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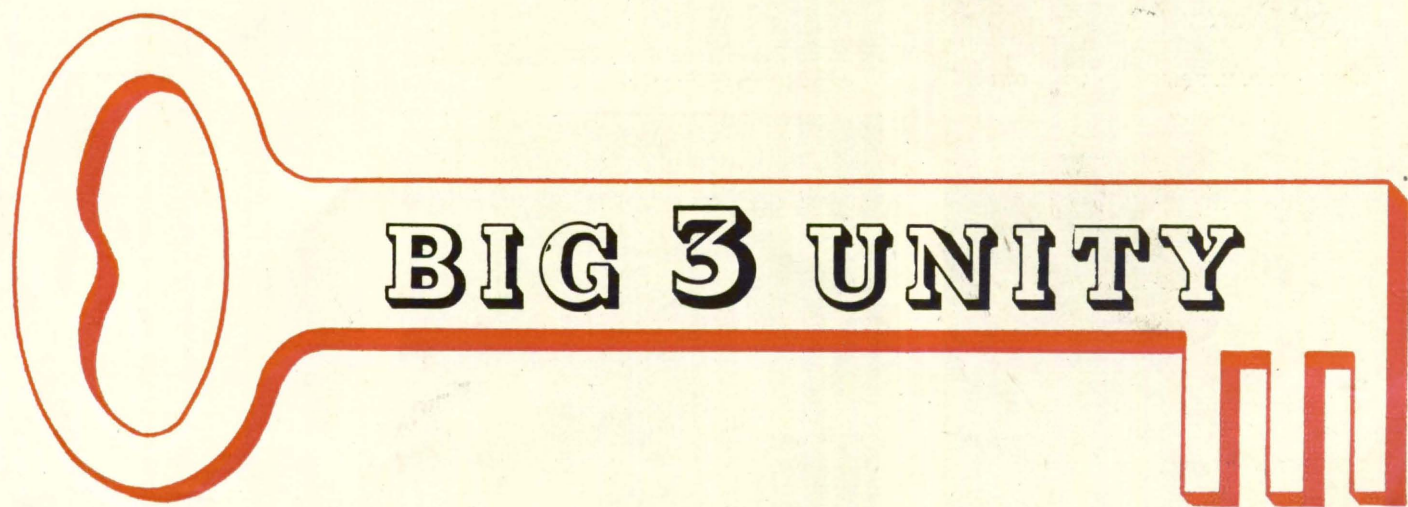
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PEACE KEY

by

John M. Weatherwax

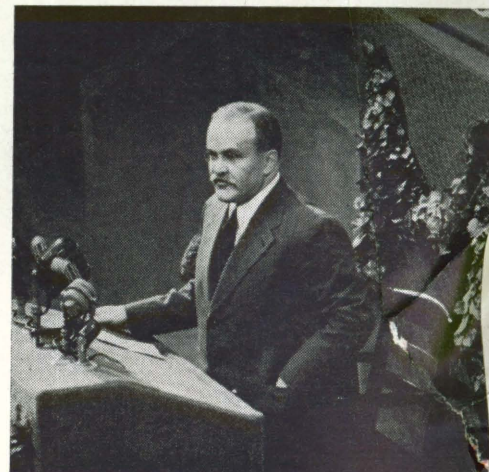




Bevin, Molotov, Byrnes I. N. Photo



Truman at S. F. Int. News Photo



Molotov. 4/30/45 S. F. OWI



Eden, Stettinius, Molotov, Soong. OWI



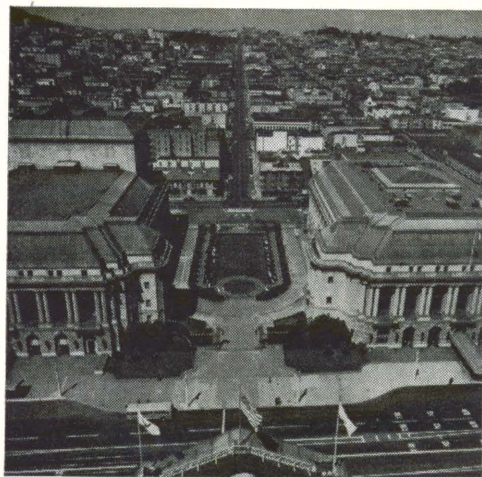
Crimea. Feb. 1945. Signal Corps



Romulo. 4/28/45 S. F. OWI



W. Naim; H. R. H. Faisal OWI



UNCIO headquarters. S. F. OWI



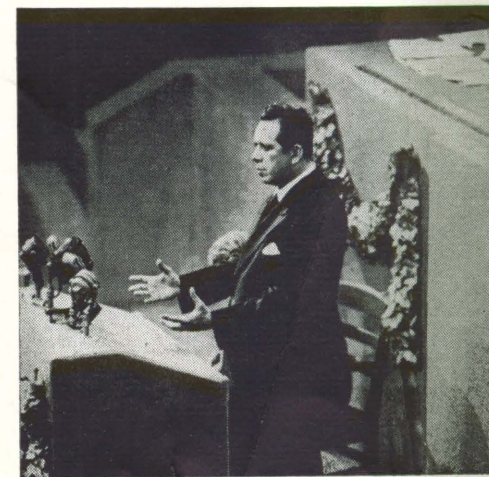
Hiss; Eden. 5/1/45 S. F. OWI



Kaiser, Pavlov, Molotov. OWI



H. R. H. Faisal Aziz OWI



Padilla. 4/30/45 S. F. OWI



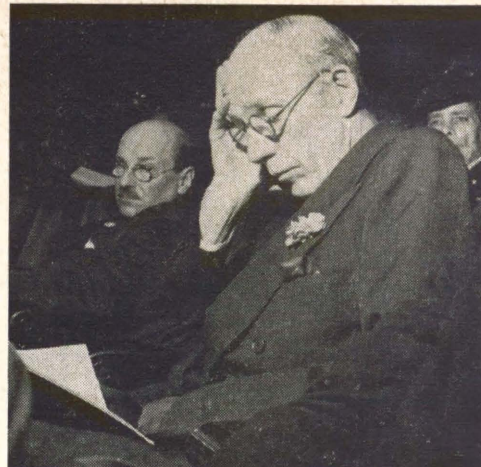
Smuts; Faris el-Khour

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UNCIO delegates. S. F.

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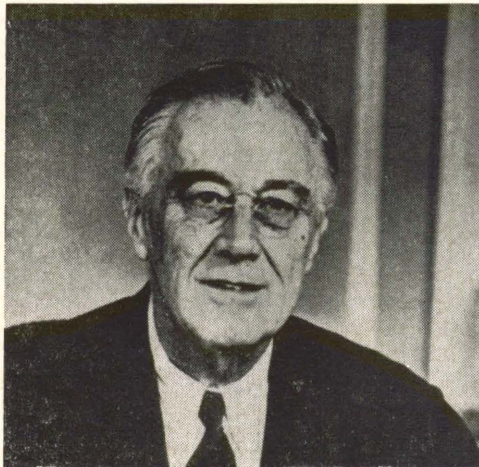
Halifax; Attlee. 5/4/45

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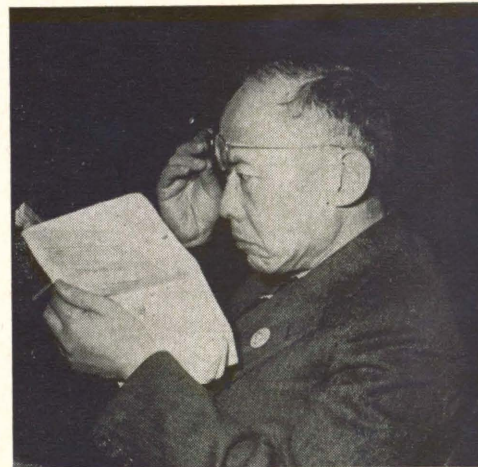
Rockefeller; Stettinius.

OWI



Roosevelt.

Int. News Photo



C. Chang. 5/4/45 S. F.

OWI



Stettinius, Connally.

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Hull.



Manuilsky; Mow. S. F.

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Molotov, Stettinius, Eden.

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UNCIO entrance. 4/27/45

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Vandenberg, Martins, LeGallais

OWI

PEACE
KEY

by

John M. Weatherwax

John Henry and Mary Louisa Dunn

BRYANT FOUNDATION

Los Angeles

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Part I

Treaties, Conferences, Agreements

Peace Key: Big Three Unity

In April, 1946 at Washington a national conference developed plans for a campaign to check and defeat those who are today trying to bring about another war.

Winston Churchill the preceding month at Fulton, Missouri—in a setting of Soviet-baiting so intense that *TIME* magazine called it “an assault on Russia” and the New York newspaper *PM* regarded it as an “ideological declaration of war against Russia”—had proposed “the continuance of the intimate relationships between our military advisers . . . the interchange of officers and cadets at technical colleges . . . the joint use of all naval and air force bases in the possession of either country all over the world.”

Churchill's proposal for a military alliance between the United Kingdom and the United States—obviously aimed at Russia—had been an important factor in bringing together the hundreds of delegates who shaped at Washington the program of resistance to the war drive.

Truman arranged for the Fulton speech, was “briefed on Churchill's views,” and gave Churchill a Presidential send-off. The Secretary of State, accompanied by Bernard Baruch, paid Churchill a hurried visit at Miami shortly before the speech was given. Upon returning to Washington, Truman refused to disavow (and Byrnes inadequately replied to) the Churchill proposal. For these reasons the Administration was regarded by many as bearing a large responsibility for it.

Likewise, the fact that Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Secretary Bevin did not publicly disassociate themselves from the Churchill proposal led many to believe that the Labor Government itself was implicated; especially since the proposal was in direct conflict with Article VII of the Soviet-British Mutual Assistance Treaty which states: “Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party.”

National Maritime Union Secretary Ferdinand C. Smith characterized the Fulton speech as “a smoke screen flung up to involve Americans in preserving the crumbling British Empire.” Representative Hugh DeLacy stated: “Winston Churchill's greatest success was as a war minister, and there is the suspicion that he wishes to return to such a role.” The

Churchill speech, said newspaper columnist Samuel Grafton, “if it be accepted uncritically by western opinion, is of a sort which can give Russia a license to regard herself as encircled by a hostile world, and one which is actively discussing mobilization against her.”

Pravda stated that the Churchill proposal boiled down to the following: “To create Anglo-American domination of the whole world; to liquidate the coalition of the Big Three powers and the organization of the United Nations; to make power politics the ruling factor in world events.” The Soviet historian Eugene Tarle said in *Izvestia*: “The Soviet Union is firmly determined to secure all its frontiers, and in trying to achieve this most legitimate necessary aim it will not yield to any threats, any subterfuges, nor any of the most modern familiar or unfamiliar weapons, but will tread its own road without turning aside, without encroaching on other people's interests, and without conceding those which are its own.”

Stalin called the Churchill speech “a dangerous act, calculated to sow the seeds of discord among the Allied governments and hamper their cooperation.” “In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war . . . Hitler began to set war loose by announcing his racial theory, declaring that only people speaking the German language represented a fully valuable nation. Mr. Churchill begins to set war loose also by a racial theory, maintaining that only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations, called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world.” “I do not know whether Mr. Churchill and his friends will succeed in organizing after the second world war a new military expedition, against eastern Europe. But if they succeed in this, which is not very probable, since millions of common people stand on guard over the peace, then one man confidently says that they will be beaten, just as they were beaten twenty-six years ago.”

The Churchill speech, the Canada spy scare, atomic energy developments, the Manchurian crisis, the Iranian crisis—all of these and many other events together have focused public attention on the menace of a new world war.

The key to the maintenance of world peace, however, becomes clearer to more people daily. That key is Big Three Unity. A new world war is not

inevitable. Friendship between the two greatest powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is not only possible, it is necessary. Big Three Unity as the basis for a successfully functioning United Nations is attainable.

"War is a danger which can be avoided only if that unity of the Big Three molded by Franklin D. Roosevelt is not lost," said Senator Claude Pepper on April 7, 1946. Senator Glen Taylor at the opening

meeting of the April Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington denounced the Churchill proposal, saying it "would destroy the unity of the Big Three without which the war could not have been won and without which the peace cannot be saved."

The path of the disruptors and liquidators of the allied coalition is the path of war-in-the-making; the road of Big Three Unity—the people's road—is the road of peace-in-the-making.

The Spirit of Cooperation

Cordell Hull speaks of the need for understanding and unity of action:

"The ultimate success of the organization [the United Nations] depends upon a spirit of cooperation among nations which, in turn, rests fundamentally upon the attitude of each of the individual nations in the world community," he stated on March 11, 1946. He emphasized continued cooperation among the Big Five, saying that only through such cooperation "can there be evolved that essential understanding and unity of action so necessary if the peace is to be kept, by armed force if necessary." Hull urged that we "examine with sympathy and

patience the views of others"; that we "ascertain the true facts"; that we "avoid the assumption of adamant positions" and "refrain from exaggerating and overemphasizing one's own claims and from making an appeal to prejudice."

In acknowledging the Nobel Peace Prize award, Hull on November 12, 1945 reminded us that "we must never forget that to achieve the great goal of lasting peace it is imperative that there be continued unity, friendly understanding and common effort among the people and statesmen of the major United Nations who bore the principal burden in the war against the Axis Powers."

Attempts to Federate

For centuries human beings have tried to find the answer to the problem of war. The idea of international organization to keep the peace is an old one.

Bartolus of Sassoferrato (1314-1357), within the religious limits of his time, put improved social relations as the most important of human objectives. Sully (1560-1641) wanted to federate the Christian princes. Emeric Cruce (1590-1648), a French writer, in his "Nouveau cynee" advocated a permanent international assembly of all princes to which international differences could be submitted. He advocated currency stabilization.

Immanuel Kant developed the idea of an alliance for peace in these terms: "Since reason condemns war and makes peace an absolute duty, and since peace cannot be effected or guaranteed without a compact among nations, they must form an alliance of a peculiar kind, which may be called a pacific alliance (foedus pacificum), different from a treaty of peace (pactum pacis), inasmuch as it would forever

terminate all wars, whereas the latter only ends one."

Said Volney in 1791: "There will be established among the several nations an equilibrium of force, which, restraining them all within the bounds of the respect due to their reciprocal rights, shall put an end to the barbarous practice of war and submit their disputes to civil arbitration. The human race will become one great society, one individual family, governed by the same spirit, by common laws, and enjoying all the happiness of which their nature is susceptible."

The Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794) was a great early advocate of the equality of nations. William Penn, Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, and even Czar Alexander I contributed to the development of modern concepts of international organization. The Counselor of King Philip the Fair developed in some detail a plan for bringing an international organization of states into existence.

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points

During the early part of the twentieth century numerous organizations came into being, each with the purpose of developing a "League of Nations."

These organizations, and the general idea of an

international organization to maintain peace received their greatest support in the final article of Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points.

Because these points had so much to do with the

peace, as well as with the formation of the League of Nations, they are here given in full.

This famous document was set forth by President Wilson in an address made before a joint session of Congress on January 8, 1918.

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action or the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the na-

tions in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered upon.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

The League of Nations

The American People Wanted the League.

During the actual struggle for American participation in the League, Senator James E. Watson told Senator Henry Cabot Lodge that "at least 80 per cent of the American people favored the League."

Nevertheless, a vote of 49 to 35 in favor of United States participation in the League was insufficient to win membership for the United States.

The "little band of irreconcilables" were thus able to defeat the will of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Functions of the League.

The three main functions of the League of Nations were: to call conferences of the member nations; to act as an administrative body; and to be ready to act in any emergency manner called for.

Weaknesses of the League.

A very interesting analysis of the weaknesses of the League was written by Nikolai Malinin. It appeared in Moscow in August, 1944, and was promptly sent out over the cables in time for study by delegates attending the conferences at Dumbarton Oaks.

Malinin stated: "The real cause of its weakness was rooted in another circumstance, namely, in the mutual relations between the League of Nations and the great powers and in the relations of the great powers among themselves."

He pointed out that, in many cases, "to achieve unanimity it was necessary to change or to soften resolutions, to give them an elastic character and to deprive them of any content."

Failure to take steps against the seizure of Vilna, the bombardment of Corfu, the invasion by Japan of Manchuria, and of Abyssinia by Italy, the intervention by Hitler and Mussolini in the case of Spain, in the taking over of Austria and Czechoslovakia by Hitler, gave ample proof of the impotence of the League to prevent war.

Another aspect of League power, he pointed out, centered around the impersonality attaching to its general obligations. ". . . even those states which are prepared to fulfill scrupulously any obligations assumed by them by force of treaties signed with one, two or several other states, do not acknowledge the same significance and force in the case of other obligations arising out of their signature of such general international agreements, as, for example, the pact of the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact, etc."

Molotov on the League of Nations.

At San Francisco on April 26, 1945 Molotov said: ". . . before this war the warning voice of the Soviet Republic was not heard with due attention.

". . . the governments which once claimed a leading part in Europe manifested their inability if not their reluctance, to prevent this war, with consequences with which it will be not so easy to cope.

"The Conference is called upon to lay the foundations for the future security of nations. This is a great problem which has thus far been impossible to solve successfully. Anybody knows that the League of Nations in no way coped with this problem. It betrayed the hopes of those who believed in it. It is obvious that no one wishes to restore a League of Nations which had no rights or power, which did not interfere with any aggressor preparing for war against peace-loving nations and which sometimes even lulled the nations' vigilance with regard to impending aggression. The prestige of the League of Nations was especially undermined whenever unceremonious attempts were made to turn it into a tool of various reactionary forces and privileged powers. If the sad lessons of the League of Nations have to be mentioned now, it is only so that past errors may be avoided—errors which must not be committed again under the guise of new profuse promises. It is impossible, however, to count indefinitely on the patience of nations if the governments again manifest their inability to set up an international organization to safeguard the peaceful life of people, their families and young generations against the horrors and hardships of new predatory imperialist wars."

Soong on the League of Nations.

A significant statement on China and the League was made by T. V. Soong in his opening speech to the San Francisco Conference.

"Let us face hard facts. A long effort is required of all of us before an effective rule of law is established in world affairs. We in China know it by bitter experience. The rule of law was to have been defended by the old League of Nations, but it was disregarded, as we learned to our cost, despite the most solemn covenants entered into by would-be defaulter.

"Why did collective security under the League finally fail to the point that none of the belligerents, who were permanent members of the League's Council, invoked the covenant at the outbreak of this terrible war? Because much of the real power in the world was not present in the League. The

United States was not a member, the Soviet Union's voice was not always heeded, and China was only occasionally represented on its Council, while Japan,

Italy and Germany were allowed simply to resign after committing acts of aggression with complete impunity."

Peace Pacts

The Belgian Neutrality Pact is remembered today chiefly because it was called "a scrap of paper" by the German militarists of 1914.

But after World War I there was a scramble for peace pacts such as the world had never seen. But peace was not the outcome of the Nine Power Treaty, or the Four Power Pact, or the shortlived reparations settlements of the Lausanne Conference, or of the collapsed World Economic Conference.

There were warnings a-plenty that the signing of pacts was not enough. The League of Nations heard Litvinov call for collective security again and again, but did nothing about it; did nothing about the Russian proposal for total disarmament. The Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine" of April 17, 1934 served notice on the world of Japan's intentions in Asia.

Some two hundred agreements were signed among the nations—two hundred agreements to keep the

peace, to achieve security from a second world war.

Kellogg-Briand Treaty.

Outstanding was the Kellogg-Briand Treaty to outlaw war. It was signed August 27, 1928. The most important parts of this treaty are the first two Articles:

"Article I. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"Article II. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

Hopes for Peace Become Fear of Calamity

But the broadly general provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, like the general commitments of the League, were not observed.

"Some fifteen years ago," said Roosevelt at Chicago in the fall of 1937, "the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were raised to great heights when more than sixty nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The

high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

"It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties; and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened."

Aggression; Counter-Measures

Japanese-German-Italian Aggression.

Roosevelt was referring to the succession of events which was even then leading to Pearl Harbor:

1931 Japan seized Manchuria.

1933 Germany withdrew from the Disarmament Conference and started rearming.

1934 Japan gave notice of termination of the 1922 Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament.

1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia.

1936 Hitler tore up the Treaty of Locarno and fortified the demilitarized Rhineland Zone. Franco, helped by Italy and Germany, started civil war against the Spanish Republic. German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact (Italy signed this Pact in 1937).

1937 Japan again attacked China.

1938 Hitler took over Austria. Munich dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

1939 Hitler invaded Poland. During the two following years he took most of Europe.

1940 Japan with threats of force invaded French Indo-China.

1941 Japan attacked the United States.

American Policy in this New Situation.

Steps taken by the United States during this period included:

1932 The United States refused to recognize the Japanese Manchurian government.

1933 The Good Neighbor Policy was inaugurated. Participation by the United States in the Montevideo Conference: "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another." With the United States Army standing at 115,000 enlisted men, President Roosevelt proposed arms reduction to the heads of 54 states. United States recognized the Soviet Union.

1934 The Hull reciprocal trade agreements program started.

1935 February 16: Secretary of State Hull listed four pillars of peace: 1. renunciation of war; 2. promise of non-aggression; 3. consultation in face of threat; 4. non-interference on our part with measures of constraint brought against a deliberate violator of peace. Neutrality law passed. United States participates in London Naval Conference.

1936 At Buenos Aires, Hull enumerated eight principles for a comprehensive peace program: 1. educate the people; prepare defense measures; 2. frequent international conferences between states; 3. the consummation of five well-known peace agreements; 4. neutrality in the event of war; 5. improved commercial policies; 6. practical international cooperation; 7. revitalization of international law; 8. faithfulness to agreements.

1937 At Chicago President Roosevelt made his famous "Quarantine the Aggressors!" speech. The Brussels Conference of nineteen nations considered "peaceable means" for hastening the end of Sino-Japanese war-

fare. The United States Gunboat Panay was sunk by Japanese aircraft.

1938 The United States speeds up its defense measures. At the Lima conference the 21 American Republics, the United States participating, agreed upon a "Declaration of the Solidarity of America."

1939 On April 14 President Roosevelt in a personal message to Hitler and Mussolini appealed for the maintenance of peace. In August, at the time Germany and Russia agreed on a non-aggression pact, President Roosevelt again appealed for peace. On August 23 in a message to the King of Italy President Roosevelt said that the "unheard voice of countless millions of human beings ask that they shall not be vainly sacrificed again." On August 24, Roosevelt appealed to Hitler, telling him "countless human lives can yet be saved." On September 1, Hitler's troops crossed the Polish frontier. On September 3, President Roosevelt by radio warned that every word that came through the air, every ship that sailed the sea, every battle fought did affect the future of America. On September 5 the United States proclaimed neutrality; an embargo was placed on ships to belligerents. Later in the month the Panama Conference was held. An Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee was established. The Declaration of Panama stated that non-American belligerents must keep out of waters adjacent to the 21 Republics.

1940 April 29: President Roosevelt urged Mussolini to exercise his influence "in behalf of the negotiation of a just and stable peace which will permit of the reconstruction of a gravely stricken world." Three similar appeals were sent to Mussolini by Roosevelt in the spring of 1940. Then came Dunkirk and the fall of Paris. Hitler's plan to dominate all Europe was explained by President Roosevelt in his "Arsenal of Democracy" speech.

1941 January 6: President Roosevelt proclaims the Four Freedoms.

Good Neighbor Policy

In his inaugural address, March 4, 1933, President Roosevelt formulated the Policy of the Good Neighbor:

" . . . the neighbor who resolutely respects him-

self and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

President Truman has many times indicated his support for the Good Neighbor Policy.

On April 14, 1945, in a message to the Board of Governors of the Pan-American Union, President Truman said: "President Roosevelt had prepared

this message to the Pan-American Union on the occasion of Pan-American Day. Since it was his intention that it be read on this day I send it to you. To the purposes and beliefs he stated in this message and to the Good Neighbor policy of which he was the author, I wholeheartedly subscribe."

The Four Freedoms

Almost eight years after establishing the Good Neighbor Policy, President Roosevelt said (in his address to Congress of January 6, 1941): "... at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today."

He stated that we were committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security would "never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers."

Further, our late President said we looked forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms:

"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

"The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

"The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world."

"Every Creed and Every Race" Everywhere.

"The four freedoms of common humanity are as much elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies—deprive him of a part of them and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full and abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man.

"These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race, wherever they live. This is their heritage, long withheld. We of the United Nations have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage.

"The belief in the four freedoms of common humanity—the belief in man, created free, in the image of God—is the crucial difference between ourselves and the enemies we face today. In it lies the absolute unity of our alliance, opposed to the oneness of the evil we hate. Here is our strength, the source and promise of victory."

Stettinius on "The Four Freedoms."

Much later—during the course of the San Francisco Conference—Stettinius developed the concept of "The Four Freedoms" in the following way:

"The Four Freedoms stated by our great President Franklin D. Roosevelt—Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear—are, from the point of view of the United States, the fundamental freedoms which encompass all other rights and freedoms.

"Freedom of speech, for example, encompasses freedom of the press, freedom of information and freedom of communications.

"Freedom from want, encompasses the right to work, the right to social security and the right to opportunity for advancement.

"Freedom from fear encompasses the protection from persecution and discrimination of all men and women and the protection of their equal right to enjoy all other fundamental rights and freedoms.

"The United States Government will work actively and tirelessly, both for its own people and—through the international organization—for peoples generally toward promoting respect for and observance of these rights and freedoms."

Truman on "The Four Freedoms."

During May, 1945 President Harry S. Truman said in a message read in Madison Square Garden:

"We must now bend our every effort and work together to assure that these sacrifices shall not have been in vain, by building the peace on the four essential human freedoms—freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear."

The Atlantic Charter

On August 14, 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill issued a joint communique from a battleship in the Atlantic. Their declaration contains eight principles for international cooperation. These, plus "continuation of discussions between the several governments looking to the fullest possible agreement on basic policies and to later arrangements at the proper time," have been the basis of the approach of both the British and American governments to the questions of world security. The Atlantic Charter has been incorporated in many other international documents; it is now basic to the policy of all the United Nations.

The Text of the Atlantic Charter.

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.
6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

8. They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

August 14, 1941.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

Roosevelt on the Atlantic Charter.

On January 6, 1945, President Roosevelt said:

"It is true that the statement of principles in the Atlantic Charter does not provide rules of easy application to each and every one of this war-torn world's tangled situations. But it is a good and a useful thing—it is an essential thing—to have principles toward which we can aim.

"And we shall not hesitate to use our influence—and to use it now—to secure so far as is humanly possible the fulfillment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We have not shrunk from the military responsibilities brought on by this war. We cannot and will not shrink from the political responsibilities which follow in the wake of battle."

Cordell Hull on the Atlantic Charter.

Cordell Hull on April 9, 1944, described the Charter in these terms:

"The charter is an expression of fundamental objectives toward which we and our Allies are directing our policies.

"It states that the nations accepting it are not fighting for the sake of aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise. It lays down the common principles upon which rest the hope of liberty, economic opportunity, peace and security through international cooperation.

"It is not a code of law from which detailed answers to every question can be distilled by painstaking analysis of its words and phrases. It points the direction in which solutions are to be sought; it does not give solutions.

"It charts the course upon which we are embarked and shall continue. That course includes the prevention of aggression and the establishment of world

security. The Charter certainly does not prevent any steps, including those relating to enemy States, necessary to achieve these objectives. What is fundamental are the objectives of the Charter and the determination to achieve them."

Senator Vandenberg on the Atlantic Charter.

Curiously enough, Senator Arthur Vandenberg in January, 1945 became an ardent champion of what he called "the original spirit of the 'Atlantic Charter'." He spoke then of "the shocking results of his (President Roosevelt's) recent almost jocular, and even cynical, dismissal of the 'Atlantic Charter' as a mere collection of fragmentary notes,"—a charge which the facts about the President's frank and friendly statement on the origins of the Atlantic Charter amply refute. It is difficult to regard the Senator's interpretation of this matter as anything other than distortion, especially since the "candid" Senator went on to state that the President—one of the joint authors of the Atlantic Charter!—in his asserted "dismissal" of the Charter "seemed to make a mere pretense out of what has been an inspiringly accepted fact. It seemed almost to sanction alien contempts."

Such an approach from a Senator who knows that the principles of the Atlantic Charter have been woven into a score of the greatest documents of the period between August 1941 and the present, can scarcely be judged otherwise than as partisan slander.

Senator Vandenberg and the New York Times

Senator Vandenberg may not have read the editorial "The Atlantic Charter" which appeared in the New York Times within a day of President Roosevelt's dignified explanation of the origin of the Charter. The editorial stated:

"The Atlantic Charter was a joint declaration broadcast to the world by authority of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as the heads of their Governments, and incorporated in the communique of their meeting at sea, a communique which they signed. Its contents and exact text have never been challenged, and it is as valid as were President Wilson's Fourteen Points."

Validity of the Atlantic Charter.

The Atlantic Charter was incorporated in the United Nations Declaration signed originally by 26 nations at Washington on January 1, 1942. At that time these nations subscribed to "the common program of purposes and principles embodied in . . . the Atlantic Charter."

The Russian-British Mutual Assistance Agreement signed in London on May 26, 1942, particularly men-

tions the Atlantic Charter and incorporates it in the program for the peace settlements.

The Moscow Declaration reaffirms the Atlantic Charter through reference to the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942.

At Yalta on February 11, 1945 Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin again reaffirmed their "faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build, in cooperation with other peace-loving nations, world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind."

At Mexico City the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, which ended March 8, 1945, passed this resolution on the Charter: "The Governments of America reaffirm the principles and purposes of the Atlantic Charter."

All of these formal documents give the Atlantic Charter a validity in international relations enjoyed by few other documents.

The Atlantic Charter and Anglo-American Relations.

In John Stuart's analysis of the Atlantic Charter the point is made that the Charter "marked a transition from unilateral to coalition action."

Stating that the Charter should be regarded as a war document, Mr. Stuart urged that it should be "reexamined for dynamic qualities" and viewed "as a flexible instrument in attaining complex goals."

A very important part of Mr. Stuart's analysis had to do with the Charter's function in the field of British-American relations, which the Atlantic Charter itself did so much in transforming.

The Charter, said Mr. Stuart, "closed officially a decade of antagonism towards Britain and the conception of Britain's place as a sort of poor nephew to be abused by the rich uncle. The Charter, moreover, enunciated as government policy, incomplete at that time to be sure and lacking the fullest realization of what our total responsibilities were, that we would have no truck with Hitler. In fact the Charter paved the way for a greater isolation of the European Axis by consolidating Anglo-American cooperation, later to be transformed by the Declaration of the United Nations into a bloc of anti-fascist powers as the common front for victory."

"The Charter is a symbol of promise and of hope resting in good will among nations . . . It is as permanent as the grand alliance. Without that alliance and the four powers that lead it, the Charter becomes parchment and ink, a museum curio indicative of things that might have been but did not come to pass." (New Masses, May 9, 1944.)

Declaration of the United Nations

Roosevelt and the United Nations.

But it was not only a common front for victory that was established with the Declaration of the United Nations. It was a league, a coalition for peace that gradually grew out of the military struggle, out of the Atlantic Charter, out of the Declaration of the United Nations and the many documents, the many coalition campaigns, which followed these two instruments.

Roosevelt in one of his most memorable formulations on the problem of an association of peoples put the question of a durable peace at the center of this matter of a common front:

"It is not only a common danger which unites us but a common hope. Ours is an association not of governments, but of peoples—and the peoples' hope is peace. Here as in England, in England as in Russia, in Russia as in China, in France and throughout the world wherever men love freedom, the hope and purpose of the peoples are for peace—a peace that is durable and secure."

Text of the Declaration of the United Nations.

That was in January, 1945. Three years earlier (January 1, 1942) when the Declaration of the United Nations was signed at Washington by twenty-six nations the idea of an international organization for peace had not yet taken shape in any such manner.

The new Declaration of the United Nations simply

pledged that each of the signators would fight until victory was achieved and would not make a separate peace.

The document itself follows:

"The governments signatory hereto,

"Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

"(1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the tripartite pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

"(2) Each government pledges itself to cooperate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

"The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggles for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington,
January First, 1942"

ORIGINAL SIGNATORIES:			
Australia			
Belgium	El Salvador	Netherlands	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Canada	Greece	New Zealand	
China	Guatemala	Nicaragua	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Costa Rica	Haiti	Norway	
Cuba	Honduras	Panama	
Czechoslovakia	India	Poland	United States of America
Dominican Republic	Luxembourg	Union of South Africa	Yugoslavia

LATER SIGNATORIES: (As of March 28, 1945)

Bolivia			
Brazil	Ethiopia	Liberia	Saudi Arabia
Chile	France	Mexico	Syria
Colombia	Iran	Paraguay	Turkey
Ecuador	Iraq	Peru	Uruguay
Egypt	Lebanon	Philippines	Venezuela

As of December 28, 1945 there were two more signatories: Argentina and Denmark. On the declaration of the United Nations the Soviet Union has but one signature, there being no separate signatures

for the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR.

(All fifty-one nations ratified the United Nations Charter.)

Lend-Lease

But the goal of peace had to be won through victory in war. This meant giving all possible aid and assistance to our Allies.

On February 23, 1942 the Mutual Aid Agreement was signed by the United States and the United Kingdom. It has been gradually extended to include help to nations all over the globe.

A very brief characterization of Lend-Lease was given by President Roosevelt on November 24, 1944. He said the lend-lease system is "a system of combined war supply, whose sole purpose is to make the most effective use against the enemy of the combined resources of the United Nations, regardless of the origin of the supplies or which of us uses them against the enemy."

President Roosevelt added: "Neither the monetary totals of the lend-lease aid we supply, nor the totals of the reverse lend-lease aid we receive, are measures of the aid we have given or received in this war." "That could be measured only in terms of the

total contributions toward winning victory of each of the United Nations. There are no statistical or monetary measurements for the value of courage, skill and sacrifice in the face of death and destruction wrought by our common enemies."

* * * * *

The amount of lend-lease sent to the United Nations during the war totaled \$42,000,000,000. If this debt, said President Truman on August 31, 1945, "were to be added to the other enormous financial obligations that foreign Governments have incurred for war purposes and must necessarily incur hereafter for rehabilitation and reconstruction of their war-devastated countries, it would have a disastrous effect upon our trade with the United Nations and hence upon production and employment at home." From this he argued that settlements should be made in the light of the "long-range security and economic objectives of the United States and the other United Nations"

Anglo-Soviet and American-Soviet Pacts

Chief among the countries which had seen "the face of death and destruction" was the Soviet Union. Complete political and military unity on the prosecution of the war with this ally and Great Britain was necessary.

On a day in May, 1942, Molotov and a large number of experts and military men arrived in Washington in a plane whose size "practically dwarfed our great plane B-17," according to former Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. Joseph E. Davies.

Sumner Welles at Arlington Cemetery made a speech in which he stated that the age of imperialism had ended. Only a handful of people in the United States knew that Molotov was in Washington in order to help shape a pact between his country and the United States.

In London on May 26, 1942, Eden and Molotov had reached an agreement, subsequently ratified, by which a 20-year mutual assistance alliance was established.

Article V of this Anglo-Soviet Pact speaks of "close and friendly collaboration after re-establishment of peace for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe."

In Washington on June 11, 1942, Hull and Litvinov signed the United States-Soviet War Aid Pact.

The White House statement announcing the American-Soviet Pact refers to world security in these words: "Further were discussed the fundamental problems of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States in safeguarding peace and security to the freedom-loving peoples after the war. Both sides state with satisfaction the unity of their views on all these questions."

Stalin called the Soviet-American Pact "a serious step forward."

The Anglo-Soviet-American Pacts laid the basis for the firm coalition of Teheran-Crimea-San Francisco-Berlin-Moscow.

Casablanca

From January 14 to 24, 1943 Roosevelt and Churchill met at Casablanca to perfect military plans against the Axis. Stalin, invited to attend, could not do so because of the great offensive he was directing in Russia. He was, in the words of the Casablanca communique, "fully informed of the military proposals." Chiang Kai-shek was informed of proposed aid to China. A meeting between Generals Giraud

and DeGaulle was arranged. Taking place during the period of the decisive Russian victory over German forces at Stalingrad, the Casablanca Conference became known as the "Unconditional Surrender" Conference, because of the two words used by Roosevelt to express the decision of the conferees regarding the Axis. At Casablanca no peacetime security formulations were made public.

United Nations Food Conference

The coalition was getting established. One of the first problems that had to be taken up was the question of food.

In May and June, 1943, at Hot Springs, Virginia, the United Nations Food Conference was held.

The Secretary-General of the Conference on June 3rd, 1943, stated: "The conference met to consider the goal of freedom from want in relation to food

and agriculture.

"In its resolutions and its reports the conference has recognized that freedom from want means a secure, adequate and suitable supply of food for every man." Further: ". . . there was general agreement that the nations represented at the conference should establish a permanent organization in the field of food and agriculture."

First Quebec Conference

From August 11 to 24, 1943, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill held a military conference at Quebec.

A joint statement issued on August 24 said in part: "The whole field of world operations has been surveyed in the light of the many gratifying events which have taken place since the meeting of the President and the Prime Minister in Washington at the end of May"

"It would not be helpful to the fighting troops to make any announcements of the decisions which have been reached"

"It may, however, be stated that the military discussions of the Chiefs of Staff turned very largely upon the war against Japan and the bringing of effective aid to China"

Reference was made to the possibility of a tripartite meeting (Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union) before the end of the year. Relations with the French Committee of Liberation were considered. Although no reference to atomic research appeared in the official communique, subsequent developments indicated it had been a subject for consideration.

Fulbright Resolution

By now the idea of international cooperation was so well accepted in so many fields that the House of Representatives went so far as to pass a resolution, the Senate concurring, for the creation of an international organization for peace.

This resolution, the Fulbright Resolution, passed the House on September 21, 1943. The vote was 360 to 29.

The resolution was brief and to the point:

"That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace, among the nations of the world, as favoring participation by the United States therein through its constitutional processes."

Moscow Declaration

Still there existed no definite international commitment for a general international organization to maintain the peace.

The time was ripe for such a commitment.

On November 1, 1943, at Moscow, in a Joint Four-Nation Declaration, the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China stated (the following is the famous Article 4):

"That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Declaration also established the principle of

continuing consultations with one another and with other members of the United Nations.

One of its articles (No. 7) had to do with "the regulation of armaments in the post-war period."

Text of the Moscow Declaration.

Joint Four-Nation Agreement of Foreign Ministers.

The governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

Recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments;

Jointly declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and

open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7. That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

Molotov, Eden, Hull, Foo Ping-Sheung.

Moscow, October 30, 1943.

Connally Resolution

Things were moving fast now.

Within five days after the signing of the Moscow Declaration, the clause of the Joint Four-Nation Agreement which provided for a general international organization for the peace had been written into the Senate Connally Resolution and had passed the Senate by a vote of 85 to 5.

The most important clause in the Connally Resolution, taken verbatim from the Moscow Declaration, states: "That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Moscow Declaration and the United States Senate

Reaction to the Moscow Declaration and to the Connally Resolution was deeper than to any other political developments in the field of international relations up to that time.

"Not an American policy only, but a world policy, is in the making," said the leading editorial in the New York Times.

"The reaction to the Moscow Declaration in both Allied and enemy countries clearly proves that it is recognized everywhere as the basis of a new international order. It is not too much to say that the preliminary peace conference has been held; the permanent commission set up to deal with questions of joint policy that will arise as the war proceeds means that there will be a continuing peace conference, and that many crucial decisions will be made before hostilities cease. The war settlements are being made now, in other words; the shape of the post-war world will be determined in the process set in motion in Moscow.

"By adopting the Moscow charter as its own, in whole or in part, the Senate of the United States has a ready-made opportunity to play a positive, perhaps a decisive, role in the further development of international policy."

UNRRA Established

Only a few days elapsed before one of the most important aspects of the coalition became the object of a big conference.

For two weeks—from November 12 to December

1, 1943, at Atlantic City—the representatives of 44 nations exchanged ideas on how best to take care of the problem of relief and rehabilitation.

The result of their deliberations was the formation

of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Its purposes included following the army into liberated areas in order to aid the populations with food, medical care and shelter.

By August 31, 1945 the total value of food, textiles, industrial equipment and other supplies sent by UNRRA to Europe and China totaled \$417,914,000. On July 24, 1945 UNRRA received Russia's first request for assistance. It totaled \$700,000,000. Herbert Lehman, Director General of UNRRA early

in September, 1945 estimated the 1946 load would come to \$1,800,000,000. China, he indicated, had asked for \$800,000,000 of assistance in 1946.

At an UNRRA Council meeting at London in August, 1945 Lehman said: "We may undo by our failure to aid these countries now all that has been achieved by our united efforts." The original aim of 2,600 calories daily per person in the liberated areas, he reported, was not being reached; the aim had been lowered to 2,000 calories—but even that figure was "not in sight."

Cairo

While the delegates on relief and rehabilitation were meeting in Atlantic City, President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek met at Cairo (November 22-26, 1943).

A joint communique stated that agreement on military measures against Japan had been reached.

Said Cordell Hull some time later (April 9, 1944): "The Cairo Declaration as to the Pacific assured the liquidation of Japan's occupations and thefts of ter-

ritory to deprive her of the power to attack her neighbors again, to restore Chinese territories to China and freedom to the people of Korea."

All of the territory taken from China since 1895 is to be returned, including Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores.

To do this meant of course the establishment of post-war collaboration among the three powers.

Teheran

A few days after the Cairo conference one of the great historic meetings of all times took place at Teheran.

Meeting from November 28 to December 1, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin concluded the Teheran Conference with a Declaration which ended the idea of three separate approaches to the war and the peace. A coalition approach to both was achieved.

Later—in February, 1945—the Crimea Conference was to extend and implement the coordination, the cooperation, the unity of Teheran. Still later—in July-August, 1945—the Berlin Conference was to develop this cooperation of the United States, Britain and Russia still further.

The best way to gain an idea of the accomplishments of Teheran is through a careful reading of the text of the Teheran Declaration.

Text of the Teheran Declaration.

Three-Power Agreement.

We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this the capital of our ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations

shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our roundtable discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the

German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny

and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose.

Signed at Teheran, December 1, 1943.

Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill.

Czechoslovak-Soviet Mutual Aid Agreement

The "Agreement of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration Between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic" was signed at Moscow December 12, 1943 by Molotov and Fierlinger. It modifies the Czechoslovak-U.S.S.R. agreement of May 16, 1935; confirms the agreement of July 18, 1941 against Germany; and includes in its purposes a "desire to contribute after the war to the maintenance of peace"

It has six articles: "a policy of permanent friendship and friendly post-war collaboration, as well as mutual assistance" against the Axis; no separate peace; mutual military and other support in the event either party becomes involved in hostilities with Germany "or with any other state that may

unite with Germany directly or in any other form in such a war;" large-scale post-war economic relations, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; non-participation in any coalition directed against either country; the agreement to remain in force twenty years, with automatic renewal for five year periods if not denounced by either party twelve months before expiral date.

At the time of the signing of the agreement there was signed also a protocol which provides for "any third power bordering on the U.S.S.R. or the Czechoslovak Republic" joining these two in their agreement, in the event both of the original signatories are at that later date willing.

Philadelphia International Labor Conference

The existing International Labor Organization took up at Philadelphia in April, 1944, the creation of a new ILO Code.

The section relating to peace says: "Believing that . . . lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the conference affirms that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, that the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy"

Delegates from workers' and employers' organiza-

tions, as well as governmental representatives, attended. 41 countries were represented. But the absence of the Soviet Union made it impossible to achieve agreement on various post-war matters.

The reason for this absence was to be found in the fact that the leadership of the ILO would not allow this appendage of the defunct League of Nations to become a fighting force against the Axis. Outnumbered two to one by the representatives of government and employers, labor in the ILO found itself participating in abstract, unenforceable decisions. Reaction attempted to secure a seat at Philadelphia for fascist Argentina. Although unsuccessful, this effort revealed the opportunism and appeasement affecting much of the ILO.

Bretton Woods

From July 1 to 22, 1944, at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, some 700 delegates from 45 United and Associated Nations participated in an international monetary and financial conference which had been in the making for several years.

"Our agenda," said Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., in opening the conference, "is concerned specifically with the monetary and investment field. It

should be viewed, however, as part of a broader program of agreed action among nations to bring about the expansion of production, employment and trade contemplated in the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreements concluded by the United States with many of the United Nations."

Secretary Morgenthau added that "what we achieve here will have the greatest historical sig-

nificance. Men and women everywhere will look to this meeting for a sign that the unity welded among us by war will endure in peace."

"Poverty, wherever it exists, is menacing to us all and undermines the well-being of each of us. It can no more be localized than war, but spreads and saps the economic strength of all the more favored areas of the earth. We know now that the thread of economic life in every nation is inseparably woven into a fabric of world economy. Let any thread become frayed and the entire fabric is weakened. No nation, however great and strong, can remain immune."

Proposals included the establishment of an international stabilization fund and an international bank.

The Fund: Governors, Directors, Capital.

Forty-four Governors and twelve Executive Directors of the Fund were proposed in the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund adopted July 22, 1944. A capital of \$8.8 billion was proposed. The United States' subscription was to be \$2.75 billion. A voting procedure was provided, in which the United States was to have 28% of the voting power.

The Bank: Governors, Directors, Capital.

The eleven Articles of Agreement for the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development propose a capital of \$9.1 billion of which the United States' quota is \$3,175,000,000. The United States is to exercise 31.4% of the voting power. There will be forty-four Governors and twelve Executive Directors, just as in the case of the Fund.

Fund: Purposes.

The purposes of the Fund include: 1. The promotion of international monetary cooperation; 2. The expansion and balanced growth of international trade, thus contributing "to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy;" 3. The promotion of exchange stability; 4. Elimination of foreign exchange restrictions; 5. Loans to members under adequate safeguard.

Bank: Purposes.

The purposes of the Bank include steps: 1. To assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes; 2. To promote

private foreign investment by means of guarantees or participations in loans and other investments made by private investors; and when private capital is not available on reasonable terms, to supplement private investment by providing, on suitable conditions, finance for productive purposes; 3. To promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade; 4. To arrange loans so that urgent and useful projects would be dealt with first; 5. To conduct its operations with due regard to the effect of international investment on business conditions in the territories of members, and, in the immediate post-war years, to assist in bringing about a smooth transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

How Will the Fund Operate?

A Treasury brochure states:

"It will be helpful to think of the Fund's operations in two steps.

"First, the Fund will be an international organization through which all member countries will cooperate to bring about stable currencies, freedom in exchange transactions, and the elimination of discriminatory currency practices.

"Second, the Fund will be a financial institution. In this capacity, it will make available to a member the particular currency, whether dollars, pounds, francs, or Mexican pesos, that may be required to keep the member's current international payments in balance. Such aid will be in the form of a sale of foreign exchange, in payment for which the member will surrender to the Fund an amount of its own currency having the same gold value as the foreign exchange purchased. After a limited period, the member will be required to reverse the process. That is, it will repurchase its own currency held by the Fund, tendering in payment foreign exchange or gold equal in value to the foreign currency originally purchased. The Fund's assets, therefore, although continually paid out and returned, will always have the same gold value."

How Will the Bank Function?

The same Treasury brochure further states:

"The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will not function as a commercial bank. It will accept no deposits. And although it will make some direct loans, it will supplement rather than supplant the established institutions in the investment and banking business.

"The Bank's main function will be to guarantee loans made by private investors. The object of the guarantee is to encourage a substantial volume of private international investment. In this way, many countries will be able to increase their production

and buy and sell more. Any member country may enlist the Bank's assistance in securing productive capital that cannot be raised through the usual channels; any country with capital to lend, like the United States and others, may use the Bank to find new and promising investments that could not otherwise be made.

"It is generally agreed that an increasingly large volume of foreign investment by the United States is essential to our own economic safety. Without it, we cannot expect to build up the volume of exports required to help absorb the output of our greatly expanded industrial plant.

"In stimulating international investment, the proposed Bank will operate as follows: When requested to guarantee a loan, it will first assure itself that the project for which the loan is sought is thoroughly sound; second, it will request evidence that the necessary funds cannot be raised in the private capital market at reasonable rates of interest; third, it will determine whether the borrower and the country will be able to repay the loan; finally, it will secure the guarantee of the Government in the country where the project is to be located. Only then will the Bank add its own guarantee.

"The risks of international loans will fall not on the investors themselves, nor even on any one country, but upon all of the 44 member countries. This is only fair, since all of the countries associated for the purpose of making the Bank possible will benefit through an expansion of international investment and the increased volume of trade and income that investment makes possible."

National Interest and International Cooperation

"There is a curious notion that the protection of national interest and the development of international cooperation are conflicting philosophies," said Morgenthau at the conclusion of the conference, adding: "Yet none of us has found any incompatibility between devotion to our own country and joint action We have come to recognize that the wisest and most effective way to protect our national interests is through international cooperation—that is to say, through united effort for the attainment of common goals."

Community of Purpose.

"This has been the great lesson taught by the war, and is, I think, the great lesson of contemporary life—that the peoples of the earth are inseparably linked to one another by a deep, underlying community of purpose. This community of purpose is no less real and vital in peace than in war, and cooperation is no less essential to its fulfillment."

Stable Exchange Standard Necessary.

No people, he said, will tolerate prolonged or widespread unemployment after the war. To achieve the fundamental conditions under which commerce among the nations can once more flourish, he emphasized that a reasonably stable standard of international exchange was necessary. He stated that the Fund would help remedy the situation of competitive currency depreciation, unnecessary exchange restrictions, uneconomic barter deals, etc. He then went on to say that the Bank would enable countries "whose industry and agriculture have been destroyed" to rebuild their industries so that they could "play their full part in the exchange of goods throughout the world."

