willing to to give the major powers a veto on questions on questions affecting themselves, would grant them a veto in other cases but insist that seven or eight members of the eleven-nation council vote affirmatively before the security council could be empowered to act against an aggressor.

Contradictions Indicated

The Netherland document seems in some phases to contradict itself. Thus, for example, in accordance with the Netherlands' long fight for collective security measures to prevent aggression it argues that any organization under almost any rules would be preferable to no organization alone. On the other hand, it states that it is difficult to see what advantage or attraction the Dumbarton Oaks plan could have for the Netherlands if the great powers received the right to veto any proposals for action against themselves.

On the one hand, it states that the "inequities" between the great and small powers are at variance with the principle of sovereign equality pronounced by the Dumbarton Oaks document itself, but on the other hand it emphasizes that the Security Council must have as much freedom of action as possible.

Lack of Declared Principles

What apparently disturbs the Netherlands Government about the Dumbarton Oaks proposed charter almost as much as "the special and privileged position of the great powers" is the lack of declared principles governing the way in which the great powers are to use their authority, and the lack of any appeal from decisions of the Security Council.

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WDC Post 2-9-45

Dutch Oppose Power Control By 'Big Three'

London, Feb. 8 (AP).—Proposals for strengthening the position of smaller nations in a projected World Security League were believed tonight to be under discussion by the Big Three after the Dutch government challenged the right of big nations to judge all charges against themselves.

Voicing objections to a Soviet proposal to enforce a unanimity rule among five premanent members of a security council, the Dutch were regarded as expressing views similar to those held by other small nations.

A reliable source disclosed that the Dutch government had dispatched a 6000-word document to the Big Three before their Black Sea area meeting, hinting that the Netherlands might hesitate to join a world security organization if the Russian plan was adopted.

Although the Dutch cabinet resigned today shortly after its statement became known, the two developments were not linked, and the Dutch position on the security issue apparently remained unchanged.

It brought into the spotlight an unsolved question of the Dumbarton Oaks conference: Unanimity or a majority vote on dealing with an aggressor. Most quarters here believed that the Big Three would agree to a majorty vote on most problems concerning world security, but would approve the unanimity principal on taking military action against any aggressor power.

The Dutch argued that under a unanimity rule, the great powers would in effect be given a veto right in cases to which they were a party, and that "the Dumbarton Oaks plan only would be useful for promoting orderly settlement of international disputes between smaller nations," while "in cases of disputes between great powers or between a great power and a smaller state, the plan would afford no protection."

The statement asked, "Would this produce freedom from fear?"

On the other hand, the Dutch noted that if a majority vote prevailed on an 11-nation tribunal the ballot of a single small nation would give the five great powers a majority for a decision.

As a safeguard, the Dutch proposed an affirmative vote of at least three of the six nonpermanent members of the council be required, and that every nation ought to be free to decide whether it would take part in applying armed force.

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CHIANG MAY COME TO SAN FRANCISCO

Generalissimo Is Considering Invitation From Roosevelt to United Nations Parley

By BERTRAM D. HULEN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 6—A possibility that President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek may meet at the United Nations conference on World Security developed today when it was reported in diplomatic circles that the generalissimo was considering an invitation from the President to visit this country and attend the conference. Official confirmation of the report was lacking.

President Roosevelt has already announced his intention of attending the conference either at the time of its opening on April 25 or when it closes. Presumably President Chiang would time his attendance to coincide with that of Mr. Roosevelt.

Should Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek attend the San Francisco conference, it would be his first visit to this country or, for that matter, to any western country. His attendance would also provide an opportunity for him to discuss China's future with President Roosevelt particularly on the background of the Yalta conference of the big three and any informal discussions that were held there, bearing upon the Pacific war and the future of Asia.

Hopes are held here for a greater unification of China in the next few months so that her contribution to the war may be rendered more effective. The principal measure to this end is felt to be the reaching of an understanding between the Chungking Government and the Chinese Communists.

Presumably Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek would be prepared to go into that question in his conversations at San Francisco especially as latest reports indicate that not much progress has been made in recent months toward achieving an understanding between the two.

Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, American Ambassador, is understood to be reporting this week in conversations with President Roosevelt and ranking officials of the Government on the situation in China, especially in regard to negotiations between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist group.

CHINESE REDS SEEK WORLD PARLEY ROLE

The Chinese Communist wireless at Yenan said yesterday that a telegram had been jointly addressed to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin from organized workers, peasants, youth and women's groups in Shansi and Suiyuan Provinces appealing for representation at the San Francisco conference on international organization.

The Yenan transmission, directed in English to North America and recorded by the Federal Communications Commission, quoted the telegram from the Communist area as charging that the "dictatorship government of the Kuomintang (the Chungking National Political party) has never represented and can never represent the will of the people."

It suggested that only a third of the Chinese delegation to San Francisco be composed of Chungking representatives and that "the other two-thirds should be delegates of the Chinese Communist party, the China Democratic League and non-partisans representing people of the liberated areas, occupied areas and Kuomintang-controlled areas."

Yenan went on to quote Liu Shao-pai, "non-Communist vice chairman of the Shansi-Suiyuan Peoples Congress," as saying that the people of China must proceed to "elect their own representatives to the San Francisco conference."

"If the Kuomintang insists on monopolizing, then the matter must be referred to the San Francisco conference for discussion," Liu declared.

Connecticut Majors Promoted

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 23—The War Department announced today the temporary promotion to lieutenant colonel of Maj. Donald W. Scranton of Hamden, Conn. and Maj. Francis H. Horn of New Haven, Conn.

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TURKEY VOTES WAR AGAINST THE AXIS

Continued From Page 1

Maurice Peterson, British Ambassador, who said similar notes had been delivered to Egypt, Iceland, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

This was the first indication that the Yalta conference had a plan for a world-wide organization of the United and Associated Nations.

Lend-Lease Pact Signed