"These proposals now must be submitted to the Legislatures and the peoples of the participating nations. They will pass upon what has been accomplished here," he said.

Jobs; Wages; Opportunities.

"The result will be of vital importance to everyone in every country. In the last analysis it will help determine whether or not people will have jobs and the amount of money they are to find in their weekly pay envelopes. More important still, it concerns the KIND of world in which our children are to grow to maturity. It concerns the opportunities which will await millions of young men when at last they can take off their uniforms and can come home to civilian jobs."

And later he said: "This monetary agreement is but one step, of course, in the broad program of international action necessary for the shaping of a free future."

President Roosevelt's Summary.

The day after his signature of the Crimea Agreement, President Roosevelt sent to Congress his message on Bretton Woods, a few paragraphs of which follow:

"If we are to measure up to the task of peace with the same stature as we have measured up to the task of war, we must see that the institutions of peace rest firmly on the solid foundations of international political and economic cooperation. The cornerstone for international political cooperation is the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for a permanent United Nations. International political relations will be friendly and constructive however, only if solutions are found to the difficult economic problems we face today. The cornerstone for international economic cooperation is the Bretton Woods proposals for an international monetary fund and an international bank for reconstruction and development . . ."

“The Choice is Ours.”

“ . . . The Fund agreement establishes a code of agreed principles for the conduct of exchange and currency affairs. In a nutshell, the Fund agreement spells the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare culminating in war—as in the Nineteen Thirties—or a world in which the members strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation and assistance. The choice is ours . . . The International Fund and Bank together represent one of the most sound and useful proposals for international collaboration now before us . . . these articles of agreement are the product of the best minds that forty-four nations could muster . . . ”

For Immediate Adoption.

“In this message I have recommended for your consideration the immediate adoption of the Bretton Woods agreements and suggested other measures which will have to be dealt with in the near future. They are all parts of a consistent whole.—That whole is our hope for a secure and fruitful world, a world in which plain people in all countries can work at tasks, which they do well, exchange in peace the products of their labor and work out their several destinies in security and peace; a world in which Governments as their major contribution to the common welfare are highly and effectively resolved to work together in practical affairs and to guide all their actions by the knowledge that any policy or act that has effects abroad must be considered in the light of those effects.”

“We Have a Chance.”

“This point in history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move

toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs. We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and cooperating world. Whether we do so will determine, as far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live.”

Congressional Action.

On February 15, 1945 Senators Wagner and Tobey introduced in the Senate a bill to approve the Bretton Woods Monetary and Financial Agreements. In the House a similar bill was introduced by Representative Brent Spence.

In his testimony after introduction of the bill, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson called the Fund the “heart” of the Bretton Woods proposals. “The Fund,” he said, “is a substitute for international monetary warfare.” His brief description was similar to Morgenthau’s: “Essentially, it is an instrument to prevent the disastrous outbreak of economic warfare.”

On July 19, 1945 the Senate passed an amended version of the bill, by a vote of 61 to 16. And on August 4, 1945 the White House announced signature by President Truman of this bill. On the same day, announcement was made that the President had approved the Export-Import Bank measure, increasing its lending authority from \$700,000,000 to \$3,500,000,000.

The Bank and Fund Established.

On December 27, 1945 at Washington the \$8.8 billion fund and \$9.1 billion bank were established. On that date there were twenty-nine nations which had signed the fund and bank agreements, accounting for 79% of the money scheduled for the two institutions.

Dumbarton Oaks

The famous Dumbarton Oaks world security conversations were carried on during August and September 1944 at Washington. The meetings were held at an estate in a suburb of the city; the name of the estate gave the Conference its name.

Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States met first; then China, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Cordell Hull: The Requirements of Peace.

Said Hull at the opening session: “Peace requires an acceptance of the idea that its maintenance is a common interest so precious and so overwhelmingly important that all differences and controversies

among nations can and must be resolved by resort to pacific means. But peace also requires institutions through which the will to peace can be translated into action.” He spoke of the use of force “promptly, in adequate measure and with certainty.” He said the conclusions reached during the conversations would be communicated “to the Governments of all the United Nations.”

Asking for “public study and debate” he stated that “no institution—especially when it is of as great importance as the one now in our thoughts—will endure unless there is behind it considered and complete popular support.” He spoke of “a system of decent and just relationships among nations” and

concluded: "It is the sacred duty of the Governments of all peace-loving nations to make sure that international machinery is fashioned through which the peoples can build the peace they so deeply desire."

Cadogan; Gromyko.

Sir Alexander Cadogan, speaking for the British delegation, said: "The discussions which open today arise out of Article IV of the Declaration of Moscow, in the framing of which Mr. Hull played such a notable and prominent part."

Ambassador Gromyko stated, regarding the discussions: "They are the first step leading to the erection of a building in the foundation of which all freedom-loving peoples of the world are interested—for an effective international organization and maintenance of peace and security."

Roosevelt: "A Peace That Will Last."

During a recess on August 23, 1944, President Roosevelt spoke at The White House to the delegates attending the Dumbarton Oaks conversations. He said in part: "We have got to make not merely a peace but a peace that will last, and a peace in which the larger nations will work absolutely in unison in preventing war by force. But the four of us have got to be friends, conferring all the time on the basis of getting to know each other." The four nations to which Roosevelt referred were of course China, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. France at that time had not yet become one of the "Big Five."

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

The recommendations of the Conference were for the establishment of a general international security organization with two fields of operation: to "seek to prevent the outbreak of war" and to "facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

To achieve these ends, there were proposed: a General Assembly, "composed of representatives of all member states;" a Security Council made up of eleven representatives, six of whom were to be elected "for two year terms by the General Assembly" and five of whom would have permanent seats—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France (France being accorded this status somewhat later); an International Court of Justice; a Secretariat; an Economic and Social Council and a Military Staff Committee. "Regional arrangements" within the framework of Dumbarton Oaks, were "encouraged."

"Part of a Pattern for Peace."

Said Lord Halifax: "The meeting at Dumbarton Oaks should therefore be seen as part of a pattern for peace—a work which was begun at Hot Springs and went on at Atlantic City and Bretton Woods. More meetings of the kind will no doubt be necessary as the pattern grows, but this is the right way to go to work."

"Unity of Nations in the Common Cause of Peace."

An estimate of Dumbarton Oaks by John Stuart states:

"The careful formulations are not of a rigid blueprint character. They are designed with the excellent sense that the future must be orderly but that it will also be one of transitions to many unforeseeable developments. The element of change, therefore, dominates its architecture. But towering above the mechanism itself is the elementary idea now beginning to possess the peace-loving democratic world. And that is the idea of unity of nations in the common cause of peace."

R. Palme Dutt: Dumbarton Oaks.

In his analysis of Dumbarton Oaks, R. Palme Dutt says in part:

"While the Covenant of the League of Nations formally recognized the principle of collective security, that recognition was rendered in practice ineffective by the accompanying limitations, weaknesses, and reactionary factors which characterized the League from the outset and paralyzed its work as a constructive force for peace. The experience of the crucial years before the present war, when it would have still been possible and even relatively easy to check the initial stages of fascist aggression by combined action, showed that what was at fault was not the principle of collective security, but the lack of will of the dominant great powers to operate it. Herein lies the crux of the problem, in the light of which the Dumbarton Oaks plan has been prepared. The reactionary governments of the sectional group of powers which dominated the League refused to operate the principle of collective security, preferred to give free path to fascism and its aggression, and thereby wrecked the League and opened the way to the present war. Must this experience be repeated in the future? How far does the Dumbarton Oaks plan succeed in tackling this problem? It is in the light of this fundamental issue that the mechanics of the plan need to be judged."

Continuation of Coalition Policy Essential.

"The basic answer to this question can, of course, only be political; it cannot be solved by machinery. It lies in the continuation of the policy of the powers which has found expression in the Teheran agreement. It lies in carrying forward the actual alliance of the United Nations, sprung into being in the common struggle against fascism, from the war into the peace, and similarly carrying forward that nucleus of decisive leadership already existing in the United Nations, and expressed in the role of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

"In this connection it is significant that the Dumbarton Oaks plan does not propose the founding of some brand-new world organization; what it proposes is the adoption of a 'Charter of the United Nations,' that is, that the existing alliance of the United Nations, sprung out of the historical process of the struggle of the democratic nations against fascism, develop into a permanent organization for world security, to be known as 'The United Nations.' The solution finally lies in the character of the governments and the popular will behind the governments composing the alliance. But while the final solution is thus necessarily political, the machinery of the alliance for security must correspond to this political basis and facilitate its operation."

Anglo-Soviet-American Cooperation Decisive.

"In the League Covenant the formal principle of collective security, spread very thin over forty nations of extremely unequal strength, was never firmly translated into the explicit responsibility of the great powers to maintain peace; nor was there any military machinery of common action ready.

"The essence of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, on the contrary, is the direct responsibility laid on the great powers."

Mr. Dutt's valuable analysis, published in the *New Masses*, concludes:

"If Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union enter into conflict, no constitutional machinery can save peace. If this cooperation is maintained, collective security is practicable and peace can be maintained. If this cooperation is not maintained, peace cannot be maintained. The virtue of the Dumbarton Oaks plan is that it makes this issue of Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation as the decisive basis of world peace inescapably plain, and does not conceal it behind any abstract formula to deceive opinion."

The Internal Political Situation.

"Thus the key question remains the question of the long-term cooperation of the leading democratic

powers, and especially of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States: the strength and unity of public opinion for maintaining such cooperation; and the strength and stability of governments based on effective popular support for operating such a policy of cooperation. If we wish to solve the problem of world peace, the question of the internal political situation is in practice even more important than the question of international machinery; for the former governs in practice the operation of the latter. For this reason world opinion was inevitably and justly concerned with the campaigning and outcome of the presidential elections in the United States, in its bearing on the future of world politics, and could but view with disquiet any signs of anti-Teheran groupings or propaganda in the course of the campaign."

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Security Council Voting Procedure.

At Dumbarton Oaks no agreement was reached on voting procedure in the Security Council. This matter was taken up by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill at the Crimea Conference. They agreed upon the following three sentences (known thereafter as the "Yalta voting formula") as additions to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals:

"1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

"2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

"3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A [Pacific Settlement of Disputes], and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C [Regional Arrangements], a party to a dispute should abstain from voting."

Public announcement of the Yalta voting formula was made during the course of the Mexico City Chapultepec Palace meeting. Stettinius explained the voting procedure, saying in part: "The practical effect of these provisions taken together, is that a difference is made, so far as voting is concerned, between the quasi-judicial function of the Security Council in promoting the pacific settlement of disputes and the political function of the council in taking action for the maintenance of peace and security."

The *New York Times* said that "the Yalta formula seems to us to be reasonable and constructive . . . the Yalta formula disposes of the Senate's bugaboo

of a situation in which the United States would have no right to veto any action against itself to which other major Powers might agree. It disposes of that bugaboo by recognizing frankly that the first

condition of a lasting peace is continued agreement among the Powers, which, by virtue of their strength, are cast inevitably for the role of the chief guardians of international law and order."

Second Quebec Conference

From September 11 to 16, 1944 President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill held their second Quebec military conference. Said Roosevelt at the beginning of the meeting:

"This is a conference to get the best we can out of the combined British and United States war efforts in the Pacific and in Europe. We are working in consonance with the situation in China, the Pacific, and in Europe, coordinating our efforts with those of our allies, particularly the Chinese and the Russians."

At the conclusion of the conference, a three-sentence joint statement was issued:

"The President and the Prime Minister and the Combined Chiefs of Staff held a series of meetings,

during which they discussed all aspects of the war against Germany and Japan. In a very short space of time they reached decisions on all points both with regard to the completion of the war in Europe, now approaching its final stages, and the destruction of the barbarians of the Pacific. The most serious difficulty with which the Quebec conference has been confronted has been to find room and opportunity for marshaling against Japan the massive forces which each and all of the nations concerned are ardent to engage against the enemy."

As at the first Quebec Conference, no reference to atomic research was made in the official statement, although subsequent events indicated it had been one of the most important matters, if not the most important, discussed.

Rye Business Conference

During October and November, 1944, several hundred businessmen from 52 nations attended the Rye Business Conference. The meetings were conducted in a manner similar to meetings of the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Eight major sections on the agenda included: commercial policy of nations, currency regulations among nations, encouragement and protection of investments, industrialization in new areas, transportation and communications, raw materials and food-stuffs, cartels and private enterprise.

The Rye Conference deferred a stand on the Bretton Woods proposals until the American Bankers Association, the New York State Bankers Association and the National Foreign Trade Council should submit reports on the stabilization fund and international bank proposals.

Differences regarding cartels and free enterprise developed between the British and American delegations, with the British in favor of trade agreements while the American delegation favored free competition. Sir Peter Bennett, a leading member of the United Kingdom delegation, at a farewell luncheon blamed the "heat in the discussions largely on the United States delegation."

Striking out at Winthrop Aldrich's "key nation" approach, Indian Delegate Sir Chunilal B. Mehta said it would leave "each individual nation to the mercy of either the United States or the United Kingdom and that would amount to dividing the world between two great nations—the United States and the United Kingdom."

Senator Harley M. Kilgore on November 28, 1944 called attention to the anomaly of having such "neutrals" as Argentina, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey at a conference which presumably was intended to help win the war quickly. He also pointed out that some of the leading figures at Rye included Raffaele Matteoli, who was then "as he was under Mussolini, managing director of the Banca Commerciale Italiana, long allied with German interests and key financial instrument in maintenance of relations between the Fascist Party and Italian heavy industry;" Thomas J. Watson, President of International Business Machines, who, Senator Kilgore stated, "has the distinction of having been awarded a decoration by Hitler;" John W. White, representative of American business in the cartel section of the conference, an executive of International Westinghouse which at that time was "under indictment for international conspiracy in restraint of trade."

The Conference included also such delegates as a representative of the Argentine banking firm of Shaw, Struppe and Company which had been put on the black list because of its pro-Axis connections; Sir Clive Ballieu, Vice President of the Federation of British Industries, which as recently as 1939 had, through the Dusseldorf Agreement, aided the rapid expansion of Anglo-German cartel relations; and Winthrop W. Aldrich of Chase National, who had conducted as vigorous a fight as any individual in America against Bretton Woods and the International Monetary Fund.

Chicago Aviation Conference

During November and December, 1944, 52 nations participated in the International Civil Aviation Conference.

Russia stayed out because Spain, Portugal and Switzerland (regarded by Russia as not neutral) were invited.

Leaving open a place for Russia, the delegates elected 20 members of a twenty-one-man interim council as the executive board of a provisional world air body pending ratification of the permanent International Civil Aviation Organization.

An agreement containing 95 articles was reached. Also, the "Two Freedoms" document was adopted. These "Two Freedoms" were the privilege of flying across a member State's territory and the privilege of landing for non-traffic purposes.

Two opposite viewpoints developed at the Conference: the British, voiced by Lord Swinton, chief of the British delegation; and the American, presented by Adolf Berle, head of the United States delegation. The former wanted restriction of competition through a powerful international air authority; the latter demanded free competition on the world's airways.

Russia, the second largest producer of aircraft in the world, while not represented for the reason stated above, has every interest in expediting world air trade. But there is an aspect of this problem which deeply concerns Russia. It has to do with the military danger of unregulated flight.

This question was raised in the twelfth 1944 issue of "War and the Working Class" by Professor Voskresensky: "Free and unregulated flights over foreign countries," he said, "are the opening for big possibilities of misuse and aggression against the national interests of separate states—possibilities of reconnaissance and spying, of violating customs and frontier rules."

In London some time later, after Lord Swinton had been made Minister of Civil Aviation, opposition to the United States plan for unlimited competition took the shape of a projected Empire Agreement to control air routes within the Commonwealth should it become impossible to gain acceptance of a fair international agreement.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in a House of Commons discussion, said: "The Government is convinced we must

get on with this job. We cannot wait because we do not all see eye to eye. The pressure of competition from the other side of the Atlantic is far too strong to allow us to stand still." Sir Stafford was, of course, referring to competition from the United States.

The International Civil Aviation Conference drew up, in addition to the "Two Freedoms" document, a second declaration in which an effort was made to widen the area of agreement among the participating nations. Nations could sign either the first agreement on the "Two Freedoms" or they could sign for all the "Five Freedoms" listed in the longer document. This optional agreement, as summarized by A. A. Berle, "proposes to all nations who agree an exchange not merely of the freedoms of transit and of a non-traffic stop but like-wise freedom to take traffic from the homeland to any country who may agree; to bring traffic from any country to the homeland, and to pick up and discharge traffic at intermediate points."

Two Lessons of the Aviation Conference.

The Aviation Conference made clear to the world two very important lessons. James S. Allen has very ably summarized these:

"First Lesson: World economic problems cannot be handled successfully if we attempt to treat them as separate and apart from the central problem of co-operation for world security.

"This is especially true of aviation which is the super-industry from the viewpoint of security and peace. Without the Soviet Union the problems posed at Chicago cannot be solved, no more than the problem of security in general can be solved without the U.S.S.R."

"Second Lesson: Economic rivalries between Britain and the United States must be adjusted through compromise, in the first place by the United States, if the prime task of world security is not to be made much more difficult."

"Economic isolationism—the policy of the U.S. delegation at Chicago—is merely the reverse side of the coin of political isolationism, and holds equal dangers for our country."

French-Soviet Pact

The French-Soviet Pact was signed by Bidault and Molotov at Moscow on December 10, 1944.

This 20-year treaty of alliance and mutual assist-

ance was a "regional arrangement" of a type provided for at that time in Chapter VIII, Section C of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Such regional ar-

rangements were the subject of regulation later by Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations adopted at San Francisco.

The text of the treaty makes reference to the purpose of the two countries "to collaborate with a view to creating an international system of security, making possible an effective maintenance of general peace and guaranteeing the harmonious development

of relations between nations."

The treaty further states that it will meet "the feelings as well as the interests of the two nations, the demands of war as well as the requirements of peace and of economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims adopted by the United Nations."

World Trade Union Conference

From February 6-17, 1945 at London approximately 250 delegates of 48 trade union organizations from 35 countries met in the World Trade Union Conference.

These delegates represented 60 million organized workers.

The American Federation of Labor did not participate, although 175 AFL leaders greeted the Congress.

A Manifesto was issued. Its Preamble included these words:

"Our deliberations at the World Conference enable us to declare, with emphasis and without reservation, that the Trade Union Movement of the world is resolved to work with all likeminded peoples to achieve a complete and uncompromising victory over the Fascist powers that sought to encompass the destruction of freedom and democracy; to establish a stable and enduring peace, and to promote in the economic sphere the international collaboration which will permit the rich resources of the earth to be utilized for the benefit of all its peoples, providing full employment, rising standards of living and social security to the men and women of all nations."

The Manifesto pledged everything for a speedy victory; a democratic mobilization of the peoples of the liberated areas, together with an extension of all democratic rights; demilitarization of Germany and Japan; isolation of Franco-Spain and fascist Argentina; endorsement of the Atlantic Charter and Dumbarton Oaks; "for world cooperation to secure the industrial development of the undeveloped countries;" "an end (to) the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries;" the setting up of a new labor international, through a World Trade

Union Conference Committee of 45 pledged to reconvene in September, 1945, to adopt a constitution; the Conference Committee to "make its claim to a share in determining all questions of the peace and post-war settlements" at San Francisco in April; tribute to the armed forces and resistance movements; and ended with an "appeal to all workers of the world, and to all men and women of good will to consecrate to the building of a better world the service and sacrifice they have given to the winning of the war."

"Organized labor," the Manifesto said, "with so great a part in winning the war, cannot leave to others—however well-intentioned they may be—the sole responsibility of making the peace. The peace will be a good peace, a peace worthy of the sacrifices by which it has been won, only if it reflects the deep resolve of the free peoples, their interests, their desires and their needs."

The Conference endorsed the decisions made by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Yalta.

It achieved a great aim: the uniting of trade unionists of the free countries "on a basis of equality regardless of race, creed or political faith, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place."

At the time invitations to attend were sent out, the status, at some sessions, of three countries—Sweden, Switzerland and Ireland—was specified as that of "observers" without voting rights. Spain and Argentina were not invited. In fact, at the Conference a resolution was passed calling upon the United Nations "to reconsider economic and other relations with Franco Spain and Argentina and all other Fascist countries which, under the pretense of neutrality, are rendering aid and assistance to our enemies."

Crimea Conference

While the World Trade Union Conference was meeting in London, the Crimea Conference of the Big Three was meeting at Yalta.

Of the Yalta agreements, President Harry S. Truman had this to say on February 23, 1945:

" . . . in the search for peace and good-will

among nations, we, the United States and her two chief allies, have made a magnificent beginning under the Yalta agreements of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin."

The Crimea Conference began on February 4 and ended February 12, 1945.

Said President Roosevelt in his report to Congress on this conference: "We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

"The Crimea Agreement," he continued, "spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries, and have failed."

It called for: defeat, occupation and control of Germany; "destruction of German militarism and Nazism;" reparations in kind; "the earliest possible establishment of a general international organization to maintain peace and security" and the calling of a conference of United Nations at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, "to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks."

It contains a Declaration on Liberated Europe which provides ways and means by which the liberated peoples are enabled "to create democratic institutions of their own choice"—"a principle of the Atlantic Charter."

It demands "inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad" in a reorganized Polish Government. Molotov, Harriman and Kerr were named to assist. The Curzon Line, with slight changes, was recommended as the eastern frontier of Poland, with "final delimitation of the western frontier" to await the peace conference.

Called for, also, was a democratic extension of the Yugoslav Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation with ratification of Assembly acts by a constituent assembly. Periodic meetings were proposed—about every three or four months—of the foreign secretaries of Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

The conclusion of the Crimea Agreement stated: "Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace."

Text of the Crimea Agreement.

In order to understand developments in Europe, and in order to learn various important details in connection with the peace, it is imperative that the full text of the Crimea Agreement be studied and restudied.

The agreement signed at Yalta represents a continuation of the line of policy developed at Moscow and Teheran; it established procedures in many highly important fields; it will affect world history for generations.

The Chairman of the Commission to Study the

Organization of Peace, James T. Shotwell, makes the following estimate of the Yalta Charter:

"So important is this statement of the principles governing the three great allies in the reestablishment of peace that it should be regarded as a new charter, more definite and further reaching than that of the Atlantic."

The complete text is:

The following statement is made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the results of the Crimean conference:

The Defeat of Germany.

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close-working partnership among the three staffs attained at this Conference, will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

The Occupation and Control of Germany.

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control have been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been

agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.

Reparation By Germany.

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied Nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

United Nations Conference.

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of the United

Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco, in the United States, on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

Declaration on Liberated Europe.

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (A) to establish conditions of internal peace; (B) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed people; (C) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (D) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other

governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build, in cooperation with other peace-loving nations, world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

Poland.

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotoff, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above the Government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and will exchange Ambassadors, by whose reports the respective Govern-

ments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line, with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

Yugoslavia.

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately and that a new Government should be formed on the basis of that agreement. We also recommend that as soon as the new Government has been formed it should declare that:

(1) The anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (AVNOJ) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,

(2) Legislative acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

Meetings of Foreign Secretaries.

Throughout the conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of Governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries and their advisers have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations' conference on world organization.

Unity for Peace as for War.

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible

and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

Victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

February 11, 1945. J. STALIN

On Russia's Entry Into War Against Japan.

On February 11, 1946—that is, one year after the signing of the Crimea Agreement—the State Department made public the following accord on the subject of Russia's entry into the war against Japan. For obvious military reasons it was not made public at the time of signing. The full text is:

The leaders of the three great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain—have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated, the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

(1) The status quo in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved;

(2) The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz.:

- (a) The southern part of Sakhalin as well as all the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union,
- (b) The commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the U.S.S.R. restored,
- (c) The Chinese Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese company, it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria;

(3) The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

J. STALIN
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

February 11, 1945.

Inter-American Conference on Problems of the War and Peace

On March 3, 1945 at Mexico City in Chapultepec Palace, representatives of 20 American Republics took part in an Inter-American Conference on Problems of the War and Peace.

Said Stettinius: “The prosperity and well-being and security of the peoples of the American continents is bound up with the prosperity and well-being and security of the other continents and islands of the earth;” he stated also that “the unfinished pattern of the American purpose can now be completed in the larger fabric of a world purpose.”

287 resolutions were presented during the course of the conference; 60 were approved.

There were six major accomplishments: (1) a reaffirmation of wartime collaboration of the American Republics against the Axis; (2) the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were called “an invaluable contribution to the setting up of a general international organization” for peace, and a number of additional proposals were agreed to; (3) a reorganization of the Inter-American system was accomplished; (4) broad economic and social principles were adopted, together with a pledge to raise the standard of living of the American people; (5) a united policy regarding Argentina was adopted, requiring acceptance by Argentina of the “common policy” pursued by the

American States, full use of Argentine resources against the Axis, and a reorienting of Argentina's policy "until it achieves its incorporation into the United Nations as a signatory of the joint declarations drawn up by them;" (6) adoption of the Act of Chapultepec.

The Act of Chapultepec.

Where formerly reliance to keep the peace in this hemisphere was placed on the unilateral Monroe Doctrine, today reliance, within the framework of world security, will be upon the multilateral Act of Chapultepec.

The Act proscribes territorial conquest; condemns intervention; proclaims the indivisibility of war; calls for mutual consultation; states that "every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America" justifies consultation; urges conciliation, arbitration and "the operation of international justice" demands respect for the "personality, sovereignty and independence of each American State;" speaks of the observance of treaties and of mutual solidarity among the American States; and sets forth that any aggression by a non-American State against an American State "shall be considered as an act of aggression against all the American states." Aggression is defined. Procedures for steps up to and

including the "use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression" are outlined.

Latin American Labor Points Out Flaws.

By March 10, 1945 the most powerful labor organization in Latin America—the CTAL—took a strong position repudiating the Chapultepec Conference's "watering down of the security council power."

The CTAL also vigorously opposed the idea of a Latin American regionalism acting independently of the world security organization.

Golubov, Writer in "Red Star," Comments on the Conference.

Sharp criticism of the Inter-American Conference at Mexico City was made in Moscow by the writer F. F. Golubov in the publication "Red Star."

Golubov stated that the Conference made it possible for a fascist dictator to "declare himself the head of (a) democratic country just by a stroke of his pen."

He stated further that "during the conference it was discovered that not all leaders of the Latin American states understand the necessity of placing the American continent within the international system of security."

Labor-Management Charter

On March 28, 1945 at Washington, the "New Charter for Labor and Management" was signed by Eric Johnston, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The Charter was intended by its authors to be a guide to post-war industrial relations. However, it contained three paragraphs relating to peace:

"6. An expanding economy at home will be stimulated by a vastly increased foreign trade. Arrangements must therefore be perfected to afford the devastated or undeveloped nations reasonable assistance to encourage the rebuilding and development of sound economic systems. International trade cannot expand through subsidized competition among the

nations for diminishing markets, but can be achieved only through expanding world markets, and the elimination of any arbitrary and unreasonable practices.

"7. An enduring peace must be secured. This calls for the establishment of an international security organization, with full participation by all the United Nations, capable of preventing aggression and assuring lasting peace.

"We in management and labor agree that our primary duty is to win complete victory over Nazism and Japanese militarism. We also agree that we have a common joint duty, in cooperation with other elements of our national life, and with Government, to prepare and work for a prosperous and sustained peace."

Yugoslav-Soviet Mutual Aid Agreement

The 20-year "Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Cooperation between the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia" was signed at Moscow on April 11, 1945 by Molotov and Tito.

It consists of six articles: continuation of the struggle against Germany jointly with all the United Nations until victory, with mutual military and other assistance; mutual military and other assistance in

the event either party is subject to aggression by Germany or any State joining directly with Germany in such aggression; participation "in all international actions aimed at insuring peace and security between their peoples" together with steps to implement these aims and assurance that "the present treaty is in full conformity with the international principles in the

adoption of which they participated;" no participation on the part of either party in a coalition directed against the other; post-war economic and cultural cooperation; validity of twenty years from date of signature with automatic renewal for five-year periods providing either party does not denounce the treaty twelve months before expiral date.

Polish-Soviet Mutual Aid Agreement

The "Agreement of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration Between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Provisional Government" was signed at Moscow April 21, 1945 by Stalin and Morawski.

Stalin regarded the pact as "a guaranty of the independence of a new democratic Poland." He stated the pact has "great historical significance" and that now "it is possible to say with assurance that German aggression is checked from the east."

The agreement provides for a continuation of the common struggle against Germany until victory is achieved; friendship between Poland and Russia; protection against Germany including participation in all international peace activities; implementation

"in conformity with international principles in the acceptance of which they (the signatories) have participated;" mutual military and other support in the event either party becomes involved in hostilities with Germany or any state acting in concert with Germany; no peace with Germany which might be likely to encroach on the independent territorial integrity of either signatory; no participation in any coalition directed against either country; post-war friendly economic and cultural relations.

The agreement was to remain in force twenty years, with automatic renewal for five-year periods if not denounced by either party twelve months before expiral date.

United Nations Conference on International Organization

Acting on Article 4 of the Moscow Declaration (on establishing "a general international organization" for "peace and security") Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill at Yalta on February 11, 1945 agreed upon a conference "to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks." They set April 25, 1945 as the time and San Francisco as the place for this conference, which became known later as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, or UNCIO.

The American representatives were: Hull, Stettinius, Connally, Vandenberg, Stassen, Bloom, Eaton and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College. Due to ill health, Hull was unable to attend.

When the Conference convened on April 25, there were present approximately 850 delegates from 46 nations. At the opening session, which was held in the War Memorial Opera House, there were in addition some 1,500 members of the press and 1,100 guests. By the final session, which was held June 26, 50 nations were represented, and arrangements had been made for a 51st—Poland—to be among the original signatories of the Charter.

Truman in his opening address pointed out that "At no time in history has there been a more important conference;" and he emphasized that "Nothing

is more essential to the future peace of the world, than continued cooperation" of the Allied coalition.

Across the bay in Oakland the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference convened on April 25, the same day that saw the opening of the San Francisco Conference. Hillman, Citrine, Saillant, Tarasov, Kuznetzov and Toledano were among the labor leaders participating.

At the first meeting of the UNCIO Steering Committee, a motion to make Stettinius the permanent Chairman or President of the Conference was rejected by Molotov, who proposed four chairmen or presidents: Stettinius, Soong, Eden and himself. This was agreed to in these words: "The meeting recommends that there be four presidents, who will preside in rotation at the plenary from time to time, with Mr. Stettinius presiding over these meetings and Mr. Stettinius to be chairman of the Executive and Steering Committees, the three others delegating full powers to Mr. Stettinius for conducting the business of the conference."

First Plenary Session.

The Conference met in Plenary Session a total of ten times, during which approximately 40 chiefs of delegations spoke.

At the first plenary session, Stettinius said: "For

centuries to come, men will point to the United Nations as history's most convincing proof of what miracles can be accomplished by nations joined together in a righteous cause. It is a unity achieved in spite of differences of language and custom, of cultural tradition and of economic structure. It is a unity which proves that no differences of race, color, creed, history or geography can divide peoples united in a higher community of interest and purpose." He referred to the earlier meetings at Moscow, Teheran, Cairo, Quebec, Dumbarton Oaks and the Crimea as preliminary steps toward the fulfillment of the purpose of assuring "a just and an enduring peace." He spoke of "a close integration of the Inter-American System with the World Organization" and referred to economic security in terms of the United Nations conferences at Hot Springs, Atlantic City and Bretton Woods.

Soong said on April 26 that China was prepared "to yield if necessary, a part of our sovereignty, to the new International Organization in the interest of collective security." Eden stated that "the work on which we are making a start here may be the world's last chance." Molotov said that the Soviet people "are devoted with all their hearts to the cause of the establishment of a durable general peace and are willing to support with all their forces the efforts of other nations to create a reliable organization of peace and security."

On Seating Argentina.

When the question of seating Argentina came up (April 30), Molotov fought for a few days postponement of the question in order to allow time for consideration of it. "Up to now," he said, "all invitations to this Conference have been approved unanimously by the four sponsoring governments which hold an equal position here. We consider this a very good rule and are opposed to any disruption of our unity. I think that we should all value our unanimity and try to insure that any new suggestion that has not been sufficiently studied by anyone be given serious thought. That is why we think it proper that the question of Argentina should be settled in exactly the same manner as others have been, but not in all haste. The Soviet Delegation suggest that the question of inviting Argentina to this Conference be postponed for a few days for further study. This is the only request made by the Soviet Delegation." After the intervention of Mr. Stettinius, who spoke against the motion, it was defeated, 28 to 7. The second motion acted upon, presented by the Steering Committee, was "that the representatives of the Argentine Republic should be permitted to take their seats at the Conference immediately." It passed by a vote of 31 to 4.

On the Organization of the Conference.

By May 3, the organization of the Conference was practically complete. There were four Presidents (Stettinius, Soong, Molotov, Eden); an Advisory Committee of Jurists working on proposals for the World Court; a Credentials Committee; a Steering Committee (consisting of the chairmen of all delegations); an Executive Committee of fourteen members to aid the Steering Committee; a Coordinating Committee; a Parliamentarian; and a Press Officer. Four Commissions were set up to do the main work of the Conference: to draft the Charter. Each of these had from two to four sub-committees, each caring for one aspect of the work of drafting the Charter. The Commissions presented draft texts of Charter proposals to the Conference. The general administration of the Conference was provided by a Secretariat, headed by Alger Hiss. Responsible to him were the Admissions Officer, Comptroller, Presentation Officer, Protocol Officer, Cultural Activities Officer, Photographic Officer, Information Officer and Security Officer, and in addition, various assistants—executive, special and on liaison. Functioning under Secretary General Hiss were two main departments, one headed by an executive secretary, the other by an administrative secretary. Under the executive secretary were a documents officer, a conference editor, a production manager, an index and reference officer, an archivist, a document distribution and file officer, a translating and interpreting bureau, conference reporters, a technical adviser on treaties, an advisor on geography, a librarian and so on. The administrative secretary directed the secretariat's administrative services, including space, equipment, transportation, communications, finance, personnel, mail, order of the day, and so forth, with an officer assigned to each of these functions. There were also consultants from forty-two leading national organizations, as well as unofficial representatives of various intergovernmental organizations like the International Labor Organization and the League of Nations.

World Labor Group Rebuffed.

On May 3 all four Commissions had their first meetings. Procedures were worked out; work was divided among the Committees. More and more amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals from various countries began to appear. On May 4 a score of amendments that had been jointly agreed upon by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China were made public. On May 7 the American Delegation heard labor leaders Green, Murray and MacGowan. Green urged inclusion in the United Nations Organization of the International Labor Organization; MacGowan agreed "in

principle"; Murray urged "direct representation of the World Federation of Trade Unions in a consultative capacity" and participation in the preparation of policies and programs affecting workers. A committee of Commission II voted unanimously on May 9 to allow the World Federation of Trade Unions to send an observer to its meetings (its field was Economic and Social Cooperation). On May 10, by a vote of 32 to 10, the Steering Committee rebuffed the world labor group by overruling the sub-committee which did this.

Security Council Veto Power.

Leaving for Moscow shortly after V-E Day, Molotov turned over the chairmanship of the Soviet Delegation to Gromyko. Gromyko soon became the center of a storm over the Security Council veto power. He urged "unanimity of the five permanent members" with each having a veto over all questions, including a veto over discussion. On request of the United States Delegation Truman appealed directly to Stalin to abandon this stand. By June 7 Stettinius was able to announce agreement among the four sponsoring powers. He said: "The agreement reached preserves the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the council in all actions taken by the council, while at the same time assuring freedom of hearing and discussion in the council before action is taken."

Trusteeship; the Colonial Question.

When the problem of trusteeships came under consideration, the American proposals were amended by the Russians, who added the following words: "and self-determination with active participation of peoples of these territories having the aim to expedite the achievement by them of full national independence." That was on May 11. On May 17 Stassen stated that the United States would oppose promising independence as a goal for dependent peoples. Stettinius the next day said the United States preferred "self-government" to "independence" as a goal for territories under the trusteeship system. On May 28 he stated American policy in this field as follows: "And we have stood with equal firmness for a trusteeship system that will foster progress toward higher standards of living and the realization of human rights and freedoms for dependent peoples, including the right to independence or another form of self-government such as federation—whichever the people of the area may choose—when they are prepared and able to assume the responsibilities of national freedom as well as to enjoy its rights." In Moscow on June 8 it was disclosed that at the 1943 Moscow Conference America had proposed, and the

Soviet Union had supported, a plan for early liberation of "the entire colonial world." A. Leontiev, writing in Pravda, stated that the British had blocked discussion. He pointed out that although the United States "has no considerable colonial possessions and therefore is not interested in preserving the existing colonial system" nevertheless, the United States was accepting the British stand in its essential aspects at San Francisco. On June 19 the full official text of the trusteeship portion of the Charter was made public.

Economic and Social Council Amendments.

On the day (May 15) on which Truman promised the Latin-American nations a new post-war Chapultepec Treaty, Stettinius announced four amendments on human rights endorsed by the four sponsoring powers. The establishment of "a commission for the promotion of human rights," he said, represented "the heart of the matter." He stated that he hoped this commission would "undertake to prepare an International Bill of Rights which can be accepted by all the member nations as an integral part of their own systems of law . . ." On May 17 business, labor, educational and agricultural groups met with the United States delegation and agreed on four amendments to the Economic and Social Council section of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. These strengthened the recommendatory, the coordinating, and the international exchange of information aspects of the Council's work. They provided also for an interim secretariat. The Economic and Social Council Committee finished its work on June 7. Committee Chairman Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar stated that if the Economic and Social Council carries out its work properly, "the work of the Security Council may be very little indeed."

Full Employment.

On full employment a considerable struggle developed. Committee 3 (Economic and Social Cooperation) of Commission II voted on May 17 to reject the United States position on the question of full employment and accept Russian policy. The Committee accordingly voted to make full employment a goal which the new United Nations Organization should promote. This action greatly disturbed the United States Delegation. The next day objections were raised against the "phraseology" because it did not sufficiently "qualify" the goal of full employment. Objections were raised against the use of the word "promote" in connection with full employment. Fearful lest their opposition be "misinterpreted," delegates used specious and oblique arguments in an effort to build opposition to the incorporation of the

“full employment” phrase in the Charter. But in spite of this opposition, by June 11 Herbert Vere Evatt of Australia was able to announce that signatory nations would “promote” “full employment.”

White Russia, the Ukraine, Denmark, Poland.

In addition to Argentina, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and Denmark were admitted during the course of the Conference. Regarding Poland, Stettinius said (in his report to the nation on progress at San Francisco): “The United States took the position that Poland could be represented only by a Polish Government formed in accordance with that agreement [the Yalta agreement], and the Warsaw Provisional Government was not admitted to the conference.” When the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was formed just before the end of the San Francisco Conference, time and distance did not permit the sending of delegates to San Francisco; however (as mentioned earlier in this chapter), Poland was invited to become an original signatory to the Charter.

Selection of Name.

Dmitry Z. Manuisky of the Ukrainian Delegation, on June 7, 1945 proposed to Committee 1 (Preamble, Purposes and Principles) of Commission I that the new organization be named “The United Nations” in honor of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who gave that name to the Allied coalition. His proposal was accepted by acclamation.

World Court; Preparatory Commission.

The statute of the new International Court of Justice was made public on June 12, 1945. Two weeks later a Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, consisting of one representative “from each government signatory to the Charter,” was created to make provisional arrangements for the first session of the Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, and for establishing the Secretariat, and for convening the International Court of Justice.

Final Reports; Charter Adopted.

Final reports of the four Commissions were made June 25, 1945, two months after the start of the Conference. After the report of Commission I, Gromyko commented on the subject of withdrawal from the United Nations Organization. He said in part: “The opinion of the Soviet delegation is that it is wrong to condemn beforehand the grounds on which any state might find it necessary to exercise

its right of withdrawal from the Organization. Such right is an expression of state sovereignty and should not be reviled, in advance, by the International Organization.” He then called attention to Article 17 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (“To every Union Republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R.”) and stated that it would be “still less justifiable to condemn in advance the reasons for a state’s withdrawal from the International Organization, which is also founded on voluntary participation of sovereign states.” Rapporteur Alfaro (Commission II) stated: “The San Francisco Conference will go down in history as the first world congress where it is definitely recognized and established by the sovereign will of fifty nations that the individual, just as the state, is a subject of international law.” Rapporteur Velazquez (Commission III) said: “The (Security Council) voting procedure, which was decided after long and intensive discussion, is that which was agreed upon at the Yalta Conference.” Rapporteur Parra-Perez of Commission IV expressed his “faith in the triumph of right as the criterion of international relations of which the Court will be both the symbol and the expounder, and the hope that its powers shall extend progressively and unrestrictedly” to present and future member states. The Steering Committee reported on the Charter: “The Steering Committee recommends that the Conference in plenary session adopt the Charter of the United Nations as now submitted to it.” The Statute of the International Court of Justice, Rapporteur Belt said, “is to form an integral part of the Charter . . .” The presiding officer, Lord Halifax, after the approval of the reports of the four Commissions and of the Steering Committee, called for a vote on the charter, the World Court, and the Agreement on Interim Arrangements. He spoke of the “world importance” of this vote and said “If you are in agreement with me, I will ask the leaders of delegations to rise in their places in order to record their vote on an issue that I think is likely to be as important as any of us in our lifetime are ever likely to vote upon.” There was unanimous approval. Lord Halifax concluded: “I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, we may all feel that we have taken part, as we may hope, in one of the great moments of history.”

Signature of the documents was arranged for the following day.

Last Plenary Session.

At the tenth and final plenary session (June 26, 1945), Stettinius said: “Often we have disagreed. When we disagreed we tried again, and then again, until we ended by reconciling the differences among us. This is the way of friendship and of peace. This is the only way that nations of free men can make a

Charter for peace and the only way that they can live at peace with one another." Gromyko pointed out the need "in addition to the existing Charter, to have the unity and coordination of actions of members of the International Organization, and first of all the unity and coordination of actions between the most powerful military powers of the world." It was also necessary, he added, that the members of the organization "should try to settle all disputes by peaceful means in the spirit of cooperation and goodwill" Said Truman: "It was the hope of such a charter that helped sustain the courage of stricken peoples through the darkest days of the war. For it is a declaration of great faith by the nations of the earth—faith that war is not inevitable, faith that peace can be maintained." He also said: "The forces of reaction and tyranny all over the world will try to keep the United Nations from remaining united. Even while the military machine of the Axis was being destroyed in Europe—even down to its very end—they still tried to divide us. They failed. But they will try again. They are trying even now. To divide and conquer was—and still is—their plan. They still try to make one ally suspect the other, hate the other, desert the other. But I know I speak for every one of you when I say that the United Nations will remain united. They will not be divided by propaganda either before the Japanese surrender or after" There were other speakers at the final plenary session: Koo, Halifax, Paul-Boncour, Vollosso, Masaryk, Padilla, Smuts and H.R.H. Amir Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz.

Cordell Hull's Evaluation.

From Washington Cordell Hull sent his evaluation of the Charter. "The San Francisco Conference," he said, "will live in history as one of the great milestones in man's upward climb toward a truly civilized existence." He spoke of "a workable system of organized relations among nations": "Through such a system alone can mankind hope, in the world of today, to achieve peace and security, justice and fair-dealing, cultural and material advancement." He said the Charter "stems from the great documents that, in the darkest hours of the war, served for humanity as beacon lights of hope and determination—the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration by United Nations, the Moscow Four-Nation Declaration, the Teheran Declaration, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the decisions of the Crimea Conference." "The Charter will work, and grow, and improve, if our Nation and all Nations devoted to peace maintain the spirit in which they have created it and remain eternally vigilant in support and defense of the great ideals on which it is founded." And he concluded with these words about the United Nations Organi-

zation: "Upon the success of that organization depends the fulfillment of humanity's highest aspirations and the very survival of our civilization."

Senate Ratification.

Charter Becomes Operative.

On July 28, 1945 the Senate ratified the Charter. The vote was 89 to 2. By October 5, 30 nations had ratified it. And on October 24, Secretary of State Byrnes announced: "The United Nations Charter is now a part of the law of nations." A total of 29 nations had by that date deposited their instruments of ratification; and the Secretary of State had signed the protocol of ratification called for in Paragraph 3, Article 110 of the Charter.

Reaction to Charter.

Reactions to the Charter had been varied:

Truman had stated that it "points down the only road to enduring peace." Stettinius regarded it as "a binding agreement to preserve peace and to advance human progress and a constitutional document creating the international machinery by which nations can cooperate to realize these purposes in fact." Connally called it "the world's best hope for peace." Acheson said "It's not simply the Charter but the whole pattern of cooperation that has emerged that will really make it possible to deal with some of the causes of wars and depressions." MacLeish spoke of the ratification as "only the beginning of a new era of cooperation with other nations." Bloom thought it did not encroach upon "those ideals of freedom and liberty which are so dear to all Americans" while providing "a workable means" to safeguard civilization. Hoover said it was "probably as good as could be obtained under the existing conditions, the present Government, the conflicting ideals and ambitions in the world." Dewey thought it "a marvelously well done document, considering the varying viewpoints." Vandenberg said "I believe it will bless the earth." Stassen: "We will have to wait until history has passed upon it. It is not a perfect Charter." Eaton spoke of "the greatest and most helpful public event in history" while Bushfield said of the Charter: "It destroys the Monroe Doctrine It scuttles the Pan-American Union." Gildersleeve underlined the Charter's influence on "good standards of living, good health, the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by all" Said Shotwell: ". . . . we have to build the structure of peace in its own terms. That is what makes this charter great" Proskauer compared the human rights provisions of the Charter with Magna Charta and the American Bill of Rights. Wang Shih-Chieh stated that "all imperfections" could be made up "by future amendment or by development of the spirit of conciliation and cooperation among the United Nations."

Bevin said: "I should like to see the Charter placed in every church and parish, in every hall, in every trades union branch and wherever the public assembles, to remind them of their moral obligation to back international law." Eden called the Charter "a landmark in mankind's long search for peace and international cooperation." Halifax regarded the Charter as a "really great historic advance." Said Attlee: ". . . the achievement of its (the San Francisco Conference's) purpose is not only desirable but vital for the survival of civilization." Evatt of Australia said: "If we really mean to carry into effect the great objectives of the Atlantic Charter—if we really mean to do that—we shall succeed. These words will not matter; the spirit will give life." Smuts stated that "The Charter . . . wisely mixes realism with idealism and suggests practical lines along which the vision of a better world may be realized." Said Gromyko: "The Charter of the Organization . . . affords solid ground to consider the work of the Conference a success." Paul-Boncour stated that the "whole efficacy of the Charter" depended upon maintaining unity; "let us swear to remain faithful in peace," he said, "to this unity which was our strength in war." Vollosso said the Charter was "an instrument of international order, in the effectiveness of which we must all have the greatest confidence." Masaryk referred to the "vital interests we have in common—the big and the small . . . the common denominator of peace with security is overwhelming

. . . This Charter is a good document, honestly arrived at, and if the same spirit of friendly cooperation prevails in bringing it into actual force, I do not see any insurmountable difficulties looming ahead." Eisenhower called the Charter "a concert of nations that holds promise for a peace future. It can—it must—work! Its success will be determined, to marked degree, by the mutually exhibited intelligence, sympathy and forbearance of the peoples represented in it . . . We must strive for understanding and be ready to do our part in substituting cooperation for conflict." "Acting on behalf of all the United Nations," said Izvestia, "it (the Charter) embodies at the same time the will to peace of the five major powers, which have an overwhelming preponderance of manpower, resources and military power at their disposal." The New York Times said: "The Charter written at San Francisco is an improvement on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. It is a much more flexible and democratic document." While The London Times editorialized: "The charter by itself is nothing if it fails to rally the loyalty of the major powers who alone can give it body and life." And the Daily Mail stated that "The signing of the Charter of the United Nations is an outstanding event in human history."

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(See Appendix I. The Charter of the United Nations.)

Tripartite Conference of Berlin

From Teheran (December, 1943) to the Crimea Conference (February, 1945) to the Berlin Conference (July-August, 1945) is but a short space of time; but the events encompassed, and the policy expressed by these three meetings make them take on the greatest significance.

Teheran marked the beginning of true coalition warfare; the Crimea ended "the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power;" Berlin laid the basis for final victory over Japan, extended the coalition into the peacetime period and provided an outline of policy for the political and economic reconstruction of Europe.

During the Conference, the Labor Party victory in England made it necessary to replace Churchill with Clement Attlee, the new British Prime Minister. The Big Three were then Stalin, Truman and Attlee.

The Conference began July 17 and ended August 2, 1945. It was held in Potsdam, and was officially called the Tripartite Conference of Berlin.

It (1) established a Council of Foreign Ministers; (2) developed "political and economic principles of a coordinated Allied policy" toward Germany during the control period; (3) reached an agreement on reparations from Germany; (4) agreed in principle on the disposal of the German Navy and merchant marine; (5) pending the peace settlement, agreed on certain boundaries in the East Prussian Baltic area, and agreed in principle on ultimate transfer to Russia of Koenigsberg and the area adjacent to it; (6) agreed on methods of trial for certain major war criminals; (7) discussed extension of the authority of the Austrian Provisional Government to all of Austria; (8) defined the conferees' attitude toward the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and reached an agreement on the western frontier of Poland; (9) developed a "common policy for establishing, as soon as possible, the conditions of lasting peace after victory in Europe;" (10) referred the question of Italian territory to the Council of Foreign Ministers; (11) agreed to revise procedures of the Allied Control Commission in Rumania, Bulgaria and

Hungary; (12) instructed the Allied Control Council on orderly and humane transfers of German populations in certain areas; and (13) arranged meetings between the Chiefs of Staff of the three countries.

While the meeting was in progress, an ultimatum to Japan was made public. It was issued by the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. It called for unconditional surrender. "The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

At Berlin were laid "the foundations on which the peoples of Europe after the long nightmare of war may restore their shattered lands," said King George VI at the opening of the new Parliament. "The Berlin Conference," said *Izvestia*, "is a new and vivid affirmation of the firmness of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, of the vitality of the ideas and principles proclaimed in the Crimea six months ago." "There were no secret agreements or commitments—apart from current military arrangements," said President Truman in his August 9 report on the Berlin Conference. He concluded his report with these words: "We know now that the basic proposition of the worth and dignity of man is not a sentimental aspiration or a vain hope or a piece of rhetoric. It is the strongest, the most creative force now present in this world. Now let us use that force and all our resources and all our skills in the great cause of a just and lasting peace! The three great powers are now more closely than ever bound together in determination to achieve that kind of

peace. From Teheran, and the Crimea, and San Francisco, and Berlin—we shall continue to march together to our objective."

* * * * *

Referring to the Berlin Agreement, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., said on December 8, 1945: ". . . if we cannot carry out this relatively simple program, there is little chance that we can go on to build a permanent peace."

Testifying before a Senate subcommittee, Russell A. Nixon, a former official with the American Military Government in Germany, on February 25, 1946 said that the United States, Britain and France were keeping Russia from participating in the search for Nazi assets in neutral countries. Such participation would "lay bare the Fascist or reactionary regimes in countries such as Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden and Argentina and would reveal all the elements of collaboration of certain interests in the Allied countries with these regimes," said Nixon. He stated that the Berlin agreement decisions to break up cartels was not being carried out because of opposition by British and American officials to a mandatory law defining cartels; also that certain directives to destroy the I. G. Farben plants had been ignored.

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(See Appendix II. Tripartite Conference of Berlin.)

Note

For material relating to the impact of the atomic bomb on the relations of nations, see chapter on Science.

Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship and Alliance

Molotov and Wang Shi-tze on August 14, 1945 signed at Moscow a thirty-year treaty of alliance and mutual aid agreement. Their action was in accordance with the Declaration of the United Nations, the Moscow Declaration and the United Nations Organization, to all of which the treaty made reference.

It consisted of eight articles: to wage war against Japan until final victory; no negotiations, peace or armistice without mutual agreement; to prevent new aggressions from Japan; non-participation by either party in "any coalition whatsoever" against the other; post-war cooperation and mutual respect for "their sovereignty and territorial entity and noninterference" in one another's internal affairs; post-war economic assistance; this treaty should not be interpreted to prejudice the rights and duties of either party as members of the United Nations Organization; in force for thirty years after ratifi-

cation with unlimited extension if not denounced, termination by either party on one year's notice to the other party.

Six supplementary agreements were signed on the same day: (1) Railroad Agreement. Certain main trunk lines of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchuria Railway "will become the joint property of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Republic and will be jointly exploited by them." (2) Agreement on Port Arthur. It provided for "joint utilization by both of the contracting parties of Port Arthur as a naval base" "at the disposal of the battle-ships and merchant ships of China and the U.S.S.R. alone." (3) Agreement on Port Dairen. Dairen was proclaimed "a free port open to trade and shipping of all countries." (4) Agreement on Eastern Provinces. A detailed military agreement outlining mutually cooperative steps to be taken by both parties "After the entry of Soviet troops" into the Eastern

Provinces. (5) Agreement on Government. This agreement provided for moral, military and material assistance to the Central Government of China; recognition of China's sovereignty over Manchuria; and, regarding Sinkiang, a statement by the Soviet Union that "it has no intention to interfere with China's internal affairs." (6) Agreement on Outer Mongolia. This agreement provided that "after Japan's defeat,

if a plebiscite of the people of Outer Mongolia confirms this desire [for independence], the Chinese Government will recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia in her existing boundaries." The Soviet Union declared it would respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Mongolian Peoples Republic.

Soviet-Polish Border and Reparations Agreement

On August 16, 1945 at Moscow the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and the Soviet Government signed a treaty establishing frontiers based upon the decisions reached in the Crimea Agreement and the Berlin Agreement.

The Soviet Government turned over to Poland all claims to German industrial and transportation properties in Polish territory.

Russia agreed to participation by Poland in reparations in the following quantities: 15% of all reparation deliveries from the Soviet zone of occupation

in Germany; 15% of industrial capital equipment received by Russia from the western zones of occupation; and 15% of industrial capital equipment from the same source, but delivery of this part to be on a basis of exchange for other goods from Poland.

Poland agreed to deliver to Russia 8,000,000 tons of coal in 1946; 13,000,000 tons each year thereafter for a total of four years; and 12,000,000 tons annually subsequently for the remaining period of occupation of Germany.

Preparatory Commission of the United Nations

(First London Meeting of its Executive Committee)

On August 16, 1945 at London the Executive Committee of the United Nations Preparatory Commission convened. The Executive Committee consisted of representatives of fourteen nations; it acted for the fifty-one nations signatory to the San Francisco Charter, in accordance with the agreement reached at San Francisco on June 26, 1945 on establishing a Preparatory Commission.

One of the Executive Committee's first tasks was to decide on certain subcommittees to which the various problems confronting it could be assigned. On August 26 the subcommittees under discussion were: On the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Court and Legal Problems, the Secretariat and other international officials, Finances, Relations with Specialized Agencies, The League of Nations, General. Soon thereafter these were agreed upon; except that specific reference to the League of Nations was eliminated, on the request of Russia, from the committee which was to take up certain work with that organization.

Stettinius, arriving on August 31, commented on the atomic bomb, saying its existence made "the speedy creation of the United Nations Organization" imperative.

The drafting of the agenda for the initial General Assembly meeting of the United Nations began on September 3 and ended September 17 with adoption of the following five recommendations to the Prepa-

tory Commission: A. That the first session of the General Assembly be divided into two parts. B. That the first part should be primarily organizational in character, but also prepared to refer urgent world problems to the appropriate organs of the United Nations which will have been established during this first part of the session of the General Assembly. C. That the Assembly would then adjourn to allow the organs of the United Nations to proceed promptly to organize themselves and undertake their respective tasks. D. That during the interval any committees appointed by the General Assembly should concern themselves only with the subject matter referred to them by the General Assembly. E. That the second part of the first session of the Assembly should be convened as early in 1946 as the organization and work of the several organs of the United Nations permit, and preferably not later than April 25.

A proposed twenty-one-point agenda of a technical and procedural character for the first part of the first General Assembly meeting was adopted. Recommendations on organization of the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations were prepared for presentation to the Preparatory Commission. A considerable debate developed on the question of permanent headquarters, with proponents of San Francisco led by Herbert V. Evatt of Australia, and supporters of Geneva led by Philip Noel-Baker of England and Rene Massigli of France.

Council of Foreign Ministers: First Meeting

The Council of Foreign Ministers which was established at the Berlin Conference held its first sessions at London from September 10 to October 2, 1945. 33 meetings were held. At the end of that time, the conferees agreed to terminate the sessions without issuing a joint statement.

"The Council, as President Truman and I understood it," said Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in his report to the nation on the results of the London conference, "was to be a sort of combined staff to explore the problems and prepare proposals for the final peace settlements."

In an attempt to explain its failure, Mr. Byrnes charged "procedural maneuverings" which "obscure from the people the real and vital issues upon which their peace depends." He stated that from September 11 to 22 all five members of the Council were present during discussions; but that on September 22 "the Soviet delegation took the position that the decision of the Council on September 11 violated the Berlin agreement" and that "the Soviet delegation insisted that they could no longer discuss treaty matters in the presence of members who were not parties to the surrender terms."

However, Byrnes stated, the Soviet delegation had offered a "compromise proposal" including an offer to discuss "the American proposal for a peace conference." (Byrnes refused to stay over another day to discuss the Russian compromise.) "As the record stands," the Secretary of State said, "the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union has not rejected our proposal for a peace conference. During the discussions he admitted it was correct in principle." "There was a considerable area of agreement," Byrnes had said a few days earlier.

Izvestia, in an analysis made the same day on which Byrnes reported to the nation (October 5) said in part: ". . . . at an international conference one Government cannot give orders to another. It is about time this was understood when Byrnes and Bevin insisted on France's participation in the drawing up of the peace treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, they thereby sought to break the Berlin Agreement the failure of the first session of the Council of Ministers cannot be explained in that the Soviet delegation did not agree to discuss the question of a future international conference for the consideration of peace treaties. And this attempt to unload the guilt from a sick head onto a healthy one must be acknowledged as altogether groundless.

"What is the real reason for the breakdown of the London meeting of the Council of Ministers? Comrade Molotov has answered this question. The real

reason is in the different conception of the Berlin Agreement. The behavior of the American and English delegations in London appears to have been different at London from what it was two months ago in Berlin.

"What was signed and accepted in Berlin by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee was placed under a cloud of doubt by Byrnes and Bevin in London. The Soviet delegation demanded in London that the Berlin Agreement of the three powers should not be violated but maintained to the letter

"The seriousness of what happened in London cannot be underestimated. If the American and British Governments will in the future insist upon their position, which in no way can be brought into accord with loyalty to the already concluded tripartite agreements, then this will shake the very basis of collaboration among the three powers."

The level of the London meeting was indicated by such incidents as these:

Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, was so angry on one occasion at what he considered a slight that he called his delegation together and left the Council chambers before that particular session was called to order. Bevin compared Molotov's proposals at one point with "Hitlerian methods." He withdrew the remark when he found that Molotov would leave the Council chamber if he did not.

LIFE magazine, voicing the aspirations of the worst imperialist elements, commented on "a unity of the Western allies which is rapidly taking the shape of a Western bloc" and concluded "Even if a Western bloc does form, it must above all be based on the free consent of the peoples and nations who form it." Also: "Whenever any subject came to a vote, Molotov almost always found himself in a minority of one."

In an interview soon after the adjournment of the Council's meeting, Molotov said that the Soviet Union favors in principle a peace conference; but that it believes the initial draft of peace terms should be made by the major powers. On the subject of the so-called "change" in the Soviet attitude from September 11 to September 22, Molotov said there never was any five-power abandonment of the Berlin decision that only those powers which signed the various surrender treaties should sign the peace treaties. Said Molotov: "I wonder how the author of this report could have found a decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers, considering that no decision was adopted by the Council and not a single one was signed by any of the ministers."

Molotov concluded: "The Soviet delegation looks with confidence into the future and the hope and

desire of us all is to strengthen friendship and collaboration for the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of strengthening the peace of the whole world.”

Said President Truman, a few days after the Byrnes report, and while the newspapers were full of dire forebodings about the future of world peace: “We are not anywhere near stalled on that road [the

road to liberty and peace]. We are only beginning to travel it.”

Nevertheless, the failure of the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers revealed a most dangerous trend toward an attempt to isolate the Soviet Union and so destroy the developing system of collective security toward which the conferences at Teheran, the Crimea, San Francisco and Berlin had so greatly contributed.

World Federation of Trade Unions

An event of the greatest importance was the successful union of world labor accomplished at Paris from September 25 to October 8, 1945. In the struggle to maintain world peace, to strengthen and extend democracy, to eradicate the last vestiges of fascism, to raise living standards, to develop new forms of cooperation among the peoples of the world, the Paris achievement will be an increasingly significant factor. In the fight against the threatening catastrophe of another war, there is no doubt that the soundest and safest leadership—that of world labor—was strengthened at Paris.

In preparation for the Paris meeting, there had been held (1) at London, February 6-17, 1945, the World Trade Union Conference of delegates from 35 countries, and (2) at Oakland, concurrently with the United Nations Conference on International Organization, a meeting of the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference.

At Paris, delegates from 56 countries represented 75,000,000 workers.

Sidney Hillman, head of the CIO delegation, presented the report of an 18-man constitution committee. An annex to the constitution provided that during the following two years the executive committee or general council on a two-thirds vote could exercise the functions of the congress itself, including the power to amend the constitution.

Labor Representation in UNO.

On labor representation in the United Nations Organization, Hillman said: “Labor wants its point of view represented and wants to exercise influence.” He urged voting representation on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization, and a seat at meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He urged the executive committee of the Federation to appoint a commission to visit all occupation zones in Germany and to take steps to have advisory representation on the Allied Control Commission in Germany; similarly for

Japan. Said Hillman: “In the United States zone of occupation in Germany, I know that American Big Business is very effectively represented on all high policy-making bodies. Yet the people cannot look with confidence to these gentlemen for swift and full execution of the Potsdam program. We must recognize that there are those, and not in Germany alone, who do not want to see Germany’s war potential destroyed and the roots of fascism relentlessly eradicated.”

Colonial Independence.

On labor’s attitude toward the independence movement in the colonies, S. A. Dange of India said: “. . . . a very serious national independence movement” existed in many parts of the Far East, and that American and British troops, operating along with Japanese forces, were being used to put it down. “People who demand independence are being shot down. What is the attitude of the British, Dutch and French working classes? These are inconvenient questions, but labor must decide whether it will support the Governments responsible for such things.”

Munich.

On Munich, Evzan Erban of Czechoslovakia said: “The Czechoslovak working class knows that the working classes of the Western nations were not guilty of this betrayal but that international capitalism was responsible.”

On Organization.

Votes allotted the different delegations included: United States (CIO), 22; Russia, 41; Great Britain, 23; France, 23; Italy, 7; Czechoslovakia, 6; Rumania, 5; Hungary, Mexico, Poland, Sweden, India, 4 each; China, Australia and Yugoslavia, 3 each; Bulgaria, Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, Luxembourg and Norway, 2 each; Canada, 1. There was a total of approximately 200 votes.

A General Council was elected on the following basis: one member and one alternate for each national labor organization with 1,000,000 members or less; two members and two alternates for each affiliated labor movement with more than 1,000,000 and less than 4,000,000 members; three members and three alternates for the bracket above 4,000,000 members and less than 10,000,000; four members and three alternates for the bracket above 10,000,000 and less than 15,000,000; five members and three alternates for all affiliates with more than 15,000,000 members.

An Executive Committee of twenty-six was elected. The basis for distribution was: Russia, 3; United States and Canada, 3; Britain, 2; France, 2; Latin America and West Indies, 2; Near East and Middle East, 1 (Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Arabia, Turkey, Cyprus); China, 1; Australia, 1 (alternating between Australia and New Zealand); India and Ceylon, 1; Africa, 1; Scandinavia, 1 (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland); Western Europe, 1 (Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Ireland); Southern Europe, 1 (Italy, Spain, with a provision against admittance of Franco Spain); Central and Eastern Europe, 1 (Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Poland); Southeastern Europe, 1 (Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania); Trade Departments, 3; General Secretary of the Federation, 1.

The twenty-six were: Kuznetsov, Tarasov and Mme. Bassova for the U.S.S.R.; Murray, Hillman and Conroy for the United States and Canada; Citrine and Edwards for Britain; Jouhaux and Frachon for France; Monk for Australia, Chu Hsueh-fan for China; Goodwin for Africa; Toledano and Pena for Latin America and the West Indies; di Vittorio for Southern Europe; Witaszewski for Eastern and Central Europe; Kupperts for Western Europe; Volan for Scandinavia, Salaj for Southeastern Europe; Hernis for the Middle East and Near East; Dange and Mukerji to alternate for India and Ceylon; and the General Secretary and the representatives of the three Trade Departments.

The Executive Committee elected a President (Citrine) and six Vice Presidents (Hillman, Kuznetsov, Jouhaux, Toledano, H. F. Chu, and di Vittorio). These, with the General Secretary (Saillant) elected by the General Council, comprised the Executive Bureau, which is the governing body of the Federation between meetings of the Executive Committee.

General Secretary Louis Saillant before the war was an officer of the International Building Workers Federation. At the time of his election to the Secretaryship of the World Federation of Trade Unions, he was thirty-five years old, one of the secretaries of the CGT, and President (succeeding Georges Bi-

dault) of the French National Council of Resistance.

A Soviet proposal that the Executive Bureau appoint two assistant general secretaries to serve "under the direction of the General Secretary" was adopted.

Paris was decided upon as permanent headquarters of the Federation.

Resolutions.

Resolutions adopted included the following: to break off relations with Franco Spain and fascist Argentina; to send a commission to investigate charges that the Anti-Fascist Federation of Greek Trade Unions was refused permission to send delegates to the WFTU Paris meeting; to express admiration "of all free peoples for the tireless efforts of President Roosevelt"; to urge legislative reforms in Latin America and elsewhere looking toward the elimination of racial discrimination against Indians, Negroes, Chinese and others; to support efforts aimed at industrializing backward countries as well as efforts toward raising standards of living; to study measures for the control of trusts and cartels; to refer to the Executive Committee a proposal for a conference of Asiatic trade unionists to be held in India; to establish a commission to investigate charges of suppression of the rights of self-determination in Indonesia, Puerto Rico, and other places, as well as within the trade unions of certain countries.

Reactions of Delegates.

The formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions represented "the consummation of the dearest wishes and most energetic activities of CIO President Philip Murray," said CIO representative James Carey at Paris.

"Our participation in international affairs," Carey stated, "will not be on a 50% basis. We intend to assume full responsibility to our own members and the workers of the world. This is in line with our consistent policy to work and fight for programs designed not only to benefit our members but all people."

Thornton of Australia said: "There are no political questions which do not concern labor and the people as a whole." Dange of India: "Indian labor fights all fascism, including that of Franco and Peron. And we shall take this opportunity of fighting for Indian freedom." CIO's Hillman stated: "The world must be freed from all vestiges of fascism and workers must be able to enjoy constantly improving standards of living. To make their voice heard, workers must be internationally organized." Saillant of France: "Within the new World Federation of

Trade Unions there must be tolerance, justice, brotherhood and unity." Jouhaux of France: "To assure peace and well-being, an indispensable condition is the disappearance of trusts and international cartels, whose imperialist activities bear the germs of war." Kuznetsov of Russia: "Labor unity is a guarantee of social progress and peace. We must take concrete and effective action." ". . . sometimes it is difficult to draw a line between politics and economics." Toledano stated: "If we do not set up an international organization of labor here, the sacrifices of this war will have been in vain." Zeiros of Argentina: "The people are hungry for democracy, you can help!" Teng Fa of China said the "peace of the world depends in large measure on securing political and economic rights for the people of every country. It depends also on the unity of the world's working class."

Lynch of Eire said "Eire is neutral;" he would not support a resolution against Franco. Lindberg of Sweden said "Labor must stay out of politics." Brodier of the French Christian Federation urged the delegates to "beware of political influences."

The American Federation of Labor.

And in the United States, William Green of the American Federation of Labor, fighting the WFTU, said he was "not willing to sit side by side with a few Russian Communists who claim to be the duly authorized representatives of 27,000,000 Russian workers." His view was summed up in these words: "The AFL refuses to cooperate with the trade unions of Soviet Russia as long as they remain organs of the Soviet government and try to dominate the world of international labor."

Speaking of a "labor isolation" policy toward which he believed the AFL was heading, Sidney Hillman at Paris expressed regret that the AFL refused to attend, and added his hope that "time will prove to the leaders the error of their judgment and they will then join this powerful organization."

More than 300 officials of 42 AFL internationals, 125 local unions and central bodies in 25 cities sent fraternal greetings to the Paris meeting, expressing to the Federation delegates the "hope that soon the AFL will heed the wishes of its membership and decide to make common cause with you in shaping a happier world of the future."

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization

On March 26, 1945 President Roosevelt sent to Congress the first report of the interim commission on food and agriculture, together with a Constitution (formulated and recommended by the commission) for a United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The President said:

"The United Nations have already made much progress in setting up an organization for international security. But our collaboration for peace must be on a broader basis than security alone. We must strive to correct the conditions that predispose people toward war or make them the ready tools and victims of aggressors. We shall need also to work together as nations toward achieving freedom from want. Our participation in the Food and Agriculture Organization will be an essential step in this collaboration."

On April 30 the House of Representatives passed the first legislation authorizing such participation. The vote was 291 to 25. All of the opposing votes, except one Progressive, were members of the Re-

publican Party. On July 21 the Senate ratified the bill.

The organization would serve as a center of "the best knowledge and experience relating to nutrition, agricultural production and marketing, and the best use of farm, fishery and forestry resources."

Forty-four countries were invited to send delegates to the first meeting of the new organization, which was held October 16, 1945 in Canada.

The conference ended November 1, 1945. Thirty-seven nations attended. A constitution was drawn up and signed during the conference by thirty-four countries. A director-general and an executive committee of fifteen members were elected. The director-general (Sir John Boyd Orr) took an oath of allegiance to UNFAO, swearing "not to seek or accept from any other authority instructions in regard to the performance of my official duties . . ." Said Conference Chairman L. B. Pearson: "Freedom from want would indeed hardly be worth achieving, even if it were possible, in a world which did not have freedom from war and fear of wars."

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

During 1942 an informal organization of Ministers of Education was established in London. This group—the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education

—requested the British Government to call an international conference for the purpose of establishing an educational and cultural organization which could

cooperate with the United Nations Organization. The British Government set November 1, 1945 as the time, and London as the place, for the meeting.

The State Department on July 31, 1945 made public the Draft Proposals for the organization, as prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. These Proposals were to serve as the basis for public discussions of the projected organization.

“Mutual Understanding Between the Peoples Themselves.”

Said Archibald MacLeish, then Assistant Secretary of State: “In a world of modern press and modern radio and modern electrical communication, peoples can no longer remain ignorant of each other. They will either understand each other or misunderstand. If they misunderstand, no machinery of international organization can keep the peace. If they understand, there is every hope that given the machinery of international cooperation peace can be kept. Mutual understanding between the peoples themselves and not merely between their governments, or their privileged individuals or their professional travelers is essential now as never before in the history of the world.”

The British Ministry of Education pointed out that the new body would work within the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization.

The UNESCO Constitution.

Representatives of forty-four nations met in London from November 1 to 16, 1945. They adopted a name: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). They drew up a Constitution and a Final Act. They established a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission, and settled upon Paris as headquarters for the Organization.

“The Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.” “. . . . believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge” “. . . . for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other’s lives”

These excerpts give some idea of the character of the preliminary declaration of the Constitution of

UNESCO. The fifteen Articles following this preamble may be summarized:

I. Purposes and Functions. “. . . to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture” Emphasis on mass communication, popular education, and efforts to “maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge.”

II. Membership in UN carries with it membership in UNESCO. States not members of UN may be admitted to membership in UNESCO by a two-thirds vote of the General Conference.

III. Organs: General Conference; Executive Board; Secretariat.

IV. General Conference: Consists of “representatives of the States Members” of UNESCO. The government of a Member State may name not more than five delegates. The Conference meets annually, or in extraordinary sessions on call of the Executive Board. It determines policy.

V. “The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by the General Conference” plus the Conference President, “who shall sit ex officio in an advisory capacity.”

VI. Secretariat. The Director-General and his staff in discharging their duties “shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organization.”

VII. National Co-operating Bodies. National Commissions “for the purpose of associating” each Member State’s “principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organization” were provided for; their purposes being advisory and for liaison.

VIII. Member States to report “laws, regulations and statistics” in the educational, scientific and cultural fields.

IX. “Financial responsibility” was to be apportioned among Member States; with provision for public and private gifts to UNESCO.

X. UNESCO to function as an agency of UN, deriving its authority from Articles 57 and 63 of the United Nations Charter.

XI. This article provides for co-operation “with other specialized inter-governmental organizations” having related purposes.

XII. The legal status, privileges and immunities referred to in Articles 104 and 105 of the United Nations Charter apply to UNESCO.

XIII. Amendments. Effective on two-thirds vote of the Conference, subject, in some cases, to “subsequent acceptance on the part of two-thirds of the Member States”

XIV. Provisions for interpretation of the Constitution.

XV. Deposit with the government of the United Kingdom of twenty signatory nations' instruments of acceptance necessary before Constitution can come into force.

Said Delegate MacLeish on the concluding day of the Conference: ". . . we have constructed here a great and powerful instrument for peace."

Labor-Management Conference

A national conference of representatives of labor and management was held at Washington, D. C., from November 5 to 30, 1945. The conference was a failure. For weeks before November 5 CIO President Philip Murray called attention to the wage problem as basic to any consideration of strikes. But management turned down his resolution on wages. Management—and the Administration—appeared to be interested more in compulsory arbitration (under

Assistant Secretary of State William Benton on January 15, 1946 stated: "The best reason to be confident that UNESCO will come alive is that more and more people agree that it must. For it seeks and assumes the task of building 'the defenses of peace in the minds of men.' There is no other way to peace."

the title of "cooling-off" procedures), than in wages. Teamster President Daniel J. Tobin said: "Those responsible for the creation of this conference must certainly not have labor in mind." The failure of this conference to provide a commission in which to develop agreement, if possible, on matters of foreign policy, especially problems connected with the maintenance of peace, was conspicuous.

Moscow Meeting of Foreign Ministers

Byrnes, Bevin and Molotov met in Moscow from December 16 to 26, 1945. This meeting was held in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference, "confirmed at the Berlin Conference, that there should be periodic consultation between them."

Many of the decisions reached in principle at the Berlin Conference were implemented at the Moscow Meeting of Foreign Ministers.

A seven-part Soviet-Anglo-American communique summarized the points on which agreement was reached: (1) Procedure for the preparation of peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. (2) The establishment of a Far Eastern Commission and Allied Council for Japan. (3) The creation of political machinery and the establishment of processes looking toward setting up a provisional Korean democratic government; measures to establish coordination between northern and southern Korea. (4) An accord on China, with particular reference to "withdrawal of Soviet and American forces from China at the earliest practicable moment consistent with the discharge of their obligations and responsibilities." (5) Measures to broaden the Rumanian Government and assure early elec-

tions. (6) Measures to broaden the Bulgarian Government. (7) A decision to recommend "for the consideration of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the establishment by the United Nations of a commission to consider problems arising from the discovery of atomic energy and related matters."

For Mr. Byrnes, the Moscow meeting was a tactical retreat from the "get tough with Russia" line he followed at the London Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Millions of service men and women returning home, plus strong opposition from the American people to blatant imperialist methods, added to the need (in an election year) of the Truman administration for a successful United Nations meeting in January—these factors combined to make it necessary for Byrnes to achieve agreement at Moscow. For the people, the Moscow meeting meant an end to the impasse created by Byrnes and Bevin at the London Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers and a beginning of an allied approach to Japan, to Korea and to atomic energy.

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(See Appendix III. Communique on the Moscow Conference of the Three Foreign Ministers.)

The General Assembly: First Part of First Session

From January 10 to February 15, 1946 the representatives of fifty-one nations met in London in the First Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Byrnes, Stettinius, Connally, Vandenberg and Mrs.

Eleanor Roosevelt represented the United States; with Bloom, Dulles, Eaton, Walker and former Senator John G. Townsend of Delaware as alternates.

The Assembly elected Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium its President; it elected the six non-permanent

members of the Security Council; the eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council; and the fifteen judges of the International Court of Justice. It established seven Assembly committees: Steering; Political and Security; Economic and Financial; Social, Humanitarian and Cultural; Trusteeship; Budgetary; Legal. And it elected Trygve Lie of Norway its Secretary General.

The Assembly did its work largely through committees. A site-selecting committee undertook the task of finding suitable permanent and temporary headquarters; studies were initiated looking toward international control of atomic energy; steps were taken to aid in creating a world-wide free press; the Assembly refused to sanction forced repatriation.

Within a week after its formation, the Security Council was obliged to consider, while yet without rules of procedure, four controversies: Syria-Lebanon; Iran; Indonesia; Greece. All of these were referred, in the first instances, to the nations directly involved, for answer.

Said Byrnes of the Assembly meeting: "The United Nations got off to a good start . . . I am convinced that there is no reason for war between any of the great powers." Vandenberg stated that "UNO will be financed from a so-called working capital fund of \$25,000,000" and that "its provisional budget for 1946, including the Court at the Hague, is \$21,500,000. Our provisional share is 25%. In other words, the United States will spend for peace, on this account, far less per annum than it spent per hour on war." The Moscow magazine *New Times* stated that the Big Three were the sponsors of the United Nations; that they have assumed "the chief responsibility for its success." The magazine went on to say that peace "requires that the victorious Anglo-Soviet-American coalition jointly conduct a firm and purposeful policy with regard not only to the vanquished foe but to international affairs as a whole."

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(See Appendix IV. The General Assembly.)

Part II

Policy Statements:

The United States

Truman's attitude toward matters of domestic policy is reflected in his statement:

"The basic domestic problem before America is to continue the spirit of cooperation from war production to that of peace. Productive efficiency and domestic harmony should permit wider distribution of the good things of life to more Americans. If we produce wisely and maintain a united front for peaceful prosperity, there should be little reason why Americans might not expect the post-war period to be one of steady progress in keeping with our democratic ideals."

On Labor Day, 1945, President Truman spoke of "the workers of all free nations who produced the vast equipment with which victory was won."

"We recognize the importance and dignity of labor," he said, "and we recognize the right of every American citizen to a wage which will permit him and his dependents to maintain a decent standard of living."

In his labor policy outline of August 16, 1945, President Truman stated: ". . . we must look to collective bargaining, aided and supplemented by a truly effective system of conciliation and voluntary arbitration, as the best and most democratic method of maintaining sound industrial relations."

"I am modifying our wage-price policy to permit wage increases within certain limits," said President Truman on February 14, 1946, "and to permit any industry placed in a hardship position by an approved increase to seek price adjustments without waiting until the end of a six months' test period, as previously required." In the same statement he called for extension of the stabilization statutes without amendment, extension of the subsidy program and the Second War Powers Act, and enactment of the Patman bill "to establish price controls over housing"

The Economic Bill of Rights.

Henry A. Wallace on January 25, 1945 brought the eight points of the Economic Bill of Rights forward and proposed implementing them. He said:

"Let us remember that political democracy is at best insecure and unstable without economic democracy We must accord to this Economic Bill of Rights the same dignity—the same stature—in our American tradition as that we have accorded to the original Bill of Rights"

He then listed the eight points of the new, the Economic, Bill of Rights, first proposed by President Roosevelt on January 11, 1944:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

President Truman fully accepts the Economic Bill of Rights. "Let us make the attainment of those rights the essence of post-war American economic life," he said in his September 6, 1945 Message to Congress, just before repeating Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights in full.

Roosevelt: Full Employment.

At Chicago on October 28, 1944 President Roosevelt expressed full confidence in the 60,000,000-job goal: "If anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes."

"We have had full employment during the war," he stated in his message of January 6, 1945. "We have had it because the Government has been ready to buy all the materials of war which the country could produce—and this has amounted to approximately half our present productive capacity.

"After the war we must maintain full employment, with Government performing its peace-time functions. This means that we must achieve a level of demand and purchasing power by private consumers—farmers, business men, workers, professional men, housewives—which is sufficiently high to replace wartime Government demands; and it means also that we must greatly increase our export trade above the pre-war level.

"Our policy is, of course, to rely as much as possible on private enterprise to provide jobs. But the American people will not accept mass unemployment or mere makeshift work. There will be need for the work of everyone willing and able to work—and that means close to 60,000,000 jobs."

Truman: What Full Employment Means.

In his Message to Congress of September 6, 1945, President Truman spoke at some length on the subject of full employment. He said in part:

"Full employment means full opportunity for all under the American economic system—nothing more and nothing less.

"In human terms, full employment means opportunity to get a good peacetime job for every worker who is ready, able and willing to take one. It does not mean made work, or making people work.

"In economic terms, full employment means full production and the opportunity to sell goods—all the goods that industry and agriculture can produce.

"In government terms, full employment means opportunity to reduce the ratio of public spending to private investment without sacrificing essential services.

"In worldwide terms, full employment in America means greater economic security and more opportunity for lasting peace throughout the world."

Byrnes and Full Employment.

"A domestic program for the maintenance of employment is an essential part of the pattern of international collaboration in the pursuit of peace and prosperity," said Secretary of State Byrnes at a Senate Committee hearing on the Wagner-Murray Full Employment Bill on August 21, 1945. He stated that failure of the United States to find the way to full employment "will certainly affect and may even determine the direction of the world's political and economic development."

Roosevelt's Appeal for World Unity.

In his great message of January 6, 1945, Roosevelt made this appeal for world unity:

"But we must not permit the many specific and immediate problems of adjustment connected with the liberation of Europe to delay the establishment of permanent machinery for the maintenance of peace. Under the threat of a common danger, the United Nations joined together in war to preserve their independence and their freedom. They must now join together to make secure the independence and freedom of all peace-loving States so that never again shall tyranny be able to divide and conquer.

"International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, require constant alertness, continuing cooperation and organized effort.

"International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, can be secured only through institutions capable of life and growth.

"Many of the problems of the peace are upon us even now while the conclusion of the war is still

before us. The atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding and determination to find a common ground of common understanding, which surrounded the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, gives us reason to hope that future discussions will succeed in developing the democratic and fully integrated world security system toward which these preparatory conversations were directed.

"We and the other United Nations are going forward with vigor and resolution in our efforts to create such a system by providing for it strong and flexible institutions of joint and cooperative action.

"The aroused conscience of humanity will not permit failure in this supreme endeavor."

Truman: Security Alternatives.

Two months before the San Francisco Conference convened, Harry S. Truman, then Vice President, expressed his hopes for the Conference in these words:

"The policy we hope and believe will emerge from the San Francisco conference, and others to follow, will embody cooperation among nations to keep down aggressors.

"The only rational alternative to existing international anarchy lies in some reasonable form of international organization among all so-called sovereign states. This is merely an extension of local and national practices to the international plane.

"This is no time for petty, partisan politics. Both winning of the war and winning of the peace are not partisan objectives; they are the all-essential American objectives."

"Friendship in the Peace."

Truman—in his stated policy—thus carried forward the approach to war and peace relations with our Allies in the spirit of Roosevelt's "We need the continuing friendship of our Allies in this war. Indeed, that need is a matter of life and death. And we shall need that friendship in the peace."

"Nations like individuals," said Roosevelt, "do not always see alike or think alike and international cooperation and progress are not helped by any nation assuming that it has a monopoly of wisdom or of virtue."

In similar vein was Truman's "Common sense should warn us that obviously all States cannot remain supreme in all they choose to do, unless we are willing to accept the cynical view that 'might makes right'."

"America can no longer sit smugly behind a mental Maginot line."

Do Not Exploit and Exaggerate Differences.

A great deal has been made in the press and by some individuals, notably Senator Vandenberg, Secretary of State Byrnes and John Foster Dulles, of "differences" with our allies.

Roosevelt's statement on this subject is worth reading and re-reading:

"We must not let those differences divide us and blind us to our more important common and continuing interests in winning the war and building the peace.

"International cooperation on which enduring peace must be based is not a one way street."

Continuing, he said:

"I do not wish to give the impression that all mistakes can be avoided and that many disappointments are not inevitable in the making of peace. But we must not this time lose the hope of establishing an international order which will be capable of maintaining peace and realizing through the years more perfect justice between nations.

"To do this we must be on our guard not to exploit and exaggerate the differences between us and our allies" (January 6, 1945.)

Hull, Halifax, Stettinius on Differences.

Hull understood this principle well. Shortly before the San Francisco Conference was to convene, he said that the Charter would have to be built upon foundations, among other things, "of willingness to compose differences by peaceful adjustment" Halifax on April 5, 1945 stated: "We shall have our differences with each other; but we shall hold these in place if we remember that in a large and complicated partnership like ours no single partner is going always to have his own way about everything." He insisted that differences must not be allowed to "poison our relations with each other, or lead us into questioning motives or integrity." Stettinius added to the discussion on "differences" in his speech of April 6, 1945: "The large nations, and all the United Nations, are firmly united for the purpose and in the necessity to create a new world organized for peace, because it is the vital interest of each of them to do so. Let us never forget that this unity of purpose and this community of national interest is paramount to all the lesser differences among us in interests and in history, and language and in customs. Because of that paramount unity of purpose and community of interest these lesser differences can be and will be overcome, as they arise, through the hard and the exacting day-to-day work of consultation, negotiation, and adjustment which are the essence of successful cooperation among free peoples." On another occasion (May 28, 1945) Stet-

tinius said: “. . . the effectiveness of our wartime collaborations has demonstrated that our differences can be adjusted.”

Truman and Ickes on Differences.

Contributing to the discussion, Harold L. Ickes on June 25, 1945 said that “we will have honest differences of opinion with Russia, as well as with other countries,”—but, he added, there were no differences that could not be overcome with patience and understanding and adherence to the Golden Rule. President Truman on April 25, 1945 said: “Differences between men, and between nations, will always remain. In fact, if held within reasonable limits, such disagreements are actually wholesome. All progress begins with differences of opinion and moves onward as the differences are adjusted through reason and mutual understanding.” In his Navy Day speech (October 27, 1945), Truman stated: “Differences of the kind that exist today among nations that fought together so long and so valiantly for victory are not hopeless or irreconcilable. There are no conflicts of interest among the victorious powers so deeply rooted that they cannot be resolved.”

Perfectionism May Obstruct the Paths to Peace.

In his great message of January 6, 1945, President Roosevelt also warned against perfectionism:

“Perfectionism no less than isolationism or imperialism or power politics may obstruct the paths to international peace. Let us not forget that the retreat to isolationism a quarter of a century ago was started not by a direct attack against international cooperation but against the alleged imperfections of the peace.”

Hull: “Three Outstanding Lessons in Our Recent History.”

In his speech of April 9, 1944, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull called attention to Justice Holmes’ remark that a page of history is worth a volume of logic.

The former Secretary then listed “three outstanding lessons in our recent history.” They had to do with the growing strength of the Allies, the trend toward unity of action among the United Nations and the conviction that the Nazi and Fascist governments must go.

In developing these three points Cordell Hull said: “It is essential that we and our Allies establish the controls necessary to bring order out of this chaos as rapidly as possible and do everything possible to prevent its spread to the German-occupied

countries of eastern and western Europe while they are in the throes of re-establishing government and repairing the most brutal ravages of the war.”

“This basis of policy and these methods rest upon the second of the lessons which I said at the outset of my remarks was found in the pages of our recent history. It is that action upon these matters cannot be separate but must be agreed and united action.

“This is fundamental. It must underlie the entire range of our policy. The free nations have been brought to the very brink of destruction by allowing themselves to be separated and divided. If any lesson has ever been hammered home with blood and suffering, that one has been. And the lesson is not yet ended.

“However difficult the road may be, there is no hope of turning victory into enduring peace unless the real interests of this country, the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union and China are harmonized and unless they agree and act together.

“This is the solid framework upon which all future policy and international organization must be built. It offers the fullest opportunity for the development of institutions in which all free nations may participate democratically, through which a reign of law and morality may arise and through which the material interests of all may be advanced.”

The third lesson Cordell Hull stated in these terms:

“. . . there can be no compromise with fascism and nazism. It must go everywhere. Its leaders, its institutions, the power which supports it must go. They can expect no negotiated peace, no compromise, no opportunity to return.”

Stettinius: A Five Point Foreign Policy for the United States.

During the course of the San Francisco Conference Stettinius went to Washington for a consultation with President Truman. Shortly after this conference, the former Secretary of State made public five “major considerations which must govern our foreign policy.” (May 28, 1945.) Summarized, these five points were:

1. Total victory over Germany and Japan, who shall be “never able to wage war again.”
2. The coalition must be maintained.
3. “. . . we must seek constantly to make our full contribution” toward establishing “the supremacy of justice and of fair dealing for all peoples and states, large and small.” “. . . the formulation of international law to embody justice must be speeded.”
4. “. . . those social and economic conditions which create a climate for peace must be advanced.”

The Economic and Social Council and its related agencies "must be constantly developed."

5. "... the sovereignty of no nation, not even the most powerful, is absolute. There is no such thing as complete freedom of decision for any nation We in America can never again turn our backs upon the world. For we are not only a part of it, we are one of its most important parts. If we do not assume our new responsibilities willingly, then we shall be compelled to assume them by the brutal necessities of self-preservation. There is no possibility of retreat."

Stettinius: "Primary Objective of U. S. Foreign Policy."

The main point of Stettinius' speech was his statement that "the primary objective of the United States foreign policy is to continue and strengthen in the period of peace that wartime solidarity which has made possible the defeat of Germany."

Byrnes Pledges Support of Roosevelt Foreign Policy.

When Secretary of State James F. Byrnes took his oath of office on July 3, 1945, he made a formal address in which he stated:

"It follows that a change in the Secretaryship at this time involves no change in the basic principles of our foreign policy in the prosecution of the war and in the struggle for enduring peace which have been charted by the late President Roosevelt and reaffirmed by President Truman"

"The United States Wants No Territory."

On August 9 President Truman said that "the United States wants no territory or profit or selfish advantage out of this war Bases which our military experts deem to be essential for our protection, and which are not now in our possession, we will acquire. We will acquire them by arrangements consistent with the United Nations Charter."

Truman: Fundamentals of U. S. Foreign Policy.

"Let me restate the fundamentals of that foreign policy of the United States," said President Truman during his Navy Day speech, October 27, 1945. He then listed the following twelve points:

"1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objectives which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nations.

"2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign

rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

"3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

"4. We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

"5. By the combined and cooperative action of our war allies, we shall help the defeated enemy states establish peaceful democratic governments of their own free choice. And we shall try to attain a world in which nazism, fascism and military aggression cannot exist.

"6. We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government. But the United States will not recognize any such government.

"7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

"8. We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and the raw materials of the world.

"9. We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere, must work together as good neighbors in a solution of their common problems.

"10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

"11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

"12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace."

Truman, Byrnes, Stettinius Abandon Roosevelt Policies.

With this Navy Day (October 27, 1945) speech, Truman broke completely with the policies of Roosevelt.

The trend had been apparent for some time. Stettinius' disregard (at San Francisco in the case of Argentina) of Molotov's warning of the need to preserve unity of approach to the question of memberships in the United Nations was an example of that trend. Another example was the substitution by Byrnes at London (September-October, 1945) of the "get tough with Russia" policy for Roosevelt's "friendship and mutual understanding" policy. Later instances of the break with Roosevelt's policies were many. The unwillingness of Stettinius and Byrnes to accept the combined assurances of Iran and Russia regarding the evacuation of Iran was one such instance. For others, the reader is referred to the appraisal of President Truman which begins on page 108 of this book.

Roosevelt and Truman on Foreign Trade.

"We support the greatest possible freedom of trade and commerce," said President Roosevelt.

"Since America cannot detach itself from the outside world," said Harry S. Truman shortly before he became President, "our primary problem is to make our foreign relations and foreign trade as pleasant and profitable as possible for all concerned. Sound, lasting friendships, between individuals or nations, cannot be founded upon short-sighted selfishness"

The Atlantic Charter and Foreign Trade.

Article 4 of the Atlantic Charter deals with the problem of trade in these words:

"4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

Pasvolsky on Foreign Trade and Domestic Measures.

Leo Pasvolsky of the State Department on March 4, 1942 stated that "trade is by far the most important of international economic relationships and is, in fact, basic to all the others." Continuing, he stated:

"The creation after the war—as rapidly as possible and as fully as possible—of conditions indispensable to a system of world trade operating on the basis of a substantial freedom from obstructive regulation and on the basis of multilateral balancing of international accounts will be an urgent requirement for all countries, including our own. Unless that need

is met, production and trade will stagnate everywhere, no matter what other measures are taken, and living standards will suffer in consequence."

Clayton, MacLeish, Acheson: World Trade and World Peace.

On March 10, 1945 three Assistant Secretaries of State spoke over the radio on the subject of "World Trade and World Peace." Their views are roughly indicated by the following excerpts:

Clayton: "Some of our best economists estimate that we will probably have to sell \$10,000,000,000 worth of goods a year abroad if we want to have relatively high-level employment and a national income in the neighborhood of \$150,000,000,000. In other words, we've got to export three times as much as we exported just before the war if we want to keep our industry running at somewhere near capacity."

MacLeish: "There are people who begin to talk about 'a quart of milk for every Hottentot' whenever they hear of a program of international economic cooperation. They seem to think that when they have said that phrase they have disposed of the whole subject."

Acheson: Such critics "assume that international economic cooperation means international charity. It doesn't." Acheson stated that the Bretton Woods agreements "point the way out of chaos and economic warfare toward a new system based on cooperative action." He said further that the United States investment in the Bretton Woods fund would be "less than we are now spending for three or four weeks of the war."

"Seed" Capital for Backward Areas.

Said Wallace on May 24, 1945:

"Everywhere, for our own sake and the world's sake, we must do our utmost to help the devastated and so-called backward nations to produce, transport and distribute goods in an ever-increasing flow to their starving, sick and underprivileged people. We cannot do the work for these peoples but we can point the way and we can furnish the 'seed' capital and the knowledge of how to use 'seed' capital to produce a 'high standard of living' crop.

"The so-called backward areas of the world have a total population of more than one billion persons. It probably will be impossible for these areas rapidly to bring about widespread education, the building of dams, the construction of highways and airports, and the building of factories without help from the United States or England. In some cases, the smaller nations of western Europe may be able to help."

The United Kingdom

After Locarno—said Churchill in the late twenties —“Hope rests on a surer foundation. The period of revulsion from the horrors of war will be long-lasting; and in this blessed interval the great nations may take their forward steps to world organization”

The “surer foundation” proved no foundation at all; the “blessed interval” was not long-lasting; and the “forward steps to world organization” taken by the Tory appeasers proved to be forward steps to war.

Churchill on War Aims.

With the coming of war, Churchill was asked again and again to state the war aims of Britain. Typical responses were: “You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory” (Commons, May 13, 1940) “The right to guide the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory” (Commons, August 20, 1940)

Churchill on Peace Aims.

In the House of Commons on February 11, 1941, the following occurred:

“Mr. Mander asked the Prime Minister whether he will provide facilities for the discussion of the Motion in the name of the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton on the subject of peace aims in view of the widespread public interest on this subject?”

“(That in the opinion of this House the effective propagation of the allied peace aims throughout the world would be a powerful weapon in assisting to win the war; that those terms should include the restoration of the freedom of all peoples overrun by Nazi or Fascist aggression during recent years; the provision of food to Continental nations immediately enemy arms are laid down and occupied territory evacuated; no negotiations with the present regimes in Germany and Italy; opportunities for the German and Italian people to choose for themselves whatever form of self-government they think fit; the setting up of a world organization possessing such military force as will prevent further acts of aggression with suitable machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes through conciliation or third party judgment, and for the promotion of the economic unity of the world and the development of its resources for the benefit of all; the removal of unemployment, undernourishment, bad housing and the lack of educational opportunities so that all races and creeds may live together in peace, liberty and security, enjoying the good things of life, both spiritual and physical and rendering service in return.)”

The Prime Minister: “The terms of the Motion standing in the name of my hon. Friend illustrate the very large measure of comprehension of British peace aims which prevails in this country and elsewhere. I do not think there is the slightest need for a Debate on this subject at present.”

Churchill on Territorial Changes.

“We have not at any time adopted, since this war broke out, the line that nothing could be changed in the territorial structure of various countries,” said Churchill on September 5, 1940.

Again, during a report to Commons in December, 1944, he stated that “all territorial changes must await the conference at the peace table after victory is won, but there is exception in principle and that exception is ‘changes mutually agreed.’”

On Presiding Over the Liquidation of the British Empire.

Probably no single statement by Churchill has caused more controversy than his famous assertion in 1942 that he did not consider it any part of his duty to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

Of course this was the statement of an imperialist; it was subjective; it gave millions of colonials the conviction that it is useless to work peacefully for change in their status.

The “Smaller Democracies in Western Europe.”

Everyone remembers Churchill’s offer to France of a joint government, made at the moment of France’s greatest extremity.

A few years after this offer, it was possible for a Belgian official, M. Antoine Delfosse, to say: “It is necessary that a big power should take steps to ensure peace in Europe. No one could do it better than the British Commonwealth.

“We Belgians are ready to sacrifice part of our sovereignty on the altar of world peace.”

His words caused the London Daily Sketch (December 17, 1943) to state:

“Belgium, given certain essential guarantees, is ready to put her future in charge of Britain—to become, in fact, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

In this same vein in the winter of 1943 Field Marshal Smuts began to speak of a “union” of Great Britain with the “smaller democracies in Western Europe which are of our way of thinking . . . and

which, in many ways, are of the same political and spiritual substance as ourselves.”

But Field Marshal Smuts' idea of a Western European bloc has so far failed of realization.

Cooperation With the United States.

Typical of the attitude of many leading British figures toward cooperation with the United States are the ideas expressed by Sir Stafford Cripps and the London banker Arthur S. Guinness.

Sir Stafford has stated that it would be “disastrous” to regard “friendship with the United States as an alternative to friendship with the Soviet Union.”

Mr. Guinness, while in the United States, urged “a code of economic good-neighborliness, backed by an International Economic Tribunal” as something which would be “of great assistance to international trade.”

Eden: World Peace Organization.

Anthony Eden, in his opening speech at San Francisco on April 26, 1945, indicated that the building of a world peace organization is basic to British policy: “Either we must find some means of ordering our relations with justice and fair dealing while allowing nations great and small full opportunity to develop their free and independent life, or we shall soon head for another world conflict which this time must bring the utter destruction of civilization in its train.”

The Labor Party Victory.

The Labor Party victory in England was greeted by the leading London conservative newspaper, *The Times*, with these words (July 27, 1945): “There is no reason however why the world should look for any revolutionary change in foreign—or indeed domestic—policy.” “Anthony Eden found nothing to criticize,” said the *New York Times* editorially, commenting on reaction to Bevin's speech on foreign policy of August 20, 1945. “He went further. He said that he and Mr. Bevin had never disagreed about foreign policy during their four years together in the Coalition Cabinet.” The new government is not socialist; it is capitalist. Its reforms consist chiefly in a greater emphasis on jobs and housing; nationalization of rail, sea and air inland transport, coal, steel, the Bank of England. British commentator Claud Cockburn stated “there has come into the House of Commons this time a strong nucleus of level-headed, genuine, radical leftwingers.” American columnist Joseph Starobin stated that the “American bourgeoisie—while ready to fight to

undermine the Labor Party—is also prepared to cooperate if it will undermine itself.”

Laski: Why Churchill Was Defeated.

Harold J. Laski, in a cable of July 27, 1945, indicated that the Labor Party had won at least 390 seats; that it had a majority of “not less than 130 over the whole House of Commons.” 26 Churchill ministers were defeated; Liberal Party stalwarts like Sir Archibald Sinclair and Sir William Beveridge went down; “the left got fifteen million votes as against ten million votes for the right.”

Laski cited three reasons for Churchill's defeat: resentment at Churchill's effort to “make this election a vote of personal confidence in himself;” disgust at Churchill's condoning of Beaverbrook's press sensationalism; and lastly, “no one believed that the vested interests behind Mr. Churchill had any serious convictions about the large-scale programs of social reforms he announced.” Mr. Laski also stated that the veterans “were determined to be done, once and for all, with the old order.”

Labor Party Foreign Policy.

In the same cable (*The Nation*, August 4, 1945), Laski states:

“It is a grim task upon which the Labor government embarks. First, it has to give all its energy and aid to the swift and decisive defeat of Japan. Simultaneously it must employ all its powers to evoke a new sense of hope in Europe and, out of that evocation, to make the unity of the three great powers real and unbreakable. It must end the era of support for obsolete monarchs in exile and decayed systems of privilege which have been accustomed to look to Downing Street for support. It must press forward with genuine determination to Indian freedom. It must make that pan-Arabism, so carefully cultured since 1939, understand decisively that the tragic remnant of European Jewry will not be sacrificed to make a holiday for Arab effendi in any part of the Middle East. It must give to France, yes, and to renascent Italy, the kind of friendship which gives power to their creative genius. It must use its new influence to rebuild the unity of the working-class movement all over the world. Is it too much to hope that we may look for active support from America? The vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt included a world in which the Four Freedoms had become a reality. The foreign policy of the Labor Government points toward such a goal; its fulfillment will require the active cooperation of the liberal and working-class movement of America.”

Labor Party Domestic Policy.

"On the domestic side the problems are also immense. We have at once to try and build the foundations of socialism within the structure of a society dominated by a capitalist economy, and to carry through those immediate measures like housing, the orderly demobilization of the fighting men, the reorganization for peace of the war-time economic controls which touch every phase of our national life. It will not be easy once the first excitement has died down. Privilege in Britain is strong Also there is a strong following in the new members for the policy of great experiment, boldly conceived and skilfully and resolutely exercised. This is to be a socialist government. It is by being socialist that it will hold the public opinion it has won The Labor Party in their (the common people's) name will seek to make a revolution by consent. It will try to build the socialist commonwealth for the creation of which it has a decisive mandate by the processes of constitutional democracy destiny has given us a supreme opportunity."

Attlee and Bevin Before Labor Party Victory.

Clement Attlee and Ernest Bevin on May 23, 1945 at Blackpool presented the British Labor Party's stand on foreign policy.

The central factor in the speeches of both men had to do with the supreme necessity for cooperation during the peace on the part of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union. Thus, said Bevin, "they can develop a higher standard of living throughout the world, with the complete removal of fear."

Mr. Attlee stressed his opinion that world economic anarchy and "the existence of masses of people in poverty and wretchedness" leads to war.

Laski on Socialism, on Spain

Mr. Laski (Chairman of the British Labor Party) on June 17, 1945 stated:

"I believe, therefore, that we are moving into an era when the relations of property must be defined in the interest of the masses, and I believe that the alternative in every organized society is violent conflict which will not be resolved until the redefinition, as in the Soviet Union, has been made in the popular interest

"'Freedom,' wrote Heine just a hundred years ago, 'which has hitherto only become man here and there, must pass into the mass itself, into the lowest

strata of society and become people.' This is the central problem of the next generation.

"This has been seen with increasing clarity by the common peoples of the world; and the war, if we try to see it in full perspective, was nothing so much as an attempt to arrest this process of adjustment. The effort failed; and the drive behind its failure was a widespread passion for freedom which can be satisfied only by the building of a new social order. There is no alternative to that building of a new order save the collapse of our civilization."

"The British Labor party is built upon a faith in democratic socialism," stated Laski on August 26, 1945. "It seeks, therefore, by constitutional means to transform Great Britain into a Socialist commonwealth." The following month Laski said: "The age of capitalism is drawing to a close, and it rests upon us now to inaugurate with this Government the age of democratic socialism in Britain." A Danish radio on August 19 reported Laski as saying in Copenhagen: "A socialist England can mean a socialist France, a socialist France can mean a socialist Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Norway—all of us stand side by side."

On Spain, Laski stated on July 27, 1945: "We cannot leave plague spots in Europe. We intend to use our influence to erase those plague spots, above all the plague spots represented by the Franco regime. The period of non-intervention is over."

Bevin: Primary Foreign Policy Objective.

In his foreign policy report of August 20, 1945 to the House of Commons, Ernest Bevin said:

"We must strive to fight successfully against social injustice, hardship and want, so that the security we had won militarily might lead to still greater security and that greater security to still greater economic expansion. It was with this in mind that the Government regarded economic reconstruction of the world as the primary object of their foreign policy."

Attlee: The Primary Objective of British Foreign Policy.

On October 10, 1945, Prime Minister Clement Attlee stated:

"It is the firm intention of His Majesty's Government to make the success of the United Nations the primary objective of their foreign policy.

"We have come to a period in our history when mankind must either set up an institution of this kind or face consequences so appalling that the mind shrinks even from contemplating them.

"Atomic energy has been liberated and that fact makes war merely a form of suicide for mankind."

The Soviet Union

For many years now, soviet policy has been written about and intentionally distorted. The needs of the peace period make necessary a more accurate appraisal. The present chapter can be regarded as only a slight contribution in this direction.

Summary of Soviet Peace Efforts, 1917-1939.

In November, 1917, the Soviets issued a Decree of Peace.

In 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk gave Russian Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to Germany.

In 1919 the Seventh Soviet Congress adopted a resolution which read in part: "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic intends to live at peace with all peoples and to concentrate all its power on inner reconstruction in order to build up production, transport and civil administration on the basis of the Soviets"

In 1920 Poland seized the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia.

In 1925 the Western Powers at Locarno tried to isolate the Soviet Union.

In 1926 Russia proposed a non-aggression pact with Poland, with no result.

In 1928 Litvinov stated that the Soviet Government considered "general disarmament as the most real guarantee of the preservation of peace" Russia ratified the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the first nation to do so. ". . . the Soviet Government in a note addressed to the French Government pointed to the absence in the Pact of an obligation concerning disarmament, which is the most essential element for guaranteeing peace; to the insufficiency and indefiniteness of the very formula for the outlawry of war; and to the existence of other circumstances weakening its significance. The Government of the Soviet Union continues to consider that this Pact does not give those guarantees for the non-violation of peace which are provided for in the pacts of non-aggression and non-participation in hostile combinations that were proposed by it." Russia initiated the Litvinov Protocol, which was signed by all eastern European countries bordering on Russia except Finland. This Protocol renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

In 1931 the Soviet Union denounced the seizure of Manchuria by Japan, stating that world peace was endangered.

In 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations (Japan and Germany were already out). In the League, Litvinov struggled for years for collective security. Russia attended every Disarmament Con-

ference. Her proposals of total disarmament were ignored.

In 1935 Litvinov led the fight against recognizing Italy's rule in Ethiopia. He urged that military and economic sanctions be applied and said that to "strengthen the League of Nations is to abide by the principle of collective security to abide by the principle that peace is indivisible" The Soviet Union signed a mutual assistance pact with France in this year; a similar pact was signed with Czechoslovakia.

In 1936 when Germany and Italy intervened in the Spanish Civil War, Russia aided the democratic-elected government of the Republic of Spain.

In 1937 Russia aided the Chinese, denounced the Japanese as the aggressors in the new large-scale war against China. The Soviet-Chinese Non-Aggression Treaty was signed.

In 1938 at Munich Chamberlain and Daladier betrayed Czechoslovakia and world peace. Churchill, attacking Chamberlain, said: "We have sustained a total unmitigated defeat We are in the presence of a disaster of the first magnitude."

In 1939 the Soviet Union proposed a military alliance between England, France and the U.S.S.R. Minor French and British officials were sent to Moscow where the negotiations dragged along for months. Meanwhile, according to Wallace Carroll, head of the United Press London office, "Chamberlain put out one feeler after another for an understanding with Hitler." Reported Ambassador Davies to Sumner Welles: ". . . during that period, the Soviet regime, in my opinion, diligently and vigorously tried to maintain a vigorous common front against the aggressors and were sincere advocates of the indivisibility of peace."

The Soviet Union and Germany. German Fascism. Fascism.

Poland refused Soviet aid; refused to allow Soviet troops in defense of Poland to cross Polish territory. Convinced that appeasement still determined British policy, and forced to the conclusion that the Western Powers had no intention of signing a military alliance with her, the Soviet Union in August, 1939, signed a neutrality pact with Germany. This was no "green light" for Hitler, as the anti-Sovieteers never tire of charging. Molotov has pointed out that this pact was one of neutrality, not one of mutual assistance as had been proposed to England and France.

Regarding the neutrality pact, Stalin said in 1941: "We secured for our country peace for a year and a

half and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse Fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact."

Earlier (1934), Stalin had said: "We stand for peace and defend the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are ready to return blow for blow to the warmongers. Those who desire peace and seek business relations with us will always have our support. But those who attempt to attack our country will receive a devastating rebuff."

Recognizing the gravity of the fascist war danger, Stalin in these words gave notice to the world of Soviet peace policy, which rested first of all upon defense of the Soviet land, the Soviet peoples.

The Soviets had no illusions whatever as to the nature of fascism. The following excerpts from the 1935 Dimitroff report on fascism and war reveal most clearly what the Soviet attitude toward fascism was and has always been. Dimitroff's report was not a government document; it was made to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. But since it was concurred in by the delegates of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it can be accepted as an excellent index of the Soviet approach to the question of fascism—Nazi, Italian or any other variety. Dimitroff said in part (words emphasized by him are indicated by caps):

"Imperialist circles are endeavoring to place the **WHOLE** burden of the crisis on the backs of the toilers. **THAT IS WHY THEY NEED FASCISM**. They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. **THAT IS WHY THEY NEED FASCISM**. They are striving to **FORESTALL** the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the world proletariat. **THAT IS WHY THEY NEED FASCISM**"

". . . . fascism in power is THE OPEN TERRORIST DICTATORSHIP OF THE MOST REACTIONARY, MOST CHAUVINISTIC AND MOST IMPERIALIST ELEMENTS OF FINANCE CAPITAL.

"The most reactionary variety of fascism is the **GERMAN TYPE** of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism, though having nothing in common with Socialism. Hitler fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a government system of political banditry, a system of provocation and torture practiced upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations and countries."

Having stated earlier in his report that "in a more or less developed form, fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere" Dimitroff at this point developed a characterization of fascism as "the power of finance capital itself" adding: "The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume **DIFFERENT FORMS** in different countries according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country."

The following two statements by Molotov, both appearing in his speech of November 6, 1945, summarize an important aspect of Soviet policy:

". . . . among us there are no supporters of the policy of vengeance in regard to the defeated peoples. Comrade Stalin has pointed out more than once that feelings of revenge or retribution for wrongs are bad counselors in policy and in relations among nations." "Thus the duties of the Soviet state include the task of educating the people politically in the spirit of defending the interests of peace, in the spirit of friendship and collaboration among the nations. This, however, does not preclude but, on the contrary, presupposes the necessity of unmasking all attempts to prepare for a renewal of aggression and a resurgence of fascism, a thing that must not be forgotten in the post-war years."

Provocations in Finland.

Lenin in 1920 called attention to the fact that Churchill counted on the help of Finland when "he boasted that he would mobilize fourteen states against Russia—this was in 1919—he would take Petrograd in September and Moscow in December."

Several years after British, Polish and other forces (including American) were withdrawn from Russia following the failure of military intervention there, General Kirke of the British Army Staff was sent to Helsinki for joint supervision, with General Mannerheim, of the building of the famous Mannerheim Line in Karelia near Leningrad.

From 1927 to 1930 new intervention conspiracies flourished, involving Poincare, Colonel Joinville of the French General Staff and representatives of the British General Staff.

The Soviet Union in 1939, after having concluded mutual assistance pacts with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, offered a similar pact to Finland. The answer of Finland was an order to mobilize. After concentrating troops on the Russian border (thus violating the non-aggression pact of the two countries), the Finnish Government sent its negotiators, who refused to grant terms which would protect

(1) Leningrad and (2) the Baltic-White Sea Canal connecting the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans.

When Russian soldiers were killed in border incidents following Finnish mobilization, the Soviet Government demanded withdrawal of Finnish troops for a distance of 25 kilometers from the Karelian Isthmus frontier. The troops were not withdrawn. War followed immediately.

"No power can tolerate a frontier," commented George Bernard Shaw, "from which a town such as Leningrad could be shelled when she knows that the power on the other side of the frontier, however small and weak it may be, is being made by a foolish government to act in the interests of other great powers menacing her security."

On March 15, 1940, after a conclusive Russian victory, a peace treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and Finland. In his official report on the treaty Finnish Foreign Minister Tanner said: "The Soviet Union does not intend to interfere in either our domestic or foreign policy. The right of this country to self-determination remains inviolate."

Within thirty days after the treaty was signed, and three days after Soviet forces evacuated Petsamo, Finland began the mining of the waters of the Petsamo area. In July, 1940, the Finnish government withdrew its "objections" to the fascist Fatherland Party. On September 26 a dispatch from Helsinki stated: "Transit of German troops on leave and of German supplies is taking place between northern Norway and northern Finland." This sort of thing continued without cessation to June 22, 1941, when Hitler announced: "Together with the Finns we stand from Narvik to the Carpathians."

"It has always seemed odd to me and to the people of the United States," said President Roosevelt on March 16, 1944, "to find Finland a partner of Nazi Germany, fighting side by side with the sworn enemies of our civilization." And when the United States severed relations with Finland on June 30, 1944, Cordell Hull stated: "Responsibility for the consequences must rest solely on the Finnish Government."

Defeated in its new attempt against the Soviet Union, Finland in September, 1944 signed an armistice with the United Kingdom and Russia. And on March 3, 1945 Finland declared war on Germany.

The myth about "poor little Finland" was assiduously repeated for years. Those who deliberately propagated this lie greatly aided German fascism. Their campaign was futile. As a tool of Germany, Finland had no future. But, as the London Times has put it, "Finland as a good neighbor to Russia has a future."

The Soviet Union and Poland.

The basic feature of present Soviet-Polish relations is the need for security on both sides.

The Polish-Soviet Mutual Assistance Agreement of April 21, 1945 expressed the essential features desired in Warsaw and in Moscow so far as the relations of these two states was concerned. The Polish-Soviet Pact was directed against no nation; it was a part of the pattern of European peace, a pattern which includes similar pacts between the Soviet Union and many of her European neighbors; and it was expressed in terms specifically planned to make it a part of the system of world security.

The Crimea Agreement (section on Poland) set up a commission of three—Molotov, Harriman and Kerr—"to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional (Polish) Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad" looking toward the reorganization of the government of Poland. The basis of this new government, the conditions of recognition, and matters regarding Polish frontiers all appear in the Crimea Agreement.

During the course of his report on the Crimea Conference, it should be noted, President Roosevelt stated: "It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian . . . You must also remember there was no Poland, there had not been any Polish government before 1919 for a great many generations . . . I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State."

During December, 1944 Churchill in Commons discussed the question of Poland. His speech showed clearly the great pains taken by himself and Stalin to aid in bringing about a settlement of the Polish question with the Polish emigre government; but it also showed the stubbornness of the emigre Poles. Hatred of the Soviet Union, and intrigue against it, on the part of the emigre leadership cost the Polish Government-in-Exile its chance in 1944 to take a leading part in the reconstruction of Poland.

The Soviet Union and the Vatican.

The Vatican signed a Concordat with the Mussolini government; it signed a Concordat with the Hitler government; it sided openly with Finland during the Soviet-Finnish war.

Two Cardinals (Suhard; Gerlier) on October 29, 1942 went to the headquarters of the Vichy regime to effect better working relations with Petain and Laval.

The Bishop of Orsense, Spain, in a September,

1945 pastoral letter published in the bishopric bulletin and broadcast from Madrid commented on the big three powers at Potsdam, saying "they have created a new international order with hateful partiality." The Pope himself gave special praise to Franco in his Christmas, 1944 message, and extended the Papal Benediction to Franco on November 18, 1945.

Seven American Archbishops (Spellman, Stritch, Mooney, McNicholas, Murray, Mitty and Rummel) and three Bishops (Noll, Alter and Ryan) on April 14, 1945 launched a drive against what they declared to be "the active, cleverly organized and directed opposition of Marxian totalitarianism to genuine democracy." Their statement said in part: "Every day makes more evident the fact that two strong essentially incompatible ways of life will divide the loyalties of men and nations in the political world of tomorrow. They are genuine democracy and Marxian totalitarianism."

That these Catholic leaders correctly expressed Vatican policies was indicated on February 18, 1946; on that date Spellman, Stritch, Mooney and Glennon were made Cardinals.

Spellman, in fact (Collier's, January 5, 1946), presented what he described as "the viewpoints of the Holy Father" in very explicit fashion. His statement included the following: "The Church contradicts and condemns various forms of Marxist Socialism and Atheistic Communism as enemies of Christian civilization and world peace. She contradicts and condemns them because it is her right and duty to safeguard men from currents of thought and influences that jeopardize their earthly peace and eternal salvation."

In June, 1945, addressing the College of Cardinals, Pope Pius XII warned against "one of the gravest perils" which had "created those mobs of dispossessed, disillusioned men who are going to swell the ranks of revolution and disorder, in the pay of a tyranny no less despotic than those for whose overthrow men planned."

States the Soviet writer D. Melnikov ("New Times," July 1, 1945): "The Vatican's policy runs directly counter to the principles of the United Nations and the plans for enduring peace. Today the Vatican is acting as the agent of extreme reaction which exploits every opportunity to pursue its subversive activities in favor of fascism. It is the duty of all those who are interested in the building of enduring peace to combat this reactionary policy of the Vatican."

The pro-fascist, anti-Soviet policy of the Vatican led to support of the banker-landlord Polish emigre group in London; it resulted in advocacy of a "charitable"—that is, a soft—peace; worst of all, this

policy led and still leads millions of Catholics throughout the world to think and act along anti-Soviet lines. The damage this can do to world peace cannot be estimated.

Stalin on the Program of Action of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition.

The most complete brief statement of the war and peace aims of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition was made by Stalin in November, 1942, at the time of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution:

"The program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of the enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to manage its affairs in its own way; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance in establishing their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitler regime."

Assistance in Liberation Struggles, Not Intervention.

On another occasion Marshal Stalin stated:

"We have not and cannot have such war aims as imposing our will and our regime on the Slavs and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are awaiting our aid. Our aid consists in assisting these people in their liberation struggle against Hitler tyranny and then setting them free to rule on their own land as they desire. No intervention whatever in the internal affairs of other peoples!"

Stalin: Post-War Objectives.

Stalin on November 6, 1943 enumerated five objectives for the period following victory:

"The victory of the Allied countries over Hitlerite Germany will put on the agenda the important questions of the organizing and rebuilding of the state, economic and cultural life of the European peoples. The policy of our government in these questions remains unchanging. Together with our Allies we shall have to:

"1. Liberate the people of Europe from the fascist invaders and help them rebuild their national states dismembered by the fascist enslavers; the peoples of France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece, and other states now under the German yoke must again become free and independent;

"2. Grant the liberated peoples of Europe the full right and freedom to decide for themselves the question of their form of government;

"3. Take measures that all fascist criminals responsible for this war and the suffering of the peoples bear stern punishment and retribution for all the crimes they committed, no matter in what country they may hide;

"4. Establish such an order in Europe as will completely preclude the possibility of new aggression on the part of Germany;

"5. Establish lasting economic, political and cultural collaboration among the peoples of Europe based on mutual confidence and mutual assistance for the purpose of rehabilitating the economic and cultural life destroyed by the Germans."

The Russian People and the Soviet Government.

What was the factor above all others that contributed to the success of the Russian drive against Germany? Stalin thought it was confidence of the people in the Soviet Government. He said: "This trust of the Russian people in the Soviet Government proved to be the decisive force that guaranteed the historic victory over the enemy of humanity—over fascism."

The Red Army.

Marshall Stalin describes the three fundamental characteristics of the Red Army in words which reveal a great deal about Soviet policy:

(1) "The first specific feature of the Red Army is that it is the army of the emancipated workers and peasants, it is the army of the October Revolution, the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

(2) "Our Army differs radically from colonial armies. Its whole being and whole structure rest on the cementing of the ties of friendship among the nations of our country, on the idea of protecting the freedom and independence of the Socialist Republics which constitute the Soviet Union."

(3) "The strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that from the moment it was born it was trained in the spirit of internationalism, trained to respect other nations, to love and respect the workers of all countries and to maintain peace among nations."

On the Soviet Constitution.

A review of the role of the Soviet Union as a defender of peace and democracy was made in the magazine "Political Affairs" on November 7, 1945 by Rob Fowler Hall.

He said in part:

"The Soviet Union has been able to champion peace consistently and without contradictions in its policy because of its socialist character. Socialism by its very nature excludes imperialist designs and requires peace for the full unfolding of its great promise to the people

"In an interview with Roy Howard of the Scripps-

Howard press in March, 1936, Stalin clearly defined the essence of socialist democracy: ' . . . we did not build this society in order to restrict personal liberty but in order that the human individual may feel really free. We built it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without quotation marks! It is difficult for me to imagine what personal liberty is enjoyed by an unemployed person, who goes about hungry and cannot find employment. Real liberty can only exist where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home and of bread. Only in such a society is real, and not paper, personal and every other liberty possible.'

" The Soviet government has worked to remove all vestiges of racial and national prejudices which inevitably remained after generations of national chauvinism, and vigorously punished those who deliberately promoted such backward prejudices. Today in the Soviet Union there is no limitation on rights or privileges or opportunity for a man or woman because of race, color, creed, sex or national origin. The U.S.S.R. is recognized everywhere as the most uncompromising enemy of racial exclusiveness and the champion of equality of peoples and nations."

Stalin on the World Security Organization.

The need for world organization to keep the peace was formulated by Stalin in a speech given in Moscow on November 7, 1944:

"What means are there for averting new aggression by Germany and if war arises in spite of that, stifling it at its very beginning and not allowing it to develop into large scale war?"

"To achieve this, there is only one means besides the complete disarmament of the aggressor nations: to establish a special organization for defense of peace and insurance of security, from among the representatives of the peace-loving nations; to place at the disposal of the steering body of this organization the maximum quantity of armed forces sufficient for the suppression of aggression; and to convince this organization, in case of necessity, to send without any delay these armed forces for the prevention and liquidation of aggression, for the punishment of those guilty of aggression.

"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."

On March 22, 1946 Associated Press Correspondent Eddy Gilmore asked Stalin three questions. The first was: What importance do you attach to the

United Nations Organization as a means of preserving world peace?" Stalin's answer: "I attach great importance to the United Nations Organization, as it is a serious instrument for the preservation of peace and international security. The strength of this organization consists in that it is based on the principle of equality of States and not on the principle of the domination of one State over others. If the United Nations Organization succeeds in preserving in the future this principle of equality, it will unquestionably play a great and positive role in guaranteeing universal peace and security."

Answering Gilmore's second question, Stalin said in part: "I think that the 'present fear of war' is being brought about by the actions of certain political groups engaged in the propaganda of a new war"

The third question was: "What should the Governments of the freedom-loving countries do at the present time to preserve the peace and tranquility of the world?" Stalin's answer: "It is necessary for public opinion and the ruling circles of all States to organize a wide counter-propaganda against these advocates of a new war and to secure the peace so that not a single action on the part of the advocates of new wars passes without due rebuff on the part of the public and press; to expose the warmongers without loss of time and give them no opportunity of abusing the freedom of speech against the interests of peace."

Molotov on the World Security Organization.

In his speech of April 26, 1945 at the San Francisco Conference, Molotov formulated the central issue of peace in this way:

"If the leading democratic countries show their ability to act in harmony in the post-war period as well, that will mean that the interests of peace and security of nations have at last received protection and have been provided with a sound basis. But that is not all. The point at issue is whether other peace-loving nations are willing to rally around these leading powers to create an effective international security organization, and in the interests of the future peace and security of nations. This must be settled at this Conference."

Molotov on Collaboration.

Said Molotov in his November 6, 1945 review of Russia's policy:

"It is clear to us that the United Nations Organization should not be like the League of Nations, which proved utterly incapable of preventing aggression and organizing forces for crushing possible aggression. Nor must the new organization become the tool of any one great power, for the claim of any one state

to dominate the common affairs of the world is as unfounded as the claim to world supremacy.

"Only by the joint efforts of the three powers who carried the burden of the war can we secure the victories of the democratic countries over fascism. Only such collaboration can promote success in the work of the new international organization for lasting peace."

Galina on the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union.

Colonel A. Galina, writing in Moscow in the fall of 1944, made the following characterization of Soviet foreign policy from the beginning of the Soviet Union:

"What were and are the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet State?"

"Peaceful relations with all states irrespective of their political systems.

"Economic and political cooperation with all states on the basis of the sovereign equality and independence of the contracting parties and the co-existence of two systems.

"Alliances with any state with the purpose of protecting both partners from acts of aggression.

"Categorical renunciation of imperialist expansion at the cost of other nations.

"Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

"Strengthening of the coalition of freedom-loving nations in the fight against fascist aggressors."

Churchill, Malinin, Litvinov, Molotov.

Winston Churchill once said that Soviet foreign policy is "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

Of course this was no serious characterization; and Churchill in his many contacts with Stalin has shown not the slightest inclination to be guided by his own witticism. Nevertheless, the fashion still persists in some quarters of shrugging Soviet foreign policy off as something not to be understood.

To understand it, one must remember that the Soviet Union has no private manufacturers of munitions, no groups which stand to gain through armed conflict. It does not need colonies abroad. Nor is there any reason for "dumping" on the world market products made in the Soviet Union.

For many years in the League of Nations, the Soviet Union advocated total and universal disarmament. The collective security program advocated before the League of Nations Assembly by Litvinov is now accepted as a necessary policy if the world is to have a lasting peace.

"The Soviet Union will need a firm peace in order

to restore its wrecked economy," states N. Malinin.

"... in our country the whole people are brought up in the spirit of faith in and devotion to the cause of setting up a solid organization of international security," stated Molotov on the second day of the San Francisco Conference.

Soviet Autonomy.

When Soviet foreign policy is being discussed the question of the autonomy of the various republics is often raised.

On February 1, 1944 the Supreme Soviet gave a considerable increase in autonomy to the sixteen Soviet Republics. They were given the right to take over full control of foreign affairs, each for itself. This included the right to make treaties in the name of each constituent Republic. The sixteen Republics were given the right to organize their own armies. Two of them have since exercised these rights: The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (White Russia and Ukraina).

Thus these Republics now have a status with relation to the Soviet Union, so far as autonomy is concerned, which is similar in certain respects to Canada's relation to the British Commonwealth.

White Russia and the Ukraine were both accorded equal rights with other states at the San Francisco Conference.

Soviet Borders.

Pravda once said: "Everyone ought to know that the borders of the Soviet Union can no more be questions for discussion than can the frontiers of the United States or the status of California."

Commenting on a dispatch written by a Washington, D. C. columnist, Pravda in February, 1943, stated:

"Constantine Brown kindly presents us with Besarabia on behalf of unknown Americans. Why should he not make a generous present of California or Alaska to the United States? Do there not exist curious persons who are ready to present to the Soviet Union parts of the latter's own territory as, for instance, the Baltic republics?"

Walter Lippman, writing on this subject, gives as his opinion that the U.S.S.R.'s interest "in her western boundaries is not the desire to obtain territory or to introduce Communism in western Europe, but to put an end to the possibility of there being anti-Russian states on her western borderland."

The Soviet Union and "Blocs."

"A good deal of noise is . . . being made," said Molotov on November 6, 1945, "about the formation of blocs or groups of states as an end of particular

foreign policy interests. The Soviet Union has never joined groups of powers directed against other peaceable states.

"In the west, however, attempts of this kind have been made, as is generally known, more than once. The anti-Soviet nature of certain such groups in the past is equally well known. In any case, the history of blocs and groups of the western powers indicates that they do not tend to bridle aggressors, but on the contrary to encourage aggression, particularly on the part of Germany."

And in our own country, Jerome Davis, who has studied Russian policy for many years, states: "The Soviet Union wants to work with the rest of the world. In the post-war world she doesn't want to foist communism off on other nations by force, revolution or propaganda. She wants to be given a chance to rebuild her own country in her own way and to enjoy a long period of peace and prosperity. If the Western world organizes blocs against the Soviet Union, then peace is impossible. As Raymond Robbins recommended at the start of the Russian Revolution, the way of friendship and understanding of Russia is the only road to international peace."

Development of an "Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union" in the opinion of Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas would be the "most tragic and disastrous step in human history."

"Any Anglo-American alliance," stated the Indian leader, Jawaharlal Nehru on April 8, 1946, "would immediately lead to two results: (1) Progressive elimination of the United Nations as an international organization. (2) Development of other alliances against this special alliance."

The Soviet Union and the United States.

"Friendly relations between the freedom-loving nations, Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the United States, tempered in the fire of the noble war for liberation against Hitler tyranny, rest on a firm foundation," said Pravda in an editorial commemorating the first anniversary of the signature of the Soviet-American Pact of June 11, 1942. In June, 1945 Stalin expressed to Truman "his own gratitude and that of the Soviet Government for the help given" under lend-lease; and Molotov sent word to Stettinius that "The extent of aid and the effective organization of the entire matter played an important part in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany." Molotov stressed that the common struggle in Europe "laid the foundation for the strengthening and future development of friendly relations between our two countries in the interest of a guarantee of permanent peace and international security."

"If the problem of peace is to be solved," said Gromyko on May 27, 1945 at a dinner of the Ameri-

can-Russian Institute of San Francisco, "there must be mutual trust among the greatest world powers, and they must act in harmony. Lack of mutual trust and harmony may seriously prejudice the peace in the years to come. The importance of cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union can hardly be overemphasized." Dmitry Z. Manuilsky, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic delegation at San Francisco stated on the same day: "There is no place where the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union run counter."

A Soviet View of Democracy.

A leading writer in Moscow, A. Sokolov, in an April, 1945 issue of "War and the Working Class" stated:

"It cannot be denied that there is an extremely important difference between the democracy that prevails in the Soviet Union and that which exists in a number of other countries. That there is a difference between the social systems and ideologies of the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-Saxon countries is beyond dispute. It is equally beyond dispute that this difference should not serve as an obstacle to firm and durable cooperation among the Allies.

"Of course, a country which knows no exploitation of man by man, a country in which not only political but also economic equality prevails, a country in which democratic liberties are not only proclaimed DE JURE but are fully guaranteed DE FACTO by the material conditions of social life, a country in which genuine freedom of nations exists and indestructible friendship between these nations has been created—such a country has undoubtedly made more progress along the road to democracy. It is also true that Soviet democracy cannot be regarded as identical with English democracy. That the economic basis of society in the Soviet Union is different from that in England is commonly known. This directly affects the question of democracy, in that it is precisely the economic system of the Soviet Union that guarantees the people the opportunity of exercising their democratic rights, including such fundamental and vital rights as the right to work, the right to education, freedom from exploitation, and from national or racial discrimination, and so forth

"Under these circumstances, the difference between Soviet democracy and, for example, English democracy, is of course not only a 'difference of definition.' Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Soviet people and the democrats in other countries cannot find common ground and a common criterion of what should be regarded as democratic

". . . . in our days democracy is revealed in the struggle against fascism. In our days a democrat

is one who resolutely and relentlessly fights fascism. A democrat is one who not only in words but also in deeds is prepared to wage a struggle until all fascist elements and all fascist influences are completely extirpated; for the pernicious nature of fascism, the monstrous danger it represents to the freedom and very lives of the peoples, is clear to every right-thinking man. Freedom for the peoples means death to fascism."

"The pseudo-champions of democracy reveal their true colors most glaringly when they talk about Poland. From the point of view of democracy, the so-called Polish problem is absolutely clear. The Polish people, liberated from the German-fascist yoke, are building up their new life on democratic principles. . . .

"From the democratic point of view—and in this case it makes no difference whether one takes the stand of Soviet democracy or that of Anglo-American democracy—it cannot be denied that gentlemen like Radescu in Romania; Linkomies, Tanner and Ryti in Finland; Raczkiewicz and Arciszewski among the Polish emigres, and the corresponding political figures in other countries, are foes of democracy, are pro-fascists; and that those who support these elements are acting against the interests of the people

"The pseudo-champions of democracy often advance an argument which the (English) 'Observer's' 'Student of Europe' (Sokolov refers here to a reviewer in the "Observer" who signed his article thus) formulated in the following manner: 'In Western usage, freedom of opposition and free competition of several parties for the votes of the people (including the upper and middle classes) are of the essence of democracy.'

"From this the conclusion is drawn that the rallying of the forces of the people in a united front against pro-fascist groups and tendencies is a violation of democracy, that it leads to totalitarianism, and so forth. It is not difficult to expose the hypocrisy of this argument. Why indeed should not the forces of the people in the countries just liberated from Nazi tyranny organize and form a united front in the struggle against the beaten, but not yet vanquished, foe?

"In the 'Student of Europe's' country, the political parties decided to abstain from 'free competition' at elections for the duration of the war—in the interests of the common struggle against the enemy, in the interests of uniting all the forces of the nation for this struggle. If this is the case in a powerful country like Great Britain, how much more imperative is it to rally all democratic elements in a united front in the liberated countries of Europe which have only just entered upon a new path.

"Can these peoples forget that it was precisely

the disunity in the democratic camp, the division of the democratic forces, that was one of the most important factors in the establishment of fascist regimes in a number of countries? The fascists were able to turn to their advantage the fact that the democratic elements in many countries of pre-war Europe were unable to find a common ground. In particular, even the supporters of democracy were so blinded by anti-Communist prejudice that they emphatically refused to have any dealings with Communists, losing sight of the fact that thereby they were splitting the anti-fascist front and easing the task of fascism

"It is not for nothing that the Crimea decisions speak of insuring national unity in the liberated countries of Europe. But unity can be achieved only by uniting the popular forces and not by splitting them, by uniting all genuine democrats and not by inciting some democratic elements against others.

"Democracy is a historical phenomenon. One cannot speak of one unchangeable democracy for all times and for all peoples. As is the case with every phenomenon in social life, democracy develops and goes forward. Present-day democracy bears little resemblance to the democracy, say, of ancient Athens; and the present political system of Great Britain, for example, differs very much from the system which existed in that country in Cromwell's time. Even on the basis of the same social and economic system, extremely diverse forms of democratic statehood arise.

"Hence it would be quite hopeless to demand that democracy should be built up in all countries of Europe on a British or American model. This would be a totally unwarranted attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples, an attempt to impose definite political canons upon them from the outside. Such an attempt would of course have no chance of success because it would contradict the very spirit of democracy, would contradict the indisputable right of peoples 'to create democratic institutions of their own choice.'

"Does this mean that sincere champions of democracy need not now, when the fate of German fascism is already sealed, concern themselves with what is taking place outside their countries? It would be, to say the least, premature to draw such a conclusion. Quite apart from universally-known cases of the grossest violation of democracy in European countries such as Greece, it is sufficient to recall the state of affairs in the colonial world. To this day, as is well known, there is not even a whiff of democracy in the colonial countries, where a very large part of the population of the globe resides. This is where those who come out as the champions of democracy should direct their zeal

"The stern experience of the period between the First and Second World Wars has shown what grave danger lurks in the absence of unity among the peace-loving nations. In the light of this experience, it is clear that groundless prejudices against democratic regimes in the liberated countries of Europe may become a serious barrier to the establishment of lasting peace among the nations and of general security.

"The present war must be consummated in such a way that no loopholes are left for the re-emergence of the forces of fascism and aggression."

Stalin: Why the War Arose.

During the course of his election speech of February 9, 1946 Stalin discussed the origins of the war. He said in part:

"It would be wrong to think that the Second World War was a casual occurrence or the result of mistakes of any particular statesmen, though mistakes undoubtedly were made. Actually, the war was the inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism. Marxists have declared more than once that the capitalist system of world economy harbors elements of general crises and armed conflicts and that, hence, the development of world capitalism in our time proceeds not in the form of smooth and even progress but through crises and military catastrophes.

"The fact is, that the unevenness of development of the capitalist countries usually leads in time to violent disturbance of equilibrium in the world system of capitalism, that group of capitalist countries which considers itself worse provided than others with raw materials and markets usually making attempts to alter the situation and repartition the 'spheres of influence' in its favor by armed force. The result is a splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and war between them.

"Perhaps military catastrophes might be avoided if it were possible for raw materials and markets to be periodically redistributed among the various countries in accordance with their economic importance, by agreement and peaceable settlement. But that is impossible to do under present capitalist conditions of the development of world economy.

"Thus the First World War was the result of the first crisis of the capitalist system of world economy, and the Second World War was the result of a second crisis.

"That does not mean of course that the Second World War is a copy of the first. On the contrary, the Second World War differs materially from the first in nature. It must be borne in mind that before attacking the Allied countries the principal fascist

states—Germany, Japan and Italy—destroyed the last vestiges of bourgeois democratic liberties at home, established a brutal terrorist regime in their own countries, rode roughshod over the principles of sovereignty and free development of small countries, proclaimed a policy of seizure of alien territories as their own policy and declared for all to hear that they were out for world domination and the establishment of a fascist regime throughout the world.

“Moreover, by the seizure of Czechoslovakia and of the central areas of China, the Axis states showed that they were prepared to carry out their threat of enslaving all freedom-loving nations. In view of this, unlike the First World War, the Second World War

against the Axis states from the very outset assumed the character of an anti-fascist war, a war of liberation, one the aim of which was also the restoration of democratic liberties. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis states could only enhance, and indeed did enhance, the anti-fascist and liberation character of the Second World War.

“It was on this basis that the anti-fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and other freedom-loving states came into being—a coalition which subsequently played a decisive part in defeating the armed forces of the Axis states.”

Part III

Science, Imperialism and Labor

The Atomic Bomb; Atomic Energy

At 5:30 a.m., July 16, 1945 in the desert near Alamogordo, New Mexico, the world's first atomic bomb exploded. A blinding flash was followed by surging clouds rising to a height of 41,000 feet. Observers Groves, Farrell, Fermi, Conant, Bush, Tolman, Oppenheimer, Chadwick, Lawrence, McMillan, Bainbridge and others then heard “a mighty thunder.” “It was the blast from thousands of blockbusters going off simultaneously at one spot,” said the sole reporter-observer, William L. Laurence. The earth “was depressed over a radius of 400 yards to a depth ranging from ten feet at the periphery to twenty-five feet in the center.”

“A subsequent examination of the ground revealed that all life, vegetable as well as animal, was destroyed within a radius of about a mile. There was not a rattlesnake left in the region, nor a blade of grass. The sand within a radius of 400 yards was transformed into a glass-like substance the color of green jade. A steel rigging tower weighing thirty-two tons, at a distance of 800 yards, was turned into a twisted mass of wreckage.”

News of the success of the experiment was sent to President Truman who was then at the Potsdam Conference. “The decision to use the atomic bomb was taken by President Truman and myself at Potsdam and we approved military plans to unchain the dread pent-up force,” said Churchill in a report to Commons August 16. He added: “Marshal Stalin was informed by President Truman that we contemplated using an explosive of incomparable power against the Japanese in the way we all now know.”

On August 6 an American Army plane dropped an

atomic bomb on Hiroshima, a Japanese army base. This one bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of TNT. To reach the point at which it was possible to produce it, the United States government had invested \$2,000,000,000 and organized the labor of 125,000 persons.

At Hiroshima there were 306,545 casualties which resulted from the dropping of this one bomb. Of these 78,150 were deaths and 13,983 were missing.

“We have used it,” said Truman, “in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans.”

On August 8 the Soviet Union declared war on Japan.

When Japan refused to surrender, a second atomic bomb was dropped by the American armed forces on the Japanese home islands: Nagasaki was leveled on August 9. Hopelessly defeated by the bombs and by Soviet armies sweeping over Manchuria, the Japanese war lords surrendered on August 10.

In England, Churchill said: “This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every man.” Bevin, welcoming members of the executive committee of the United Nations Preparatory Commission said: “It may be that some of you may feel that the prodigious inventions in the field of destruction have given an air of unreality to the whole organization that we now propose to set up. I can understand this but at the same time I think that, if the argument is further pursued to the effect that we must either immediately constitute a superstate or the whole world

will blow up, we are in danger of increasing the peril that we apprehend rather than diminishing it."

In the United States, Professor William Fielding Ogburn stated that "the development of atomic energy will tend to strengthen big industries and to reinforce movements toward monopoly and cartels." Rear Admiral William R. Purnell at Honolulu said "it will make private enterprise obsolete in some lines." Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago called for a world state, saying "Only through the monopoly of atomic force by a world organization can we hope to abolish war."

In Russia, M. Rubinstein in the magazine *New Times* called for "genuine international scientific cooperation which is one of the most effective methods of promoting mutual understanding among the freedom-loving nations of the world." He attacked the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press and "the reactionary circles of which these newspapers are the mouthpiece . . ." "They demand that the United States should establish its domination over the world by threatening the nations with the atomic bomb. Apparently the lessons of history mean nothing to these arrant imperialists. They do not stop to ponder over the debacle of Hitler's plans of world dominion, which, after all, were also based on the expectation of exploiting temporary advantages in the development of armaments, yet ended in such a wretched fiasco."

Clement Attlee in London named John Anderson chairman of an advisory committee on problems arising out of Anglo-American possession of the secret. Raymond Blackburn and eight other Labor Party members and one Independent demanded an international center for research and production, and a system of international inspection of national laboratories and production plants. Stettinius, in London, stated that when the United Nations Organization got going, its military staff committee would consider all matters relating to the use of force, including atomic energy, and would make recommendations to the Security Council.

Said Truman on October 7: ". . . we have only begun on the atomic energy program. That great force, if properly used by this country of ours, and by the world at large, can become the greatest boon that humanity has ever had. It can create a world which in my opinion will be the happiest world that the sun has ever shone upon." Soon thereafter the House Military Affairs Committee brought forward a bill for the creation of a commission to control the use and development of atomic energy.

In his Navy Day (October 27, 1945) speech, Tru-

man spoke of possession of "this new power of destruction" as "a sacred trust." "Indeed," he said, "the highest hope of the American people is that world cooperation for peace will soon reach such a state of perfection that atomic methods of destruction can be definitely and effectively outlawed forever."

By November 15, 1945 Truman, Attlee and King (Canada) had evolved a common atomic policy. In a nine-point declaration they declared their willingness "to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information and the interchange of scientists and scientific literature for peaceful ends with any nation that will fully reciprocate." They stated their belief "that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and free interchange of ideas are essential to the progress of knowledge" and expressed their trust "that other nations will adopt the same policy, thereby creating an atmosphere of reciprocal confidence in which political agreement and cooperation will flourish." Until suitable safeguards could be devised, however, they were "not convinced" that "specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy" should be spread. With such safeguards, they were "prepared to share" information on industrial aspects of atomic energy. They called for a UNO commission to make recommendations on control of destructive and promotion of constructive uses of atomic energy. Among specific proposals which they said the commission should recommend was: "effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions." Recommended also was the following, that: "The work of the commission should proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each one of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken." Truman, Attlee and King concluded their declaration by calling for "whole-hearted support to the United Nations Organization." Through "consolidating and extending its authority" they hoped there would be created "conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace."

The first concrete step toward the realization of "conditions of mutual trust" regarding the atomic bomb was to occur at Moscow in December, 1945, when Byrnes, Bevin and Molotov agreed to propose the establishment by the United Nations of a commission on atomic energy.

Science and Peace

Just how much power is locked up in the atom? Referring to the Einstein mass-energy equation (that the energy content of any specific amount of a substance is equal to the mass times the square of the velocity of light), William L. Laurence states: "A piece of coal the size of a pea, the equation proved, contained enough energy to drive the largest ocean liner across the Atlantic and back." If atomic energy could be fully utilized, Laurence says, "The pasteboard in a small railroad ticket would run a heavy passenger train several times around the world."

The existence of these immense reservoirs of power makes most urgent the solution of the problem: What steps will guarantee the quickest, safest, most economical transformation of the new scientific discoveries into forms that will serve mankind? What steps will guarantee that the new scientific discoveries will not become a tool for war or threats of war in the hands of imperialism?

Roosevelt foresaw the need for a plan in which peace-time science could aid in the creating of jobs, in fighting disease, and in stimulating research. He asked Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, to prepare a plan along these lines. Bush presented his report to President Truman in July, 1945. In it he called for a National Research Foundation with five divisions: Medical research, natural sciences, national defense, scientific personnel and education, and publications and scientific collaboration. The cost of \$33,000,000 for the first year (to rise later) would go chiefly to pay for 24,000 undergraduate scholarships and 900 graduate fellowships.

Light metals, plastics, alcohols, electronics and transportation—to cite a very few fields—would greatly benefit by such a program. But to translate these gains into benefits for the people depends not upon still further discoveries but upon preserving peace, safeguarding the right to a job, guaranteeing rising living standards.

When Isaiah Bowman retired as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he said the maintenance of peace "should be the business of every citizen, whatever his calling." He added: "Keeping the peace has become one of the primitive and permanent conditions of living, coequal with food, clothing and shelter." And David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, stated after Hiroshima that "Peace now depends upon the recognition by all nations of their individual responsibility to prevent war. They must foster the WILL TO PEACE."

Einstein regards widespread understanding of the need for international cooperation as the only method for "permanently avoiding catastrophes" like the last war. The author of the War Department's main report on the atomic bomb, Henry D. Smyth, summed up this problem of cooperation in the following words: "If men, working together, can solve the mysteries of the universe, they can also solve the problem of human relations on this planet. Not only in science, but now in all human relations, we must work together with free minds." And the President of Harvard University, Dr. James B. Conant, calling for "civil courage" reminds us that "the strategy of peace, not war, now must determine all our thoughts and actions; the tactics of civil affairs, including the relations between nations, now demand our study and attention."

To organize and direct science in the interests of human development in a single country may seem too huge an undertaking; but it has been done, it is being done, in a country larger than our own. President Conant on August 10, 1945 stated that "all the evidence I have been able to obtain indicates that Russian science is organized and directed in so far as it concerns definite practical goals, and under socialism all these goals are the responsibility of the Government." With the experience in collective work on the atomic bomb, with instruments like the Economic and Social Council, and with the sure knowledge that lack of cooperation can mean another war, scientists, educators and political leaders should work with speed toward achieving the reality of international cooperation.

Otherwise "the greatest achievement of organized science in history"—as Truman characterized the development of the atomic bomb—could become mankind's greatest disaster.

The question may well be asked: But how can we have genuine international cooperation in the field of science so long as monopoly controls the bulk of our research? The deflection of scientific research into trivial fields; the conniving, selfish and anti-social restriction of production; the suppression of inventions and processes; collusive price, marketing and control agreements—all of these typical devices of monopoly will have to go. How soon depends upon how powerful and numerous and well organized and active and intelligent are those who insist that science shall become free of these degrading restrictions, free to fight poverty, disease and ignorance, free to "encompass the great record" of man's past, free to help him "wield that record for his own good."

President Truman on Atomic Energy.

"No nation can maintain a position of leadership in the world of today," said Truman in September, 1945, "unless it develops to the full its scientific and technological resources. No government adequately meets its responsibilities unless it generously and intelligently supports and encourages the work of science in university, industry, and in its own laboratories

"The development of atomic energy is a clear-cut indication of what can be accomplished by our universities, industry, and Government working together. Vast scientific fields remain to be conquered in the same way."

On October 3, 1945 President Truman in a special message to Congress said in part:

"The discovery of the means of releasing atomic energy began a new era in the history of civilization

"Never in history has society been confronted with a power so full of potential danger and at the same time so full of promise for the future of man and for the peace of the world"

President Truman then urged Congress to fix a policy in this field and give jurisdiction to an atomic energy commission "with members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate."

"The commission in carrying out its functions should interfere as little as possible with private research and private enterprise, and should use as much as possible existing institutions and agencies." Land, mineral deposits, stock piles, plants and other property connected with the development of atomic energy "should be transferred to the supervision and control of the commission." The commission should be further empowered to purchase property outside the boundaries of the United States, to conduct necessary research, experimentation and operations "for the further development and use of atomic energy for military, industrial, scientific or medical purposes."

The President urged that, "under appropriate safeguards," the commission should be permitted to license properties, "conditioned, of course, upon a policy of widespread distribution of peacetime products on equitable terms which will prevent monopoly." He suggested penalties for unlawful production or use of "the substances comprising the sources of atomic energy" or for unlawful import or export.

Regarding the international aspects of the problem, he said in part:

"Civilization demands that we shall reach at the earliest possible date a satisfactory arrangement for the control of this discovery, in order that it may become a powerful and forceful influence toward the

maintenance of world peace instead of an instrument of destruction

"The hope of civilization lies in international arrangements looking, if possible, to the renunciation of the use and development of the atomic bomb, and directing and encouraging the use of atomic energy and all future scientific information toward peaceful and humanitarian ends. The difficulties in working out such arrangements are great.

"The alternative to overcoming these difficulties, however, may be a desperate armament race which might well end in disaster. Discussion of the international problem cannot be safely delayed until the United Nations Organization is functioning and in a position adequately to deal with it.

"I therefore propose that these discussions will not be concerned with disclosures relating to the manufacturing processes leading to the production of the atomic bomb itself. They will constitute an effort to work out arrangements covering the terms under which international collaboration and exchange of scientific information might safely proceed."

Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion.

A valuable contribution to the thinking of scientists was made on August 27, 1945 at the sixth annual Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. The concluding statement of the Conference said in part:

"The most urgent, perhaps, of all the problems confronting our civilization is that of developing a sense of responsibility for the vast power we now possess

"The blindness of many of our people to (the) necessity of placing moral and spiritual values first is perhaps nowhere more clearly manifest than in their unwillingness to make the feeding of the hungry in Europe and in Asia, and the reconstruction of their economy, a major responsibility of the American people

"The Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion believes that the problem of educating ourselves so that we can help educate other nations, to such a love of peaceful pursuits and goals, as will make the possession of vast power by our generation an asset rather than a liability, can be solved only through the kind of collective thinking that helped produce the power-weapons themselves

"We cannot bomb our way into physical security or moral unity. The release of atomic energy has not abolished our continuing moral problems; it has made them more urgent. Mankind is seeking the way to cooperation. Its intellectual leaders can help by overcoming temptations to set themselves against

each other, by learning to labor and think together for the common good of the human race and its civilization.”

The Federation of Atomic Scientists.

The Federation of Atomic Scientists, which includes in its membership the overwhelming majority of scientists who worked on the atomic bomb, in November, 1945 issued a statement which said in part: “We therefore urge that: (1) A system of international control and cooperation be established in order to safeguard world peace. We urge that the President of the United States immediately invite the governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union to a conference in order to discuss the common danger created by atomic weapons and to plan for a joint approach by these three great nations to the other members of the United Nations Organization to the end of establishing a system of international cooperation and control of atomic energy which will prevent a competitive armaments race, safeguard world peace, and make available to all peoples the peacetime benefits of atomic energy. (2) A domestic policy on the control and development of atomic energy, in harmony with an international system of control and cooperation, be established by the President and the Congress of the United States providing for scientific freedom and the peacetime utilization of atomic energy in the interests of the people as a whole.”

Cousins: Differences or Similarities.

Norman Cousins pointed out that the new discoveries in science make it necessary for man to decide “what is more important—his differences or his similarities. If he chooses the former, he embarks on a path that will, paradoxically, destroy the differences and himself as well. If he chooses the latter, he shows a willingness to meet the responsibilities that go with maturity and conscience.”

Haldane: Effects of Secrecy.

J. B. S. Haldane stated in November, 1945 that industrial use of atomic energy “seems nearer realization today than it did in August.” “If the details (regarding the liberation of nuclear energy) are kept secret, the French and Russians will doubtless work them out at a cost of much money and perhaps some lives. And they will then keep their processes secret. Only two powers will have anything but complete destruction to expect in the event of a war with these weapons, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union. They would probably be unable to defend New York, San Francisco, Leningrad or Odessa, but might hope to save Moscow, Magnito-

gorsk, Chicago and St. Louis Above all, secrecy will hold up the advent of an age of plenty in which one of the main causes of war will be removed.”

Smyth: “We Must Think In New Ways.”

“We stand at the beginning of the atomic age,” states Henry D. Smyth in “Changing World” (February, 1946). “I would suggest that we learn some lessons from the methods that brought it to birth. We must think in new ways to meet this new age. We have always been an adaptable people, with the saving heritage of common sense. Let us now be willing to delegate our national sovereignty to the larger sovereignty of world law, for nationalism will be suicide in the world we have created. Let us ask the suggestions of other nations about our common problems, and not attempt to use our momentarily powerful position to force our ideas on them. Let us be as anxious to find the weaknesses in our own policies and conduct as we are to find them in the policies and conduct of our fellow nations. Let us not expect too much too soon, but act like wise and reasonable men. In the revealing light of the atomic bomb, our only objective must be enduring peace.” (Professor Smyth is the author of the official report “Atomic Energy for Military Purposes.”)

Shapley; Oppenheimer; Urey.

“There is and can be no effective defense against the atomic bombs” states Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard. “The effectiveness of destruction has been increased by a factor of ten million to one, when measured by the energy considerations.” Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer, one of the world’s outstanding atomic scientists, states that the atomic bomb is something against which “no defense is possible.” And Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner for his discovery of the heavy isotope of hydrogen, in Collier’s magazine states (January 5, 1946): “I hear people talking about the possible use of the atomic bomb in war. As a scientist, I tell you THERE MUST NEVER BE ANOTHER WAR I have never heard—and you have never heard—any scientist say there is any scientific defense against the atomic bomb in an atomic explosion, thousands die within a fraction of a second. In the immediate area, there is nothing left standing. There are no walls. They are vanished into dust and smoke. There are no wounded. There are not even bodies.”

Science and International Cooperation.

There are literally thousands of fields in which great benefits for humanity are possible once the spirit and practice of genuine international cooperation becomes general.

Take a single medical science example: The discovery more than a decade ago of anti-reticular cytotoxic serum in the Soviet Union has resulted in the rapid healing of tens of thousands of broken bones in the Soviet Union; but due to the faulty relationship that has existed up to now between the medical practitioners of the various nations, this great discovery has not had currency outside of the Soviet Union. An internationally coordinated and systematic exchange of new discoveries in medical science will diminish such time lags.

Or take an example from the field of industrial production: William L. Batt, during a discussion concerning international standards for screw threads, stated that the absence of standards in this field in the case of the United States and Great Britain alone at the time he spoke—November 16, 1944—had already increased the war cost by \$100,000,000. How much more will be saved when in certain mass production peace-time operations the idea of standard parts, interchangeable internationally, is accepted!

Most important of all: the question of the uses and control of atomic energy. It becomes apparent to everyone that this question cannot be considered, cannot be thought of, except in relation to genuine, working, effective unity of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. Around their unity, world scientific unity is possible. With disunity among the big three powers, world scientific unity is of course impossible. Worse: the danger of war is increased many fold.

"We can afford to split the atom," Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas says, "but we can't afford to split the Big Three."

Molotov: Atomic Energy in International Policy.

It was pointed out by Molotov (November 6, 1945) that "the discovery of atomic energy should not encourage either a propensity to exploit the discovery in the play of forces in international policy or an attitude of complacency as regards the future of the peace-loving nations."

Capitalist and Socialist Use of Atomic Energy.

"Science," says Haldane, "is an international concern. Any paper on pure science becomes the property of the whole world the moment it is published."

"The successes scored by Soviet science during the war," said Soviet physicist Joffe, "are to be explained by the fact that all its branches were guided by a unified plan." Continuing, Joffe stated: "Joseph Stalin, our leader in war and in peace, defined progressive science as one which stands in no awe of

fetishes, boldly discards everything outdated and always works for the people."

Waldemar Kaempffert states that "Soviet Russia is the only nation in the world which has a plan for the integration and systematic exploitation of all the sciences. Not a subject is neglected from archaeology to mathematical physics, from anthropology to organic chemistry, from geophysics to forestry . . . To cap all this Soviet Russia has a system of education that reaches every farmer and seamstress, with the accent on science. As a result science has probably permeated the masses more than in any other country."

The introduction now of atomic energy to industrial life in the Soviet Union would add to the national income, would increase standards of living, and would create no unemployment problem other than the change-over to another job in certain categories of labor.

In the United States the picture is very different.

National coordination of scientific effort did not occur until the war was upon us; even then, a year after Pearl Harbor, according to the Secretary of the American Association of Scientific Workers, estimates indicated "that only about twenty per cent of all scientific and technical manpower is being utilized in the war effort"; despite such warnings as that of physicist P. W. Bridgman of Harvard to the American Physical Society "that scientists are curiously obtuse as to the social conditions which make possible their existence as a class," the division, the separation, between scientists and the rest of the population has continued to be the rule; the small businessman, in the field of research, is at the mercy of his big competitor; monopoly restricts research and use in many fields, as, for example, in the case of titanium pigments restricted for years by National Lead-du Pont-Farbenindustrie-Imperial Chemical Industries; every new discovery is subject to possible restriction or even permanent shelving due to possible marketing inconveniences to existing products; corporate inventories list many unused patent rights on products and processes of obvious merits; there are endless local obstacles such as the politics and/or religion of the given university (or university department head); such as the financial or market limitations of the firm; such as the general neglect of quality in objective, methods and results; endless debates on method; indecision as to function; moral, ethical, social considerations characteristic of capitalist society; the lack of integration of the various social sciences, and their separation as a whole from the physical sciences; scandalously inadequate budgets; the failure—in fact, the inability—to plan.

It is in such a setting that capitalist use of atomic energy must be considered. We have evolved a fab-

ulous instrument of destruction. Will the compulsions of capitalist society permit of its use for constructive ends? American finance capital prides itself on being conservative. Can it direct science's most revolutionary discovery? Our announced reconversion plan is "no plan." Is it possible for free enterprise to introduce atomic power into industry without throwing the reconversion "no plan" program very much out of gear? We have a power which admittedly must be used "for the good of all." Atomic energy is a social utility. "Licensing" to private corporations at best can be only a limiting, restricting, straight-jacketing process. Internation-

ally, private control would mean chaos multiplied.

The introduction now of atomic energy to industrial life in the United States would add to the profits of a select few, the licensees; it would create a vast unemployment problem in many fields, such as coal, transportation, power—an unemployment problem which would persist for years.

America's Dorothy Thompson sees in atomic energy, to use her own words, "the necessary ingredient for world mastery." Russia's great scientist, Peter Kapitza, states that the Soviet Union will "use the scientific lessons learned during war for advancements in the coming days of peace."

Imperialism

Basic Characteristics of Imperialism Unchanged.

A careful study of the history and nature of imperialism, and an examination of its policies and actions since V-J Day, reveals the fact that World War II did not change the basic characteristics of imperialism. There has been a higher degree of concentration of production than ever before; big capital has tightened its hold on the sources of raw material; the general staff of finance capital (industrial combined with bank capital) has penetrated more deeply the controlling institutions of capitalist society, economic and political; the struggle for control of colonies has become sharper and more complex, with redivision taking new forms in which there is an over-lapping and combination of different national military and economic controls. All of the main contradictions of the imperialist system have become intensified: the struggle among the main powers over markets, basic raw materials, the export of capital; the difficulties between Anglo-American-Dutch-French imperialist interests and German-Japanese imperialist interests; the contradictions existing between all of the imperialist powers and China, India, South Africa, the Near East and Latin America as well as other colonial or dependent countries; the contradiction between the interests of big business and the working people; and the contradiction arising out of the fact that a powerful socialist country exists alongside the powerful but divided and sick countries of capitalism. The discoveries in the world of science have given new impetus, new urgency, to the plans for world domination of Anglo-American imperialism; but these plans meet with difficulties in the resistance of progressive groups at home led by the working class and in the resistance abroad of democratic state capitalism (the liberation governments of

Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary) as well as the peoples' movements in North China, the Philippines and Korea and the independence struggles in Indonesia, India and other parts of southeast Asia. Most of all, these plans meet with resistance from the Soviet Union. The elimination of both Germany and Japan as great imperialist powers has also given new impetus, new urgency, to these plans for world domination. With talk of "economic cooperation" the imperialists withhold loans for reconstruction, delay appropriations for relief and rehabilitation, and refuse to recognize democratic governments. With a fine concern for "democracy" they allow Nazi imperialists to flourish unhindered in the Western Hemisphere from Argentina to Mexico, they send lend-lease military equipment (with labels removed) against the peoples of Asia, and they use thousands of land, sea and air armed forces for purposes of intervention in China. At home, the imperialists continue to exploit; they devise new ways of placing the burden of reconversion on the shoulders of the workers; they put main emphasis on smashing labor as a means of controlling the democratic movements of the people and staving off revolutionary change; they invent new demagoguery, new slogans and new organizational forms suitable for misleading the various elements in society upon which they must depend for mass support. Just as their main aim abroad is to break down every barrier to imperialist expansion, so their main aim at home is to break down every barrier to free and full exploitation.

Imperialist Efforts to Block International Monetary Cooperation.

Nazi Minister of Economy Walther Funk at the end of the first week of the Bretton Woods conference launched an attack on the fund and bank: "One cannot bring order into world economy with cur-

rency panaceas." A few days later Senator Robert A. Taft said: "I do not believe that exchange can be stabilized primarily by a vast international fund . . ." J. H. Riddle, economic advisor to the Bankers Trust Company of New York said the fund plan "seems grandiose and overly ambitious." He went on, "There is no assurance whatever that it would accomplish any lasting good." Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chairman of the Board of the Chase National Bank, regarded the powers of the fund as "obscure and uncertain." Its objectives, he said, "lack the focus essential to its success." He proposed a substitute: "that the United States, the United Kingdom and other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations enter into immediate conversations on such problems as tariff barriers, imperial preference, export subsidies, bulk purchasing and regional currency arrangements." By the time of the Rye Business Conference, he was working hard for a policy which he called the "key nation" approach "as opposed to the global approach of the Bretton Woods plan." This amounted "to dividing the world between two great nations—the United States and the United Kingdom" said the chief of the Indian delegation, Sir Chunilal B. Mehta. The American Bankers Association proposed a department within the International Bank to carry out somewhat different activities for stabilization of currencies than had been contemplated in the Fund Agreement; the Association's proposal meant dropping the fund. The New York State Bankers Association raised a series of specious objections, stating their belief that the fund "would tend to perpetuate exchange controls and other restrictions on the free movement of trade." The United States Chamber of Commerce posed the fictitious issue of "cross purposes" between the bank and the fund, endorsing the former and taking a stand against the latter! Attorney John Francis Neylan, long associated with Hearst interests, called the international monetary proposals "an assignment of the creditor, the United States, for the benefit of its debtors." Banker W. Randolph Burgess asked for a "veto" for each member country as to the uses made of any resources given by it to the fund.

Roosevelt did not live to see the International Bank and Fund become realities; reaction grew so strong after his death that Senator Claude Pepper charged ". . . big bankers in New York led by Winthrop Aldrich are already trying to scuttle Bretton Woods . . ." But it was not scuttled. The Keynes-White-Morgenthau group prevailed. Reaction then sought to move in and take over the Fund and Bank.

Today, imperialism seeks to make the International Fund and Bank instruments for Anglo-American domination.

Churchill spoke for these interests—for Anglo-American imperialist reaction—at Fulton in March, 1946 and again at Westminster, England, on May 7, 1946.

San Francisco and the Imperialists.

San Francisco provided a meeting place for the exchange of strategic and tactical plans among the world's imperialists. Those forces which had conspired against the Soviet Union; those which had links with the cartels of Germany; those most deeply involved in struggles against labor, against colonial independence, and for race discrimination; those most representative of feudal regimes—all these found in San Francisco a made-to-order gathering spot in which they could compare notes, discuss policies, prepare plans for the struggle—which they clearly foresaw—against democracy. Indeed, they had been engaged in that struggle long before San Francisco.

Imperialism sought its own kind of peace organization at San Francisco; one that would weaken and hold in check democratic organizations; one that would allow world imperialism to maneuver as it desired; an organization that would isolate the Soviet Union; a structure which the imperialists could control while presenting to world public opinion a democratic "front." Chairman Robert Gaylord of the National Association of Manufacturers went so far (May 10, 1945) as to urge a board to review all UNO laws, treaties, conventions, agreements, procedures and statistics affecting business.

Imperialism, Labor and UNO.

The essence of world imperialism's attitude toward labor at San Francisco was expressed by a British delegate: "The United Nations Conference is not the concern of the trade unions but exclusively of the governments." The person who was so anxious to exclude labor was Clement Attlee.

"Every government that fought Hitler Germany," states I. Nikolayev, a Russian writer, "highly appreciated and in every way encouraged the participation of the workers and their organizations in the war effort of the United Nations. But now that the workers and their organizations have assisted the United Nations in vanquishing the dangerous foe and in proceeding to tackle the peace arrangements problem, certain politicians are already inclined to consider that 'the Moor has done his work, the Moor may go'."

General Foods, General Motors and National Income.

The General Foods Corporation Chairman, Clarence Francis, at a conference about a year before

the victory over Germany, told three hundred grocery sales executives: "Go back and tell your companies that the war with Germany will be over this year and the war with Japan will end a year later. Then the national economy will drop from the present \$160 billion to between \$127 billion and \$140 billion. After nine months of reconversion there will be a further drop to \$95 billion" During the same period, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. of General Motors (du Pont) was predicting a \$100 billion post-war national income. Such is the imperialist perspective for national income.

Some Unemployment Perspectives.

A year before V-E Day Leon Henderson had estimated a post-war army of twelve to fifteen million unemployed; the Brookings Institution claimed that 17,800,000 would be unemployed; Senator Millard Tydings was sure that from twenty to twenty-five million American workers would walk the streets without jobs. The Survey Graphic had gone to some pains to present Stuart Chase's estimate that thirty million would need help. The Conference on Post-War Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel (July 30, 1943) basing itself on victory in December, 1944, estimated that during the first two years after victory (with the exception of the first quarter after victory) five to eight million people would be unemployed. John T. Moutoux, of PM's Washington Bureau, on September 6, 1944 referred to "a high military officer" who had testified before the House Military Affairs Committee, mentioning "the figure 17,000,000." J. A. Krug (on May 27, 1945; he was then War Production Board Chairman) under the title "Jobs Most Likely to be Affected by Cutbacks" estimated 6,600,000 probable unemployed. On August 15, 1945 the War Manpower Commission estimated that unemployment might reach 6,200,000 in December, 1945; and on the same day Reconversion Director John W. Snyder in a report to President Truman indicated that unemployment might be 8,000,000 before spring of 1946.

Cutbacks and Cancellations.

On May 4, 1945 the House voted to curtail shipbuilding by \$4,265,000,000. By that same day cutbacks and cancellations had affected the jobs of 121,700 workers at Ford's River Rouge and Willow Run plants. That day Henry Ford II announced that the company had no post-war plans for Willow Run. On May 25, 1945 the War Department announced the elimination of 17,000 planes previously scheduled for production in the following 18 months. This program meant a reduction of 30% in production from July 1 to December 31, 1945; 40% in the

following six months; 45% in the six months following that. Based on a \$15,000,000,000 estimated annual aircraft production, a 30% cut is a cut of \$4,500,000,000. By September 24, 1945, there were strikes or lockouts in Akron at the B. F. Goodrich Rubber Company; in Detroit at River Rouge, Highland Park, Hudson and Kelsey-Hayes; in oil refineries in Texas, Ohio, Indiana and other states; at Westinghouse Electric plants in many states. Painters were out in New York, mine workers in Pennsylvania, dried fruit workers in the Santa Clara Valley, California, and so on. In the motion picture industry a producers' lockout dragged on for about seven months. On November 21, 1945 a strike in 102 plants in 20 states closed down the General Motors organization. In the General Motors strike, the UAW offered arbitration; the union was turned down; its strike statement said that General Motors "has been and still is driving straight toward industrial dictatorship by a management group responsible in turn to the du Pont interests, who hold 23% of GM stock."

No Reconversion Plan.

After Krug came out with his reconversion recommendation (May, 1945) for "a minimum of rules, regulations and production controls" the New Republic commented editorially: "The country has been given to understand that in reconversion to peacetime production no overall plan is to be in effect. Private enterprise is to be allowed free rein, in so far as plants and machinery become available. In other words, every man for himself."

Imperialism Fights Full Employment.

Dr. Virgil Jordan, President of the National Industrial Conference Board and a leading imperialist theoretician, very active in passing along the imperialist program to businessmen through their mass organizations, on July 26, 1945 in an address before the Rotary Club of New York said that "the political accessories of full employment cannot be attached to the American chassis without a complete alteration in design." Executive Committee Chairman R. C. Leffingwell of J. P. Morgan and Company announced his opposition to the Full Employment Bill, saying it would "discourage private enterprise, create and maintain a long-continuing mild depression" Federal Reserve Board Chairman Marriner S. Eccles (June 24, 1945) had a new formula: "the fullest sustainable employment of labor." Senator Robert A. Taft on September 9, 1945 was arguing that "Fifty million jobs, in other words, may provide a higher standard of living than 60,000,000." President Charles E. Wilson of General Electric Company stated: "None of us, I believe, has a right to a job"

Imperialist spokesmen like Roger Babson and Sewell Avery oppose full employment; the Empire Trust Letter campaigned against it; the National Association of Real Estate Boards opposed it; and among individual opponents are Westbrook Pegler, syndicate writer George E. Sokolsky, Scripps-Howard's financial writer Ralph Hendershot, Raymond Moley, Ralph Robey and others. The publications "Modern Industry" and "Iron Age" are against full employment; the Astor-Harriman-Brown Brothers "Newsweek" magazine; the anti-labor newsweekly "Pathfinder," which is controlled by the Pew family; "Fortune," controlled by Henry Luce; and many other publications.

Typical of the New York Times editorial approach to this question is the following, from the December 17, 1944 issue: "Too much emphasis is being given to certain post-war slogans. 'Full' employment and a \$140,000,000,000 national income are two such slogans which have been overworked. The latest to be added to this group is 60,000,000 post-war jobs" On June 18, 1945 the Times stated: "Full employment . . . involves dangers both to the free enterprise system and to labor's liberties."

The Saturday Evening Post's Washington editor, Forrest Davis, wrote an article (May 3, 1945) "The Sixty-Million-Job Myth." The Post itself termed the promise of 60,000,000 jobs "an instrument of mischief in the hands of the jobocracy."

Charged "In Fact" (July 16, 1945): "Both Senators Connally of Texas and Vandenberg of Michigan announced they would turn down the San Francisco world peace charter if the world's labor interests insisted on putting a full employment endorsement into this historic document."

In the House, Representatives Bushfield, Woodruff, Roe and Knutson were most active in the attack on full post-war employment.

One of the major forces against full employment was of course the National Association of Manufacturers. This organization used "The Road to Serfdom" by F. A. Hayek (in Reader's Digest reprint form) to show the soundness of "individual free enterprise" and incidentally to blast full employment. In an August, 1945 report of the NAM, it was indicated that less than 1,500,000 workers might become unemployed for more than thirty days and most of these would be re-employed within three months after the start of reconversion. Thus the NAM minimized the problem of unemployment, sought to create inaction by false propaganda that the entire question of re-employment is scarcely worth bothering with.

The Committee for Economic Development in September, 1945 did much the same in a survey made public by the Chairman of the CED Field Development Division, Walter D. Fuller of the National

Association of Manufacturers, who happens also to be President of the Curtis Publishing Company (Saturday Evening Post). Mr. Fuller spoke of businessmen "planning boldly to assure high level, productive employment" and presented a 100-cities report which indicated total employment rolls after reconversion 24% higher than in 1940. What he did not mention was that Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and many other cities in which cancellations were heaviest, were not included in the CED survey. Thus a false impression of the problem was broadcast, based on false conclusions drawn from partial, hand-selected, "rigged" statistics.

The imperialist campaign against full employment by December, 1945 had succeeded in eliminating all reference to full employment from the full employment bill.

By January, 1946, the chairman of the Senate Republican Steering Committee, regarded by many as (on the domestic policy level) chief Senate spokesman for imperialism, characterized full employment in terms which in his world constituted the worst possible indictment. Said Senator Taft regarding the administration full employment bill: "The proposal came directly from the Soviet Constitution, the Communist platform and from the CIO."

Reaction Turns to Fascism.

In its haste to achieve untrammelled exploitation at home and unchallenged domination abroad, American imperialism is now turning toward fascism as a way out of its many dilemmas.

It is no new thing that imperialist reaction turns to fascism. In the recent past there have been many examples: In Spain, Juan March and the clerical fascists; in Germany, Fritz Thyssen and the Krupps; in Finland, Baron Mannerheim and the British, French and German imperialists; in France, Edgar Brandt and the defeatist conspirators of the Schneider-Creusot steel trust; in Italy, the Fascist Grand Council leaders of the corporate state; in England, Oswald Moseley, the Marquess of Londonderry, J. J. Astor of the London Times, banker H. W. B. Schroeder and Lord McGowan of Imperial Chemicals.

In the United States the fascist-minded turn to newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst, manufacturers Lamont and Irene du Pont, Sun Oil magnate J. Howard Pew and Chairman Virgil Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board. But in such a small group there is insufficient leadership. World reaction understands very well that the center of all its plans must from now on be the United States. Militant imperialism has a multitude of complex tasks, it has a world-wide program to plan, to engineer, to carry out, and it must do this against the best interests of the people of all countries. Capi-

talists, landlords, royalists from Central Europe figure in its plans; questions concerning the safeguarding of fascist organizations abroad and the building of "American-type" organizations having fascist content and purpose; huge "defense" projects for the purpose of making war on the Soviet Union; and an immense campaign for victory in the 1946 elections. Such plans, involving activity in the press and on the radio, in Congress and in the schools, demand a general staff. Such a general staff exists, and has met.

For three days in the late fall of 1945 a group of 66 of the biggest financiers and industrialists met at the Seaview Country Club at Absecon, near Atlantic City. Among them were Virgil Jordan, Lamot duPont and Irene duPont, heavy contributors to many pro-fascist organizations, and powerful in the duPont-General Motors empire; Winthrop Aldrich, opponent of Bretton Woods, spokesman for Rockefeller interests, head of Chase National Bank, one of the country's largest; J. Howard Pew, Republican oilman and backer of the anti-labor, anti-democratic Committee for Constitutional Government; E. T. Weir, head of Weirton Steel and advocate of the open shop; J. F. Drake, head of Gulf Oil, controlled by the powerful Mellon interests; C. W. Kellogg, head of the chief propaganda agency of the power trust; S. Clay Williams, President of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company; David Lawrence, President of United States News and anti-labor news-service man for businessmen; John D. Biggers, President of Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company; and many others. Their program: the Jordan-du Pont-Aldrich anti-labor, anti-Soviet campaign for American imperialist world domination.

Eight Groups Dominating American Industry.

The concentration of production in larger and larger business enterprises, the development of monopoly and the merging of banking capital with industrial capital are characteristic features of imperialism.

The National Resources Committee in its study "The Structure of American Economy" lists eight groups which then (1939) dominated American industry. They were: (1) the Morgan group (three banks, thirteen industrial concerns in steel, electricity, locomotive and other fields; the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, etc.). It controlled capital of \$30 billion. (2) the Kuhn, Loeb group (22% of the most important railways; Western Union, etc.). It controlled capital of \$10 billion. (3) the Rockefeller group (a big bank and six large oil companies). It controlled capital of \$6.6 billion.

(4) the Mellon group (two banks, a railroad, an oil company, and domination of the aluminum industry). It controlled capital of \$3.5 billion. (5) the duPont group (General Motors, chemicals, munitions). It controlled capital of \$2.6 billion. (6) the Chicago group, controlling capital of \$4.2 billion. (7) the Cleveland group, controlling capital of \$1.4 billion. (8) the Boston group, controlling capital of \$1.7 billion.

A single insurance firm—the Metropolitan Life—has capital of approximately \$5 billion.

The spokesmen for these great groupings—that is, the spokesmen for imperialism, for the monopolies—penetrate into and influence every phase of public life. They are in Congress, on the radio, in the newspapers and in the motion picture industry. They are in state legislatures, on university boards of trustees, in the publishing business. Trade associations, foundations, magazines, help them in channeling their ideas—the philosophy and program of imperialism—to the public.

War Profits.

"We can't afford higher wages," is the usual response of management to requests from unions for sufficient wages to meet higher living costs.

The fact is that increased profits, Treasury carry-back credits, accelerated write-offs and so on have put American corporations in a stronger position than ever before.

A War Production Board report of July 20, 1945 stated: "Industry's profits before taxes shot up from \$3.7 billion in 1939 to nearly \$17.2 billion in 1944 The rise in profits before taxes was even sharper than the increase in sales; hence the margin of profit rose from 6.3 per cent in 1939 to a high of 11.6 per cent in 1941, then slowly declined to 10.3 per cent in 1944."

Taking 1936-39 as the average, profits increased the following percentages in 1944:

Motor vehicle parts.....	896%
Iron and steel and their by-products....	252%
Lumber and timber basic products.....	1,064%
Electrical machinery.....	434%
Engines and turbines.....	2,431%
Aircraft and parts.....	1,686%
Railroad equipment	318%
Rubber products	698%
Bituminous and other soft coals.....	1,148%

In March, 1945 OPA reported: "American industry made far more profit during the war than in peace The vast majority of the corporations at least doubled their prewar earnings and many realized five, 10 and even 50 times as large a profit in 1942 as in the base years."

Capital Export: China; Latin America.

The export of capital is also a characteristic feature of imperialism. In the coming period the imperialists expect to reap immense profits through the industrializing of China, Latin America and other so-called "backward" areas. The Foreign Economic Administration has aided in developing a program for the building of 953 industrial plants in China at a cost of approximately one billion dollars. An additional billion dollars will be needed if proposals for a minimum transportation system for China are accepted. Mining and metallurgy are included in the plan; the processing and distribution of food; irrigation, navigation; industrial training, hygiene and research; chemicals; and other essentials of industrialization. A similar broad program of development projects was outlined for Mexico by the Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation, which issued its last report on January 29, 1945. The report stated that foreign capital equipment would be needed in Mexico to the extent of \$94,000,000 worth for the first two years and \$43,000,000 more in 1948. The total program came to \$380,000,000.

The role of imperialism in the semi-colonial countries was very well described by Vicente Toledano at the 26th session of the International Labor Conference: "The big international monopolies have deformed the structure and the economic evolution of the Latin American countries, in such a manner that their peoples do not produce in accordance with their consumption needs, but in conformance to the exigencies of foreign industry.

"The big international monopolies exploit the countries of Latin America through the following: (1) paying very low wages to the native workers; (2) paying very low taxes and tariffs to the national governments; (3) paying very low freight rates to the transportation systems; (4) buying raw materials at very low prices, and (5) selling their manufactured products at very high prices."

The possibility that capital export may be used to further the interests of fascists in this hemisphere and elsewhere must be considered, remembering the lesson of 1930 particularly, when American bankers, with no objection from the State Department, lent \$300,000,000 to Germany, the Nazi party at that time rapidly rising to power.

Capital Export and Political Pressure.

The arranging, in December, 1945, of a huge loan to Britain on terms which guaranteed the leadership in world finance of the United States, and the delay in granting credit to Russia (the Soviet Union asked for \$6 billion in January, 1945) are instances of the

use of credit as a political weapon. But the export of capital through loans is not the only way in which American imperialism is putting political pressure on other countries. A direct reflection (24 hours after the Dulles formulation that "progress will be slow" on economic aid, etc., to the Soviet Union) of Dulles-Byrnes threats was the dispatch of Raymond Daniell of the New York Times (October 8, 1945): "The American economic advisers to the Office of Military Government have made the surprising discovery that the Potsdam formula for the collection of reparations and the industrial disarmament of Germany will be difficult if not impossible of achievement." The country hit hardest by this "surprising discovery" of the imperialists was—and was intended to be—the Soviet Union.

Cartels and War.

Another characteristic of imperialism is the development of the cartel system. Under cartels, the division of world markets is effected. Agreements are signed on the basis of capital power and monopolistic control of raw materials and transportation. The cartels are part and parcel of imperialism; part and parcel of the very foundations of capitalist society.

The relationship of cartels to the war is a matter of great interest.

Farbenindustrie conferred with duPont, the Aluminum Company and Standard Oil in 1929 for "commercial agreements." Farbenindustrie's purpose was to "gain restrictions on American industry, capture from us technical know-how, and lay the ground work for future espionage and propaganda activities," according to a statement of former Attorney-General Francis Biddle, August 29, 1944.

Krupp of Germany entered into cartel arrangements with General Electric of America to restrict production of tungsten carbide, one of the most vital materials in the manufacture of machine tools, which in turn are a vital factor in war production. Zeiss of Germany and Bausch and Lomb of America entered into agreements through which the German firm was able to control in the interests of the German government the manufacture of military optical instruments for the United States Army. Jasco—now controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey but originally owned (1930-1939) by Standard and Farbenindustrie jointly—exploited synthetic rubber. Standard turned its discoveries over to Farbenindustrie, making it possible for Nazi armies to roll over Europe on synthetic rubber produced largely through Jasco processes. Bendix Corporation had arrangements with Siemens Apparate und Maschinen (SAM). Sperry Gyroscope Company had cartel contracts with Askania Werke of Berlin. The American

Bosch Corporation's attorneys (July, 1941) refused to grant a United States Navy request to license the Caterpillar Tractor Company to make certain parts for equipment used in connection with Diesel engines, stating they would have to get permission first from Robert Bosch in Germany. The Ford-Werke A. G. Plant in Cologne made motor vehicles for Hitler and money for Ford, who from 1928 owned 52% of the stock. By the summer of 1938, Ford's services to Hitler merited, and Ford received, a medal from the Nazis.

At the time of Pearl Harbor, cartels controlled the chemical industry, rubber, aluminum, optical glass, magnesium and medical supplies. In none of these was the industry prepared to fulfill its war assignments. In the chemical cartel, the four main divisions—duPont, Standard Oil, British Imperial Chemical and the German I. G. Farbenindustrie—were so set up that the German General Staff had detailed information as to the output of everything chemical in the United States. Standard Oil and I. G. Farbenindustrie, according to Wendell Berge, had an agreement containing a clause providing that if the operation of the agreement was interrupted by war, then after the war the agreement was to be resumed in the former spirit. A similar solicitude was evidenced in a report to the duPont Executive Committee by one of the firm's own departments (February 9, 1940): "The duPont Company informed I. G. that they intended to use their good offices after the war to have the I. G. participation restored." The same kind of cooperative relationship exists between American and Japanese cartel leaders. Westinghouse, for instance, owned above 20% of the Mitsubishi Electrical Engineering Company, a part of the Japanese electrical cartel. Said a spokesman for Mitsubishi: "We reserved their dividends for them during the war. They can get them whenever they come." "The international cartels," states the Soviet writer, K. Hofman, "are concerned with the preservation of everything that inevitably breeds new world conflicts and war."

Said Roosevelt in September, 1944: "The history of the use of the I. G. Farben trust by the Nazis reads like a detective story. The defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by the eradication of these weapons of economic warfare."

Senator Kilgore (Congressional Record, September 12, 1944) and General Norman Littell (Congressional Record, September 21, 1944) name American firms involved in cartel relations with the Nazis. Among corporations which had agreements with the Nazi I. G. Farben interests in 1937 are:

Advance Solvents and Chem. Corp.
Agfa Ansco Corp.

American Magnesium Corp.
Bell and Howell Co.
Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corp.
Hercules Powder Co.
Jasco, Inc.
Koppers Construction Co.
National Lead Co.
New Jersey Zinc Co.
DuPont Cellophane Co.
E. I. duPont de Nemours Co.
Eastman Kodak Co.
General Motors Research Corp.
General Tire and Rubber Co.
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.
Proctor and Gamble.
Standard Oil of Indiana.
Winthrop Chemical Corp.

Imperialists Defend Colonialism.

The English economist Hobson speaks of "lusts of political aggrandisement and commercial gain" motivating competing imperialist powers. The main imperialist powers seize and divide the more backward areas, and redivide those areas through war. This redivision takes various forms: colonies, financial agreements, etc.

Fifty years ago Cecil Rhodes, urging that "we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines," stated: "If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists." After the successful use of the atomic bomb, Dorothy Thompson stated: "The western powers possess, for this fleeting historic moment, the power and the force to compel the creation of a genuine United Nations of the World, united, not under Anglo-American domination, but by Anglo-American power in behalf of all peoples" Cecil Rhodes sought British imperialist domination of Africa; Dorothy Thompson seeks Anglo-American imperialist domination of the globe.

At San Francisco the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, insisted that his country had no colonies. The Netherlands East Indies, he said, was part of a federation. The "idea of secession has never occurred to the people of our possessions in the Pacific." French guns shelled Damascus in the spring of 1945; an excuse offered by French representatives, according to H. I. Kattibah, was that "France cannot relinquish her mandate over those two countries (Syria and Lebanon) except to the defunct League of Nations or its successor . . ." Georges Bidault stated with reference to French colonial policy: "Let those without sin cast the first stone. We are ready to collaborate with all but we shall give up no territory." Those

who listened hopefully to Prime Minister Clement Attlee when he made his first broadcast on the subject of India found nothing concrete in the "freedom" offered India. Nehru spoke against Attlee's "vague proposals" and pointed out that they contained no clear-cut plan for Indian independence. Regarding Hong Kong, Bevin stated that "our territory will be returned to us."

The use of euphemisms, it can thus be seen, is a characteristic feature of the defense of imperialist domination.

UNCIO and the Colonial System.

Romulo, Manuilsky, Molotov, the Chinese and a few others were not able to win against world imperialism at San Francisco on the issue of liquidating the colonial system. The 400,000,000 people of India, the colonial slaves of the African mines and the plantations of Java, found no place in the world security organization. With paper "representation" at San Francisco through traitors to their own people (hand-picked by Downing Street), the Moslems and Hindus of India had their real representative in the Conference city: Nehru's courageous sister, Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. Although she spoke from no official UNCIO platform, nevertheless, she was heard.

India's Voice at San Francisco.

In a Memorandum dated May 2, 1945 and addressed to the Secretary General of UNCIO, Mme. Pandit said in part: "Organized Fascism and Nazism have now been liquidated. Imperialism alone remains and, is entrenched in a system which implies coercion, domination, and exploitation of one country by another. I submit that this system should now be renounced in principle and abandoned in practice by an unequivocal acknowledgment and declaration of a Free India. I speak here for my country because its national voice has been stifled by British duress. But I speak also for those countries which, like India, are under the heels of alien militarists and cannot speak for themselves. I speak, in particular, for Burma, for Malaya, for Indo-China, for the Dutch East Indies, all bound to my own country by the closest ties of historical and cultural kinship and which cherish aspirations of national freedom like our own. Liberation from Japan should mean for them, I submit, liberation from all alien imperialism"

Nehru: "Those Who Sympathize With and Help India."

Reacting unfavorably to the Labor Government's proposals regarding Indian freedom in the fall of

1945, Nehru said: ". . . we Indians will sympathize most with those who sympathize with and help India to attain its rights It is important to the world which way India sides and I have stated that she will go with those who give her help in the attainment of her freedom."

In April, 1946 Nehru said that "so long as the basic causes of war are not dealt with and removed there will be tendencies to world conflict. Among the basic causes is the continuance of imperialist control and colonialism. Another cause is monopolist control of important raw materials." He called for the "elimination of imperialism."

Willkie, Hull, Wallace, Lattimore on Colonial System.

"What about India?" asked Willkie after his trip around the world, developing his conclusion that India should be free. "The wisest man in China said to me: 'When the aspiration of India for freedom was put aside to some future date, it was not Great Britain that suffered in public esteem in the Far East. It was the United States.'" On December 17, 1943 Willkie said: "If we want to lay the whole of the foundation which I believe is necessary in order for the world to have peace, then the peoples now living in mandates and colonies, of whatever nation, must also see that there will be room in the structure which we are building for them to attain eventual freedom also. At least a billion people, half of the world's population, are involved."

In the spring of 1944 Cordell Hull stated: "There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples, of mandatories, or trustees, or of other agencies, as the case may be, to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty."

Wallace warned that "in Southeast Asia there are conflicting forces in operation which have in them the seeds of future wars." In Britain, France and the Netherlands, he stated, there are "powerful forces which will fight for the old system of empire." "It is certainly not our mission to write declarations of independence for the colonies of other powers. Nor is it our mission to underwrite other peoples' declarations of continuing empire." He added a most important observation: that "discrimination against racial minorities in our own country does incalculable harm to the cause of freedom in Asia"

Owen Lattimore, while acting as deputy director of Pacific Relations for the Office of War Informa-

tion, stated (May 2, 1945) that "the colonial system is the last great historical survival of slavery."

Indonesia, the Philippines, Indo-China and Korea.

"About \$160,000,000 in profits flows every year from the Indies to Holland," stated Gerald Peel in "New Masses" of November 27, 1945. On the other hand, after more than 300 years of Dutch domination, "one in eleven children were attending school."

Before the Japanese invasion, Dutch imperialists supported fascist and semi-fascist organizations in Java. After victory over Japan, American imperialist support of the Dutch government in suppressing the Indonesian independence movement took many forms. The War Department sold to the Netherlands government 65,000 tons of surplus supplies at New Guinea bases. The State Department (October 24, 1945) asked the British and the Dutch to remove American insignia from all lend-lease equipment used against the Indonesians.

In the Philippines, President Osmena has weakly opposed the reactionary policies of Manuel Roxas, representative of American and Spanish imperialism, who served Japanese imperialism during the war as Chairman of the Japanese-sponsored Philippine Economic Planning Board and member of the puppet government established by Japan. The guerrilla Hukbalahap (People's Anti-Japanese Army) resistance movement was ordered disbanded by American Army occupation forces, and its leaders, Taruc and Alejandrino, were imprisoned (April, 1945). Andres Soriano, formerly a representative of Franco in Manila and head of a Falange club in Manila, a business associate of General MacArthur and a Colonel on MacArthur's personal staff, "is generally credited with being the principal influence in shaping current American Army policy in the Philippine Islands," in the opinion of the editors of Amerasia magazine (November, 1945). Roxas himself, who successfully urged the puppet government of which he was a part to declare war on the United States, was made a Brigadier General on MacArthur's staff and President of the Philippine Senate. Rounding out this situation, Roxas supporter Jose Zulueta was made Speaker of the House of Representatives. And Osmena up to the end of October, 1945, had announced no real program of social reform, nor for industrialization, nor agrarian changes. The winter of 1945-46 was spent in election preparations. The inevitable result of Osmena's conservatism, plus the support given Roxas by American imperialist interests (including terrorism against people's organizations), was an announcement on April 29, 1946 by Osmena conceding Roxas' election as the first Philippine president.

The Bank of Indo-China has for many years channeled the profits from Indo-China's tin, rubber and coal resources into French treasuries. ("For every dollar the French put in, they took ten dollars out," said President Roosevelt to Marquis Childs.) The colonial workers, that is, the people of Indo-China, were paid wages ranging from 12 to 30 cents a day. They observed the Chinese Revolution, the Russian Revolution and the French Popular Front. And they formed a League for the Independence of Indo-China. In 1943 this League was broadened and became known as Viet Minh, with independence its central objective. In August, 1945, the Viet Minh nationalists took control in three of Indo-China's five territories, setting up an independent Republic of Viet Nam. In London on October 10 the British signed a pact for the restoration of French rights in Indo-China; this was in line with earlier actions by British occupation forces who used Japanese troops to disarm partisans of the Republic. A "vast anti-colonial current flowing throughout the world" was noted by the French Minister of Colonies on October 13.

". . . a desire for immediate independence" was the central theme among Koreans, according to General Hodge. Independence for Korea was pledged at the Cairo Conference; the carrying out of the Cairo decisions was referred to in the Tripartite Berlin Agreement. However, the development of a concrete program under which to implement these decisions had not been achieved by the end of the war. In Chungking the Korean Provisional Government and the New Korean Democratic Party, the Korean Independence Party and the Korean National Revolutionary Party; in Yenan, the Korean People's Emancipation League; in Korea, Soviet occupation forces north of the 38th parallel and American forces south of it; in Manchuria a million Koreans, in China a third of a million and in Siberia more than that—all of these forces, and many others, have complicated the situation greatly. Joint Allied control for a time is likely.

The Soviet Union and Non-intervention in China.

"The Soviets stand for non-intervention in the complex Chinese situation," said Corliss Lamont in November, 1945. "It would be a great step forward if the American Government would support Soviet Russia in their hands-off policy that is in such complete accord with the American democratic tradition."

Hugh DeLacy Attacks Intervention in China.

In a remarkable speech in Congress, Representative Hugh DeLacy launched the attack on interven-

tion in China which resulted in the termination of General Patrick Hurley's Ambassadorship. Said DeLacy in part:

"I have asked the State Department under whose authority and in pursuance of what recognized American policy General Wedemeyer was acting when, in retaliation for a few rifle shots at a train that happened to be carrying a Marine officer, he threatened another Lidice, this time in China.

"There is no answer. There is neither moral nor political authority for armed attacks or threats of armed attacks by American forces or for the use of American-made equipment against any people anywhere who are seeking to expand their liberties and improve the conditions under which they live and work

"If America now continues to lend its great power to the establishing of anti-Communist bases in North China, that, too, will have its own logic. And that logic is not of peace and self-government for all people. It is the logic of the most reactionary of American big businessmen, wanting unrestricted economic exploitation of Asia.

"It is the logic of dollar imperialism. It is the logic of a new world war, this time against the Soviet Union, launched from great bases in the Pacific, from a Japan whose militarists we have not yet rooted out, from anti-Communist bases in North China

"The Chinese Communists stand for a simple program which has long ago been achieved in western nations, a program of simple land and tax reforms and of free elections. Limiting their own party members to a maximum of one-third of elective governmental posts, high or low, the Communists have succeeded in drawing peasants, old-style gentry, landlords, small, middle, and big merchants into every level of the resistance governments.

"In these councils, in open session, taxes, reclamation of waste lands, sanitation, education, problems of production and of defense are freely discussed and decided.

"Where else in China has such a broad beginning been made toward democracy? Not in the area where the Kuomintang appoints all officials, from the villages to the Generalissimo

"It was General Hurley, sent to China specifically to help heal the rift between Chiang and the Communists, who reversed our policy of bringing about an understanding between them and a coalition for victory over Japan and a stable, democratic post-war China

"Step by step Ambassador Hurley's reversal of the Roosevelt-Gauss policies in China have made the present civil war unavoidable. He and General

Wedemeyer have now committed us to armed intervention."

He spoke of "a demand that has now become nation-wide"—"that we reaffirm our desire to see a united, democratic China; that we stop helping one side in the present civil war and call back our troops and military supplies, putting the transports we have in China and the hundreds of ships tied up in West Coast harbors into use to bring our men home from the Pacific; that we renew our pressure for a genuine coalition government in China composed of representatives of the Kuomintang, of the Communists, of the Democratic League, and other groupings; that we express our earnest hope that this coalition at an early date call free elections for every village, provincial and government post in that great land.

"Mr. Speaker, the only side we can afford to take in China is the side of democracy."

Mr. DeLacy offered a resolution which was concurred in by West Coast Representatives Douglas, Patterson, Healy, Coffee and Savage. This resolution urged the President, as a means of helping preserve the peace and for other purposes, "to order forthwith the recall of all United States troops, transports and supplies from China, to express to her America's deep regret that she should be divided into two armed camps, and to offer every peaceful assistance which would help her take her rightful place as a great, united, democratic and prosperous nation."

Pan-Americanism.

Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace on the occasion in June, 1945 of receiving the annual award of The Churchman stated:

"Pan Americanism was the cornerstone of President Roosevelt's foreign policy, but it was not the whole building. He certainly never intended to use Pan Americanism as a threat against other nations. He never looked on Pan Americanism as a regional instrument of power politics. Rather he felt it to be the prelude to world democracy. More than any other man he knew that those who write the peace must think of the whole world or else condemn their children to nationalism, regionalism, imperialism, confusion, and finally to World War III."

Fascism Now Active in Latin America.

A great many millions of dollars were sent out of Nazi Germany into Argentina during the last year of Hitler power. German imperialism, aided by Swiss bankers and by Franco Spain, and functioning through the Banco Aleman Transatlantico, the Banco Germanico and the I. G. Farben, Siemens-Schuckert and other cartels with the help of 2,600 Nazi firms

officially blacklisted by the United States government, established bases in Latin America.

In the Latin American countries, according to Edgar Ansel Mowrer, "another Nazi army in civilian clothes is starting a new offensive"; even in Mexico "no drastic action has been taken against the Nazi agents and the spread of Nazi influence in this Hemisphere."

In Argentina, states Rodolfo Moreno, a conservative leader of that country who was driven into exile, "The problem created by a Nazi-patterned government in any American country is not of local character If it (the present government of Argentina) is permitted to stabilize itself, an attack on neighboring countries would be surely forthcoming. America would be faced by the same problems Europe had to cope with." The officer-clique government in Paraguay, the Villaroel government in Bolivia, the Somoza military dictatorship in Nicaragua, the Salvador, Dominican, Honduran and other dictatorships show that there is already a fertile field for Nazi intrigue in this hemisphere.

Catholic fascist intrigue has been especially successful: "The chief anxiety among many citizens of the United States resident in Latin America," states The Christian Register of March, 1944, "is the apparent policy of the United States government to reinforce the political powers of the Catholic church, resulting in the strengthening of dictatorships on our continent." The Catholic fascist groups in Latin America like the Sinarquists and Falangists have important economic connections: "The Vatican controls the Compania Italo-Argentina de Electricidad, which has branches in Argentina, Paraguay, Peru and Switzerland" states D. Melnikov in New Times, July 1, 1945. The Vatican is reported (by long-time Uruguay resident Gordon, in The Protestant) as owning 40 per cent of the capital of the Banco Frances-Italiano del America del Sur, in the heart of the fascist Argentine.

These powerful connections do not hesitate to act against Catholics who fight clerical fascism. Because he fought "Roman church fascism" the Catholic Bishop of Maura in Sao Paulo State, Brazil was excommunicated by the Pope on July 6, 1945. "Rebellion" and "discord" were charges made by the official Vatican circulator of the excommunication, the Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro. And these powerful connections do not hesitate to use the full authority of the church to support fascism. For instance, Cardinal Copello, Primate of Argentina, in November, 1945 issued a pastoral letter stating that no Catholic should support candidates (for the February, 1946 Argentine elections) who favored separation of church from state, taking religious teaching out of the public school system or legalizing civil

divorce. This left Catholics no alternative except support of the fascist Peron regime, for the Communist, Progressive Democrat and Socialist parties, in opposition to Peron, all advocate taking religion out of the schools.

The drive for open clerical fascism was clearly shown when the electoral college vote for Peron was announced on March 28, 1946: it was 216 to 72.

Imperialism and Public Opinion.

In its effort to control public opinion, imperialism has effectively gagged radio, motion picture and press information sources.

The radio broadcasting industry took in \$190,147,052 in the calendar year 1942. General Tire and Rubber Company in that year bought the fifth largest chain in the country, the Yankee Network. In 1943 Edward J. Noble bought the Blue Network for eight million dollars, soon selling a million-dollar interest to Time, Inc., Henry R. Luce, Chairman, and another million-dollar interest to the former Young and Rubicam Chairman of the Board Chester J. LaRoche. Dillon, Read and Company, also the Mellon interests, had tried to get control of the network.

Serving imperialism are such programs as March of Time, America's Town Hall Meeting, the American Forum of the Air and so on. Stated the National Association of Manufacturers in November, 1945: "Under the able leadership of a Public Relations Policy Committee of NAM, (the NAM campaign's) objective is to reach all the American public and develop a great body of informed public opinion." "All through the year, NIIC (National Industrial Information Committee of the NAM)'s extensive radio activities reach a vast audience of the nation's 31,000,000 families who have radios."

Newsreel theatre chains have been bought by agencies serving management interests and spokesmen for imperialism have had all the time on the screen they wished. The largest New York banks give policy advice along with loans to the largest Hollywood producing firms. 50,000 women leaders get "program guidance and inspiration" from "Program Notes" published by the NAM National Industrial Information Committee. "Trends" goes to 15,000 educators and businessmen. The NAM "Agricultural News Letter" goes to 18,000 "farm organization officials, agricultural educators and legislative committees." The Associated Press serves the same imperialist interests; its bias is shown in such "elimination" bulletins as that of October 7, 1944: "Eliminate story about contribution of Montgomery Ward stock to CIO-PAC. (Unnecessary). This item need not be killed but if used please delete AP credit."

Religious leaders are given education and conferences in the spirit of imperialism. Skilled manipulators of public opinion like John Foster Dulles help keep the rank-and-file church membership from denouncing imperialist aims and methods. Reverend James W. Fifield's "Spiritual Mobilization," with a fascist record of connections with indicted secessionist Gerald Winrod, and with such board members as Norman Vincent Peale (close associate of convicted German agent Edward A. Rumely), is given prestige by Big Business forecaster Roger Babson, Hearst writer Rupert Hughes, former Vice President of the NAM manufacturer-Senator Albert W. Hawkes, college president Rufus B. von KleinSmid, and others; and money — \$50,000 — from NAM sources. In return, "Spiritual Mobilization" shepherds 1,831 ministers along pro-imperialist paths. Like "Moral Rearmament" "Spiritual Mobilization" is a menace to peace. "Moral Rearmament" head Dr. Frank Buchman, (whose saying of the 1930s "Thank God for Hitler" reveals his point of view) was a very active lobbyist for imperialism at San Francisco in April, 1945.

Nor does imperialism overlook the schools. "Education and Industry Conferences" arranged by the National Association of Manufacturers; "Study Guide" outlines prepared by the NAM; "Economic Utopia Fallacies," "The Closed Shop," and many other "You and Industry" booklets sent to teachers, direct thinking toward acceptance of imperialist slogans and philosophy. The Committee on Educational Cooperation of the NAM on November 11, 1941 met with the Commission for Defense of Democracy Through Education of the National Education Association; Lamont duPont and H. W. Prentiss, Jr. met with educators Alonzo F. Myers and Donald DuShane; and the NEA, representing 900,000 teachers, joined hands with the NAM in organizing pro-imperialist teacher-industry conferences all over the United States.

Said Senator George W. Norris on December 29, 1942: "Yes, we say to the National Association of Manufacturers that the strangle-hold which many of its members have had upon the happiness and destinies of the common man will be loosened"

Republican Party Chief Center of Reaction.

In the 1944 presidential elections, the Republican Party spent \$13,195,375 and the Democratic Party \$7,441,798. These were the reported national committee expenditures. In addition, there were many other campaign sums spent: for instance, the United Republican Finance Committee for Metropolitan New York, \$1,260,593; the Republican Finance Committee of Pennsylvania, \$930,000; and so on. Republicans

contributed to the anti-Roosevelt American Democratic National Committee. Irene duPont and Amy E. duPont gave \$1,750. C. W. Nash (Nash-Kelvinator Chairman) gave \$1,000. Edward F. Hutton, one of the nation's most widely known financiers, gave \$3,000. General Robert Wood, former America First chairman, gave \$1,000 secretly. The contributions to the Republican Treasury by family groups was heavy: the Mellon family gave \$59,500; the Pew family, \$96,995; the McCormick-Pattersons, \$28,000; \$109,832 was given to Republican and anti-Roosevelt groups by the duPonts.

The typical Republican leaders of the Senate up to Pearl Harbor were isolationist: Taft, Wiley, Reed, Danaher, Aiken, Tobey. Each of these (except Reed, who was absent) voted against lend-lease. In the House, the point of view of Knutson is typical. On economic help to Britain, he told the British to "look to Moscow for such financing." On reducing tariffs through the Doughton amendment, he said in March, 1945: "Republicans in the House will fight it to the last ditch."

Congress on many issues has accepted Republican leadership: failure to act on reconversion, sidetracking unemployment compensation provisions; tying up OPA in the courts. On the heels of the wage struggles in motors and steel, Republicans are spearheading the drive to outlaw the right to strike.

Herbert Brownell red-baits the Administration; Joseph Martin has charged Truman with "out-New Dealing the New Deal." Harlan J. Bushfield in the Senate (April 21, 1944) spoke the mind of Republican reaction when he called for "Sufficient air bases, American-owned and controlled, throughout the world to insure our own defense." The Republican Saturday Evening Post served that same reaction when, one week before the San Francisco Conference on International Organization, it spoke of "snake-oil promotion" and commented: "Well-meaning people who try to persuade Americans that a new League will perform the impossible are only inviting the disillusion which happens when a man who was sold a shotgun finds an umbrella in the parcel."

The expressed attitude of men like Hoover and Taft indicates that at its very center American finance capital feared what would happen should Hitler be defeated; feared the strength of the democratic movements that would rise after the Axis was crushed. Reaction has hated and feared the Soviet Union since the 1917 October Revolution; in fact, this hate and fear has been the decisive factor in the development of the reactionary foreign policy whose chief spokesman is Herbert Hoover.

Herbert Hoover.

A \$280,000,000 claim against the Soviet government was filed by the Hoover interests at No. 1 London Wall Buildings shortly after the 1918 cancellation of mining concessions by the Soviet Union. In 1919 Hoover, administering relief supplies, reported 22,474 tons of food given to the "government of Northwest Russia" (Yudenich) and other shipments to the "government of South Russia" (Denikin). Yudenich and Denikin were leading military forces in the north and in the south against the Soviet Union. The August 13, 1931 issue of the San Francisco News carries an interview with Hoover in which he says that "the ambition of my life is to crush out Soviet Russia." Up to the hour he left the Presidential chair in 1933, Hoover refused to recognize the government of the Soviets. In 1939, as chairman of the Finnish Relief Fund, Hoover sought \$500,000,000 to aid the Mannerheim regime, that is, to strengthen a strongly anti-Soviet force on Russia's borders. In 1940 Hoover demanded that Roosevelt recall the American Ambassador from Moscow. While World War II was still being fought, he spoke of the present government of the USSR as "the murderous regime in Russia."

Hoover's bitter hate of the Soviet Union explains many of his policies. It explains his advocacy (with Hugh Gibson in "The Problems of Lasting Peace") of a "cooling off" period of "indefinite duration"—during which, of course, the changes in the relationships of nations brought about by the war could be changed adversely in the interests of imperialism. It explains his scheme for a new type of cordon sanitaire around the Soviet Union in the shape of regional groups (" . . . regional organization should be the foundation of the whole machinery"—New York Times, March 27, 1945). It explains his drive for "revision of onerous treaties"; his efforts to break up Big Three unity in preparation for World War III.

In 1942 he was afraid of the "kaleidoscopic shifts in the relation of nations"; in 1945 he warned against "the now unknown forces that will come out of this gigantic explosion." Both expressions are ideological preparation for action against the new democracies of Europe as well as further steps, including war, against the Soviet Union. Hoover speaks much of "soul," "honor," and "justice"—particularly "justice." In March, 1945 he wanted to "mobilize the moral and spiritual forces of the world" through a declaration of political rights which included some (for instance, Number Ten, on slave labor) deliberately aimed against the Soviet Union. (The huge Fifield "Spiritual Mobilization" organization faithfully echoes the Hoover slogan.) N. Sparks states of this Hoover proposal: ". . . these 'moral' principles are subterfuges designed to supplant the sound po-

litical principles, which are inherently moral, for effecting the complete disruption of fascism and inaugurating an era of enduring peace and international cooperation."

Pravda's Viktorov commented on the Hoover "security" plan: "His proposal presents itself despite all the author's efforts as if a badly camouflaged mine were inserted under the future security organization."

This explosive "mine," it should be remembered, was the main program of American reaction in the field of world security; the program, as Sparks states, "upon which all the special objections, proposals and amendments of Dulles, Vandenberg, etc., are based."

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg.

Gerald L. K. Smith, called America's Number One Fascist by labor, at San Francisco on May 14, 1945 said: "The most important man in this conference is United States Senator Arthur Vandenberg." He added: "I know Mr. Vandenberg well and personally. We are good friends. I know his constituents in Michigan, which include four major factors. They are: 1. The large Finnish population of the upper peninsula. 2. The large Polish population. 3. The strength of the Catholic Church, a large percentage of whom are disciples of the Reverend Father Charles E. Coughlin. 4. My enrolled followers in Michigan." He neglected to mention the Ford Motor Company and the Republican Party.

Vandenberg voted against the Wagner Act. He voted against the Wages and Hours Act. He voted against TVA. In the Senate on August 22, 1944 he spoke against putting peace in the "steel straight-jacket" of force. On August 30, 1944 the fact became known that Senator Vandenberg and Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., had voted against creating the world security organization before the peace treaty settlement; their vote being cast against all other members of an 8-man subcommittee sent by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to meet with Cordell Hull on the subject of an American plan for submission to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Following this obstructionist line, Vandenberg on January 10, 1945 said confusion "hangs like a cloud over Dumbarton Oaks."

On April 1, 1945 Senator Vandenberg handed a memorandum to the State Department—his preliminary proposals for amendments "to the Dumbarton Oaks framework." The heart of his amendments were: first, to hamper the Security Council; second, to secure treaty-revision.

Unless "appropriate measures" were taken to obtain "revision of treaties and of prior international decisions" the Senator predicted that the new league

would be a "straitjacket." There would be "no pacific hope ahead for any peoples who consider themselves aggrieved." "The door to progress is slammed shut for keeps—except by war."

After Gromyko on June 13 stated that the Soviet Union was "decisively" against any amendments for revision of existing treaties, that any such plan was "harmful" and "unacceptable," the Vandenberg treaty-revision formula hadn't a chance. But the Senator was sufficiently pleased with the overall results of his campaign to say "I got much more in this Charter than I came out here to get. I think that Delegate Vandenberg is in complete harmony with Senator Vandenberg."

Vandenberg's role at San Francisco was to strengthen reaction. He served the most reactionary monopolists by studying every phrase and clause and recommending omissions and changes in their interests. He was the "inside man" who could be relied upon to use threats and maneuvers and smooth legal formalities to block proposals and weaken formulations designed to strengthen democracy.

While fighting full employment, he posed as the defender of war veterans ("I invite them to a top priority in advising me of their immediate views in respect to my duties as a delegate"). While opposing independence for colonies he claimed to be an outstanding advocate of justice ("I am very happy to welcome justice at its first appearance" he said on April 24).

Central to his role as promoter of American imperialist world domination was Vandenberg's attack on the Soviet Union. This attack took many, many forms: the Curzon line, he declared, was a "partition of Poland"; a vote for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and one for White Russia would "destroy" the "sovereign equality" of nations in the Assembly; Russia's anti-Nazi agreements with her neighbors were "unilateral actions."

His campaign meant falsifying the Yalta agreement on Poland: "Of course, it is at best a curious process when an American, a Britisher and a Russian—with no Poles present—sit down together to create any sort of a government for Poland . . ." It meant scheming for the transference of powers from the Security Council to the Assembly with American domination the result—through the bloc of Latin-American votes. It meant treating the Soviet Union as an enemy instead of a friend—an orientation on his part easily understood when one remembers that the Soviet Union is indeed the main obstacle to the realization of policies of aggressive and militant imperialist expansion.

In his speech to the Senate on June 29 (as in his San Francisco statement of June 25) Senator Vandenberg underlined "infirmities" in the Charter and

raised the specter of "World War III." In the Senate he spoke on "the event" of "unexpected failure." He wished for "more assurance" than the Charter gave. The world was "at the mercy" of the Big Three nations "whether we form this league or not." "If," said the Senator, "in spite of everything, the disaster comes upon us, the 'veto' will simply have been the next war's first casualty."

Senator Vandenberg served cynical notice on the world of his estimate of "the only plan available for international cooperation": "With the Charter there is at least the restraint of a peaceful contract, for whatever that may be worth"

In this spirit the leader of reaction in the United States Senate "commended" the Charter "to Congress and the country."

Senator Robert A. Taft.

At the very center of the hard core of imperialist reaction in the Senate is Robert A. Taft of Ohio. His Cleveland friend F. C. Crawford, until recently president of the National Association of Manufacturers; his cousin David S. Ingalls of Republic Steel; his associates Geier (Cincinnati machine tool manufacturer), Timken (roller bearings), Williams (Western Southern Life Insurance), Tate (Appalachian Coal) and Rowe (Cincinnati banker) find him a suitable representative in the Senate.

"Social security is socialism," stated Taft. And: "Colonel Lindbergh's views are those of a patriotic American." "Mr. Wheeler [the arch-isolationist, obstructionist Montana Senator] is as patriotic an American as anyone."

While Hitler was attacking Russia, Taft remained isolationist; now that Hitler is defeated, Taft's hatred of Russia has made him an interventionist. While the San Francisco Conference was on, he said (May, 1945): "I believe the United States should take title to the former Jap mandated islands . . . Our men have conquered them and I see no reason why we should be trustees for an international body." This typical anti-United Nations, anti-Russian proposal was made by Taft while he worked in Washington to end lend-lease to Russia.

Taft (with fellow-Republicans Butler, Millikin and Thomas of Idaho) called the Bretton Woods Fund "merely a waste of money" and the Bank "an extension to the world of the theories so vigorously advanced by Henry Wallace at home." (July 14, 1945) Fighting for postponement of action, Taft in discussing the plan to stabilize currencies spoke of "pouring \$6,000,000,000 down a rathole." He almost blocked Senate decision: the vote against Taft's motion to postpone action was 52-31. (July 18, 1945) Taft was the direct spokesman for finance capital (against the Fund; against Russia) on the floor of

the Senate when he introduced into debate the argument of Edward Brown, the Chicago banker, who charged that Russia, having no external currency, did not need the Fund's assistance for stabilizing currency, but would use its resources for reconstruction. (July 17, 1945)

While cutbacks, cancellations, lay-offs and lock-outs swelled unemployment totals, Taft (September, 1945) led the Senate fight against the Full Employment Bill, which he called simply a bill to "re-establish the spend-yourself-to-prosperity theory." And while the war's end was bringing America the danger of inflation, Taft was advocating (August, 1945) removal of price controls from "non-essential" articles, and "adequate prices" (i.e., higher prices) for essential items.

The above policies are the policies of imperialism. Taft has been for years a willing mouthpiece in the Senate of interests typified by duPont, General Motors, Little Steel, big insurance, and big banking; in short, for predatory finance capital, for reactionary imperialism. At home, the object of his attack is labor; abroad, it is Russia.

Democratic Party Administration and Imperialism.

Roosevelt tried to build a working relationship between the imperialist countries and the land of socialism.

Truman, however, it is now most evident, is trying to build a working relationship between the leading imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. To aid Anglo-American finance he leans heavily on Big Business representative Vinson. In matters of political policy, his main reliance is James F. Byrnes.

James F. Byrnes.

The imperialist policy followed by the State Department is the creation of such men as Byrnes (tobacco; cotton), Dulles (utilities), Stettinius (Steel Trust), Rockefeller (Oil Trust; he resigned August 25, 1945), Clayton (cotton), Patterson (Atlas Corporation). These representatives of monopoly seek political formulae to aid the expansion of American business interests abroad. The Coca-Cola Company, the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, United States Steel, Standard Oil and other firms would of course prefer to do business in Central Europe and the Balkans with governments friendly to American imperialism. The emergence of real democracy in the Balkans prevents American monopoly from gaining undisputed domination there. And so the representatives of Big Business in the State Department take their stand against the new democracy of that area, and seek to impede and injure those who give it aid.

The logic of their position leads them into similar actions in China and Japan. Bullitt-Murphy appeasement of Vichy had its counterpart in MacArthur-Hurley appeasement of Tokyo and Chungking. Murphy elevated Darlan; MacArthur sheltered the Philippine Quisling Roxas. Leahy expressed his "personal regard" for the traitor Petain (June 22, 1945), stating "your principal concern was the welfare and protection of the helpless people of France." A few months later State Department representatives in Tokyo failed to identify the Mikado with Japanese imperialism.

When James F. Byrnes was made Secretary of State, Republican floor leader Senator White said: "I don't think the President could have done better." Taft called Byrnes "a good man" and Ball, also a Republican, added his good opinion of Byrnes.

Up to the outbreak of World War II, Byrnes fought Roosevelt on many important New Deal issues. In 1940 Byrnes and Wallace were contenders for the Democratic nomination for Vice President. The Wallace victory did not make Byrnes more liberal in his philosophy.

In another part of this book (Council of Foreign Ministers: First Meeting) the record of Byrnes' outstanding failure of 1945 is told. And in the chapter on American Policy Byrnes' foreign policy views are set forth.

The day after the Truman-Attlee-King declaration on atomic energy policy was made public, Byrnes said: "The suggestion that we are using the atomic bomb as a diplomatic or military threat against any nation is not only untrue in fact but is a wholly unwarranted reflection upon the American Government and people." In this same speech (Charleston, November 16, 1945) Byrnes said: "Political peace and economic warfare cannot long exist together. If we are going to have peace in this world, we must learn to live together and work together."

But we must judge every man by his deeds, not his words. Intervention in China is not learning "to live together and work together." Withholding political recognition and economic aid from countries in Europe is no way to implement "political peace" or end "economic warfare."

John Foster Dulles.

Dulles was friendly to the "dynamic peoples" during the period of Hitler aggression. In his book "War, Peace and Change," published in 1939, he said: "Far from being sacred, it would be iniquitous, even if it were practicable, to put shackles on the dynamic peoples and condemn them forever to acceptance of conditions which might become intolerable."

The German Steel Trust which backed Hitler was

represented in London and Washington by the Schroeder banking firm. Senator Pepper charges:

"It was from von Schroeder, an international banker, and from the coal and iron interests of western Germany represented by him, that Adolph Hitler obtained the finances necessary to start him on his murderous career.

"The law firm which Mr. Dulles heads, Sullivan and Cromwell, was at that time closely connected with the Schroeder banking interests, which extended to this country and were represented by the J. Henry Schroeder Corporation formed in New York in 1923.

"This firm was an important client of the Dulles firm, and Dulles' brother, Allen W. Dulles, also a partner of Sullivan and Cromwell, is named in Moody's Manual of 1943 as a director of the Schroeder banking firm.

"It is this intimate relationship of Dulles—that is, of Dewey's man, John Foster Dulles—to the interests that made Hitler's rise to power possible, that should, in my opinion, be one of the central points of investigation before entrusting the making of peace into the hands of any man with these past loyalties."

Such an investigation is all the more necessary in view of the fact that Dulles' brother was chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, 1922-26; by the fact that Dulles' law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, acted as prewar legal representatives of Nazi-dominated cartels; by the fact that Dulles gave a character recommendation of the Nazi agent Gerhard Westrick (arrested at Langenstein Castle); by the fact that Westrick represented Dulles' firm in Germany. When the New York Herald Tribune in 1940 exposed Westrick's ties with oilman Torkild Reiber, the latter was forced to resign as Chairman of the Board of the Texas Corporation.

Dulles drew up the incorporation papers for "America First"; and advised America in 1939: "Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplates war upon us."

Dulles personally represented Franco before Judge Vincent Leibell in a legal action against the United States; he was attorney, also, for Laval's son-in-law, Count Rene de Chambrun, after the Petain-Laval betrayal of France. Dulles tried to get \$60 million (May 25, 1945) from the Bank of France and the Sheriff of New York in a legal action for the Bank of Poland (controlled by the now discredited Polish emigre government group). Dulles is a Commander of the Order Polonia Restituta (Poland); he earned the goodwill of the emigre intriguers through his services as legal adviser in developing a "financial

stabilization" plan for the Polish Government in 1927.

Dulles' directorates have included the American Bank Note Company, International Nickel, North American, Detroit Edison, American Agricultural Chemical Company and so on.

Dulles compared UNCIO with "the stealthy gathering" of dawn-age folk, "each secretly clutching a weapon, around a smoky campfire to talk truce." He places the United States in a totally false position merely of "attaching great importance to preserving the appearance of unity among the Big Three,"—THE APPEARANCE OF UNITY!

In spite of his brother's Nazi connections and his own, Dulles was requested by Byrnes "to make an independent tour of eastern Europe to ascertain what the United States' attitude should be in the complex discussions facing the peacemakers." (C. L. Sulzberger, New York Times, September 20, 1945).

Dulles threatened the Soviet Union with slowness on our American part in rendering economic aid, slowness in defining the United States' "political attitude" toward states bordering the Soviet Union and slowness in sharing "control of defeated Japan": ". . . it may be that until that whole area [Balkans; Japan; economic aid] is explored, progress will be slow." He regarded the complete failure of the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in a most curious light: "We have made not a bad, but a good, beginning." And he characterized the wartime great power agreements as "soothing syrup" communiques.

On bribery in politics: A Congressional investigation could learn the truth regarding the charges by Frank J. Boehm that the Union Electric Company of Missouri, while Boehm was executive vice president, made secret cash political campaign contributions (illegal under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935) under orders from Dulles and others connected with the North American Company (which controlled Union Electric), its law firm Sullivan and Cromwell (of which Dulles was then a partner) or its brokerage house Dillon, Read and Company. Such an investigation is the more necessary since Boehm charges that \$5 million was paid out for political purposes by North American and its subsidiaries from 1930 to 1944.

About his State Department connections: Referring (October 5, 1945) to Dulles at the first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, London, Byrnes said: "He has been more than an adviser; he has been a partner." Revealing his subservience to the cartelists, Byrnes in this statement gave sufficient grounds for his own dismissal from the Secretaryship of State. For to have the cynical imperialist John Foster Dulles as "partner" of the American

Secretary of State is to have the cartels in control of American foreign policy.

Nelson Rockefeller.

In 1940 Beardsley Ruml (Carnegie-Rockefeller-Macy-Federal Reserve Bank) took Nelson Rockefeller to Harry Hopkins with some criticisms of United States policy toward Latin America. In August of that year Roosevelt appointed Rockefeller to an office which was to become known as the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Associated with Rockefeller, besides Ruml, were DeWitt Wallace (reactionary owner of Reader's Digest), Henry Luce (TIME, LIFE, Fortune), William Paley (CBS), Joe Rovensky (Chase National) and others. Rovensky, who was released from Chase National by Winthrop Aldrich (recently the main American opponent of Bretton Woods), was asked by Rockefeller to organize a Commercial and Financial Division of the Inter-American Office. In the Inter-American Development Commission and other activities, Standard Oil and Chase National figures had leadership. When Stettinius became Secretary of State, Rockefeller moved up to the post of Assistant Secretary.

In Mexico City "in a smoke-filled room" a "deal" was made to bring Argentina into the United Nations. The person who made this charge was editor Herbert Elliston, of the Washington Post, who said "this kind of blundering is worse than criminal, for the consequences may be grievous." At San Francisco, according to the New Republic's Helen Fuller, "Nelson Rockefeller stood out in plain view of the conference as the most active and determined proponent of rushing through Argentine admission, regardless of the feelings of the other nations involved." The New York Post of June 4, 1945 editorialized: "But the State Department policy of appeasement, masterminded by Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Avra Warren, has had the practical effect of full support for Argentine fascism against Argentine democracy. On every issue, our policies have helped the fascist spider to lure the democratic fly into the parlor."

The explanation of Nelson Rockefeller's actions were given by Rockefeller himself to a group of key House of Representatives members in Washington. As reported in "In Fact" of May 21, 1945 he "boasted that the American delegation had tied up the whole Latin American delegation AGAINST Russia. He said: 'We have to keep Argentina in the world organization as a bulwark against communism'."

Rockefeller spoke for imperialism, for Standard Oil and Chase National. The outcry against Argentina all over the nation was so great that Stettinius was obliged to state (May 28, 1945): "I wish to

make clear, that the vote of the United States in favor of seating Argentina did not constitute a blanket endorsement of the policies of the Argentine Government. On the contrary, with many of these policies both the Government and people of the United States have no sympathy . . . Argentina is expected to carry out effectively all of her commitments under the Mexico City declaration." And in Mexico City Ezequiel Padilla, the returning Mexican UNCIO delegation head, having neglected the March 10, 1945 admonition of the Confederation of Latin-American Workers "to strongly oppose the presence of the fascist Argentine Government at the San Francisco meeting" was forced out of office (July 11, 1945).

But the damage was done. When the San Francisco Conference was over, Stettinius resigned as Secretary of State, and soon after that, Rockefeller resigned as Assistant Secretary. However, these resignations—Padilla, Stettinius, Rockefeller—did not mean a reversal of imperialist policy. Padilla received the blessing of the fascist Gold Shirts and other reactionary Latin American forces in a campaign for the Mexican presidency. Stettinius went on as head of the American delegation to the United Nations Organization. Rockefeller's friend Spruille Braden moved into the State Department as Assistant Secretary. And in spite of Braden's very detailed characterization of fascism made August 28, 1945 in Buenos Aires, and despite labor's demands for action, the State Department refrained from taking any steps serious enough to break the hold of fascism in Latin America.

The "Small Nation" Maneuver of Imperialism.

Padilla, with an argument that too much authority for the Great Powers would mean "permanent insecurity"; Vandenberg, with his invariable and universally adaptable formula "Justice!"; Dulles, "spokesman" for no intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned"—these three succeeded in organizing a campaign at San Francisco to cut down Security Council power (and therefore Russia's power) in the name of the "small nations," the "Little 45." Yakov Viktorov, foreign affairs editorial writer for Pravda, in a Moscow radio broadcast of April 30, 1945 pointed out that "freedom-loving nations must turn their backs on those who, under the pretext of the interests of small nations, try to create dissension among the Great Powers." Viktorov added: "The lesson of war is that only the accord and unity of the Great Allies guarantee the freedom, independence and security of small nations against fascism. Freedom-loving small nations are afraid, not of freedom-

loving Great Powers, but of the aggressor. This defines the main task as the frustration of the aggressor and the creation of an effective organization for the preservation of peace and security."

Representative John E. Rankin.

One of the most consistent spokesmen for imperialism in the House of Representatives is John E. Rankin of Mississippi. "He has helped his home state maintain one of the highest poll tax fees, although Mississippi is lowest in average per capita income of all the states In a recent general election, the State of Mississippi with a population of 2,200,000 polled a total of 35,000 votes In the 1942 election he was returned to office by the votes of three per cent of the people of his district" These statements in a brochure on Rankin issued by the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions reveal how hollow are Rankin's pretensions to being a defender of democracy.

Following the trial-by-newspaper smear technique, Rankin "investigates" radio, press and motion picture personalities and organizations. For twenty-five years he has specialized in cliché scare-phrases, but he is not above throwing a glass inkwell at a committee opponent or engaging in a fist fight on the floor of the House.

Rankin is anti-alien: in the 77th Congress he supported the vicious Leland Ford amendment to the Alien Registration Act.

He is anti-labor: he spoke for strike-breaking legislation on October 2, 1945.

He is anti-Semitic: he calls Walter Lippman "an international Jew" and Walter Winchell a "communistic little kike."

He is anti-Negro: he has fought for many, many years to retain the poll-tax; he fought against the Fair Employment Practices Commission on March 13, 1945; a favorite phrase of Rankin's is "save America for white gentile Americans."

He is anti-Hollywood: according to him, the industry is "in control of aliens and alien-minded persons" whereas Representative Samuel Dickstein after ten days investigation in Hollywood found that only 1/2 of 1% of the people employed in the studios were aliens and Rankin himself has never named the aliens who "control" Hollywood.

He is anti-veteran: he obstructed investigation of the Veteran's Administration; he uses veterans compensation proposals for publicity as a means of diverting attention from himself when he personally is under attack; he voted wrong in the 78th Congress on the Soldier Vote Bill.

He is anti-United Nations: he was for a negotiated peace with Hitler; he allowed his frank to be used by George Hill, indicted for perjury regarding his connections with Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck; he speaks, as Goebbels did, of plots by "international bankers, Jews and communists"; his remarks parallel those of Hitler to such an extent that Representative Sabath felt called upon to say: "I regret exceedingly that the gentleman from Mississippi takes every chance to put into the Record statements that unfortunately seem to follow the policy and program of Hitler."

He is anti-Soviet: his efforts to "investigate" the National Council of American Soviet Friendship (an organization which has had the collaboration of the very highest Administration officials in its work of campaigning for understanding and friendly cooperation between the two countries) were rejected on December 9, 1945 by the Council, which said that "the request of your Committee if pursued would in itself contribute to the present reckless campaign to undermine those friendly relations between America and Russia upon which the peace of the world depends. Accordingly, we must assert our legal and constitutional rights to be free from unwarranted and improper interference by the agents of the Committee on un-American Activities."

When the 79th Congress convened on January 3, 1945 the poll-tax Democrats, led by Rankin, in alliance with the Republicans voted for a permanent Un-American Activities Committee, 207-186. "The activities of this committee on un-American activities are in themselves un-American," states Representative Hugh DeLacy of Washington. "The committee is setting itself up as a congressional 'thought police.' Here is how the smear-fear technique works. Simply asking the radio stations for scripts spreads fear. Advising the press spreads the smear. The commentators whose scripts are sent for are plainly warned that they are under Government surveillance, that their thoughts are under house arrest, that in the future they must carefully lean toward the thoughts of those controlling the Un-American Activities Committee. The radio stations and sponsors of programs, who are in business to make money, are thus put on warning that if they wish to stay out of the center of the smear controversy, they had better get other commentators."

This device of imperialism to stifle freedom of speech in the fields of press, radio, theatre and moving pictures strikes at the very heart of democracy. The Committee should be dissolved; those who advocate its continuance do not belong in Congress.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities

on October 12, 1945 consisted of: John S. Wood, Chairman, Georgia; John E. Rankin, Mississippi; J. Hardin Peterson, Florida; J. W. Robinson, Utah;

John R. Murdock, Arizona; Herbert C. Bonner, North Carolina; J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey; Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota; Gerald W. Landis, Indiana.

Anti-Soviet Campaign of Imperialism

A characteristic of imperialism is the drive against the Soviet Union. This drive is conspiratorial; its object is war.

The anti-Soviet campaign is conducted through every channel open to imperialism.

An application of the U. S. S. R. for a loan was "lost" for six months. Canada's Mackenzie King launched a "spy scare" against Russia ("aimed at inflicting political harm to the Soviet Union" "[the action was] not compatible with friendly relations between the two countries" said the Soviet government statement to Canada). Newspapers headlined the testimony of a General: "Spaatz Predicts Attack in Arctic." Two writers—Chamberlin and Buell—angrily attacked the Atlantic Monthly; the magazine, according to their standards, had not been sufficiently critical of Russia. In the New York Times a Lawrence Hunt letter-to-the-editor was headlined: "Anglo-American Accord Against Russia Regarded as Paramount." Senator Wherry inquired as to "how genuine is Russia's desire for world cooperation and peace?" Financier Bernard Baruch entered into the campaign against Russia; Joseph Kennedy spoke for a big loan to Britain: ". . . . the British people and their way of life form the last barrier in Europe against Communism; and we must help them to hold that line." Senator Vandenberg charged (February 27, 1946) that Soviet representative Vishinsky seemed "less interested in peace . . . than he was in friction"—and the Senator asked "What is Russia up to now?" (He mentioned Manchuria, eastern Europe, the Dardanelles, Iran, Tripolitania, the Baltic, the Balkans, Poland, Canada, Japan, the United States). The next day Secretary of State Byrnes "got tough" with Russia. On the subject of Iran he said (without mentioning the country by name): ". . . . we cannot allow aggression to be accomplished by coercion or pressure or by subterfuges such as political infiltration." Republican leader John Foster Dulles, carrying on his part of the imperialist campaign, added a new note on March 1, 1946: "It is particularly hard to find ways of working together with the Soviet Union, for it seems not to want cooperation." By March 7, 1946 the President of the United States could sit on the same platform with, and introduce, the proponent of a military alliance which, regarded in the context of its setting, was directed against Russia. Said Churchill at Fulton: "No one knows what Soviet Russia and its Com-

munist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies."

Little wonder that fifteen Congressmen issued a joint statement on April 1, 1946 assailing "anti-Soviet prejudices and hysteria" and stating: "We cannot tolerate any thought of war against the Soviet Union." Senator Claude Pepper, on the floor of the United States Senate on April 4, 1946 charged "there's always a barrage of propaganda put up by people who hate their [the Soviet] system You pick up every paper and you find four to five articles attacking Russia." He added: "Too many times a veritable barrage of propaganda grows out of minor events, sometimes from a sinister propaganda and sometimes from fear."

The roots of the sinister attack on the Soviet system are deep. The participants are many. Space limitations prevent reference to more than a few of them.

Hoover; Landon; Dewey.

Herbert Hoover for many years has devoted much of his time and energy to anti-Soviet activities. In "The Problems of Lasting Peace" Hoover and his co-author Hugh Gibson say: "Communism and fascism are both founded upon sheer materialism. They are both intensively militaristic and imperialistic. They both ruthlessly oppose intellectual and spiritual freedom There is less murder and liquidation under fascism, but the moral base is no higher." As late as April, 1940—that is, even after World War II had started—he called the recognition of the Soviet Union "a gigantic political and moral mistake." And a little later, after the Nazis invaded Russia, he said that "collaboration between Britain and Russia makes the whole argument of joining the war to bring the Four Freedoms a gargantuan jest." On August 11, 1945 at Long Beach, California he stated: "Today communism or creeping socialism are sweeping over Europe" He spoke of "militant faiths" "poisoning our waters of free speech by their propaganda." He said also that "half a dozen nations once liberty-loving are shifting to socialism. The most recent chapter is the socialist victory in Britain." After speaking against these nations, he added: "A score of fascist nations have shifted to communism"

Alfred M. Landon, Republican Presidential nomi-

nee in 1936, added his bit of malice toward Russia ("Russia is making it exceedingly difficult") in June, 1945. A large part of the world hates the Russians, he averred. Further, he gave it as his opinion that a large part of the world fears Russia—an "imperialistic," "militaristic" Russia.

Thomas Dewey's Boston charge (November 1, 1944) that "In Russia, a Communist is a man who supports his government. In America, a Communist is a man who supports the fourth term so our form of government may more easily be changed" was called by Willkie's friend Russell W. Davenport "the most reckless statement in the history of political campaigning. It is reckless because it is a lie—such an enormous lie that it is hard for people to believe that a candidate for the office of President of the United States ever uttered it." Dewey's method of referring to Russia in order to smear someone in this country was used in an attack on the CIO Political Action Committee. Sidney Hillman promptly scored Dewey's "utter hypocrisy."

The House; the Senate.

Ever since 1917 the House of Representatives has had its full share of Soviet haters. Typical of these gentlemen are Noah Mason and Eugene Cox. The former (May 15, 1945) stated: "Every Protestant Church should join up with the Catholic Church in a crusade to prevent the Sovietization of the world." The latter was reported by PM (October 21, 1945) as saying: ". . . Russian Communism. Why, sir, such slavery would be worse, a thousand times worse, than the instantaneous disintegration which would be our portion if we were destroyed by atomic bombs."

The Senate has kept the anti-Soviet virus very much alive. In April, 1945, McCarran said the Russians were looking for "an excuse for not coming to San Francisco at all." Millikin thought the demand for a vote for the Polish Warsaw Government was "a bid for another vote for Russia." When the UNCIO meeting was nearly over, Senator Robertson said "I would like the first nation to ratify or sign on the dotted line to be Soviet Russia." Taft, Bridges and Bushfield—as soon as victory over Germany had been achieved—rushed to accuse the Truman administration of a "breach of faith" in continuing to send lend-lease materials to Russia. A little later another Republican Senator—Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey—asked American soldiers in Italy in effect (his words were not written but were testified to by witnesses): "How do you men feel, the great majority of you soldiers, who have fought the war and been here a long time? How do you feel about finishing the job by fighting the Russians?" He was saved from serious embarrassment by his colleagues, Sen-

ators Ernest W. McFarland and Burton K. Wheeler, the latter being an old hand at Soviet-baiting.

Taft.

Typical of Taft's anti-Soviet views are such expressions as his statement made while Hitler was having his first successes against the Soviet Union: that the "victory of communism in the world would be far more dangerous to the United States than the victory of fascism." He argued (May 20, 1945) that "insistence" by Russia on a veto power in the Security Council (Taft's way of describing the Yalta voting formula which was later adopted unanimously by the delegates at San Francisco) "makes almost impossible the establishment of an international law."

Vandenberg.

Vandenberg on January 18, 1940 (that is, while World War II was on) did all he could to persuade Congress to break off relations with Russia. On April 1, 1945, while excitement over Poland was high, Vandenberg spoke of "a dictated boundary for Country X," and of "critics" who may "destroy all our works." The Senator's record does not lead one to assume that the "critics" referred to could mean any country on earth except the Soviet Union. Twenty days before the San Francisco Conference convened, the well-known columnist Arthur Krock, who specializes in off-the-record national capital inside information, spoke of "the view of Senator Vandenberg that the Russian request [for three seats in the Assembly] breaks the Assembly concept and our reiterated official pledges to maintain it" and intimated that all of the American delegates, except Stassen who was absent, believed "we inherited something of which some of us disapprove"—"we have unexpectedly been hamstrung."

Langer.

Langer, in the Senate on July 9, 1945, said: "Russia, being one of the three powers at the Yalta Conference, remains absolutely noncommittal regarding the secret understanding about Korea. Evidently she reserves her freedom of action for the right time to strike. . . Will the United States and Great Britain send troops to help the Korean nationalists in their fight against Russia in order to protect their honor pledged in the Cairo Declaration?" Hull's "freedom to the people of Korea" and Truman's "a free and independent nation" are a sufficient answer to Langer's invention about Russia "striking" that country on the basis of a "secret understanding about Korea." Speculations on this score were quashed by a statement of June 7, 1945 made by Churchill—a month before Langer spoke. Bringing forward an already refuted rumor, Langer used the

floor of the Senate as a sounding board from which to spread the rumor still further, and to demand that troops be sent against our ally, Russia!

Stettinius and Eden.

Stettinius and Eden gave the anti-Sovietees what they needed most: official status, dignity, standing. Said Stettinius on May 5, 1945: "For the last month we have been asking the Soviet Government about the report that a number of prominent Polish democratic leaders in Poland had met for discussion with Soviet authorities during the latter part of March. Mr. Molotov has now officially informed Mr. Eden and myself that these leaders were arrested on the charge of 'diversionist activities against the Red Army.' We told Mr. Molotov of our great concern on learning after such a long delay of this disturbing development"

Eden released a statement which said in part: "Mr. Eden and Mr. Stettinius immediately expressed their grave concern to Mr. Molotov at receiving this most disquieting information the foreign secretary has reported this most serious development to His Majesty's Government and has informed Mr. Molotov that meanwhile he cannot continue discussions on the Polish issue." On May 10 he spoke of "the unhappy arrests." And on the same day he said: "I must emphasize that the Poles about whose disappearance we inquired a month ago included nearly all the leading figures of the underground movement Most of them were just the type of men who should be consulted about the new government in Poland." By May 26 he was speaking pointedly in a public message to Molotov of "refraining from interference into the internal affairs of other states."

The Sixteen Poles.

What was the nature of the regime about which Eden was so concerned?

It rose to power through violence (Pilsudski, 1926); it wrote the fascist constitution of 1935; it was a composite of feudal land-owners and corrupt military adventurers; its main foreign policy was anti-Soviet intrigue; it oppressed, disfranchised, imprisoned its political opponents; it "played ball" with Hitler to the extent of refusing Soviet aid in the event of attack by the Nazis.

And what was the character of the men whom Eden regarded as "just the type" to consult?

General Okulicki, chief of the sixteen Poles, at his trial said: "I admit full responsibility for diversionist and terroristic acts committed by the Home Army members against soldiers and officers of the Red Army." Said defendant Stanislaw Jasiukiewicz: "I

believe that the policy which we have hitherto pursued was wrong." Adam Bien, vice-premier of the Polish emigres' "shadow" underground government, stated: "I consider that our policy toward the Soviet Union was wrong Our only way out is the road of friendship with the Soviet Union There was a fundamental difference of opinion between the London Government and the underground (in Poland) regarding the Crimea Conference. The London Government rejected the Crimea decision, but we (in Poland) accepted it."

"Just the type of men"—diversionists and terrorists. But while many of them made public statements similar to the above, neither Stettinius nor Eden made public acknowledgment of their grave guilt in lending the prestige of their positions as heads of the United States and United Kingdom delegations at San Francisco to one of the most extensive, the best financed and most sinister of the anti-Soviet campaigns of the summer of 1945.

Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

On June 28, 1945 the Crimea agreement on Poland, which Roosevelt had called "the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish state" was fulfilled: the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was formed. Said Prime Minister Osobka-Morawski: "The Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has recognized in their entirety the decisions of the Crimea Conference on the Polish question." On July 5 the United States recognized this government; on July 6 the British government did likewise. The Polish Provisional Government of National Unity pledged free and unfettered elections as soon as possible, which was interpreted in London as meaning possibly a year. Thus another attempt to discredit the Soviet Union ended in discrediting the conspirators. The Soviet government demonstrated the soundness of its policy, and its faithfulness in carrying out agreements.

Polish Reaction's Attack on Yalta & USSR Becomes Attack on Peace.

"Here in the United States there is a movement skillfully conducted to concentrate attention upon Poland," said UNCIO consultant Dr. James T. Shotwell of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, calling attention to the bearing on the Yalta program and the "structure of peace itself" which this movement had. The movement brought with it a flood of pamphlets: "Death at Katyn"; "Justice for Poland"; "Soviet Puppet Government in Poland"; "Labor in Poland"—these were some of the titles.

There were expensive reprints from the New York World-Telegram of a series of articles by William Henry Chamberlin: "Sour Fruits of Yalta," "Dreyfus Case of a Nation," "Why Poland Matters." There were "diplomats" and "publicists" and "exhibitions"—for the Polish Emigre Government. A typical "spokesman" "for Poland" was Charles Rozmarek. "If we can't stop Russia by diplomatic means, we should—" began this representative of the Polish-American Congress and the Polish National Alliance at one press conference in San Francisco. He did not finish his sentence; but he looked about significantly; there was no doubt as to his meaning, and the reporters present got it. He called the Yalta Polish formula "outrageous."

A general characteristic of the campaign was a steady, consistent attack on Yalta. The New York Post recognized the danger of this drive: "The fight against the Crimea decisions is the old fight to exclude the Soviet Union from Europe and to preserve the same forces which made the present war inevitable."

Anti-Soviet Drive Penetrates American Occupation Officer Group.

One of the most serious aspects of the anti-Soviet drive of the summer of 1945 was the encouragement it gave to senior officers in the American Army of Occupation to develop pro-Nazi and anti-Russian attitudes. Patton was relieved of his command by Eisenhower because of resistance to the de-Nazification order.

Leading British Figures in the Drive.

The Chief of the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington, Field Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson on September 20, 1945 stated: "I cannot see why there is all the talk of security by Russia and all the demand for bases unless she is bent upon territorial gain . . . Stalin will seek to dominate wherever he can." Wilson knew he had plenty of support for this point of view. For Churchill on August 16 had said that "it is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is imposing itself behind the iron curtain which at present divides Europe in twain." And during the month following the Labor Party victory, Laski stated to Americans: ". . . the Russian experience is not a formula upon which other people can act . . . the British Labor Party . . . has for twenty years excluded members of the Communist party from its ranks, since it is convinced, first, that their real allegiance is to ideas of Moscow rather than to ideas of Westminster; and, secondly, that communism forces its adherents to act upon two planes of morality . . ."

Byrnes and Dulles at London Aid Anti-Soviet Drive.

The anti-Soviet drive was given great impetus by what happened at the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers at London in September, 1945. *Izvestia* charged that insistence by Byrnes and Bevin on participation by France in the framing of peace treaties with Bulgaria and other countries was an effort "to break the Berlin agreement." (See chapter "Council of Foreign Ministers: First Meeting.") Molotov had proposed extending the Council meeting for one more day in order to "make yet another effort to find a wise compromise." His proposal was rejected by Byrnes; and in public utterances shortly after in America, both Byrnes and Dulles tried to place full responsibility for the failure of the meeting on Russia.

General de Gaulle; Leon Blum.

General de Gaulle contributed toward the drive against the Soviet Union when on October 1, 1945, commenting on the imminent failure of the Council of Foreign Ministers, he drew a comparison with Munich—a comparison in which the Soviet Union occupied the place of Nazi Germany. Leon Blum was sharply criticized by Konstantine Gofman in the Red Army newspaper *Red Star*. Gofman charged Blum with attempting to create a bloc of Western Powers against the Soviet Union. The Soviet writer denounced types of international cooperation that were "contrary to the United Nations Charter."

Gerald L. K. Smith; Father Coughlin; Senator Reynolds.

The Silver Shirt Storm Troop organizer Gerald L. K. Smith makes a practice of drawing ministers into his anti-Soviet machinations. Smith came to San Francisco to attack the United Nations Charter then being drawn up there (Smith called it "Stalin's Document"); Reverend Jonathan E. Perkins, Executive Secretary of a very nebulous "California Pastors Committee" aided Smith. Said Perkins: "I have contact with something over 900 California Pastors who are deeply sympathetic with the crusade against Communism led by Gerald L. K. Smith." Smith, like Father Coughlin, makes use of religious phraseology and channels for anti-Soviet purposes. The Reverend Perkins, incidentally, revealed a tie-up with the anti-Soviet "Nationalist" former Senator Robert R. Reynolds. On May 15, 1945 at San Francisco Perkins made public a telegram to him from Reynolds in which the latter, after fulsomely praising Smith, said: "I join in demanding a secession [cessation?] of lend lease bullets to pal Joey for fear that they may be used against us."

The Catholic Press.

Although Smith has a considerable following, it is very small when compared to the following being prepared for "a Holy War against Soviet Russia" which "is now being nursed in the parochial schools, the Catholic colleges and the clerical seminaries in the United States," according to Catholic T. J. O'Donnell, who charges "that most fearful and terrible of things—a 'holy war,' is a-borning" and gives a multitude of facts drawn from his own experience to bear out this charge. Printed in "The Worker" of October 26, 1945, his exposure of "Our Sunday Visitor," "The New World," "The Tablet" and other church publications in America and Britain indicates the extent of the conspiracy, and the danger to peace, represented by this sector of the religious press. The menacing tie-up between the Catholic press and the professional anti-Sovieters is well illustrated in "Catholic Digest." The November, 1945 issue of this periodical, Page 1, condenses an article by Eugene Lyons on "How to Prevent War With Russia" which attacks Wallace, Ickes, MacLeish and Stalin and urges "resistance" to Russia "as quickly and in as many places as possible." In the same issue is a condensed version of Dorothy Thompson's "Atomic Science and World Unity" advocating abandonment of the United Nations Charter in favor of open Anglo-American dictatorship of the world: "This atomic-disintegration formula, for the moment an Anglo-American monopoly, gives to the British, American and Canadian peoples the brief opportunity to DICTATE PEACE TO THE WORLD." (Dorothy Thompson's emphasis.) (A third anti-Soviet item in the same issue—"Soviet Millionaires" by John S. Kennedy—condemns the "lavish estates" of the Soviet "top man"; the next page—unconscious paradox!—is praise for Pope Pius XII, whose palace is well-known as the world's most lavish!)

The Catholic Hierarchy.

At least one-third of the lengthy statement (April 14, 1945) of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference was devoted to an attack on our Soviet ally. It was conducted throughout in terms of direct opposition between "genuine democracy" on the one hand and "Marxian totalitarianism" on the other. Not content with this, they went further: they spoke of "doubt and fear"; they regarded the rule of unanimity in the Security Council ("a virtual veto") as "inequitable and dangerous." Thus their contribution to the success of San Francisco was to label the Yalta voting formula (finally accepted unanimously by the United Nations) as "inequitable and dangerous."

On November 17, 1945, the Catholic Bishops again assailed Russia. This time they also assailed the United Nations Charter, stating flatly that it "does not provide for a sound, institutional organization of the international society." But the main object of their attack was Russia. They spoke of "the absorption by force and artifice of the Baltic countries" into the Soviet Union; of "the blackout of eastern and southeastern Europe"; of "the deceitful appeal of alien and subversive ideologies" in Italy; of Russia "ruthlessly setting up helpless puppet states." Following the line laid down by the Vatican, they sharply counterposed "Russia" versus "the western democracies." Developing the concept of "profound differences" and "a clash of ideologies," the whole import of their document was an effort to drive a wedge between Russia and the rest of the world.

At a special mass anticipating Labor Day, 1945, Archbishop Cushing of Boston said it would be "a brutal tragedy if totalitarianism and materialism—or the blending of these two which is atheistic communism—should take over the peace."

The Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and Catholic Primate of England on July 24, 1945 at Birmingham said "we shall have lost the peace if we allow our first ally, Poland, to be turned into what the Prime Minister described as 'a mere projection of the Soviet state.'" He made the irresponsible charge—in contradiction to the Potsdam statement on Poland issued a few days later—that "the whole political and social life of Poland is in fact, though not in name, under the closest control of the Soviet authorities and the dreaded NKVD. No sort of political opposition is tolerated."

"Today," states V. J. Jerome, "the Vatican shares with Social-Democracy the task of ideological mobilizer of the masses on the side of imperialism and its anti-Soviet crusade."

LIFE, TIME; Hoover, Landon, Buell, Luce.

LIFE magazine has for many years followed Henry Luce's "American Century" policy—a policy of naked imperialism, oppression of colonial peoples, and above all, hatred of the Soviet Union. The main editorial of this magazine on July 30, 1945 was called "America and Russia." What did it suggest as the basis for Soviet-American relations? "U. S. diplomacy," it said, "has one strong card to play, and that is the economic." LIFE wants America to end loans to Russia! Furthermore—threatening war—Americans "have fought when the line of a dominated world moved too close toward them." The only difference between this approach and Hearst's is that Hearst would underline his thirst for war by capitalizing the word "fought."

Raymond Leslie Buell on May 21, 1945 sent to Luce's TIME, Inc. a memorandum on "The Need for a New U. S. Foreign and Military Policy." Its opening words were: "I. WORLD WAR III. Unless the U. S. quickly gets a new foreign and military policy, the present war will result in (1) a Russian-dominated Europe, (2) a Russian-dominated Asia. This can only lead to World War III at the end of ten or fifteen years." From this beginning, Buell developed for TIME, Inc., a whole series of anti-Soviet policies. These were simply part of a general reactionary program which was expressed in another form when Hoover, Landon and Buell signed a declaration supporting the discredited Polish emigre leaders. Hoover, Landon, and Henry Luce have the same objective: to isolate, weaken and if possible destroy the Soviet Union. Of the three, Luce is perhaps most gifted at brewing hate. A large sample of his talents in this direction appeared in LIFE of November 19, 1945. It consisted of nine full pages on "The 36-Hour War," and two pages of editorial incitements to intervention in China. It was followed by TIME's treatment of "Operation Musk-Ox" (November 26, 1945) with its map showing bombers and atomic missiles flying in a great wedge from Russia into Canada and aimed at the heart of the United States. The two are classic examples of the Luce method of distilling anti-Soviet suspicion. Luce incitements endanger American lives; the action called for by his policy is war.

Post, Times, Mercury, Cosmopolitan.

The Saturday Evening Post on June 23, 1945 continued its anti-Soviet drive with an article by Leigh White called "The Soviet's Iron Fist in Rumania."

The next day, in the New York Times, Friedrich A. Hayek (whose "The Road to Serfdom" in April had been selling 1,000 copies a day) began an article "'A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism.' Ninety-seven years after these opening words of the Communist Manifesto were written they have suddenly assumed a new meaning." The "new meaning" he wished to imply was that Soviet Russia was the "specter."

The American Mercury, a few weeks before the beginning of the San Francisco Conference, raised this question in its advertisements: "Was Yalta Another Munich?" The professional Soviet-baiter Eugene Lyons was selected by the American Mercury to answer this question in an article "Appeasement in Yalta."

The Mercury's hatred of the USSR has on many occasions, as in this case, lead them into an attack on America, an attack on peace.

The hate-Russia philosophy which determines the

main line of Hearst's newspaper policy, also guides Hearst's Cosmopolitan. In September, 1945, that magazine presented "RED Headed Dictator" by Charles Lanier. The accompanying description said: "Behind the scenes in the Russian-occupied Balkans, Tzola Dragoicheva, Stalin's female stooge, cracks the whip over Bulgaria and decrees quick death to anyone who dares to disagree with her."

The Reader's Digest and Emery Reves.

Typical hoax sent into millions of American homes by the Reader's Digest, especially pernicious vender of anti-Soviet poisons, was the work of Jan Valtin appearing in the March, 1941 Digest. Valtin (Richard Julius Herman Krebs) was characterized by the United States Board of Immigration Appeals (November 24, 1942) in these words: "Within the past five years the subject (Krebs) has been considered an agent of Nazi Germany." At a trial of this man in Los Angeles, Judge Edwin F. Hahn said: "I am impressed with the belief that the defendant (Krebs) is not entirely normal-minded." Yet the pseudo-history appearing over the name of Valtin was given to Digest readers as seriously-to-be-considered material.

Now appears in the Reader's Digest a pseudo-sociologist, Emery Reves, with a new and more dangerous hoax, which the Digest passes on to its readers as equally serious stuff. The condensation of Reves' "The Anatomy of Peace" which appears in the Digest (December, 1945; January, 1946) proves Reves to be quite as anti-Soviet as Valtin. But now the problem for reaction is not quite as simple as it was when Digest publisher DeWitt Wallace relied upon the author of "Out of the Night." A simple smear of the Soviet Union is not enough. Wallace, serving predatory imperialist interests, found in "The Anatomy of Peace" an instrument which could, with a show of scholarship and impartiality, obtain mass support for an attack on the Atlantic Charter, on the Crimea decisions, on the United Nations Charter, and on Russia.

DeWitt Wallace backed Reves. A full page advertisement of Harper and Brothers (January 6, 1946) reveals something of the extent; it includes this statement: "The Reader's Digest is organizing discussions on The Anatomy of Peace in more than 14,000 American discussion groups, with three speakers in each group."

Specifically, what kind of ideas could such Digest-guided discussion groups study? Could international conferences be studied—conferences which Reves calls "epileptic convulsions"? Or the great powers—which behave like "gangsters" according to Reves—or the small nations—which Reves claims "behave like prostitutes"? Perhaps a few direct quotes from

Reves' book will give some indication of what these groups could "study":

The Atlantic Charter: ". . . the Atlantic Charter and all the other documents and declarations that are leading us astray." (p. 249)

The United Nations: "the pitiful miscarriage of the second World War . . . the Unholy Alliance stillborn in San Francisco . . ." (p. 274)

The Soviet Union: "Communism . . . as it is practiced by the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union . . . has created one of the most formidable Bastilles of the **ancien regime**, against which must be concentrated all the truly progressive and revolutionary forces of the middle twentieth century." (p. 272)

World Conquest: "For the first time in human history, **one** power can conquer and rule the world (p. 268) . . . this planet must to some degree be brought under unified control . . . If we cannot attain to universalism and create union by common consent and democratic methods as a result of rational thinking—then rather than retard the process, let us precipitate unification by conquest." (p. 269)

These words—"let us precipitate unification by conquest"—reveal the incredibly brazen objective of this book: a new global war to establish world domination by American imperialism. Nor can Reves' references to Copernicus and Ptolemy, his bows to Plato and Anatole France, his quotations from Spinoza, Goethe and Bacon conceal the reactionary heart of his message: "unification by conquest."

DeWitt Wallace has claimed as high as 7,000,000 circulation (in all languages) for the Reader's Digest. The printing of the destructively cynical pseudo-philosophy of Emery Reves—and his profoundly dangerous program for world conquest—is only one of a multitude of such activities on the part of the Digest—this "popularizer" of anti-Soviet "reports" and "philosophies." But it is part of a pattern, part of a campaign, to deluge our country with the propaganda of hate as the necessary psychological preparation for war,—for world "unification by conquest."

Barmine; White; Lyons;
Chamberlin; Eastman.

In July, 1945 G. P. Putnam's Sons published the anti-Soviet book "One Who Survived," by Alexander Barmine. This man's anti-Soviet Reader's Digest article (October, 1944) "The New Communist Conspiracy" was reprinted with some editorial variations and interpolations by the Nazis. The reprints were packed in 105 mm. shells. These were shot over into American lines in Italy in March, 1945. (The Hitler government valued another Reader's Digest article enough to reprint it for Nazi propaganda purposes: an anti-Soviet tirade by W. L. White. White "just

chews the old Fascist chewing gum," commented Pravda's satirist Zaslavsky.) The traitor General Tukhachevsky, executed for his attempt to sell out Russia to the German General Staff, was "my close friend" to Alexander Barmine. Alexander Barmine, Eugene Lyons, William Henry Chamberlin and Max Eastman, all anti-Soviet, were also anti-Roosevelt. Each contributed to a New York World-Telegram series of articles against the late President.

The Twelve Anti-Sovieteers.

On April 18, 1945, a week before UNCIO convened, twelve of the most active opponents of the Soviet Union issued a joint statement in which they registered their "protest against the Yalta decision as to Poland." The twelve were: George Sokolsky, William Henry Chamberlin, John Nevin Sayre, Varian Fry, Eugene Lyons, William E. Bohn, Liston M. Oak, Max Eastman, Isaac Don Levine, Bertram D. Wolfe, George S. Schuyler, Oswald Garrison Villard. They stated that "in 1939 the Russians joined hands with Hitler's ruthless invaders and took almost half of Poland for itself . . ." Continuation of this occupation, plus "the Crimea appeasement" and acquiescence to Russian demands by Roosevelt and Churchill, led them to this conclusion: "No more than England in 1939 have we the right to compromise the honor of this country."

For five and a half years some of these men, particularly the followers of Leon Trotzky among them, have been repeating the canard about Russia "joining hands" with Hitler in a new "partition" of Poland. The dishonesty of this attack was sufficiently answered long ago by Lloyd George when he said on September 28, 1939: "The Russian armies marched into territories which are not Polish and which were forcibly annexed by Poland . . . It would be an act of criminal folly to place the Russian advance in the same category as that of the Germans."

As to the "yielding" by Roosevelt and Churchill, the statement made in the House of Commons on December 15, 1944 by Churchill should be studied. Said Churchill:

"Marshal Stalin is resolved upon the creation and maintenance of a strong, integral, independent Poland . . . I am convinced that that represents the settled policy of the Soviet Union. We ourselves have never in the past guaranteed on behalf of the British Government any particular frontier line in Poland. We did not approve of the Polish occupation of Vilna in 1920, and the British view of 1919 stands expressed in the so-called Curzon Line . . . If the Polish (London) Government had taken the advice we tendered at the beginning of this year, the additional complication produced by the formation of

the Polish National Committee of Liberation at Lublin would never have arisen Confronted with the obstinate, inflexible resistance of his London colleagues and their veto, like the veto which played so great a part in the former ruin of Poland, Mr. Mikolajczyk decided to resign I shall not hesitate to proclaim that the Russians are justly and rightly treated in being granted the claim they make to the eastern frontiers along the Curzon Line."

Dallin; Koestler.

David Dallin, former Kerensky government employee and resident of Germany for fourteen years (1921-1935) is an anti-Soviet writer ("The Real Soviet Russia") who is looked upon with favor by the Neue Volks-Zeitung, German nationalist publication. Dallin wages a fight against any permanent relations with the Soviet Union.

While the San Francisco Conference was at its height, a great literary splash was made in New York by one of the most bitter haters of the Soviet Union, the "romantic" defeatist Arthur Koestler. This writer hates "Stalinists," hates what he calls a "semi-Asiatic dictatorship," hates labor leaders. His book "The Yogi and the Commissar" carries Koestler further along the Soviet-baiting road established by him in his earlier books "Darkness At Noon" and "Arrival and Departure." Richard Watts, Jr. speaks of the "increasing group which treasures Koestler for his romantically disillusioned anti-Sovietism" (August 26, 1945)

Thomas, Waldman, Dubinsky, Cahan, Chanin.

The twelve protesters "against the Yalta decision as to Poland" have had plenty of support from such "socialists" as Norman Thomas, veteran of almost three decades of campaigns against the Soviets. On May 1, 1945 Thomas was bitterly predicting that "Stalin or his successor will be the only real victor" of World War II. Hating Stalin, Mr. Thomas was led logically to call for a negotiated peace with Japan!

The red-baiting New York labor lawyer, Louis Waldman, on June 24, 1945, gave vent to his anti-Soviet bias by declaring "We need unity, not with the totalitarians, but against them." He stated further that the World Federation of Trade Unions "will serve as another channel through which the Soviet trade unions will exercise influence upon the trade unions in the democratic countries while we are unable to exert any influence whatever upon them."

But Social Democratic anti-Soviet venom is an old story. David Dubinsky and Abe Cahan, long active in the camp of those who labor unceasingly against Russia, during the war were associated with the anti-Soviet activities of Mr. N. Chanin. This in-

triguer, in the magazine "Friend"(!) of January, 1942 spoke plainly of the "last shot": "It will still be fired. And the last shot will be fired from free America—and from that shot the Stalin regime, too, will be shot to pieces."

Social Democracy.

After World War I imperialism developed in some countries, as R. Palme Dutt states, a "strategical ruse—the placing of Social Democratic governments, presidents and ministers in office, thus appearing to surrender to the workers the seats of power, while the realities of power remained with capitalism." This hiding of capitalism under a Social Democratic front explains why today Laski, Attlee, Bevin, Blum, Thomas and many other "Socialists" constantly attack the one Socialist state. The reason is because these "Socialists" are guardians of the capitalist system.

The Role of the New York Times.

The role of the New York Times in contributing to the anti-Soviet drive was considerable. False charges that the Soviet Union sought to delay the San Francisco Conference were made by Arthur Krock (New York Times, April 4, 1945) on the very day chosen by Stettinius to deny that any nation sought delay. C. P. Trussell (April 20, 1945) falsely spoke of Russian "insistence on altering the Yalta Agreement, which calls for representation at San Francisco of a new Provisional Polish Government of National Unity." The Yalta Agreement does not "call for representation" at San Francisco of "a new Provisional Polish Government of National Unity" or of any other Polish government. On the question of three votes for Russia, the Times editorialized on April 27: ". . . . the raising of the issue is unfortunate"; the claim "needlessly complicates the already complex business of the conference" Three days later the Times was lampooning "the Russians" and "their inborn disposition to be looking for things under the bed." The Times' veteran anti-Soviet correspondent Harold Callender on April 22 sounded a call for war against the Soviet Union, couching his call, of course, in fine diplomatic language. The Soviet-Polish Mutual Assistance Treaty "came as a thunderbolt to informed French circles today," Callender reported. He stated that before the war Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia "were spheres of French—that is, western European—influence, while now they seem to be becoming bridgeheads of an influence that is considered extra-European. Especially is it so considered by that Catholic Europe to which General de Gaulle belongs the French ask with deepening concern whether once again it is not neces-

sary to call in the New World to redress the balance of the Old”

Callender is not alone on *The Times* in reflecting the moods, the hopes and the convictions of European Catholic leaders. When father Antonio Mes-sineo in the influential Rome “*Civiltà Cattolica*” at the time of the convening of the San Francisco Conference stated that “the great absentee at San Francisco is not this or that nation, but Europe,” his words were promptly echoed by Anne O’Hare Mc-Cormick in *The Times* of May 14. She said: “The voice of Europe is strangely muted at San Francisco France may become the voice of Europe most of Europe is absent from San Francisco From Mittel Europa nobody answers present except Czechoslovakia, and for the present she is an echo of Russia.” On May 21, Anne O’Hare Mc-Cormick announced that Stalin’s statement on Poland “dispels the hope that democratic opinion as plainly expressed in San Francisco might influence Soviet policy on this issue” and on June 20 she was speaking of “the chasm between Russian methods and ours” taking as her example the “Polish dispute”: “The prospects of a solution . . . are now darkened again by the Moscow trial, obviously a political trial in a familiar pattern” The opposite of this prognostication proved true: within one day sentences were pronounced at the trial of the arrested Polish diversionists, all except one of them having admitted their guilt; and one week later the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was formed, thus ending the “dispute” which occupied so much of Anne O’Hare McCormick’s attention at San Francisco.

Hanson W. Baldwin wrote in *The Times* of June 1, 1945 about “a conflict of fundamental aims” among the three great powers. He warned of “a definite danger” that “the basic strategical differences between the great powers may make for such a conflict” He called Soviet methods “brusque, hard, aggressive and ruthless” and said “They are methods that, from the American point of view, cannot and will not be extenuated. They have imperiled the kind of peace for which Americans fought.”

How did the New York Times report the famous Molotov statement on Poland and Argentina of April 30, 1945?

The Verbatim Minutes of the Fifth Plenary Session of the San Francisco Conference read on page 4: “It may be argued that Argentina has sinned, but that her sins may be forgotten. This may be true, perhaps we should really forget Argentina’s sins. But let me ask you: If certain sins committed by Argentina may be forgotten, why should we forget Poland’s services, why should we forget the great services of the Polish nation in the struggle against

our common foe?” These words were the English interpretation of Molotov’s now historic presentation on the issue of a place among the United Nations for Poland. An hour earlier, in his second press conference at UNCIO, Molotov had presented the same argument, had referred particularly to the idea “perhaps we should really forget Argentina’s SINS.” In a two-column article (May 1, 1945) by Lawrence E. Davies, the reporter had Molotov forgetting ARGENTINA, rather than Argentina’s SINS. Said Mr. Davies: “. . . the Soviet statesman intimated that it might be ‘necessary’ to ‘forget’ Argentina, but asked why, if this were so, ‘must we forget the services rendered by Poland’ in this war.” Thus the New York Times not only distorted a vital news item, but gave it an EXACTLY OPPOSITE MEANING. Mr. Davies’ article, quite typically, was full of formulations designed to slander Russia.

Clifton Daniel (May 10, 1945) wrote of asserted demands by Russia for “occupation of the Japanese island of Formosa”; R. Hart Phillips (April 1, 1945) cabled from Havana on “Russia’s bid for influence in Latin America”; and so on. The total impact of many, many accounts “slanted” in the anti-Soviet direction was, and is, great. Yet, as Arthur Krock himself stated in April, 1945, “Whatever course Soviet Russia may follow in the immediate future, its national interest requires eventual adhesion to any world security system set up by the other United Nations. This ultimate result may be counted on confidently.”

The Hearst Press: Crowther, Brown, Richards.

Hearst editorial writer Samuel Crowther, the week before Allied victory in Europe, could find nothing better to do than attack the entire Atlantic Charter, Dumbarton Oaks, Crimea Conference policy. He spoke of “the sordid materialism, double talk and double dealing implicit in the Atlantic Charter, Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, the tragedy of Yalta and all the other plans which the Big Three may have made in secret.” His hatred of the Big Three coalition stems from his hatred of Russia. He speaks of “a ruthless, cold-blooded alliance in which American blood would be pledged to guarantee the integrity of the new Soviet world state and to prevent the liquidation of the British Empire.” To him, cooperation with the U. S. S. R. becomes “abject subservience to Russia.”

Hearst’s George Rothwell Brown on April 28, 1945 distorted facts with total disregard for responsibility: “Britain will have six votes in the assembly, Russia three, America one!” “Stalin will have in the assembly his own three votes, and those of Czecho-

slovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania and Finland, and probably Austria and Bulgaria . . . Well, thank Heaven, America at least still has one vote!" America, however, headed 31 votes two days later, against 4 (of which the Soviet Union was one) on the subject of the immediate admission of Argentina. Imperialist Hearst had no trouble spreading an erroneous impression of Soviet assembly strength, just as imperialists Rockefeller and Stettinius had no trouble in demonstrating just where assembly voting control lay.

Hearst's Ray Richards at the opening of UNCIO wrote a story saying the Chinese delegation had "decided to vote unanimously with the United States delegation in all matters regardless of their nature" as "part of the generally stiffened attitude toward Russia" that had developed before the Conference convened. Chinese Communist delegate to the Conference Tung Pi-wu answered: "The purpose of this story is clear. It is a deliberate effort to create bad relations between China and the United States and between China and the Soviet Union and to disrupt the very good relations which now exist between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Izvestia; the Atlanta Constitution.

It was such reporting and such editorial writing as this which caused Izvestia to remark: "The gangs of Hearsts and McCormicks are leaping out of their skins trying to divert United States foreign policy from the path set by the late President Roosevelt." The Omaha World-Telegram spoke of the "gutter journalists" of America; the Atlanta Constitution said: "An examination of American newspapers, and those of the free press of England, will reveal a considerable amount of shabby, irresponsible reporting." "The guarantee of a free press is to the people. It is not the property of any person or group of persons. A free press must match its freedom with an equal amount of responsibility. If it does not, it will destroy its freedom. That is the inescapable fact, underlined by the reporting from San Francisco." The press "should be more responsible," said the Christian Science Monitor.

"Should be"—but is it?

Polyzoides.

Consider a single example from the column of Polyzoides. On October 5, 1945 he said: "It may be stated that no Russian proposal is likely to create greater dismay in the United States than Molotov's demand that MacArthur be superseded in Japan by an inter-Allied council, in which Moscow quite naturally would expect to have the deciding voice. This is not a matter of mere conjecture. It is the estab-

lished Soviet policy in all its dealings with the other Allies. We saw the system operate all the way from San Francisco to London, and there are no indications that if the Molotov Japanese proposal were accepted it would not operate in the same manner in Tokyo."

The habit of making untrue sweeping assertions about our wartime ally and peacetime friend is bad enough in the drawing room, or in the shop, or on a street corner. But it becomes a menace when in millions upon millions of morning and evening newspapers, day after day, it develops an attitude among our people which is not based upon reality. Polyzoides is given the lie by James B. Reston, whose report on San Francisco lists "ten concessions by Russia which have contributed greatly to the liberalizing of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals." "She gave in on the veto issue;" states a New York Times editorial (June 13, 1945); "accepted American proposals for outlawing war; compromised on trusteeships; yielded in giving secondary powers more authority in the Security Council; yielded to the American plan for giving the Assembly the right to "recommend the removal of conditions that might lead to war"; assented to the establishment of an interim commission prior to the establishment of the new league, instead of leaving all questions to the Big Five; yielded to the British proposal that the Security Council should recommend "procedures" but not "terms of settlement." So much for the lack of truth in Polyzoides' assertion about Russia at San Francisco. As for London: even when making his bitterly anti-Soviet report to the nation of October 5, 1945 Secretary of State Byrnes admitted Russian willingness to agree on many points: boundary disputes to be settled along ethnical lines; internationalizing certain seaports; removal of foreign troops after peace treaties have been signed; no re-arming for Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, Bulgaria and Austria; and so on.

Monopoly and Irresponsibility.

The lies in the press can be nailed again and again; but this does not correct or change the basic evil which is the irresponsibility of our American press, a characteristic growing out of its status as a slavish and conscienceless tool serving not the people but the interests of the most predatory imperialist elements in our society. The press, Admiral W. L. Rodgers has stated, is "more or less monopolistic in its nature, providing comments from a few monopolistic sources (news agencies) and governed by interests of which the public knows nothing." "American journalism," states George Seldes, "is the most irresponsible in the world."

Senator Pepper Rebukes the Slanderers.

In a great speech before a capacity audience in Madison Square Garden, New York, in June, 1945, Senator Claude Pepper said in part: "Who, [the GIs] ask, are these people who are talking about war with Russia? What do they want? Are they some of the same crowd who preferred Hitler to Russia, who have come out of their hiding and found their voices anew? Are they really the enemies of Communism, or democracy? . . . Who disseminates this constant stream of poisonous propaganda against Russia, which attempts to make every effort at self-security and self-preservation on the part of the Russians seem an act of aggression against world peace? It would be simple to name them, but I do not have to. They name themselves when they slander our Ally . . . The Soviet Union has taken a great and good part in building the edifice of the United Nations."

Wallace: On Offsetting the Poison of the Enemies of Peace.

During the course of a speech (June, 1945) accepting the "Churchman" annual award for promoting good will among nations, Henry Wallace said: "Before the blood of our boys is dry on the field of battle these enemies of peace ("those who are deliberately trying to stir up trouble between the United States and Russia") try to lay the foundation for World War III. They proclaim that because the ideologies of the United States and Russia are different, war between the two is inevitable. They seize upon every minor discord to fan the flames of hatred. These people must not succeed in their foul enterprise. We must offset their poison by following the policies of Roosevelt in cultivating the friendship of Russia in peace as well as in war."

Paul Robeson: "Democratic Association of Free Peoples."

After noting United States government anti-democratic actions against the peoples of China and Indonesia, Negro spokesman Paul Robeson on November 14, 1945 raised the question of the United States and the Soviet Union in the following way: "If the United States and the United Nations truly want peace and security, let them fulfill the hopes of common peoples everywhere—let them work together to accomplish on a world-wide scale precisely the kind of democratic association of free peoples which characterizes the Soviet Union today."

Labor Wants Friendship With Russia.

What does American labor think of the Soviet Union? William Green of the American Federation

of Labor believes "we must all serve in a determined way to maintain friendship, unity, goodwill and understanding between the United States and Soviet Russia." Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations says "American labor appreciates how much our country and all the other United Nations owe to the magnificent war effort of the Soviet Union, and how much the future peace and prosperity of the world depend upon the continuation and strengthening of this alliance of all the freedom-loving peoples." A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen states "In the firm friendship developing between these two great nations is grounded the aspirations of mankind for an early victory in war and the establishment of an enduring peace." (These are excerpts from more detailed statements of the three labor leaders made on November 16, 1944.) Sidney Hillman on June 21, 1945 stated: "American reaction fully understands that its mad dream of an 'American Century' will never be fulfilled if the United Nations—and particularly the United States and its British and Soviet Allies—continue to work together in the peace as they fought together against the common enemy."

World peace, states an article in the August, 1945 International Teamster, a powerful AFL publication, "rests on the relations between the United States and Russia"; but monopoly interests are "fanatically fighting the growing friendship for Russia." The article continues: "They fear that out of this friendship will come a tolerance for the Russian economic viewpoint which will mean the end of the cartel economy that made the isolationists rich. So the monopolists of America are striving desperately to prejudice the United States against Russia. They are going even to the extent of advocating war between Russia and the United States. To such lengths will rich men go to preserve their profits."

Eisenhower: "The Russians Are a Good Deal Like Us."

"When leaders of states clasp hands, that is great. When peoples of the nations clasp hands, that is greater. When the soldiers of the Soviet Union and the United States joined hands across the Elbe, that was one of the greatest events in human history." These words of Senator Pepper had a most enthusiastic counterpart—not once but many times—on the battlefields of Europe. Bill Richardson reports one such instance: "Perhaps the best description of the Russian Army and of its fighting men is the one given by an American sergeant to a lieutenant who had not yet met his eastern allies: 'If you were to take the people that fought at Gettysburg and the people that fought in Normandy, and put in some

that fought at Valley Forge, and they all spoke Russian—there you would have the Russian Army.”

General Eisenhower in February, 1945 commented on the Russians: “Our liaison with Russia always has been as close and intimate as necessary to meet any situation at any particular moment. They have given me the information I desired, willingly and cheerfully. I am completely satisfied.” In June, 1945 Eisenhower toasted Zhukov: “To no one man,” said the General, “do the United Nations owe a greater debt than to Marshal Zhukov.”

A press interview given by General Eisenhower on June 15, 1945 brought out a number of very interesting aspects of American-Russian relations. The famous meeting at which infantry of the United States First Army clasped hands with Soviet soldiers of the First Ukrainian Front on a bridge at Torgau was almost two months past. But the advocates of a war with Russia were already busy.

A reporter asked Eisenhower: “There seems to be a large campaign from a number of places to talk about a ‘Russo-American war.’ There is nothing in your experience with the Russians that leads you to feel we can’t cooperate with them perfectly?” Eisen-

hower replied in part: “On my level, none. I have found the individual Russian one of the friendliest persons in the world. He likes to talk with us, laugh with us . . . I am sure they like the Allies and were darn glad to see us. In an atmosphere of that kind, it has its effects. The peace lies, when you get down to it, with all the peoples of the world, not just for the moment with some political leader who is trying to direct the destiny of a country along a certain line. If all the peoples are friendly, we are going to have peace.”

In a December, 1945 column, Drew Pearson quoted Eisenhower: “If the American people had a chance to study the Russians at close range, and vice versa, I am certain there would be a fine mutual understanding and respect between the two peoples. I rubbed elbows with Marshal Zhukov and others and have a high regard for them. We enjoyed splendid cooperation. What most people don’t realize is that the Russians are a good deal like us. They enjoy life like Americans, are full of fun and have a fine sense of humor.” Pearson added that Eisenhower said he held no fears about future amicable relations between our own country and Soviet Russia.

Labor

“Today it is becoming increasingly apparent to thoughtful Americans that we cannot fight the forces and ideas of imperialism abroad and maintain any form of imperialism at home. The war has done this to our thinking.” These words of Wendell Willkie mean more and more to the workers who feel the clubs and go to the jails of the agencies which enforce the will of our native imperialists.

There is no conflict between labor’s interests and the nation’s interests. Nor is there any separation between political and economic forms of struggle. Nor can national problems be considered by labor to the exclusion of international problems.

The Right to Strike.

“Compulsion to work—regardless for how brief a period—is but the first step toward industrial serfdom.” These words appeared in a resolution of the United Steel Workers adopted December 11, 1945. The resolution also stated that the union was “firmly and unalterably opposed to any legislation which makes strikes unlawful even though for a limited time and penalizes strikers through criminal prosecution”

Early in December, 1945, Representative Vito Marcantonio said from the floor of the House: “The right to cease working is the only power labor has in collective bargaining negotiations. When that

right is curtailed, when labor is told it cannot legally strike at the most strategic time, then labor loses its freedom.”

These were labor reactions to President Truman’s December 3, 1945 strike-breaking proposals for thirty-day “cooling-off periods” during which strikes would be illegal. Imperialism reacted to the President’s lead in a characteristic manner: Republican Senator E. H. Moore of Oklahoma on December 3 introduced no less than eight anti-labor bills.

Labor must maintain the right to strike. Organized labor should remember, too, that compulsory arbitration is an employer weapon; that all too often voluntary arbitration is the means chosen by the employers to gain their will against the workers through the use of so-called “impartial” arbitrators chosen from social categories friendly to imperialism.

How To Recognize An American Fascist.

A useful and good guide is the official United States War Department Instruction Sheet issued to Army Orientation Officers on March 24, 1945, which states in part:

“The brotherhood of man implies that all people—regardless of color, race, creed, or nationality—have rights. International cooperation, as expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, runs counter to the fascist program of war and world domination. Right now our native fascists are spreading anti-British,

anti-Soviet, anti-French and anti-United Nations propaganda.

"It is accurate to call a member of a communist party a 'communist.' For short, he is often called a 'Red.' Indiscriminate pinning of the label 'Red' on people and proposals which one opposes is a common political device. It is a favorite trick of native as well as foreign fascists.

"Many fascists make the spurious claim that the world has but two choices—either fascism or communism, and they label as 'communist' everyone who refuses to support them.

"Learning to identify native fascists and to detect their techniques is not easy. They plan it that way. But it is vitally important to learn to spot them, even though they adopt names and slogans with popular appeal, drape themselves with the American flag, and attempt to carry out their program in the name of the democracy they are trying to destroy."

Labor and the Communist Party.

In the difficult days ahead, labor will need to fight all those who seek to divide and split the labor movement through raising the Communist bogey.

Sir Walter Citrine, Philip Murray, Leon Jouhaux and other leaders of labor in Britain, the United States, France and other countries have learned the value of functioning with the trade union movement of the Soviet Union. Their action in helping to form the World Federation of Trade Unions should teach our American trade union movement much about how to work with Communists.

The following sentence from the Preamble to the Constitution (adopted July 28, 1945) of the Communist Party gives the Communist point of view on the "final abolition" of "reaction and war": "The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class."

William Z. Foster states that the peoples of Europe and Asia will not "rest content until they have finally abolished capitalism altogether, and, through the establishment of socialism, bring about the socialization of the great means of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man for profit's sake. For socialism is the only means by which peace, democracy and prosperity can be guaranteed, both on a national and international scale. The existence of the USSR has demonstrated this great historical fact."

Since the problem of peace must be settled on the political level, it becomes necessary for all people

interested in peace—labor especially—to give socialism honest consideration. The elections in England, France, Italy and other countries indicate the degree to which the people seek in socialism an answer to the problems of the day, including peace.

Labor's Socialist Tradition.

Socialist thought was a dominant tradition in the formation of the American labor movement. Only in recent years has the question of socialism been neglected.

A resolution of the body which later became known as the American Federation of Labor stated (1882): "Resolved, That we the representatives of organized labor of the United States, in order to shake off and counteract the oppressive exactions of an oligarchy now threatening the existence of democratic government, hereby declare open political resistance to the men and measures now holding our lives and our thoughts in subjection."

The Preamble to the 1881 Declaration of Principles of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada begins with a paragraph not materially different from the opening of the Preamble to the 1944 Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. The latter begins: "Whereas, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit" Thus today the AFL Constitution reflects the spirit of socialist struggle which Woll, Green, Hutcherson and Lewis would suppress.

Labor's socialist tradition includes the record of many great political victories. By November, 1911, for instance, communities in no less than 33 states had elected to public office candidates advocating socialism. Candidates supported in 1917 by the anti-war, socialist-progressive coalition of that period polled (to give a few examples) 21.7% of the vote in New York, 33.8% in Chicago and 44.1% in Dayton.

The CIO Political Action Committee.

The CIO took a leading part in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In 1944 it took an active part in the national elections, distributing—through CIO-PAC—over 85,000,000 copies of campaign literature. Its most widely circulated pamphlet of that period was a pocket-size publication called "This Is Your America." A portion of it having to do with the duties of an American states: "The third duty of an American is to support (and fight for, if necessary) our ideals of freedom for all

our people, the Negro as well as the white, the foreign born as well as the native born. The fourth duty of an American is to use the power of his vote in every election to support the best interests of the people."

National Citizens PAC.

The National Citizens Political Action Committee is an independent, non-partisan organization of progressive citizens. The September, 1945 issue of its "Political Guide" recorded political action techniques from all parts of the country, emphasizing the task of mobilizing public demand for action by Congress on jobs, wages, health, security.

On December 17, 1945 the possibility of Republican political action participation was indicated when Republican Newbold Morris, President of the New York City Council, proposed "one great body of independents" including liberal Republicans and PAC members.

Full Employment—Fair Employment.

The well-being of the entire people is bound up with the question of overcoming complacency about mass unemployment. From the day Congress convened on September 5, 1945 (a day which was reported by United Press as "the most fateful in history for American wage earners") until it adjourned on December 20, 1945, the Murray-Patman Full Employment Bill was amended out of all recognition; the very heart was torn out of the original bill. This damage must be repaired. A new and stronger drive must now be organized and led by labor for the sixty-million-job program. The labor movement must maintain the closest relations with the unemployed (the AFL has so far failed to do this); must help with mass demonstrations for jobs for the unemployed; must set up committees in the locals to care for the needs of the unemployed, etc.

But there can be no full employment without fair employment. Labor must be sure its program in this field is a program of action; resolutions are not enough; labor must take the lead in heading delegations to public officials regarding enforcement of FEPC; in organizing mass protests, picketing and other demonstrative actions against those employers who practice discrimination.

Nor is the struggle for fair employment limited to fighting for Negro rights. The precursor of fascism is still anti-semitism. It, too, must be fought uncompromisingly, nowhere more than on the job front. The more Jewish workers are organized in trade unions, the stronger the leadership they can give the other democratic forces in the Jewish communities. And it should be clear to every worker that

the developing strength of democratic movements in the Jewish communities, as in any other communities, will be a source of strength to labor.

Many cities and counties in the United States have large Mexican populations. Los Angeles, for example, has about a third of a million. But the integration into American life of these groups, while very important, is not the main problem; rather, the main problem is labor's relationship to 125,000,000 Latin Americans. This can be greatly improved, will be greatly improved, when labor begins fighting hard for fair employment practices for the Mexicans who happen to be living in the United States.

Veterans and Full Employment.

No one is affected more by the struggle for full employment, and no one should be aided more, than the returned veteran. Eisenhower said "the truly heroic man of this war is GI Joe and his counterpart of the air, navy and merchant marine in any one of the United Nations." "They will ask of us," said Surgeon-General Thomas Parran, "—and they will have every right to ask—useful work which they are mentally and physically able to do. Industry, however, needs to retool its thinking before retooling its machinery for post-war production. In the past, men have been ruled by the needs of the machine. After the war, jobs, tools, machines and national planning must be fitted to the men who fought to preserve the nation. There is another thing to consider: Many of our fighting men have learned new skills. So far as is humanly possible, they should go on from there. Men who have learned the intricacies of radar will not be satisfied peddling magazine subscriptions. Men who have flown bombers will not be happy untangling red tape. Men who have learned to build and use the lightning calculators used in anti-aircraft fire will not accept with grace a job pushing buttons on an electric elevator."

The veterans of World War II, said Roosevelt on July 28, 1943, "must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a breadline or on a corner selling apples." Demobilization of veterans, he pointed out, is only a part of the over-all task of demobilizing the entire war economy; hence the need not only for full employment, but for adequate reconversion policies tied in with the requirements of returning veterans.

"The reintegration of veterans into an expanding civilian economy," stated President Truman in September, 1945, is dependent upon insuring "the proper economic conditions." "Anything less" than such an insurance, said Truman, "would not meet the country's obligations to its veterans."

"Labor's greatest contribution to the veteran is our fight for security for all workers," said Philip

Murray on October 10, 1944. "The security of all workers—veterans in uniform and veterans in overalls—in the post-war period comes out of the union program of rebuilding America, with full protection and high wages." Robert J. Watt stated: "Unless we tackle the big, fundamental problems of a sane economic system and recognize that the well-being of the veteran depends upon the well-being of the community as a whole, we shall not succeed in solving our problem."

The American Legion on March 24, 1945 presented a simple 4-point employment program for returning veterans, and on March 30, 1945 at Washington the National Employment Committee of the Legion held a conference on post-war employment for veterans which was attended by a very large number of outstanding representatives of government, industry, agriculture, labor, civic, research and educational organizations. Regional meetings grew out of this conference.

It is along the line of developing broader and broader support for the entire Economic Bill of Rights for all the people that veterans can be aided best. The realization of this Second Bill of Rights is in turn dependent on a world of security—a world in which the economic base, the Bretton Woods proposals, and the political base, the United Nations Organization and its Charter, operate in an atmosphere of mutual international trust and cooperation. "We depend on you who have known war in all its horror," said President Truman, "to keep this nation aware that only through cooperation among all nations can any nation remain wholly secure."

But these international relationships are in the ultimate analysis dependent on the national situation: whether it is progressive or reactionary. To make it progressive, and to keep it progressive, the labor-veteran-people's coalition must first of all demand and get Full Employment.

Women, Youth, Children.

The abolition of "any existing discriminations by reason of sex" "within the conditions peculiar to the respective countries" was set as a goal for the legislative systems of each country at the Mexico City Inter-American Conference on Problems of the War and Peace in March, 1945. And at San Francisco on June 26, 1945 the following was adopted by the United Nations as part of the Charter (Article 13, Section 1, Part B): ("The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:") "Promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and assisting in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Also (Article

55-C): (" . . . the United Nations shall promote:") "Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Labor must make full use of these bases for its demands for full employment for women, for strengthening the economic status of women, for furthering their integration as equals into a society which has in the past treated them as inferiors.

The magnitude and the importance of the struggle for basic rights for youth, including the right to a job at good wages, the right to health, job training, vocational and general education, adequate housing, makes it imperative that labor end the practice of considering youth last. Youth problems are most intimately interrelated with labor problems; so much so that every local, every lodge, should have one person or a committee assigned to consider them. Youth must have its due place in the campaign for full employment.

"The foundations of tomorrow's society are the children of today," states an International Labor Office report on the health of children in Europe, "and the condition of the children must therefore be a matter of crucial concern in the drafting of any plans for social reconstruction." "The child that is hungry must be fed," says the slogan of the Famine Relief Committee of London. These statements bring home to us that it is not alone our own American children that must be considered today; the children of every devastated country cry out for help, and their need must be met. To feed them, to clothe them, to give them medical and other care, America must produce on a mighty scale. Their need (and that of our own children) becomes another reason for the achievement of labor's goal of Full Employment here in the United States.

Since peace is labor's great objective, we should remember also that, as a National Education Association speaker recently said: "The only League of Nations that gives any assurance of a permanent peace, is the league which the teachers of the earth shall write in the minds and hearts of the children."

Public Works and Full Employment.

In its struggle for full employment, labor must popularize in specific terms various public works projects. Labor must insist on the earliest possible action on engineering, appropriations, preparation for a broad public works program, and must educate the whole mass of the population to demand timely and adequate action from government authorities.

Continuous employment of a million men will be required on American highways for years, stated Hal H. Hale, Secretary of the American Association of State Highway Officials in January, 1945. An-

nual expenditures on highways for the first post-war decade should total \$6,750,000,000, according to an estimate on restoration, improvement, maintenance and new road construction made by H. J. Brunner, president of the American Automobile Association. In June, 1945, an official of the American Road Builders Association stated that the Truman administration was planning a yearly post-war public works program of five billion dollars. The Federal Aid to Highways Act passed in December, 1944, authorized \$1,500,000,000 over a three year period, to be matched dollar for dollar by the States. The Pan American, Roosevelt and Alaskan Highway, from Buenos Aires to Nome, is in urgent need of completion and can employ more than a hundred thousand workers.

Reclamation and irrigation projects totaling \$1,158,981,200 were halted or deferred by the war. Many of these projects can now be finished. Army engineers in September, 1945, had prepared more than 250 flood-control and rivers and harbors projects, to cost \$750,000,000. At a 1944 meeting of the National Conference on Social Work Harvard's Professor of Economics Alvin H. Hansen urged "a score or more of TVAs." Both Roosevelt and Truman have urged action on the St. Lawrence seaway proposal and on the Missouri Valley Authority. Thirty to forty million acres of additional crop land is available in the United States for irrigation, drainage and clearing; a plan for reclaiming it is needed, thus employing several hundreds of thousands of workers and adding to the supply of agricultural products so badly needed now.

On May 9, 1945, Henry J. Kaiser, presenting the Kaiser Community Homes to the public, stated: "Our research studies indicate that a nation-wide effort in housing, health, highways and transportation would provide immediate employment for 30,000,000 people. Housing holds the greatest promise as a leader of post-war recovery throughout the world. Just as the auto industry was the spark-plug of our economy after the last war, housing can set the wheels of industry turning in the coming post-war epoch Taking the average of five competent and independent appraisals, the construction of 2,000,000 homes will give direct employment to 1,750,000 workers and indirect employment in the allied fields for 2,500,000 or a total of well over 4,000,000."

President Truman (September 6, 1945) said: "There is wide agreement that over the next ten years, there should be built in the United States an average of from a million to a million and a half homes a year." Chief of the Loan Guarantee Division of the Veterans Administration Francis X. Pavesich has said that probably four million veter-

ans will acquire homes under the GI Bill of Rights. Before victory over Japan, National Housing Agency Administrator John B. Blandford estimated that America will need to build 12,600,000 new non-farm homes in the first ten years after victory in the Pacific.

Conferences between industry, labor and government are needed from time to time on projected housing programs to eliminate delays, to bring forward new materials, to coordinate with lay-offs in industry. There is no sound reason for the indefinite postponement of good housing for every city and farm family in our country. Nor is there any sufficient reason why adequate hospital and medical structures should not be available in every community. The building of new educational facilities (particularly in the South), and the development of parks and playgrounds must be pushed as one of the important socially desirable fields in which employment for hundreds of thousands of workers can be found.

6,300 airports is the government objective in the post-war period, stated Assistant Secretary of Commerce William A. M. Burden in March, 1945. There is a large potential market for planes, with 900,000 persons in the United States reporting incomes in excess of \$5,000 in 1941, with 300,000 Army and Navy aviators (most of them already home), to say nothing of several millions of people who have had non-flying connection with aviation. A large part of these three categories are potential buyers of planes. Federal aid in connection with developing the aviation field may have as good results as similar aid had in developing the automobile industry, as Henry Wallace indicated when he said: "It was proved years ago in the automobile industry that the planting of a comparatively small amount of Government-supplied seed in the form of Federal aid for highways, produced benefits for private industry manifold. This is not a new concept—Alexander Hamilton voiced it many years ago and it was later demonstrated in Federal aid for the construction of railroads and through the Homestead Act of the Civil War period."

Full Employment at Better Wages.

Consideration of wage demands reveals once more the urgent need of fighting for the entire Economic Bill of Rights; for if wage gains of today are cancelled out by higher prices tomorrow, the wage gains of today are without significance.

The strongest labor organization which is fighting for better wages, for a rising standard of living, is the World Federation of Trade Unions. A. F. of L. rank-and-file trade unionists should compel the reactionary officialdom to affiliate with the WFTU, and

thus develop new strength for the wage-job struggle.

In 1945, three out of five wage-earners in the United States earned less than 87½ cents an hour, the minimum subsistence wage; and yet imperialism, the reactionary employers, fought the 65-cent minimum of the Wagner-Murray Bill to a standstill. A cut of 30% in take-home wages has been the lot of many workers whose hourly wage rates have not been cut, but whose overtime has been abolished.

In 1946, the trade union struggle for adequate wages will be sharp and hard, and it will not be won quickly. These words of Senator Wayne L. Morse should be remembered:

“American Labor should not be asked to subsidize American industry by working for wages below the level of health and decency.”

Continue Price Control.

During the winter of 1945-46 the imperialists conducted a commodity withholding maneuver by which they sought to gain price rises and bring discredit on OPA. This was of course in line with their general objective of a domestic market in which there would be no restrictions on the exploitation of the consumer.

Former Price Administrator Bowles has pointed out that “about half of the costly inflationary rise” following World War I occurred during the first year and a half after victory. Imperialism expects a similar inflation now. “Higher prices are an almost inevitable parallel of post-war prosperity,” stated a Westinghouse official in 1944, adding that his firm “realistically faces the fact that normal ups and downs of the business cycle will continue after the war.” He estimated post-war prices from one-third to half again as much as the 1940 levels.

These plans of imperialism must be defeated. Prices can be held in check. The next depression of capitalism can be made less catastrophic. But only if labor mobilizes the people for all-out support of a continuation, a strengthening, of price control.

For Democratic Taxes.

Accelerated write-offs, corporate tax concessions of every sort, have given “relief not for the needy but for the greedy.” Repeal of the excess-profits tax alone, which is one of the main objectives of reactionary Big Business, would mean in 1946 a tax reduction to 900 corporations of approximately two millions each.

The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the National Farmers Union, Consumers Union, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, the CIO and other organizations have formed a Coordinating Committee for a Pro-

gressive Tax Program. The Committee seeks taxes based on ability to pay, adequate to finance demobilization-reconversion period needs, both human and industrial, and the maintenance of mass purchasing power.

Thus labor now has a powerful organization with which to counter the organized tax lobbies of imperialism. Locals and lodges should demand that national organizations affiliate with the Coordinating Committee. In this way labor will guarantee a still stronger unified, collective program for democratic taxes.

Maintain the Big Three Coalition.

At San Francisco labor was not prepared to fight for representation on the various deliberative bodies; labor was caught napping on the full employment issue; labor did not organize a fight for colonial independence; labor did not protest the reactionary actions of Stettinius, Rockefeller, Vandenberg, Dulles; labor did not understand the anti-democratic, pro-war character of the anti-Soviet drive and did little to combat it.

The lessons of the winter—on both the domestic and international fronts—make it clear that labor must demand participation on all of the international bodies being set up. The United Nations Charter and UNO itself will safeguard peace if public opinion, mobilized mainly by labor, approves the use of UNO powers against fascism, demands such use; if the fascist enemy—now using many disguises, and with official seats within UNO itself—is promptly and effectively exposed; if reactionary demagogues are prevented from nullifying the Charter’s principles on the level of deeds; if mass actions, with many publicly adopted resolutions, demonstrate with power that the people want Big Three unity as the basis for a successful United Nations Organization. Labor must react quickly to the enemies of world peace, to infractions of the Charter, to imperialist efforts at world domination, to lying rumors, false issues, and all the other maneuvers of the pro-fascists and reactionary imperialists.

“Above all, we of organized labor, together with all freedom-loving people, must make certain that the peace lasts. Never again must our peoples be called upon to endure the horrible suffering which this war has inflicted upon them. To this end we must be vigilant to see that the coalition of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union is maintained and thereby peace secured.” These words of Philip Murray underline the need to maintain the coalition. Said the May 1, 1945 letter from the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference to the four chairmen of UNCIO: “. . . out of the sacrifices and the sufferings of this most terrible and

destructive of wars there must emerge the structure of an enduring peace."

Stop Intervention in China.

The United States "is intervening with armaments, loans, credits, and diplomatic assistance on the side of the reactionary Kuomintang dictatorship" stated Eugene Dennis on November 18, 1945.

"American forces are not in China in order to disarm the Japanese," stated Frederick V. Field. (New Masses, December 11, 1945) "They are not there to fulfill a pledge to the fascist government of Japan. Nor are they there to maintain law and order. They are there in the first place to impose upon China the pro-fascist, totalitarian dictatorship which Chiang Kai-shek has failed to impose with the smaller power of his own government . . . second, in order to preserve the privileged imperialist position in China of CERTAIN, not all, American business interests There is a third reason why the marines are invading North China for the pro-fascists in Chungking. If democracy should happen to triumph in China it would triumph also in Indo-China, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, in Malaya, Burma and India, and even in Japan. And that would mean the beginning of the end of fascism and imperialism. So, naturally enough, imperialists are just as anxious to prevent such developments as the Chinese feudalists in Chungking are anxious to prevent the spread of individual and cooperative enterprise within their country. China, because of its great size and location, is the key to the future of nearly half the population of the world. Reaction has a big stake in keeping democracy away from it (In Japan) In any case the result has been a negotiated peace, a peace which constitutes an imperialist deal, a peace negotiated between two parties against a third whom they consider more dangerous to both than they are to each other. And that is the fourth point and the one which undoubtedly constitutes the major long-term explanation of American intervention in China. By historical definition the principal foe of imperialist reaction is democracy; its principal ally, fascism. The Soviet Union, in the Far East as well as in Europe, is the champion of and most valiant fighter for democracy. In the Far East as well as in Europe, feudalism along with fascism becomes the ally of imperialism. But unlike in Europe, these backward war-mongering forces have the possibility of establishing a powerful and extensive base in the Far East. The base is pointed generally at democracy wherever it may try to appear, and specifically at the Soviet Union. Those are the reasons why American marines, soldiers, sailors and aviators are now being forced to intervene on behalf of Chinese reaction and against Chinese democracy."

Intervention in China is against the interests of the American people. It must end. To achieve this objective, labor will have to mobilize all its strength, will have to win the widest mass support and exert a maximum of pressure on Congress, on the State Department, and on the President.

President Truman.

On December 15, 1945, President Truman spoke of "the maintenance for the time being of United States military and naval forces in China" and said the United States "would be prepared to give favorable consideration to Chinese requests for credits and loans" Truman said in diplomatic language what the monopolists want to hear: that the United States expects to dominate all China through military force and loans.

Not only that, Truman's statement was unilateral. Had the United States, the United Kingdom and Russia issued a joint statement of policy regarding China, the interests of world peace would have been served. But because Truman chose to issue a statement which was itself an act of intervention (it told the Chinese in no uncertain terms what they should do), the interests of world peace were injured. A further obstacle to Big Three cooperation was raised; and the development of genuine collaboration between the Chinese people and all the United Nations was made harder. Such results do not further American national interests.

"With great humility," said Truman in his first speech to Congress as President, "I call upon all Americans to help me keep our nation united in defense of those ideals which have been so eloquently proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and all my heart."—What, then, is the significance of his statement that the "policies of the United States will govern" should differences arise among the Allies on the question of Japan, if not a departure from Roosevelt's policy of resolving differences?

"To build the foundations of enduring peace we must not only work in harmony with our friends abroad, but we must have the united support of our own people," said Truman in April, 1945. Did we "work in harmony with our friends abroad" at the London meeting of foreign ministers of September, 1945? Was "harmony" the meaning of the 1945 Navy Day speech? Can our many and rapid steps toward building a mighty military machine (universal conscription, expanded air power, three-ocean Navy, atomic bomb, unified control) convince "our friends abroad" that "harmony" is our object?

The Truman plan of developing naval and air bases throughout the world; the sponsorship by the President of the United States of Churchill's disruptive

war-mongering Fulton speech; the sending to Europe on a "food" mission of Herbert Hoover, chief expert in the use of relief for reactionary political purposes—these are typically imperialist maneuvers.

In October, 1945 the President stated: "In our possession of this weapon (the atomic bomb), as in our possession of other new weapons, there is no threat to any nation." In the same month Drew Pearson quoted Truman as saying: "The atomic bomb is of little value without an adequate army, air and naval force. For that kind of force is necessary to protect our shores, to overcome any attack and to enable us to move forward and direct the bomb against the enemy's own territory." Taken in their diplomatic context of State Department actions against the Soviet Union, "the enemy's own territory" would be interpreted by many as meaning Russia.

In Collier's magazine of November 24, 1945, in an article called "Four Planks For Peace" Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson listed four planks for war. Patterson stated that FOR A GENERATION "the United Nations will be essentially an experiment undergoing the proof of actual use" and he brushed it off as "one more attempt by peace-loving nations to prevent war." Less than a week later Felix Belair, Jr., reported that Truman "tentatively rang down the curtain today (November 29) on further meetings of the Big Three powers on problems growing out of the war." A National Association of Manufacturers news report in October, 1945, and an interview with a State Department official, indicated that the Administration might be deliberately withholding credits from Russia. Such developments lend emphasis to Walter Lippmann's observation in the New York Herald Tribune: "The question in Moscow is whether the United States is drifting or perhaps deliberately moving toward becoming the center of an anti-Soviet coalition."

In his foreign policy, Truman satisfies the most reactionary forces (Taft, for instance, praised his Navy Day speech: "an admirable statement of principles"). His foreign policy is imperialist. New strength for reaction, and new war dangers, are the inevitable products of such a policy. Unless Truman returns soon to Roosevelt's policy of Big Three cooperative unity, unless he reverses his program of domination in China, his use of economic pressure for imperialist ends, his reluctance to develop genuine international cooperation in the field of atomic energy, there is danger that the United Nations Organization could become a center for war intrigue.

It is up to labor to bring home to the President and to Congress that world peace is not built on threats, or maneuvers or intrigue; that America's best contribution to peace can only be to cooperate fully,

loyally, in building the Big Three coalition which is the heart of a successful United Nations.

In the field of domestic policy it is now obvious to everyone that President Truman is not going to fight for a progressive legislative program. Truman did not fight for his 21-point legislative program of September 6, 1945. He did not expose the southern poll-tax Democrats for lining up with the Republicans in their successful battle to limit FEPC through cutting appropriations. He has steadily retreated before reaction; conciliation and appeasement of monopoly has become a characteristic of his domestic policy. Truman has turned his back on the democratic coalition which supported the Roosevelt program and elected the Roosevelt-Truman ticket. His anti-union proposals were called "inacceptable to labor" by William Green. The wage policy committee of the United Steel Workers, CIO, in December, 1945 characterized Truman's labor legislation proposals as "viciously anti-labor and an attack upon our basic democratic liberties."

Is Truman's philosophy, as Arthur Krock speculates, "determined and aggressive, or . . . merely intellectual preference and political strategy"? Labor has found it "determined and aggressive" in monopoly's interests. John Fischer states "there is little indication that either he or his close advisers are moved by the passionate, driving conviction which characterized the whole Roosevelt team."

National Labor Unity.

In such a situation, inaction can help only the reactionary demagogues of both parties. Labor, especially the local unions, will have to get together—AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and all the various independents—and take steps for protection against compulsory arbitration and cuts in take-home pay, as well as steps to win sufficient wage increases to offset the steady rise in living costs. The potential strength of labor must be transformed into effective power in Washington. Otherwise, monopoly may succeed in its plans against labor, may succeed in getting higher prices and still lower wages, may bring about the crisis and disaster which reactionary imperialism wants and needs in order to break the labor movement.

This is the prospect faced by labor. Only political action, united political action on a broad scale, can safeguard the national interest against this threat to democracy and labor.

Labor has in its own ranks certain forces which fight bitterly against united political action. Such men as Hutcheson and Lewis, connected closely with those Republican circles which are most aggressively imperialist abroad and reactionary at home, will attempt to use the AFL membership as a mass base

for imperialism. Knowing that national labor unity around progressive policies would defeat their purpose, they seek through militant anti-CIO policies to dig an unbridgeable chasm between the AFL and CIO. The red-baiting program of William Green is a powerful aid to imperialist reaction, injuring American and world labor unity and thus injuring the cause of peace.

The Elections: 1946 and 1948.

Labor's immediate task is the formation of a broad, active and effective coalition of labor and its allies.

There are many urgent legislative needs which must be fought for in 1946: unemployment compensation of at least \$25 a week for 26 weeks is needed; the 65-cent wage minimum is essential; the GI Bill of Rights must be strengthened; FEPC must be restored, and its scuttlers of November-December, 1945, must be exposed; adequate housing legislation must be passed; the poll-tax must be repealed; anti-labor bills, scores of them, must be denounced and defeated; democratic taxation measures must be developed; measures for improved hospitalization for veterans must be passed; expenditures for health can employ tens of thousands with great benefit to our people; the dispersal of the United States Employment Service must be fought; especially, measures for full employment must be passed.

There are some other domestic matters that should come up before Congress in 1946: the Rankin Committee, enemy of democracy and breeder of fascism, must be dissolved; there should be a congressional investigation of the Nazi connections of John Foster Dulles—also of the connections between Dulles' law firm, Cromwell and Sullivan, the brokerage firm of Dillon, Reed and Company and secret cash contributions to political candidates in defiance of law by subsidiaries of North American, the huge utilities holding company in which both Dillon, Reed and Company and Sullivan and Cromwell have the closest connections.

We must greatly increase UNRRA appropriations and see to it that relief overseas, especially food, is not used for political purposes, as Hoover used it after World War I. We must move to implement participation in many UNO organizations. We must stop the destruction of food and equipment abroad, must end the sale of surplus war materials for use against Indonesian and Southeast Asian patriots. Adequate credits should be granted democratic countries and no loans should be granted fascist Spain, Argentina, Portugal. Steps to root out the last vestiges of fascism and militarism in Japan and Germany must be taken; the Anglo-American-Japanese-

German cartel system must be dealt with. Especially, we must see to it that intervention in China ends. We must break off relations with Franco.

To win the campaign for peace and full employment, for labor's rights, for democracy, means that in every community labor must develop its independent political role to the fullest extent. Labor must aid in the selection of candidates, must not simply follow along at the tail of the old-line party organizations. Labor must demand that every political candidate take a public stand on the most controversial questions of the election campaign. Labor can do much to guarantee that the local Democratic party organizations start bringing forward the main issues of this period in both the domestic and foreign policy fields. And it is most vital that joint AFL-CIO campaigns on election issues be organized. These joint campaigns must continue, must grow; the labor-progressive coalition must become the determining force in the crucial national elections of 1948.

Labor's main enemy is monopoly. It is imperialism which must be fought, not some other labor organization. And while the main reactionary center is the Republican Party, no source of imperialist plans can be neglected by labor. The Democratic Party harbors many of the worst imperialist elements. What can labor think of any report on conditions in Asia by Standard Oil's Pauley, whom the Senate would not confirm for an important cabinet post? And the poll-taxers: labor must carry through in 1946 and 1948 an uncompromising fight to retire these chauvinists from Congress, many of them "elected" by less than 8% of the population in their districts.

That Third Party.

There are a great many people this year who believe that a third party is inevitable and desirable. For instance, UAW's Secretary-Treasurer George F. Addes as early as December 14, 1945 stated his personal belief that "We must think in terms of the Political Action Committee becoming the nucleus of a real third party movement that will serve as the beginning of mobilizing liberal elements from all political parties." He said that in 1946 he would support candidates who were of and for labor—whether they were Republicans or Democrats.

But a third party, one which could be a power in 1948, would have to grow out of a successfully functioning coalition of democratic, progressive groups. To aid in developing such a base in 1946 will undoubtedly be projected by more and more organizations. Unity of labor, farm, Negro, progressive, civic, professional, small business and other groups around campaigns to defeat reactionary imperialist

candidates on any ticket will do much to guarantee the emergence in 1946 of a powerful democratic coalition capable of being the base for a third party in the 1948 campaign—an anti-monopoly, people's party. The building of CIO-PAC and NCPAC during the present period is of course a necessity.

“Let Us Move Forward . . .”

The night before he died, President Roosevelt wrote a short and great speech which he intended to deliver over the radio on April 13, 1945. In this Jefferson Day address he said in part:

“Today, we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today, we can no more escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than could (Jefferson) avoid the consequences of attacks by the Barbary corsairs a century and a half before.

“We as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility.

“Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a Third World War.

“We seek peace—enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of war—yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments

“Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace.

“Let me assure you that my hand is the steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into the task, knowing that you—millions and millions of you—are joined with me in the resolve to make this work endure.

“The work, my friends, is peace, more than an end of this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars, yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

“Today as we move against the terrible scourge of war—as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straightedge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

“The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.”

APPENDIX I.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind; and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small; and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors; and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security; and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest; and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples; have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Chapter I. Purposes and Principles

ARTICLE 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

ARTICLE 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by

peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter II. Membership

ARTICLE 3

The Original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

ARTICLE 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III. Organs

ARTICLE 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV. The General Assembly

Composition.

ARTICLE 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers.

ARTICLE 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

ARTICLE 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

ARTICLE 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

ARTICLE 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

- a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

- b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

ARTICLE 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

ARTICLE 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Voting.

ARTICLE 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

ARTICLE 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General

Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure.

ARTICLE 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

ARTICLE 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter V. The Security Council

Composition.

ARTICLE 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be nonpermanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The nonpermanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate reelection.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers.

ARTICLE 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

ARTICLE 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for for-

mulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

Voting.

ARTICLE 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Procedure.

ARTICLE 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

ARTICLE 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

ARTICLE 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

ARTICLE 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

Chapter VI. Pacific Settlement of Disputes

ARTICLE 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

ARTICLE 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

ARTICLE 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

ARTICLE 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

ARTICLE 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII. Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

ARTICLE 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

ARTICLE 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

ARTICLE 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other

means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

ARTICLE 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

ARTICLE 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

ARTICLE 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national airforce contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

ARTICLE 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

ARTICLE 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed

forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

ARTICLE 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

ARTICLE 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

ARTICLE 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Chapter VIII. Regional Arrangements

ARTICLE 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

ARTICLE 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as

defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

ARTICLE 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX. International Economic and Social Cooperation

ARTICLE 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

ARTICLE 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by inter-governmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

Chapter X. The Economic and Social Council Composition.

ARTICLE 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of

eighteen Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate reelection.

3. At the first election, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers.

ARTICLE 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

ARTICLE 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

ARTICLE 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Voting.

ARTICLE 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure.

ARTICLE 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

ARTICLE 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

ARTICLE 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Chapter XI. Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories

ARTICLE 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized inter-

national bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

ARTICLE 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

Chapter XII. International Trusteeship System

ARTICLE 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

ARTICLE 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

ARTICLE 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:
 - a. territories now held under mandate;
 - b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
 - c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

ARTICLE 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

ARTICLE 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

ARTICLE 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

ARTICLE 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

ARTICLE 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

ARTICLE 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

ARTICLE 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end, the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

ARTICLE 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

Chapter XIII. The Trusteeship Council

Composition.

ARTICLE 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- a. those Members administering trust territories;
- b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
- c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

Functions and Powers.

ARTICLE 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- b. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

ARTICLE 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting.

ARTICLE 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure.

ARTICLE 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

ARTICLE 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Chapter XIV. The International Court of Justice

ARTICLE 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

ARTICLE 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

ARTICLE 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

ARTICLE 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Chapter XV. The Secretariat

ARTICLE 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

ARTICLE 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

ARTICLE 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

ARTICLE 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

Chapter XVI. Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

ARTICLE 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

ARTICLE 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

Chapter XVII. Transitional Security Arrangements

ARTICLE 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

ARTICLE 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

Chapter XVIII. Amendments

ARTICLE 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force

for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

Chapter XIX. Ratification and Signature

ARTICLE 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present charter.

DONE at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

(NOTE: The Statute of the International Court of Justice [referred to in Chapter XIV above] by reason of its length cannot be included in this volume. It is printed in full in Senate Document No. 70, 79th Congress, 1st Session, July 2, 1945.)

APPENDIX II.

TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE OF BERLIN

(Released to the press by the White House, August 2, 1945)

I

Report on the Tripartite Conference of Berlin.

On July 17, 1945, the President of the United States of America, Harry S. Truman, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Generalissimo J. V. Stalin, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston S. Churchill, together with Mr. Clement R. Attlee, met in the Tripartite Conference of Berlin. They were accompanied by the foreign secretaries of the three governments, Mr. James F. Byrnes, Mr. V. M. Molotov, and Mr. Anthony Eden, the Chiefs of Staff, and other advisers.

There were nine meetings between July seventeenth and July twenty-fifth. The conference was then interrupted for two days while the results of the British general election were being declared.

On July twenty-eighth Mr. Attlee returned to the conference as Prime Minister, accompanied by the new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ernest Bevin. Four days of further discussion then took place. During the course of the conference there were regular meetings of the heads of the three governments accompanied by the foreign secretaries, and also of the foreign secretaries alone. Committees appointed by the foreign secretaries for preliminary consideration of questions before the conference also met daily.

The meetings of the conference were held at the Cecilienhof near Potsdam. The conference ended on August 2, 1945.

Important decisions and agreements were reached. Views were exchanged on a number of other questions and consideration of these matters will be continued by the council of foreign ministers established by the conference.

President Truman, Generalissimo Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee leave this conference, which has strengthened the ties between the three governments and extended the scope of their collaboration and understanding, with renewed confidence that their governments and peoples, together with the other United Nations, will ensure the creation of a just and enduring peace.

II

Establishment of a Council of Foreign Ministers.

The conference reached an agreement for the establishment of a Council of Foreign Ministers representing the five principal powers to continue the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements and to take up other matters which from time to time may be referred to the Council by agreement of the governments participating in the Council.

The text of the agreement for the establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers is as follows:

1. There shall be established a Council composed of the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, France and the United States.

2.(i) The Council shall normally meet in London, which shall be the permanent seat of the joint secretariat which the Council will form. Each of the foreign ministers will be accompanied by a high-ranking deputy, duly authorized to carry on the work of the Council in the absence of his foreign minister, and by a small staff of technical advisers.

(ii) The first meeting of the Council shall be held in London not later than September 1, 1945. Meetings may be held by common agreement in other capitals as may be agreed from time to time.

3.(i) As its immediate important task, the Council shall be authorized to draw up, with a view to their submission to

the United Nations, treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, and to propose settlements of territorial questions outstanding on the termination of the war in Europe. The Council shall be utilized for the preparation of a peace settlement for Germany to be accepted by the government of Germany when a government adequate for the purpose is established.

(ii) For the discharge of each of these tasks the Council will be composed of the members representing those states which were signatory to the terms of surrender imposed upon the enemy state concerned. For the purpose of the peace settlement for Italy, France shall be regarded as a signatory to the terms of surrender for Italy. Other members will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion.

(iii) Other matters may from time to time be referred to the Council by agreement between the member governments.

4.(i) Whenever the Council is considering a question of direct interest to a state not represented thereon, such state should be invited to send representatives to participate in the discussion and study of that question.

(ii) The Council may adapt its procedure to the particular problem under consideration. In some cases it may hold its own preliminary discussions prior to the participation of other interested states. In other cases, the Council may convoke a formal conference of the state chiefly interested in seeking a solution of the particular problem.

In accordance with the decision of the conference the three governments have each addressed an identical invitation to the governments of China and France to adopt this text and to join in establishing the Council.

The establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers for the specific purposes named in the text will be without prejudice to the agreement of the Crimea Conference that there should be periodic consultation among the foreign secretaries of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom.

The conference also considered the position of the European Advisory Commission in the light of the agreement to establish the Council of Foreign Ministers. It was noted with satisfaction that the Commission had ably discharged its principal tasks by the recommendations that it had furnished for the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender, for the zones of occupation in Germany and Austria, and for the inter-Allied control machinery in those countries. It was felt that further work of a detailed character for the coordination of allied policy for the control of Germany and Austria would in future fall within the competence of the Allied Control Council at Berlin and the Allied Commission at Vienna. Accordingly, it was agreed to recommend that the European Advisory Commission be dissolved.

III

Germany

The Allied Armies are in occupation of the whole of Germany and the German people have begun to atone for the terrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom in the hour of their success, they openly approved and blindly obeyed.

Agreement has been reached at this conference on the political and economic principles of a coordinated Allied policy toward defeated Germany during the period of Allied control.

The purpose of this agreement is to carry out the Crimea

Declaration on Germany. German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world.

It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world.

The text of the agreement is as follows:

The Political and Economic Principles to Govern the Treatment of Germany in the Initial Control Period.

A. Political Principles.

1. In accordance with the agreement on control machinery in Germany, supreme authority in Germany is exercised on instructions from their respective governments, by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the French Republic, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole, in their capacity as members of the Control Council.

2. So far as is practicable, there shall be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany.

3. The purposes of the occupation of Germany by which the Control Council shall be guided are:

(i) The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. To these ends:

(a) All German land, naval and air forces, the S.S., S.A., S.D., and Gestapo, with all their organizations, staffs and institutions, including the General Staff, the Officers' Corps, Reserve Corps, military schools, war veterans' organizations and all other military and quasi-military organizations, together with all clubs and associations which serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany, shall be completely and finally abolished in such manner as permanently to prevent the revival or reorganization of German militarism and Nazism.

(b) All arms, ammunition and implements of war and all specialized facilities for their production shall be held at the disposal of the Allies or destroyed. The maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war shall be prevented.

(ii) To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves, since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable.

(iii) To destroy the National Socialist Party and its affiliated and supervised organizations, to dissolve all Nazi institutions, to ensure that they are not revived in any form, and to prevent all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda.

(iv) To prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis and for eventual peaceful cooperation in international life by Germany.

4. All Nazi laws which provided the basis of the Hitler regime or established discrimination on grounds of race, creed, or political opinion shall be abolished. No such discriminations, whether legal, administrative or otherwise, shall be tolerated.

5. War criminals and those who have participated in planning or carrying out Nazi enterprises involving or resulting in atrocities or war crimes shall be arrested and brought to

judgment. Nazi leaders, influential Nazi supporters and high officials of Nazi organizations and institutions and any other persons dangerous to the occupation or its objectives shall be arrested and interned.

6. All members of the Nazi party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities and all other persons hostile to allied purposes shall be removed from public and semi-public office, and from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings. Such persons shall be replaced by persons who, by their political and moral qualities, are deemed capable of assisting in developing genuine democratic institutions in Germany.

7. German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.

8. The judicial system will be reorganized in accordance with the principles of democracy, of justice under law, and of equal rights for all citizens without distinction of race, nationality or religion.

9. The administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility. To this end:

(i) Local self-government shall be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and in particular through elective councils as rapidly as is consistent with military security and the purposes of military occupation;

(ii) All democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany;

(iii) Representative and elective principles shall be introduced into regional, provincial and state (land) administration as rapidly as may be justified by the successful application of these principles in local self-government;

(iv) For the time being no central German government shall be established. Notwithstanding this, however, certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by state secretaries, shall be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry. Such departments will act under the direction of the Control Council.

10. Subject to the necessity for maintaining military security, freedom of speech, press and religion shall be permitted, and religious institutions shall be respected. Subject likewise to the maintenance of military security, the formation of free trade unions shall be permitted.

B. Economic Principles.

11. In order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships shall be prohibited and prevented. Production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved post-war peacetime needs to meet the objectives stated in paragraph 15. Productive capacity not needed for permitted production shall be removed in accordance with the reparations plan recommended by the Allied Commission on reparations and approved by the governments concerned or if not removed shall be destroyed.

12. At the earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.

13. In organizing the German economy, primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries.

14. During the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. To this end common poli-

cies shall be established in regard to:

- (a) Mining and industrial production and allocations;
- (b) Agriculture, forestry and fishing;
- (c) Wages, prices and rationing;
- (d) Import and export programs for Germany as a whole;
- (e) Currency and banking, central taxation and customs;
- (f) Reparation and removal of industrial war potential;
- (g) Transportation and communications.

In applying these policies account shall be taken, where appropriate, of varying local conditions.

15. Allied controls shall be imposed upon the German economy but only to the extent necessary:

(a) To carry out programs of industrial disarmament and demilitarization, of reparations, and of approved exports and imports.

(b) To assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to meet the needs of the occupying forces and displaced persons in Germany and essential to maintain in Germany average living standards not exceeding the average of the standards of living of European countries. (European countries means all European countries excluding the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.)

(c) To ensure in the manner determined by the Control Council the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports.

(d) To control German industry and all economic and financial international transactions, including exports and imports, with the aim of preventing Germany from developing a war potential and of achieving the other objectives named herein.

(e) To control all German public or private scientific bodies, research and experimental institutions, laboratories, et cetera, connected with economic activities.

16. In the imposition and maintenance of economic controls established by the Control Council, German administrative machinery shall be created and the German authorities shall be required to the fullest extent practicable to proclaim and assume administration of such controls. Thus it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility for the administration of such controls and any breakdown in these controls will rest with themselves. Any German controls which may run counter to the objectives of occupation will be prohibited.

17. Measures shall be promptly taken:

- (a) To effect essential repair of transport;
- (b) To enlarge coal production;
- (c) To maximize agricultural output; and
- (d) To effect emergency repair of housing and essential utilities.

18. Appropriate steps shall be taken by the Control Council to exercise control and the power of disposition over German-owned external assets not already under the control of United Nations which have taken part in the war against Germany.

19. Payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. In working out the economic balance of Germany the necessary means must be provided to pay for imports approved by the Control Council in Germany. The proceeds of exports from current production and stocks shall be available in the first place for payment for such imports.

The above clause will not apply to the equipment and products referred to in paragraphs 4(A) and 4(B) of the Reparations Agreement.

IV

Reparations From Germany

In accordance with the Crimea decision that Germany be compelled to compensate to the greatest possible extent for

the loss and suffering that she has caused to the United Nations and for which the German people cannot escape responsibility, the following agreement on reparations was reached:

1. Reparation claims of the U.S.S.R. shall be met by removals from the zone of Germany occupied by the U.S.S.R. and from appropriate German external assets.

2. The U.S.S.R. undertakes to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its own share of reparations.

3. The reparation claims of the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries entitled to reparations shall be met from the western zones and from appropriate German external assets.

4. In addition to the reparations to be taken by the U.S.S.R. from its own zone of occupation, the U.S.S.R. shall receive additionally from the western zones:

(A) 15 per cent of such usable and complete industrial capital equipment, in the first place from the metallurgical, chemical and machine manufacturing industries, as is unnecessary for the German peace economy and should be removed from the western zones of Germany, in exchange for an equivalent value of food, coal, potash, zinc, timber, clay products, petroleum products, and such other commodities as may be agreed upon.

(B) 10 per cent of such industrial capital equipment as is unnecessary for the German peace economy and should be removed from the western zones, to be transferred to the Soviet Government on reparations account without payment or exchange of any kind in return.

Removals of equipment as provided in (A) and (B) above shall be made simultaneously.

5. The amount of equipment to be removed from the western zones on account of reparations must be determined within six months from now at the latest.

6. Removals of industrial capital equipment shall begin as soon as possible and shall be completed within two years from the determination specified in paragraph 5. The delivery of products covered by 4(A) above shall begin as soon as possible and shall be made by the U.S.S.R. in agreed installments within five years of the date hereof. The determination of the amount and character of the industrial capital equipment unnecessary for the German peace economy and therefore available for reparations shall be made by the control council under policies fixed by the Allied Commission on Reparations, with the participation of France, subject to the final approval of the zone commander in the zone from which the equipment is to be removed.

7. Prior to the fixing of the total amount of equipment subject to removal, advance deliveries shall be made in respect of such equipment as will be determined to be eligible for delivery in accordance with the procedure set forth in the last sentence of Paragraph 6.

8. The Soviet Government renounces all claims in respect of reparations to shares of German enterprises which are located in the western zones of occupation in Germany as well as to German foreign assets in all countries except those specified in paragraph 9 below.

9. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America renounce their claims in respect of reparations to shares of German enterprises which are located in the eastern zone of occupation in Germany, as well as to German foreign assets in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Austria.

10. The Soviet Government makes no claims to gold captured by the Allied Troops in Germany.

V

Disposal of the German Navy and Merchant Marine.

The conference agreed in principle upon arrangements

for the use and disposal of the surrendered German fleet and merchant ships. It was decided that the three governments would appoint experts to work out together detailed plans to give effect to the agreed principles. A further joint statement will be published simultaneously by the three governments in due course.

VI

City of Koenigsberg and the Adjacent Area

The conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government that pending the final determination of territorial questions at the peace settlement the section of the western frontier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which is adjacent to the Baltic Sea should pass from a point on the eastern shore of the Bay of Danzig to the east, north of Braunsberg-Goldap, to the meeting point of the frontiers of Lithuania, the Polish Republic and East Prussia.

The conference has agreed in principle to the proposal of the Soviet Government concerning the ultimate transfer to the Soviet Union of the City of Koenigsberg and the area adjacent to it as described above subject to expert examination of the actual frontier.

The President of the United States and the British Prime Minister have declared that they will support the proposal of the conference at the forthcoming peace settlement.

VII

War Criminals

The three governments have taken note of the discussions which have been proceeding in recent weeks in London between British, United States, Soviet and French representatives with a view to reaching agreement on the methods of trial of those major war criminals whose crimes under the Moscow Declaration of October, 1943, have no particular geographical localization. The three governments reaffirm their intention to bring those criminals to swift and sure justice. They hope that the negotiations in London will result in speedy agreement being reached for this purpose, and they regard it as a matter of great importance that the trial of those major criminals should begin at the earliest possible date. The first list of defendants will be published before September first.

VIII

Austria

The conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government on the extension of the authority of the Austrian Provisional Government to all of Austria.

The three governments agreed that they were prepared to examine this question after the entry of the British and American forces into the City of Vienna.

IX

Poland

The Conference considered questions relating to the Polish Provisional Government and the western boundary of Poland.

On the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity they defined their attitude in the following statement:

A—We have taken note with pleasure of the agreement reached among representative Poles from Poland and abroad which has made possible the formation, in accordance with the decisions reached at the Crimea Conference, of a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity recognized by the three powers. The establishment by the British and United States Governments of diplomatic relations with the Polish Provisional Government has resulted in the withdrawal of their recognition from the former Polish Government in London, which no longer exists.

The British and United States Governments have taken measures to protect the interest of the Polish Provisional

Government as the recognized government of the Polish State in the property belonging to the Polish State located in their territories and under their control, whatever the form of this property may be. They have further taken measures to prevent alienation to third parties of such property. All proper facilities will be given to the Polish Provisional Government for the exercise of the ordinary legal remedies for the recovery of any property belonging to the Polish State which may have been wrongfully alienated.

The three powers are anxious to assist the Polish Provisional Government in facilitating the return to Poland as soon as practicable of all Poles abroad who wish to go, including members of the Polish armed forces and the Merchant Marine. They expect that those Poles who return home shall be accorded personal and property rights on the same basis as all Polish citizens.

The three powers note that the Polish Provisional Government in accordance with the decisions of the Crimea Conference has agreed to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates, and that representatives of the Allied press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Poland before and during the elections.

B—The following agreement was reached on the western frontier of Poland:

In conformity with the agreement on Poland reached at the Crimea Conference the three heads of government have sought the opinion of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in regard to the accession of territory in the north and west which Poland should receive. The President of the National Council of Poland and members of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity have been received at the conference and have fully presented their views. The three heads of government reaffirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement.

The three heads of government agree that, pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier, the former German territories east of a line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemunde, and thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the western Neisse River and along the western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier, including that portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with the understanding reached at this conference and including the area of the former free City of Danzig, shall be under the administration of the Polish State and for such purposes should not be considered as part of the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany.

X

Conclusion of Peace Treaties and Admission to the United Nations Organization

The conference agreed upon the following statement of common policy for establishing, as soon as possible, the conditions of lasting peace after victory in Europe:

The three governments consider it desirable that the present anomalous position of Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania should be terminated by the conclusion of peace treaties. They trust that the other interested Allied governments will share these views.

For their part the three governments have included the preparation of a peace treaty for Italy as the first among the immediate important tasks to be undertaken by the new Council of Foreign Ministers. Italy was the first of the Axis powers to break with Germany, to whose defeat she has made a material contribution, and has now joined with

the Allies in the struggle against Japan. Italy has freed herself from the Fascist regime and is making good progress towards the reestablishment of a democratic government and institutions. The conclusion of such a peace treaty with a recognized and democratic Italian government will make it possible for the three governments to fulfill their desire to support an application from Italy for membership of the United Nations.

The three governments have also charged the Council of Foreign Ministers with the task of preparing peace treaties for Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania. The conclusion of peace treaties with recognized democratic governments in these states will also enable the three governments to support applications from them for membership of the United Nations. The three governments agree to examine each separately in the near future, in the light of the conditions then prevailing, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary to the extent possible prior to the conclusion of peace treaties with those countries.

The three governments have no doubt that in view of the changed conditions resulting from the termination of the war in Europe, representatives of the Allied press will enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

As regards the admission of other states into the United Nations Organization, Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations declares that:

"1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states who accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations;

"2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

The three governments, so far as they are concerned, will support applications for membership from those states which have remained neutral during the war and which fulfill the qualifications set out above.

The three governments feel bound however to make it clear that they for their part would not favor any application for membership put forward by the present Spanish Government, which, having been founded with the support of the axis powers, does not, in view of its origins, its nature, its record and its close association with the aggressor states, possess the qualifications necessary to justify such membership.

XI

Territorial Trusteeships

The conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government concerning trusteeship territories as defined in the decision of the Crimea Conference and in the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

After an exchange of views on this question it was decided that the disposition of any former Italian territories was one to be decided in connection with the preparation of a peace treaty for Italy and that the question of Italian territory

would be considered by the September Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

XII

Revised Allied Control Commission Procedure in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary

The three governments took note that the Soviet representatives on the Allied Control Commissions in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, have communicated to their United Kingdom and United States colleagues proposals for improving the work of the Control Commission, now that hostilities in Europe have ceased.

The three governments agreed that the revision of the procedures of the Allied Control Commissions in these countries would now be undertaken, taking into account the interests and responsibilities of the three governments which together presented the terms of armistice to the respective countries, and accepting as a basis the agreed proposals.

XIII

Orderly Transfers of German Populations

The conference reached the following agreement on the removal of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary:

The three governments having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner.

Since the influx of a large number of Germans into Germany would increase the burden already resting on the occupying authorities, they consider that the Allied Control Council in Germany should in the first instance examine the problem with special regard to the question of the equitable distribution of these Germans among the several zones of occupation. They are accordingly instructing their respective representatives on the Control Council to report to their governments as soon as possible the extent to which such persons have already entered Germany from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and to submit an estimate of the time and rate at which further transfers could be carried out, having regard to the present situation in Germany.

The Czechoslovak Government, the Polish Provisional Government and the Control Council in Hungary are at the same time being informed of the above, and are being requested meanwhile to suspend further expulsions pending the examination by the governments concerned of the report from their representatives on the Control Council.

XIV

Military Talks

During the conference there were meetings between the Chiefs of Staff of the three governments on military matters of common interest.

Approved:

J. V. STALIN
HARRY S. TRUMAN
C. R. ATTLEE.

APPENDIX III.

MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF THE THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS (Dec. 1945)

The Foreign Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America met in Moscow from December 16 to December 26, 1945, in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference, confirmed at the Berlin Conference, that there should be periodic consultation between them. At the meetings of the three Foreign Ministers, discussions took place on an informal

and exploratory basis and agreement was reached on the following questions: (report of the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom).

At the meeting which took place in Moscow from December 16 to December 26, 1945 of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States

of America and the United Kingdom, agreement was reached on the following questions:

I. Preparation of Peace Treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland:

As announced on the 24th of December, 1945, the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States have agreed and have requested the adherence of the Governments of France and China to the following procedure with respect to the preparation of peace treaties:

1. In the drawing up by the Council of Foreign Ministers of treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, only members of the Council who are, or under the terms of the agreement establishing The Council of Foreign Ministers adopted at the Berlin Conference are deemed to be, signatory of the surrender terms, will participate, unless and until the Council takes further action under the agreement to invite other members of the Council to participate on questions directly concerning them. That is to say:

(A) The terms of the peace treaty with Italy will be drafted by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France;

(B) The terms of the peace treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary by the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom;

(C) The terms of the peace treaty with Finland by the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. The deputies of the Foreign Ministers will immediately resume their work in London on the basis of understandings reached on the questions discussed at the first plenary session of The Council of Foreign Ministers in London.

2. When the preparation of all these drafts has been completed, The Council of Foreign Ministers will convoke a conference for the purpose of considering treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The Conference will consist of the five members of the Council of Foreign Ministers together with all members of the United Nations which actively waged war with substantial military force against European enemy states, namely: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, China, France, Australia, Belgium, Byelo-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Greece, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Union of South Africa, Yugoslavia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Conference will be held not later than May 1, 1946.

3. After the conclusion of the deliberations of the conference and upon consideration of its recommendations the states signatory to the terms of armistice with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland—France being regarded as such for the purposes of the peace treaty with Italy—will draw up final texts of peace treaties.

4. The final texts of the respective peace treaties as so drawn up will be signed by representatives of the states represented at the conference which are at war with the enemy states in question. The texts of the respective peace treaties will then be submitted to the other United Nations which are at war with the enemy states in question.

5. The peace treaties will come into force immediately after they have been ratified by the allied states signatory to the respective armistices, France being regarded as such in the case of the peace with Italy. These treaties are subject to ratification by the enemy states in question.

II. Far Eastern Commission and Allied Council for Japan.

A. Far Eastern Commission.

Agreement was reached, with the concurrence of China, for the establishment of a Far Eastern Commission to take the

place of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission. The terms of reference for the Far Eastern Commission are as follows:

I. Establishment of the Commission.

A Far Eastern Commission is hereby established composed of the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the Philippine Commonwealth.

II. Functions.

A. The Functions of the Far Eastern Commission shall be:

1. To formulate the policies, principles, and standards in conformity with which the fulfillment by Japan of its obligations under the terms of surrender may be accomplished.

2. To review, on the request of any member, any directive issued to the supreme commander for the Allied powers or any action taken by the supreme commander involving policy decisions within the jurisdiction of the Commission.

3. To consider such other matters as may be assigned to it by agreement among the participating governments reached in accordance with the voting procedure provided for in Article V, Section 2 hereunder.

B. The Commission shall not make recommendations with regard to the conduct of military operations nor with regard to territorial adjustments.

C. The Commission in its activities will proceed from the fact that there has been formed an Allied Council for Japan and will respect existing control machinery in Japan, including the chain of command from the United States Government to the supreme commander's command of occupation forces.

III. Functions of the United States Government.

1. The United States Government shall prepare directives in accordance with policy decisions of the Commission and shall transmit them to the supreme commander through the appropriate United States Government agency. The supreme commander shall be charged with the implementation of the directives which express the policy decisions of the Commission.

2. If the Commission decides that any directive or action reviewed in accordance with Article II-A-2 should be modified, its decision shall be regarded as a policy decision.

3. The United States Government may issue interim directives to the supreme commander pending action by the Commission whenever urgent matters arise not covered by policies already formulated by the Commission; provided that any directive dealing with fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure or in the regime of control, or dealing with a change in the Japanese Government as a whole will be issued only following consultation and following the attainment of agreement in the Far Eastern Commission.

4. All directives issued shall be filed with the Commission.

IV. Other Methods of Consultation.

The establishment of the Commission shall not preclude the use of other methods of consultation on Far Eastern issues by the participating governments.

V. Composition.

1. The Far Eastern Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the states party to this agreement. The membership of the Commission may be increased by agreement among the participating powers as conditions warrant by the addition of representatives of other United Nations in the Far East or having territories therein. The Commission shall provide for full and adequate consultations, as occasion may require, with representatives of the United Nations not members of the Commission in regard to matters before the Commission which are of particular concern to such nations.

2. The Commission may take action by less than unanimous vote provided that action shall have the concurrence of at

least a majority of all the representatives including the representatives of the four following powers: United States, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China.

VI. Location and Organization.

1. The Far Eastern Commission shall have its headquarters in Washington. It may meet at other places as occasion requires, including Tokyo, if and when it deems it desirable to do so. It may make such arrangements through the Chairman as may be practicable for consultation with the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

2. Each representative on the Commission may be accompanied by an appropriate staff comprising both civilian and military representation.

3. The Commission shall organize its secretariat, appoint such committees as may be deemed advisable, and otherwise perfect its organization and procedure.

VII. Termination.

The Far Eastern Commission shall cease to function when a decision to that effect is taken by the concurrence of at least a majority of all the representatives including the representatives of the four following powers: United States, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China. Prior to the termination of its functions the Commission shall transfer to any interim or permanent security organization of which the participating governments are members those functions which may appropriately be transferred.

It was agreed that the Government of the United States on behalf of the four powers should present the terms of reference to the other governments specified in Article I and invite them to participate in the Commission on the revised basis.

B. Allied Council for Japan.

The following agreement was also reached, with the concurrence of China, for the establishment of an Allied Council for Japan: 1. There shall be established an Allied Council with its seat in Tokyo under the chairmanship of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (or his deputy) for the purpose of consulting with and advising the Supreme Commander in regard to the implementation of the terms of surrender, the occupation and control of Japan, and of directives supplementary thereto; and for the purpose of exercising the control authority herein granted.

2. The membership of the Allied Council shall consist of the Supreme Commander (or his deputy) who shall be chairman and United States member; a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics member; a Chinese member; and a member representing jointly the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and India.

3. Each member shall be entitled to have an appropriate staff consisting of military and civilian advisers.

4. The Allied Council shall meet not less often than once every two weeks.

5. The Supreme Commander shall issue all orders for the implementation of the terms of surrender, the occupation and control of Japan, and directives supplementary thereto. In all cases action will be carried out under and through the Supreme Commander who is the sole executive authority for the Allied Powers in Japan. He will consult and advise with the Council in advance of the issuance of orders on matters of substance, the exigencies of the situation permitting. His decisions upon these matters shall be controlling.

6. If, regarding the implementation of policy decisions of the Far Eastern Commission on questions concerning a change in the regime of control, fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure, and a change in the Japanese Government as a whole, a member of the Council disagrees with the Supreme Commander (or his deputy), the Supreme Commander will withhold the issuance of orders on these questions

pending agreement thereon in the Far Eastern Commission.

7. In cases of necessity the Supreme Commander may make decisions concerning the change of individual Ministers of the Japanese Government, or concerning the filling of vacancies created by the resignation of individual Cabinet members, after appropriate preliminary consultation with the representatives of the other Allied Powers on the Allied Council.

III. Korea.

1. With a view to the re-establishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

2. In order to assist the formation of a provisional Korean Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a joint commission consisting of representatives of the United States command in southern Korea and the Soviet command in northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two Governments represented on the Joint Commission.

3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission, with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea.

The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted, following consultation with the provisional Korean Government for the joint consideration of the Governments of the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period of up to five years.

4. For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both southern and northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks.

IV. China.

The three Foreign Secretaries exchanged views with regard to the situation in China. They were in agreement as to the need for a unified and democratic China under the National Government, for broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the National Government, and for a cessation of civil strife. They reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of China.

Mr. Molotov and Mr. Byrnes had several conversations concerning Soviet and American armed forces in China.

Mr. Molotov stated that the Soviet forces had disarmed and deported Japanese troops in Manchuria but that withdrawal of Soviet forces had been postponed until February first at the request of the Chinese Government.

Mr. Byrnes pointed out that American forces were in North China at the request of the Chinese Government, and referred also to the primary responsibility of the United States in the

implementation of the terms of surrender with respect to the disarming and deportation of Japanese troops. He stated that American forces would be withdrawn just as soon as this responsibility was discharged or the Chinese Government was in a position to discharge the responsibility without the assistance of American forces.

The two Foreign Secretaries were in complete accord as to the desirability of withdrawal of Soviet and American forces from China at the earliest practicable moment consistent with the discharge of their obligations and responsibilities.

V. Rumania.

The three Governments are prepared to give King Michael the advice for which he has asked in his letter of August 21, 1945, on the broadening of the Rumanian Government. The King should be advised that one member of the National Peasant Party and one member of the Liberal Party should be included in the government. The Commission referred to below shall satisfy itself that

(A) They are truly representative members of the groups of the parties not represented in the Government;

(B) They are suitable and will work loyally with the government.

The three governments take note that the Rumanian Government thus reorganized should declare that free and unfettered elections will be held as soon as possible on the basis of universal and secret ballot. All democratic and anti-Fascist parties should have the right to take part in these elections and to put forward candidates. The reorganized government should give assurances concerning the grant of freedom of the press, speech, religion and association.

A. Y. Vyshinski, Ambassador Averell Harriman, and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to proceed to Bucharest immediately to consult with King Michael and members of the present government with a view to the execution of the above-mentioned tasks.

As soon as these tasks are accomplished and the required assurances have been received, the Government of Rumania, with which the Soviet Government maintains diplomatic relations, will be recognized by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom.

VI. Bulgaria.

It is understood by the three governments that the Soviet Government takes upon itself the mission of giving friendly advice to the Bulgarian Government with regard to the desirability of the inclusion in the Bulgarian Government of the fatherland front, now being formed, of an additional two representatives of other democratic groups, who (a) are truly representative of the groups of the parties which are not participating in the government, and (b) are really suitable and will work loyally with the government.

As soon as the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom are convinced that this friendly advice has been accepted by the Bulgarian Government and the said additional representatives have been included in its body, the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom will recognize the Bulgarian Government, with which the Government of the Soviet Union already has diplomatic relations.

VII. The Establishment by the United Nations of a Commission for the Control of Atomic Energy.

Discussion of the subject of atomic energy related to the question of the establishment of a commission by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom have agreed to recommend, for the consideration of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the establishment by the United Na-

tions of a commission to consider problems arising from the discovery of atomic energy and related matters. They have agreed to invite the other permanent members of the Security Council, France and China, together with Canada to join with them in assuming the initiative in sponsoring the following resolution at the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in January 1946:

Resolved by the General Assembly of the United Nations to establish a commission, with the composition and competence set out hereunder, to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy and other related matters.

I. Establishment of the Commission.

A commission is hereby established by the General Assembly with the terms of reference set out under Section V below.

II. Relations of the Commission with the Organs of the United Nations.

(A). The commission shall submit its reports and recommendations to the Security Council, and such reports and recommendations shall be made public unless the Security Council, in the interests of peace and security, otherwise directs. In the appropriate cases the Security Council should transmit these reports to the General Assembly and the members of the United Nations, as well as to the Economic and Social Council and other organs within the framework of the United Nations.

(B). In view of the Security Council's primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council shall issue directions to the commission in matters affecting security. On these matters the commission shall be accountable for its work to the Security Council.

III. Composition of the Commission.

The commission shall be composed of one representative from each of those states represented on the Security Council, and Canada, when that state is not a member of the Security Council. Each representative on the commission may have such assistants as he may desire.

IV. Rules of Procedure.

The commission shall have whatever staff it may deem necessary, and shall make recommendations for its rules of procedure to the Security Council, which shall approve them as a procedural matter.

V. Terms of Reference of the Commission.

The commission shall proceed with the utmost dispatch and inquire into all phases of the problem, and make such recommendations from time to time with respect to them as it finds possible. In particular the commission shall make specific proposals:

(A) For extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;

(B) For control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;

(C) For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;

(D) For effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

The work of the commission should proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken.

The commission shall not infringe upon the responsibilities of any organ of the United Nations, but should present recommendations for the consideration of those organs in the performance of their tasks under the terms of the United Nations Charter.

APPENDIX IV

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

President: Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium.

Secretary General—Trygve Lie of Norway

Vice Presidents: The heads of the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France, China, South Africa and Venezuela.

Argentina	Costa Rica	France	Liberia	Paraguay	Union of S. Africa
Australia	Cuba	Greece	Luxembourg	Peru	U.S.S.R.
Belgium	Czechoslovakia	Guatemala	Mexico	Philippines	United Kingdom
Bolivia	Denmark	Haiti	Netherlands	Poland	United States
Brazil	Dominican Republic	Honduras	New Zealand	Saudi Arabia	Uruguay
Canada	Ecuador	India	Nicaragua	Syria	Venezuela
Chile	Egypt	Iran	Norway	Turkey	White Russia
China	El Salvador	Iraq	Panama	Ukraine	Yugoslavia
Colombia	Ethiopia	Lebanon			

Committees of the General Assembly

Steering—Provisionally composed of fourteen members as follows: the President of the General Assembly, the seven Vice Presidents and the chairmen of the six committees listed hereafter.

Political and Social—Dr. D. Z. Manuilsky, the Ukraine.

Trusteeship—Dr. Roberto MacEachen, Uruguay.

Economic and Financial—Waclaw Konderski, Poland.

Budgetary—Faris el-Khour, Syria.

Social, Humanitarian and Cultural—Peter Fraser, New Zealand.

Legal—Dr. Roberto Jiminez, Panama.

(All the foregoing committees except the Steering Committee are composed of representatives of all fifty-one members of the UNO.)

Atomic Energy Committee

Composed of the members of the Security Council plus Canada.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Australia (Until 1948)	China (Permanent)	France (Permanent)	Netherlands (Until 1947)	U.S.S.R. (Permanent)	United States (Permanent)
Brazil (Until 1948)	Egypt (Until 1947)	Mexico (Until 1947)	Poland (Until 1948)	United Kingdom (Permanent)	

Military Staff Committee

The Chiefs of Staff (or their representatives) of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France and China.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Belgium (Until 1949)	China (Until 1949)	Czechoslovakia (Until 1948)	India (Until 1948)	Peru (Until 1949)	United Kingdom (Until 1948)
Canada (Until 1949)	Colombia (Until 1947)	France (Until 1949)	Lebanon (Until 1947)	Ukraine (Until 1947)	United States (Until 1947)
Chile (Until 1949)	Cuba (Until 1948)	Greece (Until 1947)	Norway (Until 1948)	U.S.S.R. (Until 1948)	Yugoslavia (Until 1947)

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Until 1955 Sir A. D. McNair (Great Britain)	J. Philadelpho de Barros Azevedo (Brazil)	G. H. Hackworth (United States)	Charles de Visscher (Belgium)	Bohdan Winiarski (Poland)
Jules Basdevant (France)	Jose G. Guerrero (El Salvador)	Sergei B. Krylov (Russia)	Until 1949 John M. Read (Canada)	Abdel Hamid Badawi (Egypt)
Alejandro Alvarez (Chile)	Febela Alfaro (Mexico)	Helge Klaestad (Norway)	Milovan Zoricitch (Yugoslavia)	Hsu Mo (China)

(The composition in each organization above is that of February, 1946.)

FULL TEXTS

- Four Freedoms
 - Atlantic Charter
 - Declaration of the United Nations
 - Moscow Declaration
 - Teheran Agreement
 - Crimea Agreement
 - United Nations Charter
 - Tripartite Conference of Berlin
 - Moscow Tripartite Agreement
- etc.

SUMMARIES

- Kellogg-Briand Treaty
 - Anglo-Soviet Pact
 - Cairo Conference
 - Philadelphia Int'l. Labor Conference
 - Bretton Woods
 - Dumbarton Oaks
 - Rye Business Conference
 - Chicago Aviation Conference
 - Chapultepec Conference
 - Soviet-Chinese Treaty
 - Council of Foreign Ministers
 - World Federation of Trade Unions
- etc.